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The following students of Dr. Rodriguez's "Women in Mexican Politics" seminar at the LBJ School of Public Affairs served as *rapporteurs* throughout the various sessions of the conference:

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The entire Conference was recorded on audiotape.

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Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics II

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Biographical Information

Conference Overview

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Following the April 1995 Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics conference, interest in the topic has continued to grow among political women in Mexico and international Mexicanist scholars. In December 1995 Professor Victoria Rodríguez (UT-LBJ School) facilitated a meeting of high-level female politicians in Mexico where participants discussed the possibility of a second conference on the subject. Dr. Rodríguez conducted a graduate seminar at the LBJ School of Public Affairs in spring 1996, involving many members of her research team that interviewed women in Mexican politics, and invited several prominent Mexican feminist scholars to work with students on their research. Building upon the success of the 1995 conference, the research of Dr. Rodríguez and her students, and the support of the Mexican Center and its Director, Dr. Peter M. Ward, Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics II: Participation and Affirmative Action renewed the vigorous discussions of last year's conference.

The April 12-13, 1996 conference, sponsored by the Ford Foundation-Mexico City and the Mexican Center of ILAS, with additional support from the LBJ School of Public Affairs, the College of Liberal Arts, and the Institute of Latin American Studies, focused on women's political participation, local and regional politics, and affirmative action. Many of the same Mexican politicians, party officials, grassroots leaders, and academics as last year, in addition to several prominent new faces, gathered to discuss these topics in the "neutral" space provided by the U.S. academic location. Despite the current legal battle regarding affirmative action at the University of Texas, the Mexican participants welcomed the opportunity to continue their discussions away from Mexican journalists, party debates, and personal interruptions.

On April 11, 1996, as a prologue to the two-day conference, the Mexican Center of ILAS featured María de los Angeles Moreno, Senator and former President of the PRI, in the Distinguished Mexicans in Texas Lecture Series. Moreno's talk, entitled "Mujer y Avance Democrático," began with a focus on the status of women worldwide. She discussed the dire situation for women and girls, quoting poverty and education statistics and stressing the need to improve the lives and opportunities of women globally. For Mexico, Moreno asserted that as the country moves toward a modern democracy, policy makers must recognize gender disparities and ensure equal access to education, employment, and positions of authority. She called for a "new democratic design that transforms patriarchal values and protects human rights" and encouraged women to increase their involvement in decision making arenas, utilizing their "social conscience" to create a more equitable and democratic Mexico for both men and women.

The conference officially commenced the following day with opening remarks by Peter Ward and Victoria Rodríguez, who both described the importance of this second meeting and the evolution of Rodríguez's collaboration with women in Mexican politics. The first panel, "The Context: Affirmative Action Experiences Worldwide and in Latin America," began with a paper by Nikki Craske (Queen's

University, Belfast) presenting both positive and negative aspects of various methods utilized by Latin American governments for involving women in politics. Judith Gentleman (U.S. Air War College and University of New Hampshire) presented a provocative paper highlighting the complete absence of women in the national security arena. Gentleman described the "social construction of a masculinized militarism" that views female participation in the military elite as inappropriate, precluding both avenues for women's influence on national security issues and research on women's military decisions. Lastly, Beatriz Padilla (UT-LBJ alumna) discussed Argentina's national quota law for female representation on political party candidate slates, stressing that while the law has increased female political participation, the quantitative change has not guaranteed a qualitative policy change or a focus on gender issues.

The second panel, "The Potential and Possibilities of Affirmative Action in Mexico," concentrated on the healthy debate about the positive and negative aspects of affirmative action strategies and policies. Marta Lamas (Debate Feminista) described affirmative action as a "mechanism for social change," urging a recognition of both historical and structural obstacles faced by women. Lamas noted that affirmative action should be a component of a larger plan to eradicate discrimination and that the plan should "not simply repair damage that's been done, but create a framework for social justice and equality." She stressed that affirmative action "includes the seeds for its own destruction" after the goal of a more equal society has been met.

Laura Carrera (INSAME-DIF) highlighted the plurality of ideas about affirmative action, but noted the "similarities in views about women in Mexico despite political differences." Based on her analysis of women in political parties, NGOs, feminist groups, and academic institutions, Carrera emphasized that "women have not defined their agenda or constructed a complete idea of female citizenship, but they should be united in their diversity." Teresa Incháustegui and Alicia Martínez (both FLACSO-México) posed the question, "Why do women want access to power?" and urged women to consider their goals as they demand more representation. They argued that women need to "construct an organized strategy" for not only putting women into places of power, but also implementing a feminist agenda.

María Luisa Tarrés (COLMEX) discussed the various contexts and levels in which women struggle for representation. She noted differences between the political atmosphere in various regions, levels of government, and types of NGOs and suggested that women can increase their power through strengthening their networks between these areas. Finally, Anna M. Fernández Poncela (UAM-Xochimilco) presented the results of a survey on voter opinions of politicians based on gender, suggesting that voter confidence in candidates does not necessarily coincide with gender loyalties.

The day closed with a roundtable discussion moderated by Cecilia Loría (GEM) during which Mexican women in politics continued the debate about affirmative action sparked earlier by the academics. Senior members of each party presented their positions on the topic as supported in the party platforms. Speaking on behalf of the PRD, Laura Itzel Castillo noted that her party strives for "equality in politics and parity in social justice," requiring that positions of power within the party must not constitute more than 70 percent of either gender. María de los Angeles Moreno (PRI) noted that her party has always had "unstated" quotas for female nominations for party positions and that gender issues are high on the agenda for the next PRI National Assembly. Moreno expressed optimism that the upcoming electoral

reforms to COFIPE would provide women greater access to the political system. Cecilia Romero (PAN) asserted that the PAN's efforts to improve female self-esteem, expose the culture of gender discrimination, and eradicate the invisibility of women's work are all methods for affirmative action within the party. Romero also noted the involvement of the PAN's Women's Ministry in initiatives to promote women at the federal level and called for more research on affirmative action and quotas.

Discussants followed these statements with individual concerns and views on affirmative action and women in politics generally. Mariclaire Acosta stressed that the political context in which these efforts are occurring is one of great uncertainty with increased human rights abuses, a paralyzed justice system, severe poverty, and a fragmented society. María Elena Alvarez (PAN) argued that the PAN has made great strides during the past 10 years in advancing panista women and mentioned an internal party study on the status of women in the PAN. Consuelo Botello (PAN) asserted that quotas will not solve most of the problems for women in politics because they will not help women achieve equality with men or change the mentality of discrimination in Mexico.

Ana Lilia Cepeda (MLD) contended that "an unequal society reproduces itself" and that women should concentrate on the "possibility of engineering a new country" that dissolves the present corporatist, hierarchical structure. Cepeda stressed that women should recognize their differences and learn from them, noting that women can be "sisters, while not twins." Gloria León de Muñoz (PAN) also highlighted the fact that women often maintain different ideologies, but that "women are all on the same road fighting for equality" and working for change in Mexico. Arguing that women must join together in the struggle for a democratic transition in Mexico, Patricia Mercado (GIRE) encouraged women to listen to each other and remain in the discussion even if they don't agree.

Asserting that "the body of a woman does not guarantee a concern for gender issues," Martha Lucía Micher (PRD) argued for supporting members of opposition parties if they are professional, honest, and sensitive to gender issues and called for greater training for women in politics. Beatriz Paredes (PRI) maintained that there is an overall "crisis of political participation" in Mexico, especially among women. She also emphasized the need for training and education so that "women will know how to participate in positions of power, while also linking their actions to feminist ideologies." Finally, Ana Rosa Payán (PAN) noted that women should discuss these issues with men, arguing that men learn their ideas in the homes of women and therefore women are responsible for many male opinions. She maintained that the entire society is in a crisis and that women should fight for Mexico's progress before gender issues.

The second day of the conference began with a panel entitled "Women's Participation in Local and Regional Political Arenas" which focused on women's grassroots political action. Based on research for her new book on women's grassroots organizations in Latin America, Lynn Stephen (Northeastern University) highlighted the importance of linking women's political action to larger social movements and avoiding the abstract, often dichotomous, categorization of women's political action. Drawing from her work on the Mexican Garment Workers Union, Teresa Carrillo (San Francisco State University) characterized the "gendered nature of citizenship within the corporatist body politic." Elsa Chaney (University of Iowa) and Mary Goldsmith (UAM-Xochimilco) presented research on female household workers and their efforts to organize in Latin America, underscoring the poor working conditions and

rampant exploitation of these working women. Finally, Carmen Ramos Escandón (Occidental College) discussed the important contributions of an early feminist, María Ríos Cárdenas, to the conception of women's citizenship in Mexico.

The second panel of the day focused on the impact of women's local political action. Alejandra Massolo (UAM-Iztapalapa) outlined the participation of women in local elected politics, asserting that a "new federalism is important, but only with a gender equality that creates a truly new order of government." Drawing on her research on the Monterrey water crisis during the 1970s and 1980s, Vivienne Bennett (California State University, San Marcos) argued that the aggressive grassroots protests of women resulted in Agua Para Todos, the first water project of its kind in Latin America. Bennett posited that these grassroots efforts were important not only because they secured water for everyone in Monterrey during a national economic crisis, but they "altered the relations of power" in Mexico and effected both local and federal policy changes. Lilia Venegas (INAH) discussed the contributions of panista women in Tijuana, asserting that the party and families of these women can be both obstacles and sources of strength for their political participation.

Following the academic presentations, several local-level politicians responded to the papers based on their practical work in the area. Susana Segovia (PAN) spoke of the outdated civil codes and laws, suggesting the need to examine their impact on the efforts of women in their families, workplaces, and political arenas. Rosalinda Robledo (PRI) also argued for a change in local laws that prevent greater female participation in politics and called on men to share in family and household duties. Martha Lucía Micher (PRD) urged women to remain in public life even after their completion of political terms, but acknowledged the high price women pay for attempting to balance family and politics. Concepción Torres Zaragoza (CESEM) spoke of the fact that in many areas women are left to lead their communities after men leave to look for work in large cities or the United States. Finally, Alba Nélida Flores (Universidad de Chilpancingo) discussed efforts in Guerrero as political women try to organize diverse communities in a struggle to create opportunities for all women.

The final panel of the conference was a roundtable discussion regarding "An Agenda for the Future of Women in Mexican Political Life." Under the skillful moderation of Sara Lovera (Doble Jornada), each woman was allowed equal time to articulate her opinions. Laura Carrera expressed the need for both female leadership and representation that focuses not only on obtaining positions of power, but also advancing women's issues once in office. María Elena Chapa (PRI) called for a greater focus on creating opportunities for girls, eradicating poverty, changing female stereotypes in the media, and encouraging more collaboration between academics and policy makers. María Teresa Gómez Mont (PAN) argued that Mexico needs a more informed citizenship and changes in gender relationships in both domestic and economic arenas. Clara Jusidman argued for both quantitative and qualitative female participation in all realms of power, including business, academia, politics, and workplaces. Jusidman also stressed that both women and men should be sensitized to view issues from a gendered perspective.

Marta Lamas urged women to "define what's political," quoting the feminist mantra, "the personal is political." Lamas underscored the need to understand a gender-specific perspective, examine how gender

stereotypes are reproduced, and establish working groups that motivate women to move beyond discussions into action. María de los Angeles Moreno asked participants to "imagine a democracy in Mexico that produces a society that is qualitatively different for women." Moreno asserted the need to instill girls with the concept of gender equality, provide professional training for women in politics, and support affirmative action.

Patricia Parrodi (PAN) called on women to respect the plurality of female ideas, arguing that each woman has a right to her own individual opinions and values. Parrodi accused feminists of using language that excludes many women and argued that "in their search for equality women often lose their identities as women." Echoing these sentiments, Ana Rosa Payán asked that women stop seeing the family as a jail, arguing that strengthening the family will secure the basis of society. Cecilia Loría countered that feminists don't want to "destroy or dissolve the family, but reconceptualize it" in a way that supports opportunities for women.

Following these debates, Beatriz Paredes, (former Subsecretaria de Gobernación, Ambassador to Cuba, Diputada Federal, Governor of Tlaxcala, and current General Secretary of the Confederación Nacional Campesina) offered her reflections on the conference and cited areas for future directives. Paredes highlighted the importance of the conference especially in light of the context of the underlying political tension between many of the actors: the United States and Mexico about immigration, Mexican states and politicians about Chiapas, and political elites and citizens about the future of democracy in Mexico. She asserted that despite the many areas of agreement about the status of women in Mexico, conference participants failed to agree on the definition and prospects of affirmative action, the proper role of the family in the lives of women, or the goals of women in politics in Mexico. Paredes noted that women are divided due to political, ideological, religious, and cultural reasons, but that these divisions are necessary in a democratic society. She called upon academics to continue their research into women's differences, similarities, and struggles.

For Paredes, power was the most important topic discussed at the conference. She argued that a female body in power does not guarantee a gendered perspective and urged women to contemplate how they want women in power to act. She ventured, "I'm not sure we know what power is," because female power has been confined to the domestic realm. Universal power requires a vision for the macro-level issues of democracy, economics, security, and human rights. Paredes urged women to construct a gendered platform that not only addresses issues of power, but includes directives for action, and encouraged women to negotiate with leaders in their parties to include this discourse in the official party platform.

Paredes addressed the concept of affidamento, acknowledging that women should bond in support of each other, but also accept each other's mistakes and differences. She noted, "In a plural society, each person also has a right to his/her singularity. Mexicans must learn to live in a democratic society that respects different points of view." While she was cautious about the level of agreement at the conference, Paredes was optimistic that women could move forward in their struggles for gender equality and democratic citizenship in Mexico.

This optimism multiplied following Paredes' summary, as women rushed to the podium to join in singing an anthem composed by conference participants the previous night. Politicians from all parties, NGO leaders, feminists and academics gathered their voices in chorus to recognize their differences, underscore their patriotism and commitment to Mexico, and express their confidence in women's abilities to move the country forward. Following the lyrics written on bright pink sheets of paper, students, observers, and other conference participants sang with the Mexican women, filling the auditorium with vibrant voices and splashes of color. They sung about the need to prepare for increased political power and demanded that women be included in all arenas in Mexico:

"La fuerza está en las mujeres/ Tenemos que ponernos muy listas/ Para quedar incluidas en las listas/ Mujeres las listas/ Somos mujeres muy listas."

Women in Mexico are very ready.

The conference closed with remarks by Victoria Rodríguez, who proposed a third conference on women in Mexican politics. Cheers erupted as Rodríguez suggested the next conference be held in Mexico, coinciding with the April 1997 Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Congress in Guadalajara. The first two conferences, with the welcome exchanges between academics and practitioners, the interest of American students and scholars, the safety of the distant international location, and the diversity of Mexican women present, have afforded conference participants the ability to actively debate issues affecting women in Mexico. With their similarities and differences now more clearly articulated, these women in Mexican politics hope to continue such meetings in the politically charged and dynamic atmosphere of their own country, where they can more easily move their discussions into progressive, gendered action.

Mujer y Avance Democrático

María de los Angeles Moreno Uriegas
Senadora de la República, México

Acudo a este encuentro en Texas con una triple percepción. La primera, la de la cercanía geográfica, ineludible a pesar de nuestras diferencias socioeconómicas y los incidentes históricos que nos han afectado; la del amplio intercambio económico y cultural. La misma percepción de saber que muchos compatriotas hacen hoy aquí su vida, aportando su esfuerzo y su talento, dejando a su paso huella de su raigambre mexicana y expresión de cómo es posible colaborar entre dos países con idiosincracia tan diversa.

La segunda, la de las circunstancias recientes que no dejan de impactar nuestro ánimo, puesto que implican problemas de derechos humanos para nuestra gente; falta de reconocimiento a las aportaciones productivas; juicios infundados sobre nuestra política interna; y desventaja económica para nuestros productos, no obstante los avances en la operación del Tratado de Libre Comercio y los nuevos acuerdos en diversas materias diplomáticas y financieras.

La tercera, la de las características del evento al que se nos ha convocado, que señala el interés académico en profundizar el conocimiento sobre la política mexicana, destacando la participación de las mujeres, y subraya las oportunidades de diálogo y colaboración en distintas materias.

Es por ello que resulta grato para mí participar en la segunda conferencia internacional sobre mujeres en la política mexicana contemporánea, que organiza la Universidad de Texas en Austin, a través del Centro Mexicano del Instituto de Estudios Latinoamericanos.

Entiendo como una distinción el haber sido invitada para hablar en esta noche, previa al inicio de dicha conferencia que propiciará análisis, debate e intercambio de experiencias sobre la participación política femenina. Sirvan mis palabras iniciales como agradecimiento, saludo y reconocimiento a las personas e instituciones que organizaron esta reunión.

En el marco del tema de mi charla, "Mujer y avance democrático", me gustaría destacar dos de las diversas vertientes en las que se puede abordar el concepto de democracia. Dos, especialemente significativas cuando de la participación de la mujer se trata: la vertiente económica, que implica la selección de opciones sobre uso y distribución de los bienes colectivos y, por lo tanto, indisolublemente asociada con los aspectos sociales y culturales; y la vertiente política, que involucra el acceso al poder, a su organización, a la toma de decisiones públicas, y a los aspectos de elección o selección de quienes habrán de asumir tales decisiones.

La existencia de sistemas políticos donde la democracia formal está vigente, y hay obvios avances en la democracia electoral para las mujeres, no ha representado, de manera automática, mejores condiciones de vida.

En los países en desarrollo, donde una gran parte de la población vive en situaciones precarias, las cargas de la pobreza golpean con mayor intensidad al mundo femenino; las mujeres ven menores posibilidades de acceso a una ocupación productiva y satisfactoria, y tienen escasas oportunidades de presencia relevante en lo social y en lo político.

Es igualmente una lamentable realidad que el sólo hecho de ser mujer implica diversos grados de discriminación en cuestiones esenciales para la vida. Algunos ejemplos, tomados de un informe de UNICEF:

- De los 100 millones de niños de todo el mundo que no asisten a la escuela, entre los 6 y los 11 años, el 70% son niñas.

- 81 millones de niñas-49 millones más que niños-no tienen acceso a la enseñanza primaria.

  Dos tercios de los 1,000 millones de adultos analfabetas en el mundo son mujeres.

- En México, a pesar de los avances en el acceso de las mujeres a la educación, todavía en 1990 alrededor del 15% de la población femenina del país, con 15 años o más, era analfabeta.

- En Asia meridional, las tasas notablemente inferiores de supervivencia de las niñas se deben al abandono al que son sometidas. En tres países de esa región se calcula que un millón de niñas mueren todos los años sólo por el hecho de ser mujeres.

- Por lo general, se alimenta a la niña lactante por períodos más cortos, se le lleva con menos frecuencia al centro de salud, tiene tasas inferiores de inmunización y recibe menos nutrición que sus hermanos.

- Un estudio realizado en la India reveló que el 51% de los niños recibía lactancia materna, en comparación con el 30% de las niñas.

- En muchas culturas, los tabúes sobre los alimentos limitan lo que se permite comer a las niñas y a las mujeres. Como resultado, no ingieren las proteínas y los minerales que necesitan. La carencia de hierro-causa de la muerte de muchas mujeres durante el embarazo y el parto-afecta entre un 65 y un 95% de las niñas mayores de 15 años en Africa y hasta el 70% de las niñas comprendidas entre los 6 y los 14 años de edad en la India. En todo el mundo, alrededor de 350 millones de mujeres sufren de anemia por carencia de hierro y otras enfermedades relacionadas con la nutrición.

- Según datos recientes, el 13.8% de las mujeres mexicanas tienen bajos niveles de hemoglobina y presentan algún grado de anemia.
- El trabajo de la mujer comienza desde la niñez. En Africa y Asia hay niñas de entre 10 y 14 años

de edad que trabajan siete horas diarias o más en tareas domésticas.

- En la mayoría de los países en desarrollo, las jóvenes que trabajan como sirvientas no tienen protección legal y están sujetas a condiciones de esclavitud y maltrato sexual.

- En todas partes, el salario de las niñas es inferior al de los niños. En Brasil, de las muchachas entre 14 y 19 años, un 61% de las que trabajan en zonas urbanas gana menos que el salario mínimo, en comparación con el 53% en el caso de los muchachos. En México, por desempeño de las mismas tareas y funciones, e iguales jornadas de trabajo, las mujeres siguen obteniendo ingresos más bajos. En 1991, en la industria manufacturera, el 74% de las mujeres percibía hasta dos salarios mínimos, en tanto que sólo el 54% de los hombres estaban en ese nivel.

- Salvo contadas excepciones, en todo el mundo los varones tienen mejores empleos y mejores salarios.

- Las mujeres cultivan la mitad de todos los alimentos del mundo; en Africa, la cifra es de dos terceras partes.

- Si se incluyera el trabajo doméstico en las cifras del ingreso nacional, el producto nacional bruto del mundo aumentaría entre un 20 y 30%.

Ante estas situaciones, parece claro que en los países en vías de desarrollo es necesario que la vocación por la democracia trascienda el ámbito meramente político y de organización electoral para incidir en el terreno económico y social. Ello es particularmente importante para las mujeres.

En este sentido, se comprende la aspiración democrática de las mujeres en el marco de lo que postula el artículo 3¡ de la Constitución Mexicana, que conceptúa a la democracia como "un sistema de vida fundado en el constante mejoramiento económico, social y cultural del pueblo."

La aportación de las mujeres al contenido social y cultural de la democracia puede y debe ser trascendental. Parece indispensable que la democracia involucre al nivel de desarrollo social y la calidad de vida. Parece indispensable que el avance democrático repercuta en la generación de una cultura que modifique y erradique patrones discriminatorios arraigados ancestralmente; una cultura que abra a las mujeres oportunidades plenas de colaboración en el diseño de la sociedad que desean, del esquema de vida propio y del disfrute cabal de los resultados del esfuerzo colectivo. Avance democrático, en fin, que propicie distribución equitativa del ingreso, que ofrezca oportunidades suficientes de educación y empleo, que garantice bienestar social para todos, y que ejercite la tolerancia como valor político.

La acción conjunta y estructurada de las mujeres resulta indispensable para lograr un peso específico que alcance a determinar cambios en la concepciones y acciones adoptadas desde el poder. Se requieren políticas que reconozcan la desigualdad y obliguen al diseño de programas públicos que beneficien explícitamente a las mujeres, que tomen en cuenta su perspectiva e iniciativas, y que favorezcan su

acceso a la toma de decisiones y a la orientación de los acuerdos colectivos. Esto quiere decir que hay la certeza de que la toma de conciencia de las mujeres, y su efectiva participación, propiciarán una transformación real de la estructura económica, a efecto de darles acceso a los medios y resultados de la producción.

Estas consideraciones se ligan con la otra vertiente de la democracia y la participación femenina, que enuncié al principiar mi plática: la que tiene relación con la elección y/o selección de quienes tomarán decisiones para el conjunto social; la que implica nuestro propio derecho y posibilidad de influir, con una perspectiva de género, en tales decisiones.

Hoy, al hablar de la igualdad, el desarrollo y la paz, se da una gran discusión no sólo sobre la necesidad de reconocer y resolver los obstáculos que aún se oponen a la plena y equitativa participación de las mujeres en todas las esferas de actividad, sino también sobre las posibilidades reales de su accesso al poder. Accesso al poder para construir nuevos esquemas de colaboración y de distribución de responsabilidades y beneficios sociales para todos.

La evolución democrática de las mujeres-la evolución democrática de la sociedad con las mujeres involucradas en ella-habrá de construir una vida democrática más completa, un diseño nuevo del ejercicio democrático, que transforme, de manera definitiva, culturas de valores patriarcales en culturas de valores igualitarios, donde sin renunciar a su especificidad y diferencia, las mujeres compartan, democráticamente con los hombres, responsabilidades y derechos en todos los ámbitos de la vida.

Lograr esto exige una transformación profunda de valoraciones y actitudes, de patrones de conducta social. Requiere, igualmente, de nuevos enfoques en la educación que, en cantidad, calidad, y contenido, asegure acceso igual a las niñas y a las jóvenes. Conseguir ese cambio demanda también de una nueva percepción de las mujeres sobre sí mismas. Exige, sin duda, su autoafirmación y preparación para intervenir en los procesos públicos, con una clara conciencia de que habrá que trabajar en programas que propicien el acceso de otras mujeres e impacten favorablement en sus condiciones de vida. Tal transformación plantea, ineludiblemente, nuevas formas de relación familiar y social; y necesita concepciones distintas sobre la democracia intrafamiliar, que es donde empieza la democracia o la inequidad.

El avance y la superación de la situación actual requieren sentar las bases y dar los pasos indispensables para que las mujeres accedan al poder y tomen decisiones conscientes para diseñar sociedades con rostro más humano. Decisiones que impliquen incorporar en los avances, conceptuales y prácticos de la democracia, la vertiente social que asegure respuesta a las necesidades expresadas por las mayorías; atención a los grupos más vulnerables y desprotegidos; acción política que honre el compromiso social.

Sí, a las mujeres nos importa y nos afecta la política en su expresión de organización pública, de sistema de partidos, de desarrollo electoral, de claridad en la oferta y congruencia en las acciones de quienes ocupan los puestos públicos. Sí, a las mujeres nos atañe que el sistema democrático esté basado en estructuras jurídicas que garanticen libertades y derechos a todos los individuos, sin distinción del sexo,

raza o credo, con la sola restricción del respeto a los demás y el cuidado del bienestar colectivo. Sí, a las mujeres nos preocupa que la democracia considere un régimen político sustentado en la ley, decidido por voluntad de la mayoría, instituido para beneficio del pueblo y que asegure libertad de creencia, de expresión y asociación, así como convivencia armónica en un marco de tolerancia dentro del derecho.

Y todo ello nos interesa fundamentalmente porque las decisiones asumidas, democráticamente, en el ámbito de lo político, repercuten en la perservación de la paz, en la seguridad y el desarrollo equitativo. Por eso nos importa también impulsar con energía y decisión la participación creciente de mujeres, de mujeres con conciencia social y de género, de mujeres con decisión de servicio, de mujeres orientadas a la función pública, sin más límite que su propia vocación y preparación.

Por eso nos preocupa también lograr que la buena información, que el discurso y los conceptos sobre la importancia de la participación femenina en condiciones de equidad, de sus efectos sobre una mejor sociedad para el futuro de niñas y niños, de los jóvenes de ambos sexos, permee a todos los grupos y estructuras sociales y propicie, en forma continua y creciente, una mayor conciencia y solidaridad entre las propias mujeres.

Hoy es impostergable que los gobiernos tomen en cuenta las necesidades específicas y el punto de vista de las mujeres para diseñar o rediseñar las políticas públicas. Es insoslayable revisar la legislación, y las normas y procedimientos operativos para aplicarla, con un enfoque donde se reconozca la desventaja y la discriminación hacia las mujeres. Es por demás pertinente que se atienda la especificidad, dentro de la igualdad legal, de la situación de las mujeres en el ámbito de la impartición de justicia. Y es también imprescindible que la voluntad política por la equidad se exprese en decisiones que claramente alienten la participación femenina en esferas decisorias en todos esos campos.

Igualmente, los partidos tendrán que hacer explícita su convicción democrática, referida a la participación de la mitad de la población. Eso significa expresarla no sólo en sus plataformas electorales, sino en la presencia cotidiana y equitativa de mujeres en puestos partidarios de importancia, en la incorporación de demandas y reivindicaciones femeninas en sus documentos básicos, en el impulso a organizaciones de mujeres, en la difusión de discursos e imágenes que afirmen su presencia positiva y, desde luego, en mayor número de postulaciones para cargos de elección popular.

El papel de organizaciones civiles y no gubernamentales en la formulación de requerimientos y demandas, en la propuesta de acciones, y en la orientación y capacitación sobre cuestiones de género, resulta cada vez más relevante. La sensibilización social que logren, el impulso que den a las organizaciones de mujeres, y la influencia que ejerzan sobre el mensaje que transmitan los medios de comunicación, prodrían tener a futuro mayor impacto y consistencia.

En cuanto a la academia, el hecho de que se promueva la discusión, el intercambio de experiencias, la información sobre metodología, filosofía y prácticas para propiciar una mayor participación de las mujeres es, sin duda, útil. Conviene para impulsar nuevos avances en distintos ámbitos del conocimiento y aportar elementos para quienes tienen responsabilidades públicas.

Las actividades académicas deberán contribuir no sólo a un mejor entendimiento del fenómeno, sino a estimular el avance de propuestas prácticas, el diseño de currícula y la estructuración de indicadores específicos y efectivos para realizar análisis, programas y evaluaciones con enfoque de género.

Por último, quiero referirme a la cuestión relativa precisamente al enfoque de género en el diseño y aplicación de políticas públicas. Lo haré comentando la decisión reciente que refleja el reconocimiento de la importancia que tiene la presencia y la aportación de las mujeres para lograr la equidad social y el desarrollo, así como para seguir impulsando el avance del proceso democrático en México.

Tal decisión se refiere a la elaboración del Programa Nacional de la Mujer 1995-2000, denominado Alianza para la Igualdad, que por su trascendencia y por ser el primero en este tema en nuestra país, fue presentado por el presidente de la República, Dr. Ernesto Zedillo. En el documento se propone realizar una planeación con enfoque de género, y formular las políticas públicas atendiendo a las necesidades diferenciales y a los impactos específicos sobre la mujer, tanto en el proceso legislativo como en la ejecución de dichas políticas.

El Programa tiene un carácter multisectorial y contempla la coordinación y concertación de acciones no sólo entre entidades gubernamentales a nivel federal y estatal, sino con los sectores sociales, académicos y no gubernamentales, así como privados. Asimismo, considera la importancia de la colaboración con organismos internacionales de acción en favor de la mujer. En este contexto, cabe resaltar que el Programa considera y atiende básicamente los temas que son materia de la Plataforma de Acción y la Declaración Política acordadas en la IV Conferencia Mundial sobre la Mujer, celebrada en China en 1995.

El Programa reconoce la desigualdad prevaleciente y la discriminación contra la mujer y postula estrategia y acciones para eliminar las causas y avanzar a una situación de equidad que, por cierto, incluye la participación de las mujeres en la toma de decisiones. Detrás de esta visión está la idea de dar atención preferente a las niñas y a las mujeres en capítulos fundamentales de educación, salud, combate a la pobreza, actividades productivas, acceso a recursos e información y protección plena de sus derechos humanos.

El documento, integrado con la colaboración y puntos de vista de diversos sectores sociales, requiere para su efectiva aplicación y la obtención de resultados, del involucramiento y trabajo efectivo de esos mismos sectores. Es indispensable que se especifiquen sus acciones y se asegure cómo ponerlas en práctica en forma congruente y sostenida. Exigirá recursos y difusión sobre su contenido y alcances. Necesitará la ratificación y la continuidad de esa voluntad política que alentó su formulación y que deberá reflejarse en la práctica cotidiana de la toma de decisiones consecuentes.

El enriquecimiento y el logro de crecientes efectos positivos del Programa sobre la situación de las mujeres en México en mucho dependerá también del apoyo, las propuestas, el esfuerzo, la evaluación y la exigencia de las propias mujeres.

El Programa es hoy una oportunidad para las mujeres de México. Llevarlo a la práctica entraña un gran reto social. Asegurar buenos resultados constituye un desafío para quienes estamos comprometidas y comprometidos con el avance democrático y la justicia social.

Opening and Welcoming Remarks

Peter M. Ward
Director of the Mexican Center
University of Texas at Austin

Senadoras, Diputadas, Cónsul General de Mexico Ing. Roberto Gamboa Mascareñas, Distinguished Out-of-town-Guests, Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Dr. Sheldon Ekland Olson, Colleagues and Friends. On behalf of the Mexican Center of the Institute of Latin American Studies, it is my pleasure to welcome you to the University of Texas. I am Director of the Mexican Center of the Institute of Latin American Studies, which is responsible for mounting this, the second International conference on Women in Mexican Politics, focusing this year upon issues of women's participation and affirmative action. In a few moments, Dr. Victoria Rodríguez, the organizer of the conference program, will tell you more about the structure of the meeting, and how it develops upon last year's very successful conference at which many of you were also present. This is perhaps the appropriate moment for me to congratulate Dr. Rodríguez for having brought such a distinguished group of academics and women from all walks of political life here to Austin for this conference. I hope that you will take the opportunity to review the bio pictures of many of the people participating in this meeting. You will see what a stellar group this is; there are not many women in Mexican politics who are not here and who should be here. And most of those that are not, have sent their apologies and regrets that they are unable to attend. I suspect that when they read the newspapers and see the report on your deliberations, then they will regret it even more!

On behalf of the faculty and students of this University, may I say how much we appreciate that you have given up your time to come to Austin in order to share with us your thoughts and ideas. In traveling to Austin, many of you may have asked yourselves: "Why am I doing this? Why am I going to Austin, Texas, to participate in a Congress about Women in Mexican Politics? Well, may I offer you three good reasons why it is perfectly appropriate that you should be here in Austin today? First, to have an opportunity to build upon, and to participate in, what is in many respects a follow-up conference to last year's meeting. Some of you attended that meeting, and will recall the very real progress that was made in beginning to address questions of women's unequal representation in political life, and about ways in which the principal political parties might seek to redress those imbalances and to reach out to the majority electoral and population constituency-women. This is, therefore, an opportunity to take those deliberations further, representing as it does a more focused, a more representative, and a more highly represented meeting (in political terms of rank).

Secondly, you have come to the largest campus of Mexicanist scholars anywhere in the world outside of Mexico itself. There are no less than 55 faculty whose principal research interests focus upon Mexico or upon U.S.-Mexico relations-naturally spread across a variety of disciplines and many major research foci. This large faculty draws-in and stimulates research and teaching, and provides for a large critical mass that allows this University to offer international leadership in Mexican studies, research, and in sensitizing the American public about Mexico's culture and about its development process. The Benson Latin American Library Collection and the Institute of Latin American Studies are recognized as being the foremost ranking institutions of their kind in the country, and probably in the world. Our ongoing

bilateral relations with Mexican institutions, together with the regular presence of academics and practitioners from Mexico at conferences such as this one, provides an important stimulus to the advancement of Mexican studies at this University and in the United States at large.

Thirdly, and I think that many of you would agree-indeed many of you said this to me yesterday-that a meeting of this nature would be very difficult to mount in Mexico, bringing together as it does academics from different intellectual traditions and institutions, and particularly senior politicians from each of the principal political parties. When I am in Mexico, people often say to me that one of the most exciting aspects of meeting here in Austin is that it provides a neutral space in which political imperatives may be broached without consideration of political or academic institutional rivalries. For two days, at least, one doesn't have to worry about conflicting schedules, about important phone calls to place. One doesn't even have to be overly concerned about the press or about scoring political points that will make tomorrow's headlines. This doesn't mean, of course, that we will automatically agree with each others' intellectual arguments. Nor that politicians will "kiss and make up" and become friends! But it does provide a forum in which we may discuss those differences openly and at length. Where there is common ground then we may explore the possibilities for consensus. Yesterday, Senator Moreno outlined in a very nonpartisan way what she considered to be the principal gendered areas of societal injustice and inequality, together with some of the frontiers where greater attention needs to be placed in affirmative action and democratic change if gender based inequalities (in Mexico and abroad) are to be overcome. The challenge to exercise the leadership for change is largely in the hands of women in this room. What we hope that we can provide you by meeting here at UT, is an opportunity to discuss the optimum ways to meet those challenges. And if nothing else, we will at least leave here knowing better what the other "side" thinks, and what are the areas of possible consensus and cross-party action.

Three good reasons-and if you weren't already convinced that you had acted wisely in giving up your time and often contributing your own resources in order to be here, then I hope this little homily may have helped.

Finally, I should like to recognize one or two people that have made this conference possible. Specifically, I should like to thank those institutions which have supported us financially and which are recognized on the conference program-the Ford Foundation (Mexico City); the Institute of Latin American Studies; the LBJ School of Public Affairs and its Dean Max Sherman; the Dean of the College of Liberal Arts, Dr. Sheldon Ekland-Olson. I also wish to acknowledge the support of the staff of the Mexican Center for taking care of the logistics of mounting this conference, particularly Ms. Betty Padilla, who just four weeks ago stepped into the breach at short notice in order to take over the organizational aspects. My thanks to Dr. Rodríguez for developing the concept and design of this meeting, and to the graduate members of her Women in Mexican Politics Seminar Group for all of their hard work in bringing us all together today. And thank you all, for coming. As we say here in the United States-Enjoy!

Introductory Remarks

Victoria Rodríguez

Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs
University of Texas at Austin

Welcome once again to Austin, to the University, and of course, to this Conference. It is indeed a privilege for us to have such a distinguished group of guests from both academia and from women in different walks of political life in Mexico gathered here.

Throughout the last couple of years I have come to know you and feel that I have established solid and long-term bonds with many of you. While at a personal level many of these relationships have developed into friendship, at a professional level they have led to meetings such as this taking place today.

As many of you know, since some were active participants, this conference arises out of a research project conducted under my direction here at the LBJ School during the last two academic years. I have been very fortunate in conducting this research to count with the able and committed assistance of a wonderful research teamÑmy students. So, when I speak about "we" and about "our" research, I am referring to them, and I wish to take this opportunity to publicly acknowledge their contributions.

The objective of the project is to analyze the various ways in which women participate in the Mexican political system and contribute to shape Mexico's contemporary political scene by looking at women in different political arenas: elected positions, appointed positions, grassroots leaders, voters, feminists, wives of politicians, union leaders, etc. The analysis includes women from the various political parties as well as from different parts of the country and from different levels of government (federal, state, local). Thus, the group that informs the analysis is balanced along regional lines, party affiliation, and level of positions occupied. This truly representative sample allows us to draw broader generalizations pertaining to the role of women in Mexican politics and political life.

In January through April of 1995, various teams of my students set out to conduct in-depth interviews with all these women from different walks of political life in Mexico. Four teams of five to six students worked at different times in Mexico City, and additional teams went to different parts of Oaxaca, Guanajuato, Nuevo León and Chihuahua. In addition to conducting the interviews, some fieldwork was conducted by "shadowing" female Mexican politicians during some of their regular activities. Although due to time constraints we could not conduct as much "shadowing" as desirable, the general objective was that each student spend sufficient time with the woman selected to have lengthy conversations with her and to observe her working and personal lives on a day-to-day basis. In total, the sample consisted of slightly over eighty women, and the average duration of each interview was between four and five hours.

For the purposes of managing and analyzing the information collected, the analysis focused upon five principal categories: 1) the background and political history of these women; 2) the public (and self) image projected by them; 3) their participation in the electoral process, either as voters or candidates; 4) the official (and unofficial) organizational discourse on and about women; and 5) the principal agenda issues for the present and the immediate future.

That research project led to the Conference of last year, where we also presented some of the principal findings. As many of you who were here will surely recall, last year's meeting stimulated vigorous discussion and debate on a variety of issues, but none was more hotly debated from the very beginning than the one of Affirmative Action and "quotas". Because that concern was discussed in other meetings that materialized in different ways, the desirability of meeting in a large forum to further analyze the topic led me to design the organization of this Conference around that particular issue. The additional focus on local and regional participation also resulted from last year's discussions and from my own research, given that women often play a more active and critical role at the local and regional level than they do in Mexico City alone.

I wish to re-emphasize the relevance of meeting in a neutral forum for all, which allows for an open and candid exchange of ideas not only between academics, but between women from various political backgrounds and arenas of activity. This academic, neutral forum also provides the opportunity for some of you to meet at all, given that you would not be likely to do so in your home country. I feel privileged to be able to facilitate this, and very much look forward to the discussions that will ensue in the next two days.

Given that we have a very full program, I must ask that all of you be respectful in your interventions and keep to the time allotted. That is the only way in which we can create sufficient time for discussion, debate, and to take questions from the floor. All the presentations and discussion will be compiled in a Conference Memoria, which will be circulated to all of you in mid-May.

Once again welcome. It is a great pleasure and privilege to have you with us, and I personally thank you for your time, your interest, and your commitment to advancing the role that women will increasingly play in the political life of contemporary Mexico.

Mexican WomenÕs Inclusion into Political Life:
A Latin American Perspective

Nikki Craske
QueenÕs University, Belfast

In this paper the experience of Mexican women is contrasted with that of other women in the region, particularly in Chile and Argentina. I argue that it is difficult to discern one pattern or model which has predominated across the region, or that one set of strategies is superior to another in promoting women as political actors and for recognizing women's multiple expressions of political commitment. However, we can detect certain groups of strategies which have been employed that rely to different degrees on the actions of the State, political parties, feminists, grassroots women activists, and outside organizations. There are, of course, also cultural considerations which account for some of the distinctions across the region: the character and penetration of the Catholic Church, immigration patterns, different ethnicities and, of course, the military. A parallel argument put forward is that the 1990s have represented a period of defense and retreat on the part of women and their political gains; the popular protest organizations, which gave a new prominence to women's political involvement, have been under extreme pressure as the political terrain has shifted over the past ten years, particularly in those countries which have experienced a transition to civilian rule. There are many reasons for this retreat: there is a nervousness about any kind of popular action which might be construed as destabilizing; the l980s and l99Os has seen the worst economic crisis since the 1930s; there is also a ÒbacklashÓ against feminism and a perceived emphasis on women's issues. There have also been changes at the discursive level; the social movements of the l970s and l980s led to an erosion of the public-private divide and to other distinctions such as the political-social, but these are re-emerging in the l990s with an impact on women's political participation. I suggest one dichotomy which has not been questioned sufficiently in the Latin American context is the left-right classification, which marginalizes many women's issues that are not political in this sense.

Although there are a number of factors which distinguish Mexico-Ñthe absence of military intervention, a hegemonic party system, a revolutionary history absorbed into popular culture, continuing problems of political legitimacyÑit shares many similarities in the levels and types of female political involvement with its neighbors. There are also similarities in the ways in which women have been perceived as political actors: conservatives influenced by the Church, with motherhood constructed as the predominant political identity and apolitical. While some of these perceptions may seem contradictory, it is of little consequence to those who adopt them. These characterizations constrained women's political activity, but during the period of enhanced popular protest they formed the basis of many women's collective action, particularly around the "apolitical" role of motherhood. The degree to which women have maintained their political visibility into the 1990s depends on a number of factors which will be explored here: the relationship between political parties and grassroots organizations, the exchange between feminists and womenÕs organizations, the role of female political elites, and the governmentsÕ concern for international appearance of "modernity". These have not just arisen over the past decades of widespread collective action, but reflect a greater history of intervention and practices of political containment in all countries. With the current narrowing of political spaces, women have to apply

pressure from all sides to consolidate the gains made and to make future changes.

In analyzing women and politics in the region, it is important to evaluate the political conditions prevalent in a country before advocating policies, and there needs to be a consideration of what we are trying to achieve; for some countries the goal appears to be increasing the number of women representatives within electoral politics, while others concentrate their activities on developing women-friendly policies directed to the female population (and voters), with less attention paid to increasing the quantity of women in decision-making positions. Mexico, to date, has tended to less interventionist strategies on the "women question", neither employing quotas nor women's ministries, and there are only limited women-friendly policies. However, in terms of numbers of women representatives, Mexico is currently in a better position than most of its neighbors, despite the late extension of franchise.

The paper offers an historical perspective which analyzes how well Mexican women have fared in comparison with their neighbors in achieving recognition in the political arena. This is followed by a discussion of the role of government in promoting women's status through women's ministries, quota laws, and signing the UN CEDAW. The final section discusses the various strategies and tactics open to women. Although Mexican women have better representation in formal politics than the majority of their neighbors, despite less institutional support through quotas and womenÕs ministries, there is still a problem with conceptualizations of ÒfeminismÓ, reflected in some countries in the region. Despite MexicoÕs reasonable record, even in comparison with many northern liberal democracies, there is still much to be done.

Women and the National Security Arena: Comparative Perspectives

Judith Gentleman

U.S. Air War College and University of New Hampshire

The foreign policy, national security and defense policy arenas have seen little participation by women. Despite the well known cases of the odd prime minister or president...Benazir Bhutto, Margaret Thatcher and Golda Meir come immediately to mind...women have been largely ostracized from the national security arena. Feminist theorists would sustain that this is hardly surprising, given that they argue that the gendered nature of the theory has governed both the theory and practice of international relations. Discussions of security and cooperation have been dominated by the debate between the Realist and Idealist camps, both of which have been based upon a gender-driven model of interstate conflict, as opposed to a model of interest aggregation, cooperation, and compromise. International relations theory and practice are said to have been developed in highly exclusionary spaces where the participation of women has been seen as wholly inappropriate. Feminist theorists have also argued that international society has been governed by a social construction of masculinized militarism. In the Latin American region, one might point to the recent Peru-Ecuador war as a case of interstate conflict driven by such underlying subtext, resulting in little more than a consequent escalation of a new arms race in the Andean region.

Recently, two organizations have been established to address the absence of women in international security affairs and to provide support to those women who have moved into the arena. These organizations are Women in Global Security (founded in Russia), and the allied organization Women in International Affairs, now counting 300 members.

To the extent that women have pursued interests in the arena of peace and war it has tended to be within various peace groups or human rights organizations. Some would argue that this has led to the marginalization of women from the central arena of national security decisionmaking, defense policy and military policy.

Some feminist theorists have argued that women might have a salutary impact upon the course of international relations because of their "natural peacefulness," and their disposition to prefer negotiation and conciliation and to avoid conflict. This may well be a cultural construct and we are not able to dispose of this matter at the moment. Indeed, barrels of ink have been spilled on this issue. At a minimum we cannot know what their impact might be because they have simply been absent and fundamentally, their interests are at stake. Women too count among their interests: peace and war, the distribution of scarce societal resources, personal security, economic well-being, conscription, representation in all policy arenas, civilian control of the military, and the successful transition to democracy.

The problem of women's exclusion is particularly acute in the military sector, and Mexico is no

exception. Two recent experiences in South America are emblematic of the problems that confront many countries:

CASE 1: When visiting a superior war college in country X, upon asking if civilians in attendance included any women, the host officer appeared shocked by the question and retorted "No, there are no women here! This is a war college!"

CASE 2: Upon inquiring of a junior female officer as to whether she encountered problems in terms of equal treatment, she replied, "No, because women are not equal."

For Mexico, the challenge of constructing a new model of civilian control over national security policy to include the input of newly mobilized groups is imminent. Clearly, there are few in the civilian arena who are trained and prepared to cooperate with military leaders in shaping priorities, budgets, doctrine or policy for the military and security forces generally. In Mexico, the civilian/military divide is quite stark. Roderic Camp's research has shown that only fourteen per cent of political elites have military careers or any kind of military experience. This small universe, in turn, is exclusively male. Indeed, in his recent study of the Mexican military, Generals in the Palacio, Camp did not even include the topic women in the otherwise elaborate index to the book, so absent were they from the terrain. For most politically ambitious Mexicans, political aspirations and a military career are seen as all but incompatible. Traditionally, the effects of this arrangement have been seen as positive as the military has remained out of politics. However, several recent developments have raised new questions about the viability of the old arrangements. Indeed, some would argue that the isolation of the military and the difficulty of holding the military accountable given the limited exposure of civilians to military issues, raise real concerns about civilian control of the military, the vulnerability of a democratic transition and prospects for newly mobilized groups such as women to have any chance to influence this sector.

In the 1980s and 1990s, several developments eroded the traditional civil-military relationship. The modernization of the military in the 1980s led to the establishment of the Colegio de Defensa Nacional, an institution devoted to advanced security studies, opening the door to a movement away from traditional defense doctrine to a national security orientation. The 1990s saw the estrangement of the civilian and military sectors over the Chiapas uprising, as well as the growth of the importance of both the Secretariat of National Defense and the presidency in defense and internal security, at the expense of the Secretariat of Gobernación. Finally, the tendency toward an increasing militarization of internal security and the prospect of the development of new regional military relationships suggest the need to construct a new framework, within which both civilian control and women's representation in security matters may be assured.

Feminización del poder: El reto en Argentina

Beatriz Padilla
University of Texas at Austin

El presente trabajo pretende sintetizar los últimos avances en cuanto a la participación femenina en el poder en Argentina. Los cambios institucionales han sido muchos: la reforma de la Constitución Nacional en 1994, la sanción de la Ley de Cupos en 1991 y su posterior reglamentación en 1993, la creación del Consejo Nacional de la Mujer en 1991, la formación de multipartidarias a nivel local como estrategia de las mujeres para imponer el cumplimiento y respeto de la ley, entre otros.

Como los fenómenos sociales son consecuencia de hechos anteriores que se concadenan y aparecen sintetizados en la realidad del hoy, la ponencia se organiza del siguiente modo:

- Breve referencia histórica de la presencia de la mujer en la historia desde la independencia hasta la actualidad, incluyendo el factor de las irrupciones militares

- Ley de Cupos: nivel nacional y local

- Otras medidas desde el Poder Ejecutivo

- Históricamente el rol de la mujer en Argentina fue más bien tradicional. Varios factores deben tenerse en cuenta en el análisis. La constante irrupción de los gobiernos de facto en la vida institucional argentina ayudó a delinear una conducta de semi-exclusión de la mujer en la política; la exclusión fue abierta en los períodos de gobierno militar y por inercia en los esporádicos periodos democráticos. En 1947 se reconoce a la mujer como ciudadana, y por primera vez puede elegir y ser elegida. En esa época de gobierno peronista la participación de la mujer era alta, alrededor del 30%, y se privilegia la política social y hacia la familia.

  En los años sesentas, se produce una gran politización de la sociedad que se prolonga y hace efervecencia durante los setentas. El cuestionamiento social y político terminará con la "guerra sucia" y el Proceso de Reorganización Nacional. Sucede la desaparición y asesinatos de activistas. Las mujeres, más conocidas como"Madres de la Plaza de Mayo" responden ante la paralización de la sociedad, reclaman por los hijos y nietos perdidos, convirtiéndose por mucho tiempo en la única oposición al gobierno. El regreso a la democracia en 1983 se produce sin mayores cambios en cuanto a políticas y consideración de género. Durante el gobierno de Alfonsín se sancionan la ley de divorcio y de patria potesdad compartida.

  Menem sólo incluirá el tema de la Mujer en la agenda a partir de 1991, dos años después de comenzar su primer mandato. La ley 24012 (de cupos) modifica el Código Nacional Electoral de la República Argentina. Ella obliga a los partidos políticos a presentar listas de candidatos con un mínimo de 30% (piso) de mujeres con posibilidades de ser electas. La lista que no cumpla dicho requisito no será oficializada. El decreto reglamentario 379/93 determina que las mujeres que

formen parte de las listas no pueden ser relegadas a los últimos puestos, ya que el 30% representa la posibilidad de ser elegida; para asegurar la participación el decreto introduce un cuadro donde especifica la cantidad mínima de mujeres en la renovación de los cargos legislativos. Desde la aplicación de la ley nacional 24012, la participación de la mujer ha aumentado de alrededor del 5% a un 27% aproximadamente.

La ley tiene jurisdicción en las elecciones nacionales, pero las provincias deben adherirse a ella si es que será aplicada a nivel local. Las estrategias adoptadas por las provincias varía en cada caso. En Mendoza se logró convocar a todos los sectores femeninos de los distintos partidos políticos, quienes acordaron, hicieron lobby y obligaron su aplicación. En Tucumán, los partidos intentaron aplicar otro sistema, pero la corte de justicia falló a favor de la aplicación de la ley de cupos. En la Capital Federal, donde por ser territorio nacional debe respetarse la ley nacional, investigaciones y entrevistas realizadas con las candidatas muestran que la real participación de la mujer en las decisiones sobre las listas fue mínima. Es importante destacar que luego de las últimas elecciones de 1995, las legisladoras, nuevas y viejas, firmaron un compromiso respecto de las políticas hacia la mujer que puede ser significativo y definitorio para la condición de la mujer.

En 1992, por orden del Poder Ejecutivo se crea el Consejo Nacional de la Mujer para centralizar las políticas y temas relativos a la mujer. Luego, en 1993, el presidente decide paralelamente crear un Gabinete Femenino que asesoraría ad honorem al gobierno, con el objetivo de cristalizar el pacto de igualdad entre varones y mujeres.

Feminización del poder: el reto Como se mencionó, la sanción de la ley ha aumentado la participación de la mujer en el Congreso Nacional, legislaturas provinciales y concejos municipales. El avance en ese sentido es importante. El compromiso asumido por las legisladoras en un paso importante. El desafío para las legisladoras y las organizaciones de mujeres que han venido defendiendo el espacio de la mujer es transformar el poder. El proceso de feminización del poder es entendido como el incremento de la participación e inclusión de la mujer en los tres poderes del gobierno: legislativo, ejecutivo y judicial. Además el proceso desafía a las mujeres y sus organizaciones a buscar insertarse en las estructuras de decisiones e influencia del poder para asegurar una mayor presencia en la sociedad. Las reformas introducidas y las que vendrán necesitan coherencia; las medidas han sido contradictorias, sobre todo desde el punto de vista del ejecutivo.

Además para que el cambio pueda ser real, las medidas positivas deben ser incorporadas en la vida cotidiana de la sociedad argentina. Cambios en el sistema educativo, la cultura, y los medios de comunicación son necesarios y deben incorporar una imagen de mujer igualitaria. Si los medios de comunicación insisten en la mujer como elemento decorativo, las generaciones futuras no cambiarán. Si el sistema educativo no enseña que hombres y mujeres son iguales, sin proveer estereotipos, las generaciones futuras no cambiarán. En esta reforma casi radical y global, más mujeres son necesarias como masa crítica para generar el cambio y asegurar para las próximas generaciones una distribución más democrática del poder, donde todos los sectores y géneros

estén representados plenamente.

Session One: Summary of the Discussion and Debate

The Context: Affirmative Action Experiences Worldwide and in Latin America

Questions and Comments:
Clara Jusidman to Judith Gentleman: Do we simply want to have female participation in the military and other elites, or do we want to change these elites?

Beatriz Paredes to Judith Gentleman: The role of the Mexican military has changed since the 1980s and is stronger and more involved in what is going on in society. Therefore, how can women participate more within the military?

Mariclaire Acosta to Judith Gentleman: There is more civil control over the military in Mexico than in the rest of Latin America, so you canÕt compare the experience of other Latin American nations with that of Mexico. In addition, many cultures offer alternative models of women in decisionmaking positions of military elites, for example the Zapatistas--please comment.

Marta Lamas to Judith Gentleman: Why should women be responsible for the ÒhumanizingÓ effect on the military? In addition, automatic weapons allow women to fight equally with a man, but rape is still used as a strategy of war, both in Bosnia and Chiapas.

Linda Stevenson to Beatriz Padilla: Was the ambiguity of the Argentine law responsible for why it was not being implemented successfully outside of the national legislature? Was the law effective, or did it merely co-opt the women elected?

To Nikki Craske: To what degree do women change the political culture?

Replies by the panelist members to questions and comments from the audience:

Judith Gentleman: Further studies need to be done in order to determine if women indeed provide a positive humanizing effect, not only on the military, but also on political life. Although it is impossible to make an exact comparison between the militaries of South America and that of Mexico, it is a universally obvious point that there is something structurally wrong when women are completely excluded like they are in the militaries of countries around the world. As for the Zapatistas, the women are often relegated to the role of non-players, and participation over time often fizzles out.

Ocho características de la acción afirmativa

Marta Lamas
Debate Feminista

Un desarrollo más equitativo y democrático del conjunto de la sociedad requiere la eliminación de los tratos discriminatorios contra cualquier grupo. En el caso específico de las mujeres, la mitad de la población, se ha vuelto una necesidad impostergable de los gobiernos el diseño de políticas que toman en cuenta las condicionantes culturales, económicas y sociopolíticas que favorecen la discriminación femenina.

En un análisis relativo a medidas antidiscriminatorias, entendidas como el conjunto de programas y soluciones normativas, jurídicas y comunicativas destinadas a subsanar las desigualdades existentes y a prevenir su aparición en el futuro, distingo ocho características que ofrecen un panorama general de las experiencias de los países que he analizado. Estas son:

1. Las acciones afirmativas parten del reconocimiento de la desigualdad de género.

2. Los programas de acciones afirmativas dirigidos específicamente a las mujeres diseñados por distintos gobiernos representan una llamada de atención internacional sobre la generalizada situación de subordinación y discriminación de las mujeres.

3. La acción afirmativa es más eficaz que otras medidas para alcanzar la igualdad de oportunidades, no sólo porque logra una nivelación entre los sexos sino porque desemboca en el bien común, al ser una medida que genera mayor justicia social.

4. El futuro de la acción afirmativa se perfila como un manejo equitativo de la diversidad.

5. Las acciones afirmativas deben ser parte de un plan integral.

6. Los programas de acciones afirmativas reconocen los obstáculos estructurales y no depositan la posibilidad de un cambio en la buena voluntad de las personas.

7. El objectivo de las acciones afirmativas debe ser eliminar un desequilibrio evidente, por lo que deben ser medidas temporales.

8. Los programas de acción afirmativa se dirigen a toda la sociedad y también benefician a los hombres.

Conclusión: La aspiración igualitaria, profundamente democrática, se perfila en la construcción de un orden social que favorezca el desarrollo de las capacidades y talentos de las personas, sin importar si tienen cuerpo de mujer o de hombre. Para ello hay que construir un piso de igualdad básica, que haga accesibles las mismas oportunidades de desarrollo humano a los dos sexos. De eso trata la acción

afirmativa.

Generar fuerza política real: Un acuerdo entre mujeres

Laura Carrera

INSAME-DIF

Algunos temas que me gustaría dejar planteados, y que han sido objeto de múltiples discusiones entre nosotras, pero que aún no hemos profundizado--creo que existe un cierto temor--es el tema del liderazgo, la representatividad y el de las alianzas. Esto tiene que tener como premisa la discusión del qué queremos y del cómo hacerlo. Claro, yo estoy dando por sentado que queremos cambios en nuestro país y como dije al principio, que a pesar de nuestras diferencias estoy segura que tenemos cosas que nos unen en nuestra diversidad. Estoy consciente de las reticencias de las dirigentes y representantes de los partidos; sin embargo, creo que en los últimos añosÑy ello forma parte de nuestro nuevo discursoÑhemos dicho que las mujeres hacemos políticaÑy debemos hacer políticaÑdesde la perspectiva de género. Hemos dicho también que cuerpo de mujer no implica trabajar en la perspectiva de género, sin embargo, aún no hemos podido definir claramente qué significa el hacer politica desde esa perspectiva.

Reiteradamente hemos dicho que las mujeres introducimos temas, proponemos tratamientos distintos, consideramos imprescindible la incorporación de visiones diferentes acerca de la política y del ejercicio del poder, y exigimos que se modifiquen mecanismos, prácticas y precedimientos. Pero aún falta dar contenido real a esta Òvisión diferenteÓ. ÀQué es eso de hacer política desde la diferencia? ÀCómo se construye y consolida esa masa crítica de mujeres para generar el cambio?

Creo que uno de los temas que deberemos en el futuro discutir es el problema de la no explicitación de la representatividad. Como dijo Sonia Montaño en el Encuentro Latinoamericano, Òel movimiento social de mujeres ha funcionado en una lógica de auto representación.Ó En otras palabras, la lógica de funcionamiento del movimiento de mujeres ha estado basada en la idea de Ònadie me representa, yo me represento a mí misma.Ó Sin embargo, cuando alguna de las que participan en el movimiento ejerce alguna función pública, uno de los conflictos que siempre aparece es "a quién representa.Ó Entonces, hay una relación paradójica entre demandarle que nos represente pero en el fondo no reconocer que lo haga, y eso es quizás también un fenómeno que se aplica a otras relaciones de poder en la esfera pública.

ÀCómo resolver entonces el asunto de la representatividad y el tema de las alianzas políticas? ÀCómo descubrir los puntos de encuentro dejando a un lado los de desencuentro? ÀCómo hacer del principio de autonomía un principio de análisis crítico, pero no un bloqueo de las relaciones políticas? Hemos demandado democratización al interior de los partidos, pero ÀCómo democratizar los grupos que pertenecen a la sociedad civil? ÀCómo lograr la construcción de nuevos mecanismos de articulación política entre mujeres, venciendo la terrible resistencia del movimiento al reconocimiento de autoridad en otras mujeres? ÀQué tipo de crítica hay que hacer acerca de nuestra práctica política? ÀCómo potenciar la eficacia de las alianzas posibles?

Como dije...sólo he querido reflexionar en voz alta y provocar.

Mostrar que en política no nos asumimos, al menos no todas, como representantes de grupos amplios de mujeres...

Podemos todas aquí reunidas, este grupo plural de mujeres, generar, uniéndonos en nuestra diversidad, una fuerza real... que tenga incidencia.

Y si es así, y si las acciones afirmativas son eficaces, qué acciones afirmativas tendríamos que acordar y empujar entre nosotras, en una gran alianza para las mujeres y por México.

Política feminista en el contexto mexicano actual:
Estrategias y viabilidades

Teresa Incháustegui
Alicia Martínez
FLACSO

El artículo propone que las estrategias de Acciones Positivas impulsadas, a partir de los noventa, por el movimiento feminista y Amplio de Mujeres han sido limitadas para:

1) asegurar la formación de una masa crítica estable de mujeres en los ámbitos de decisión de partidos, parlamentos y gobiernos; y,

2) generar un sujeto político femenino y feminista que estructure internamente los grupos y sectores del movimiento amplio de mujeres y externamente promueva la articulación con mujeres políticas y funcionarias. De modo que sea capaz de integrar las demandas feministas a las instituciones y de promover estrategias que vinculen la acción y el proyecto del movimiento en diferentes tiempos (corto, medio y largo plazo) y en los diversos ámbitos (social, político y cultural) de la práctica feminista.

Se evalúa, en un primera parte, la debilidad de las estrategias de acciones afirmativas a la luz de dos hipótesis.

La primera relacionada con el carácter fluctuante y coyuntural que ha marcado el modo y ritmo de integración de las mujeres en puestos políticos. Situación que no ha permitido generar en México un umbral histórico minimo de integración de las mujeres al poder político, aún cuando estamos a más de cuarenta años de haber obtenido la ciudadanía femenina y con veinticinco de movimiento feminista.

La segunda hipótesis se refiere a que la superación de la baja y fluctuante integración de la mujer al poder político puede resolverse, sólo relativamente, a partir de cuotas para mujeres. Pero una acción más definitiva exige abordar el problema de fondo. Es decir, admitir la ausencia de una estructura de relaciones sólidas, organizadas y estables entre los grupos y sectores del movimiento, los partidos, los marcos institucionales de formación de la representación política (sistema electoral y sistema parlamentario) y los ámbitos de decisión sobre las políticas. Una estructuración del sujeto femenino de este tipo podría sostener los cambios que remuevan estructuralmente los filtros institucionales y contextuales discriminatorios hacia las mujeres que obstaculizan o desvían la integración fluida y permanente de las muieres en la política.

Una amplia y larga tarea de reformas legales e innovaciones de las bases institucionales de partidos y gobierno, así como de los supuestos que ordenan la cultura genérica en el país, sería su horizonte de acción.

Las Acciones Afirmativas aseguran un cierto margen de presencia femenina en cargos directivos de

partidos y en promociones electorales, pero no resuelven el problema de la consistencia estratégica entre acción y proyecto. Y esto porque ante la ausencia de una articulación política de las mujeres del movimiento y de los partidos, el "llenado" de la cuota ha quedado sujeto a la lógica interna de los partidos, predominando un reparto corporativo en el PRI y de facciones políticas en el PRD que apoya a las mujeres leales a sus intereses como grupos más que en función de la representación de intereses de las mujeres.

La vinculación entre mujeres del movimiento y políticas ha sido circunstancial y acotada. La falta de coordinación de más largo alcance despoja de efecto político eficaz y transformador la presencia de más mujeres en cargos de elección y decisión politica.

Esta relación se presenta algunas veces como "desinterés", producto de indiferencia o ignorancia, de las políticas respecto de la demandas de organizaciones feministas y de mujeres. En otros casos las relaciones se limitan a nexos personales y esporádicos, que si bien son útiles en determinadas coyunturas, resultan insuficientes para lograr una unidad de acción eficaz en el largo plazo.

Lo que, en suma, es un desincentivo para que el electorado femenino, las organizaciones de mujeres y el movimiento feminista impulsen carreras políticas de sus congéneres. Hecho que afecta, en consecuencia, la formación de una masa crítica de mujeres indispensable para remover los obstáculos institucionales y sociales que impiden la integración de la mujer en el poder político y elevar a rango de interés general los temas de género.

Finalmente, se aborda en el artículo un análisis de las formas organizativas en que se expresa la institucionalidad del movimiento feminista actualmente. Se inicia una reflexión sobre las deficiencias que el tipo de organización prevaleciente en el movimiento genera en su capacidad de eficacia política. Problemas de representación, autoridad y liderazgos, así como de la estructura de la demanda feminista y del contenido específico de éxito político para el movimiento feminista, son sugeridos en el contexto de impulsar el debate sobre las modalidades organizativas que debería crear un movimiento como el feminista, que apuesta hoy en la actualidad mexicana a afirmar su eficacia para el cambio.

Caminando entre espinas:
Estrategias afirmativas de género en un campo de acción autoritario

María Luisa Tarrés
COLMEX

Aunque las ONGs de mujeres han tenido éxito en su afán por afirmarse como sujetos en el ámbito público, éstos tienden a llevarse a cabo a niveles sociales y culturales más que en la arena política. Si bien ello obedece a su exclusión de la vida pública o a su condición subordinada, es preciso reconocer que los intentos por generalizar sus reivindicaciones vía sistema político han sido escasos o han encontrado numerosos obstáculos.

Apoyándose en un estudio en profundidad de una muestra de diez ONGs en el país, el trabajo tratará de definir las oportunidades socio-políticas en que se han desarrollado vinculaciones con el sistema político (gobierno, Cámaras, Partidos), así como las estrategias y características de las organizaciones que han facilitado estas relaciones. Debido a que la mayoría de las organizaciones han enfrentado dificultades para generar un campo de relaciones estable o proporcio con instancias gubernamentales y partidarias, también identificarán algunos de los obstáculos que, a diversos niveles, han interferido en estas relaciones.

Posibilidades de las acciones afirmativas a partir de la percepción social de la participación política de las mujeres en México

Anna M. Fernández Poncela
UAM-Xochimilco

Las mujeres no tienen los mismos derechos y oportunidades en la participación política formal y en la formulación, aplicación, seguimiento y evaluación de las políticas públicas; sin embargo, unas y otras afectan directamente sus vidas. Los niveles de toma de decisiones y ejercicio de poder, están dominados todavía hoy sobre el planeta por hombres, a pesar de los avances sobre el ingreso de mujeres en la esfera pública que no hay que desconocer.

Como muestra un botón: en 1994 había diez mujeres que encabezaban gobierno en el mundoÑnúmero sin precedentes; 5.7% de las personas que ostentaban el puesto de ministro ese año eran mujeres, y 7.5% de los integrantes de los parlamentos también.

En los últimos años se está cobrando una sensibilidad y hasta una conciencia, inusitada hasta la fecha, sobre el tema. Los organismos internacionales y los gobiernos se están comprometiendo a poner medidas correctoras para eliminar o reducir dicha discriminación.

E1 camino señalado o las estrategias diseñadas contra la desigualdad de hombres y mujeres en el espacio políticoÑy por extensión la esfera públicaÑapuntan a la realización de campañas educativas e informativas y a la capacitación en habilidades políticas para una mayor participación electoral, por ejemplo.

Se habla de la acción afirmativa, esto es, que hombres y mujeres tengan igualdad de oportunidades para competir por cualquier puesto político. Entre dichas acciones destaca las cuotas, una modalidad que reserva a las mujeres un porcentaje de posiciones en la toma de decisiones. Se alienta, por ejemplo, a los partidos a que tengan un porcentaje determinado de mujeres representantes de sus órganos ejecutivos y en listas de candidaturas a puestos de elección popular. Dicho mecanismo que se utiliza como medio instrumental, no un fin en sí mismo, y se califica de transitorio, ha causado y causa hoy en día una gran polémica. Hay sus pros y sus contras, como el caso de Europa oriental donde al parecer las cuotas se circunscribían a una representación nominal de mujeres concretas de determinadas organizaciones oficialistas y que no tenían influencia alguna. Otras experiencias, como la de Europa occidentalÑcuyo porcentaje va del 20 al 40%Ñla muestran como eficaz en cuanto a la representación de mujeres en el legislativo, por ejemplo; de hecho se trata de algo común en Suecia, Dinamarca y Noruega, por citar casos representativos o destacados al respecto. Ya Naciones Unidas se ha puesto la meta de un 35% de mujeres en puestos del cuadro orgánico y 25% en cargos del más alto nivel.

Pero más allá o paralelamente a las estrategias y acciones afirmativas, y de las cuotas como mecanismo concreto, potencial, posible y factible, está la necesidad de valorar qué opina la población, qué percepciones y actitudes la guían, y si es cierto la sospecha o la duda de que más que la sociedad, son los

dirigentes políticos los que niegan a veces el avance de mujeres a cargos considerados de importancia en el ámbito político institucional.

Paralelamente a la revisión de la presencia numérica de mujeres en la política formal, la descripción de esta ponencia analiza el comportamiento electoral y la interpretación de ambos fenómenos.ÀConsidera la población suficiente o insuficiente al número de mujeres que acceden a cargos políticos y su posición de poder en los mismos? La respuesta a esta interrogante constituye el eje central de la presente ponencia.

El objetivo general es averiguar qué piensan hombres y mujeres de la desigual presencia e incidencia de ambos sexos en la política formal de nuestros días en México. Los objetivos específicos versan sobre la influencia del sexo a la hora de la elección de candidatos políticos para desempeñar puestos públicos, y la opinión de la gente respecto de la participación cuantitativa menos numerosa de las mujeres en la política y de su participación cualitativa también menos significativa. Para esto se cuenta con la información obtenida a través de tres secciones que forman parte de una encuesta más amplia sobre diversos temas de actualidad, realizada en la cuidad de México en el otoño de 1995.

Session Two: Summary of the Discussion and Debate

The Potential and Possibilities of Affirmative Action in Mexico

Questions and Comments:

Cecilia Loría: I believe that itÕs very difficult to determine the definition of affirmative action policies. In political terms, how are we going to receive the support of people for affirmative action programs? Affirmative action policies are compensatory and temporary and are specific to address gender discrimination. It is reform, but is not profound structural change. Laura CarreraÕs statement that we need to decide upon a common ground is important. We need to have a common proposal for affirmative action. Affirmative action, more than a national project, is a minimum level in which we can all agree upon, despite our vast differences. Despite our profound differences, we should articulate and consolidate a consensus on this point. I want us to think of affirmative action as a minimum level. LauraÕs speech provokes the question of polemics. We need to bridge the gaps between academics, NGOs, and politicians. We should discuss the idea of a parliament of women as was discussed in January in Mexico City. The women here need to meet and agree upon projects which would help all women in the next legislature. Also, we need equal opportunity, which includes affirmative action.

Consuelo Botello: I would like to clarify Laura CarreraÕs points about the PAN in reference to womenÕs access to decision making positions in the party. The PAN has been in existence for over fifty years and has always promoted the participation of all people in an egalitarian manner. This isnÕt the reality, however, because in Mexico complete equality does not exist. In the PAN, we admit and comment on the participation of individuals, not groups. We are not corporatists. Therefore, ANCIFEM has gained the participation of women. Members of ANCIFEM, although they are mostly women, have equal access to the larger party. Within the doctrine of the party, the traditional values of the Mexican woman and family are promoted. But this doesnÕt mean that the woman has to be marginalized. A woman can compete with any man.

Elsa Chaney: I would like to ask about the backlash [against women]. In my country, the project of affirmative action is far from complete. We are in the project of exporting liberal capitalism, with its subtext of the barefoot boy in the log cabin who studies by lamplight and walks to school every morning, and is able to achieve by his own efforts even though the playing field is not level. We are returning to this ideal here in our country. This is creating a tremendous backlash because we are exploiting this model. I would like to know if the panel thinks if products of affirmative action are going to be able to live in a world in which this is happening?

María Elena Chapa: I want to congratulate everybody on the intense discussion on affirmative action. To respond to Laura Carrera--the PRI has had an influence on access to power for women, and this has opened the possibility of making alliances. Within the party, weÕve had a female president, three female secretaries, and women in many other positions of power. However, independently of these statistics, access to power must translate into action.

Gloria León de Muñoz: The PAN has a coordination especially for women. The concept and stereotype of the panista women has been erroneous. We are not different, we are equal to everyone else. We women all suffer and live through the same situations. We need to provide solutions to those problems through our programs. We transmit our civic and moral values. The PANÕs programs are to promote women and men. We have different ideologies but we have the same problems, and so we need to seek a solution.

Patricia Mercado: We are ready to make alliances in order to achieve our strength. Some strands within the feminist movement is against affirmative action and argue that it is impossible to fight. The whole feminist movement is not for affirmative action. Women that are voted in to office need to work together on womenÕs issues and have them passed through the Congress. What we can achieve is affirmative action, but changing the culture and symbolism of México will take a long time. It is important that children now see women and men in positions of power. This will change the possibilities for future generations. The most effective complement of affirmative action would be that female politicians arrive to the Legislature with an agenda that promotes the advancement of women.

Josefina Chávez Rodríguez: I believe that the themes discussed here are very important. We are talking about our future, and we must support affirmative action. Our country needs affirmative action to overcome the discriminatory processes of its structure. I agree with Marta [Lamas]. With political will, it is possible to achieve affirmative action.

Roundtable Discussion:
The Potential and Possibilities of Affirmative Action in Mexico

Presentations on the Positions of Political Parties on Affirmative Action

Laura Itzel Castillo, PRD:

The issues of equality and social justice have been central to the PRD since its inception. Since 1991, the participation of any one gender cannot exceed 70% for decisionmaking positions within the party and on voting lists for the Congress. In 1993, 500 women active in the PRD from different regions of Mexico gathered to discuss an equality plan for women within the party. The PRD fosters close, supportive ties with womenÕs movements and feminist movements across Mexico. Out of 70 PRD federal diputadas, 16 are women; there are five women in the CEN of the PRD. The struggle for gender equality is difficult, but we believe in it and want to make progress toward the goal. María de los Angeles Moreno, PRI: The discussion of affirmative action is relatively new in Mexico, as it is in many other areas of the world. The more important question is not specific to affirmative action, but rather concerns how to integrate women into politics. There have been steps taken within the PRI to increase womenÕs participation and representation; while this may not constitute affirmative action, they are steps in the right direction. In the PRIÕs founding documents, the problems of social inequality in various spheres are addressed. There is a need to solve inequalities through programs, projects, and womenÕs organizations, and in addition, there needs to be stricter compliance with laws in favor of womenÕs rights. The PRI supports womenÕs political participation with their nomination and election to offices at the federal, state, and municipal levels. There have always been unstated quotas for women in terms of nominations. When the electoral reform of 1993 (COPIFE) was drawn up by the different parties, they were unable to get a quota for women put in the electoral law, but it was debated in the Congress. Affirmative action will be one of the main topics at the next PRI national assembly. Cecilia Romero, PAN: The PAN has had affirmative action for women, they just do not call it that. The PAN views its affirmative actions as being for both the men and the women of Mexico. The PAN supports solutions for Mexico from the standpoint of families, and helps women by finding solutions for the common good. Women have always participated in the party; it has a feminine section (not sector) because we donÕt want to divide the women from the men, and because we want harmony within the party. The most important piece of affirmative action within the PAN is the ÒPromoción Política de la MujerÓ which has been in place for ten years; it promotes women and considers the discrimination against them. In 1994, the women of the PAN proposed that a national committee be formed to examine womenÕs representation within the party, because they realized the current levels of representation were inadequate. The committee found that: · PAN women are underrepresented within the party and in political office, · Many women do not feel competent enough to handle decisionmaking positions, · There is a need for a womenÕs commission or ministry close to the office of the PAN president, that can develop strategies to integrate women and give them access to important positions of power, and · Analysis must be done into how Mexico compares to the rest of the world in terms of quotas and affirmative action for women within political parties. These findings of the committee have been presented to the PAN executive committee, which will define an action plan for the party. Discussants: Mariclaire Acosta, Comisión Mexicana de Defensa y Promoción de los Derechos Humanos: We must

not ignore the context in which women in Mexico live; women live in political and social uncertainty, since there is always the risk of political and social change. WeÕre now in a transition to democracy, but I have my doubts, and since 1982 there has been a high cost to Mexican society (especially to women) because of the ferocious politics. Since 1994, there have been huge increases in social protests. According to La Jornada, there were six protests a day in Mexico City--this is worrisome because it signifies that we cannot find solutions in the existing institutions. NGOs and human rights groups have noticed an increase in punishment and repression of social protests. Changes in the Constitution have taken away civil liberties; freedoms are being dismantled and the justice system is paralyzed. We live in a largely fragmented society (economically, socially, and regionally) and there is great marginalization and severe poverty for large sectors of the population. Social movements and political parties are moving in different directions, away from each other--we need to construct a more inclusive, democratic country or else our achievements will be lost. María Elena Alvarez, PAN: Machismo does exist within the PAN, but you must look at the historical context of the PAN, which is a very different party than even ten years ago. Women will still give their time to the party, even if it is not in positions of power, but their work and efforts are appreciated by the PAN. Two years ago, some of the women in the PAN proposed that we have quotas for internal party positions as a strategy to promote womenÕs participation in areas where they had not really been before, but this proposal was refused by the national council. However, some in the party are now more open to the idea. In closing, there are many points on which the parties can work together. Consuelo Botello, PAN: Quotas have been proposed in the PAN, but they have not been accepted, and there is fighting within the party about the issue. Quotas are a temporary step to achieve equality; they are necessary for womenÕs access to opportunities. However, the problem and the solution go much further than that, because quotas alone are not going to solve all the huge problems that all women in all parties face. Likewise, I admire the work of the feminist movement, but again as with the quotas, it canÕt solve all of womenÕs problems. All women need to act to give one another the same respect that men get; women tend to devalue themselves socially, politically, and economically, and this translates to and affects womenÕs promotion within society. We must also remember to consider the quality, and not just the quantity of women--we want to avoid women getting a position of power and not supporting the needs and issues of women. Rosa María Cabrera Lotfe, PRD: WomenÕs rights must not be denied--we should be able to decide what to do with our bodies and our lives. There must be a plan of action to eliminate sexual violence, discrimination against pregnant women, segregation, and to ensure womenÕs access to property and to promote sustainable development that includes women. Women in the PRD have fought alongside NGO womenÕs organizations; for example, in 1995 women from the PRD and NGOs meet to discuss action against raising the Value Added Tax. It is time to apply the accords of the Beijing Conference and make the goals real in Mexico. María Elena Chapa, PRI: We cannot leave affirmative action up to peoplesÕ good intentions. The leaders of the parties have abandoned women and obliged us to work together for womenÕs issues. Mexican society has changed, there is great apathy and disillusionment with the political system. For women to become more involved, we have to sit down and talk about what affirmative action can do for us, what doors it can open for women, and what type of affirmative action is best to allow women access to positions of power. Ana Lilia Cepeda, MLD: We are a society of great inequality, which reproduces itself--more than forty million people live in poverty in Mexico. There is the possibility of engineering a new country; some womenÕs organizations are working on reforms, but we must get past our corporatist and hierarchical culture. In addition, we must recognize our differences,

and see what we can learn from the womenÕs movement. Feminism is the heart of the womenÕs movement, because it has made us reflect, and so it is our conscience. We are sistersÑbut not twins. Gloria León de Muñoz, PAN: After hearing from the academics, the NGO women, and the women in all three parties, it is clear that we all have things in common: we all want to succeed, we are in the same boat fighting for equality and trying to find solutions to the grave problems facing Mexican women today. We will do it differently because of our different ideologies, but the common goal is that we all want to change our countryÑa link despite ideologies. The serious problems due to poverty are leading to the deterioration of the country, and the only way we can change Mexican society is if we are united. Women in politics must remember and serve the poor, and work to reduce poverty. We canÕt just have speechesÑwe must move from words to action. Ma. Guadalupe Mejía Guzmán, PAN: I feel invigorated by the things heard here at the conference. Even though we may use a different language, we are all talking about the same thing--we are all working for the common good. The reason why women aspire to high decisionmaking positions is because we want to work for the common good. ItÕs not that women intrinsically are better in the sphere of politics, but that the most successful politicians are those who act according to their own, strong convictionsÑand all of us here seem to have strong convictions. We need to find how to apply ideas of womenÕs participation into practical ways. For example, with regards to affirmative action: Is it temporary? How do we apply the principle? WhatÕs the goal? However, these doubts should not be given too much importance. Patricia Mercado, GIRE: Affirmative action is not a given, it comes from collective action, whether outside or inside the parties. Women must join together into a fight for a transition to true democracy, and women must give each other strength. We must learn to agree to disagree, and not leave the table when we do not agree. When we do not agree, we must listen to all views so that we are on the same level and can begin to speak the same language of ideas. We need to consider different, positive action proposals such as those outlined by Anna Fernández in her presentation here. Martha Lucía Micher, PRD: I was a candidate for governor of Guanajuato against two men; the PAN candidate, Vicente Fox, won in a clean, democratic election. My supporters in the campaign were men, because few women participate in politics in Guanajuato. During my campaign, women told me that they were going to support me even though I was a woman, not because I was a woman. This is important because it shows that Mexican society has a long way to go before it really can support female candidates. Training and professionalism is important for women in order for us to get into many areas; for example, wives of male political leaders are appointed to the DIF and there is an assumption that they are unqualified. I support female politicians who care about womenÕs issues and are not lazy, regardless of what party they belong to; as Laura said, the body of a woman does not guarantee that she will be concerned about womenÕs issues. Women should be in decisionmaking positions in politics, instead of just participating at low levels. Beatriz Paredes, PRI: Mexican history is a paradox: it is necessary to have elected positions, but elections should be used as a means, not as an end; that is, democracy is an instrument, not an end in and of itself. The Mexico we want is one of more democracy, individual freedoms and rights. Political parties in Mexico are in a crisis, as in the rest of the worldÑthey donÕt understand the masses. We have to have a reconstruction of the theoretical framework supporting the parties, and emphasize their original and true values. We have a crisis of participation in Mexican societyÑwe are adopting a superficial, consumer-driven ideology. There is a problem in the lack of preparation: we need political professionalism and also basic information so that we can share a feminist vision when we achieve positions of power. Our political participation must be linked to feminist ideology. Affirmative action needs to be made concrete, and one

way is through the media. If women of political parties can arrive at a consensus, improvement is possible. Ana Rosa Payán, PAN: We need to talk to the men of our parties and get them involved in promoting our causes. Mexico has many problems: unemployment, poverty, migration. Women have the responsibility to educate their sons in the home; after all, men learn their sexist attitudes growing up in their homes. Women need training and education to move ahead, and with their advancement, Mexican society as a whole will move forward. Currently, Mexican society as a whole is in crisis, not just the parties. Meetings such as these are important, but not enough--must put words into action. Lucrecia Solano Martino, Mujeres de Coahuila: Women need to help other women, and work to organize ourselves to participate in politics. For example, women in Coahuila have organized themselves and we were able to bring about important changes, such as new health clinics and centers for battered women. My organization is working on a program to teach children to exercise certain values, such as respect for one another, so that in the future they will be more likely to respect women. Women also are active in Coahuila with state-level councils and congresses. Discussion: Laura Itzel Castillo re-emphasized the need to keep open minds to all proposals that support women. María de los Angeles Moreno stated that women must train themselves to become involved and put their ideas into action. The next century will be the Òcentury of the woman,Ó she said, and women must be ready and prepared to achieve positions of power and equality. Cecilia Romero reminded the panel that although much in Mexico had been described as a Òcrisis,Ó there still are positive improvements that can be seen. Twenty years ago, no one could have said they lost in a Òclean, fair, and democratic election,Ó a reference to the comments of Martha Lucía Micher, PRD candidate for governor of Guanajuato.

Session Three: Summary of the Discussion and Debate

WomenÕs Participation in Local and Regional Political Arenas

Questions and Comments:
To Goldsmith and Chaney: I find it odd that domestic workers have a higher level of education than women as a whole in Mexico, and I wonder, considering the youth of the majority of domestic workers, can this explain the difference, because overall older women had less access to education?

Clara Jusidman to Goldsmith and Chaney: Do your studies allow for a comparison between the domestic sectors with other sectors? The average worker in Mexico receives at least one or two minimum wages. In addition, the wages of domestic workers are indeed accounted for in the GDP, as shown in the National Urban Employment Survey.

Susana Kaiser to Goldsmith and Chaney: How do women know about the household worker unions, how are they recruited, and is health care an issue?

María Luisa Tarrés to Carmen Ramos Escandón: My comments refer to participatory and progressive citizenship. Some consider such experience a prerequisite in order to participate in politics. What is the history of womenÕs citizenship in Mexico?

Cecilia Loría: What effect do womenÕs unions have on the economy and the development of opposition to female economic participation?

Patricia Mercado: My observation is that from the female perspective, unionism does not advance. Domestic workers argue about legal reform and need to realize that alliances are not enough. Individual worker identity remains necessary. Female workers also need to realize that the traditional manner of unionization needs to be revised because it does not work for women.

Replies by the panelist members to questions and comments from the audience:

Mary Goldsmith: In regards to the question about education levels, 93% of domestic workers have some education, and I used Alicia MartínezÕs book La mujer mexicana en cifras as the comparison for the education levels of the entire female population. However, no cross-analysis has been made by age groups and education. As for the question about GDP, I canÕt say at this time what the exact GDP contribution by household workers is. To the question on recruitment to unions, different media were used to publicize the unions and make women aware of their existence. Many people do not read the newspaper, and therefore the radio is very important. The data on health care and social security varies from country to country.

Elsa Chaney: To expand MaryÕs point on the GDP, the general assumption is that household workers donÕt contribute much, or their contributions are not valued.

Carmen Ramos Escandón: To respond to María Luisa Tarrés, the documents of the 1930s and Ô40s indicate that Lázaro Cárdenas used this question of citizenship as a strategy to get women the vote. Unfortunately, evidence shows that once women were conceded the vote, they disbanded or began to withdraw from increased political participation.

Teresa Carrillo: In response to Patricia MercadoÕs comments, I agree with your observation that the traditional model of unions do not work for women. This is because many women are not in factories, but at home or elsewhere in the informal sector. Garment workers are also experiencing the effects of transnational agreements. For example, when the garment workerÕs union tried to organize on a large scale, their registration was challenged under some of the laws coming out of NAFTA. This offered a lesson, that it would be difficult to organize in the large factories, as well as still difficult to work with smaller groups and businesses.

Lynn Stephen: I would also like to respond to María Luisa TarrésÕ question. There are feminist movements and NGOs in many countries. There are legal and structural changes that create space for women. It is very important that women be able to temporarily participate separate from men in order to learn how to manage the various forms of participation. Also, affirmative action is valuable, because it gives women space in positions of power in the government. NGOs and other organizations give women space. Although there is no set formula, opportunities exist for female participation.

Tools for Studying WomenÕs Participation in Social Movements

Lynn Stephen
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I have recently completed a book, titled Power From Below: Women's Grassroots Organization in Latin America, that explores six cases of women's grassroots activism in Mexico, El Salvador, Brazil and Chile. A primary aim of this book is to communicate the thoughts, ideas, experiences, and perceptions of women who have chosen to participate in collective action. A second major goal is to provide readers with an understanding of the structural conditions and ideological discourses that set the context within which women act and interpret their experience. The cases of women's activism I have been exploring include:

(1) The Mothers and Relatives of Political Prisoners, Disappeared and Assassinated of El Salvador "Monseñor Romero" (COMADRES),

(2) Women for Dignity and Life (DIGNAS) in El Salvador,

(3) The Women's Regional Council of the National Council of Urban Popular Movements (CONAMUP) in central Mexico,

(4) The Women's Council of the Union of Ejidos "Lázaro Cárdenas" in Nayarit, Mexico,

(5) The Rural Women Workers' Movement (MMTR) of southern Brazil, and

(6) The Seasonal Worker's Union of Santa María, Chile.

Many of these movements are heterogeneous in their composition and cannot be said to exclusively represent one particular constituency. They were chosen because the type of activism they represent--articulated by increasing numbers of women's organizations in Latin America--integrates a commitment to basic survival for women and their children with a challenge to women's subordination to men. Their work challenges the assumption that the issues of rape, battering, and reproductive control (for example) are divorced from women's concerns about housing, food, land, and medical care. In part the integrated nature of the demands of the movements I have studied is a result of their historical location. The emergence of a clearly articulated feminist movement in Latin America which gained strength in the 1980s was an important ideological influence in how women's demands were framed in grassroots movements. Feminism as well as dominant cultural ideologies about women's proper place in the home and family influenced the public discourses and individual interpretations of the goals, strategies and results of these movements.

What I want to talk about today at a more abstract level is how these cases pushed me to integrate political economy and culture, on the one hand, and experience and structure on the other, in order to

understand womenÕs participation in grassroots movements in Latin America. For the remainder of my time I want to focus my comments around three themes illustrated with examples primarily from Mexico.

A. How to avoid the use of dichotomies in analyzing women's participation in social movements and the cultural, political, and economic context they occur in;

B. The dangers of assumed collective identities; and,

C. Linking women's political action to larger social forces.

Gendered Citizenship: Tailoring to a Corporatist Body Politic

Teresa Carrillo
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The last chapter of my book manuscript, Gendered Unions: The Rise and Demise of the Mexican Garment Workers Movement, explores the significance of gender in the definition and manifestation of Mexican political citizenship. Stepping back from a very focused case study of the "l9th of September" Mexican Garment Workers Union in chapters two through four, this chapter advances a wider discussion of the implications of an active citizenship among female political actors who straddle a number of categorical boundaries in their political activity.

Like garment workers, many women become active in more than one type of organization or define their agendas around various identities (i.e. worker, resident, woman, consumer). They manifest a multi-dimensional political subjectivity that clashes with the Mexican corporatist structure of state-society relations. Through their political participation, women in organizations such as neighborhood associations, renters unions, some labor unions, and ad-hoc committees push the limits of a plan for mass participation and incorporation that is sectorally-defined around the formal sector of the economy.

Many politically active women fall outside the formal sector of the economy and seek alternative channels of communication to the State outside of state-organized or PRI affiliated corporatist entities. Activity among these independently organized women's groups highlights the fact that citizenship is gendered and women are fighting for more active and meaningful citizenship in Mexico. My presentation is based on this final chapter and focuses on the concept of gendered citizenship in the Mexican corporatist State.

From Bolivia to Beijing: Household Workers Organize at the Local, National, and International Levels

Mary Goldsmith
UAM-Xochimilco **Elsa Chaney**
University of Iowa

Background: Household workers form a large percentage of the female labor force in many world areas. Statistics show that in South and Central America and the Caribbean, about 20 percent of the counted female labor force works in domestic service; in many countries of the region the percentages are higher. Many are migrants of rural origin, drawn to the cities in hopes of getting a job, going to school, and sending cash to children and relatives left behind. With little education or training, these women find domestic service one of the few urban occupations readily available to them, and one that immediately offers bed and board.

Often poor women cross international boundaries, hoping to find better working conditions and pay in richer countries: small Caribbean islanders go to the U.S. Virgins, New York City, Toronto, and London; Mexicans to the western U.S.; Bolivians to Brazil and Argentina; Colombians to Venezuela; Nicaraguans to Costa Rica; Dominicans to Madrid; Filipinas to Hong Kong, Singapore, and Rome. Many are undocumented, eluding border patrols or overstaying tourist visas.

In some countries, women begin work as domestics at 12 or 14 years of age, with the largest proportion in the 15-35 years age group. However, many remain in domestic service for their entire working lives. Domestics may be considered Òtoo oldÓ to do a good day's work at 40 years of age. With limited access to other employment, without pensions, and cut off from their rural origins, they find themselves abandoned and alone.

In sum, those who engage in housework for pay are almost always poor, uneducated, and unskilled; may be noncitizens, and often are of a different race than their employers. Recent research makes clear that this is a recipe for exploitation. In countries where the system of household help is entrenched, academics, professionals, and other workers could not exercise their careers and contribute to their country's development without domestic help. Neither the patrones nor their empleadas acknowledge that domestic work contributes directly to the GNP. Yet housework -- whether carried out by the employer or by hired hands -- is depreciated. Essential domestic tasks are noted only when they remain undone, and household workers themselves may be ashamed of what they do.

These facts determine that working conditions and compensation for domestic service are almost substandard. Whatever the country, household workers tell of long hours (16- or 18-hour days are not uncommon), low pay, few days off or paid vacations; disrespect and inconsiderate treatment from family members, and often aggressive sexual advances from the men of the households in which they work.

A major obstacle to education and better jobs is the fact that many household workers become single

mothers. They may have several children by different fathers, and most likely are solely responsible for them. Sometimes an employer will permit her servant to bring one small child to the work place, or even to live in with a child, so long as it stays out of sight. With the birth of a second child, the mother almost certainly will need to live out, give up her dreams of education, and seek day work.

Toward Organization: When they get to know the city, some household workers learn how to negotiate individually for better conditions, but this is the case only for the few. Household workers are a notoriously hard group to organize. They do not have a common work place, a common management, nor the same day off. If they live out, most must devote their free time to their own families. Often employers will fire their helper if they find out about her union activity.

Bargaining for rights -- even when favorable legislation exists -- can be a formidable task in the face of an unlimited supply of poor women who want to work as domestics. Moreover, there is evidence in some countries that the economic crisis brought on by global restructuring has propelled lower middle-class women into competition for domestic work. Nevertheless, from South Africa to Hong Kong, from Singapore to Paraguay, and among Latin American and Caribbean migrants to various European countries, household workers are organizing to fight for their rights, and in some cases have been struggling to organize for decades.

In Latin America, household worker unions first appeared in Mexico and Chile. There were initiatives in the former country from the early 1920s, and by 1940, sindicatos existed in eight cities. In Chile, the first union was founded in 1926; this union would disappear, reinvent itself and reappear again; however, as the Sindicato Interempresas de Trabajadoras de Casa Particular, it has had a continuous life since 1943. There is one association in Costa Rica; there are 65 associations and unions in Brazil, and 22 in Argentina. The latter two countries and Bolivia have formed national federations.

In several countries, national federations now exist, and in 1988 household workers from 12 countries, meeting in Bogotá, founded the first continent-wide labor organization of women: the Confederación Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Trabajadoras del Hogar. The Confederation sponsored a session during the NGO Forum '95 in Beijing, where plans were made with household worker organizations from Asia, Africa, and Europe to form an international network. CONLACTRAHO currently is funding studies of household workers in ten countries of Latin America, with members of the associations doing most of the work.

Under the leadership of its new secretary general, Basilia Catari of Bolivia, the CONLACTRAHO recently wrote to 20 organizations of household workers throughout the world (most met in Beijing) to propose an exchange of information on the particular problems facing domestic workers and the varied approaches toward solutions. In the letter, Sra. Catari also asked for reactions to a proposal to address, in a worldwide campaign, one of the major issues that household workers have in common: the fact that many of their sisters, if not they personally, suffer from violence and mistreatment, most of the time from their employers.

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights, meeting in March 1996 in Geneva, addressed the issue of violence against women, and for the first time mentioned household workers, in particular the cases of two Filipinas who killed their employers in flagrante delicto. Flora Contemplación, executed in Singapore, and Sara Balabagan, whose death sentence in the United Arab Emirates was commuted, but who nevertheless was condemned to 100 lashes. In Perú, Jorge Cornejo Vásquez, the patron who raped and murdered the two Vargas Campo sisters (13 and 16 years of age), was sentenced on March 11 to only 15 years in prison, which can be reduced to 7 years for Ògood behavior.Ó He was fined 9,000 soles for each victim (about US $3,860). Apparently, the lives of little maidservants are cheap.

María Ríos Cárdenas: Early Mexican Feminist and Citizenship at a Time of Crisis, 1932-1940

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El feminismo mexicano tiene una larga historia que se remota por lo menos a fines del siglo pasado, y muchas de las cuestiones que se debaten hoy tienen antecedentes en publicaciones, revistas y voces de mujeres que en los años treintas publicaron sus opiniones, tesis y convicciones feministas. Un ejemplo sobresaliente es María Ríos Cárdenas, cuya contribución consistió en expresar, proponer y difundir los argumentos en los que ella sustenta el derecho de las mujeres a una ciudadanía igualitaria.

Ríos Cárdenas fue editora de la revista mensual Mujer, aparecida como Òperiódico independiente para la elevación intelectual y moral de la mujerÓ entre 1923 y 1926, y que sirvió de foro para la expresión y debate de los temas centrales del feminismo mexicano de aquellos años. Como organizadora, fue la fundadora y dirigente de la Confederación Femenil Mexicana, alianza política de tendencias nacionalistas que proponía una serie de programas sociales destinados al mejoramiento de la vida de las mujeres; en especial, en el lugar de trabajo promovía la promulgación de leyes proteccionistas de la mujer. También pugnó por la participación de la mujer en la administración pública basada en que las mujeres contribuían a los partidos políticos y tenían las mismas obligaciones cívicas que los hombres. En 1942 publicó La Mujer Mexicana es ciudadana, en donde propone las tesis en las que debe basarse la demanda por el voto femenino. Estos escritos, así como su experiencia como organizadora, editora y autora feminista, constituyen un primer paso en la polémica contemporánea sobre la naturaleza de la ciudadanía femenina y la efectividad de la acción afirmativa.

Ciudadanía Igualitaria El feminismo igualitarista de Ríos Cárdenas se basa en la igualdad jurídica entre hombres y mujeres. Esta tesis es el argumento central del feminismo mexicano de los años treintas, cuando se esgrime el derecho al voto como el instrumento político indispensable para promover la igualdad de derechos ciudadanos entre hombres y mujeres.

Al rechazar la diferencia sexual como un una razón válida para negar a la mujer los derechos ciudadanos, Ríos Cárdenas se inscribe en el feminismo de la igualdad que argumenta la equiparación absoluta entre individuos hombres y mujeres. Sus tesis igualitaristas se enraizan en la tradición de un liberalismo clásico, que propugna la igualdad jurídica entre los individuos. Sin embargo, ella va mas allá; al reclamar la igualdad de derechos políticos para la mujer, señala la contradicción que en la teoría liberal implica la exclusión femenina del ejercicio político.

Por lo que se refiere al liderazgo político, éste lo ejerció en la Confederación Femenil Mexicana, organización sombrilla de corte nacionalista que propició la agrupación de los diversos grupos de mujeres organizadas, más allá de las estructuras partidistas. De hecho, la organización nació en octubre de 1931 como una propuesta feminista para superar las encontradas posiciones de las mujeres miembros de los dos partidos políticos mÕas importantes del momento en México: el Partido Nacional Revolucionario y el Partido Comunista. El Primer Congreso de Obreras y Campesinas, celebrado en

octubre de ese año, permitió a Ríos Cárdenas propone una alianza feminista que superara las divisiones partidistas.

La Confederación proporcionó a Ríos Cárdenas el espacio político para reclamar la igualdad de derechos políticos. Para ella Òla mujer no usurpa profesiones ni puestos; reclama y seguirá reclamando lo que en justicia le corresponde: igualdad de derechos políticos." Por otra parte, en su revista Mujer propugnó por la reforma al Código Civil, pues en su perspectiva es a través de un ordenamiento legal más igualitario que se puede modificar la situación de la mujer.

Paralelamente, Ríos Cárdenas promovió la creación de organizaciones femeniles y programas sociales que beneficiaran a la mujer, como las Ligas de Servicio Social de Campesinos y Obreras. Asimismo, la Confederación propugnó por la defensa de los espacios de trabajo para las mujeres. La amplitud de sus postulados fue muy útil para galvanizar la rivalidad entre las mujeres del PNR y del PCM, que resolvieron una alianza táctica cuyo efecto aglutinante fue la obtención del voto.

El voto femenino se convirtió en un espacio de lucha politica entre los dos partidos más importantes del momento. Como presidente de la C.F.M, Ríos Cárdenas usó a favor de la causa de las mujeres, los espacios que se abrían en esa rivalidad interpartidaria, para desde allí promover el derecho al voto.

Es necesario señalar que los argumentos que Ríos Cárdenas utiliza para apoyar el derecho al voto femenino revelan, en buena medida, no sólo el momento histórico en el que vive la autora, sino su estrategia política de inclusión. Así por ejemplo propone la ciudadanía paulatina, es decir la concesión de derechos para la mujer de forma regulada, como si se tratase de un ejercicio practico en el que la mujer se va adiestrando poco a poco. Para ella, es la práctica la que proporciona el entrenamiento necesario para la participación política de la mujer.

Así pues, Ríos Cárdenas basa sus argumentaciones en dos concepciones de ciudadanía que podrían parecer contradictorias a los lectores actuales. Por una parte desarrolla la idea de la igualdad legal con los varones como condición previa para la ciudadania femenina, pero aún a riesgo de la contradición propone la experiencia concreta como la razón legitimizadora de la actuación politica femenina. Es en este doble polo Òlegislación-acciónÓ que su trabajo cobra valor simbólico como ejemplo de una feminista mexicana que ilustra, con su pluma y su liderazgo, las complicadas relaciones entre los movimientos de mujeres y los partidos políticos. La dicotomía entre legitimidad legal y experiencia política son temas que resuenan aun después de 60 años en el México de hoy con renovada vigencia.

Session Four: Commentary

The Impact of Women on Public Policy in Local and Regional Political Arenas

Commentators:
Susana González de Segovia, PAN: The PAN is very concerned about the situation of women with respect to family relations. There should be equality within the family, and the Mexican civil codes are outdated with their prejudice against women. It is ridiculous that these codes are still on the books. It is urgent that we reform these codes immediately because women need to be able to work outside the home and do what they choose. In my opinion, caring for children is of maximum importance--however, this obligation should be shared by the father and mother, and not be the sole responsibility of the woman. In terms of women working at the local level, I represent a township outside of Monterrey; there are 130 colonias within my district that have neighborhood associations, and 49 of these associations are headed by women. Of the 84 auxiliary judges in my township, 30 of them are women. In addition, women are working in positions for the planning department and many other departments for the area. Many of these women are politically independent--non-PAN women who were hired because of their knowledge and professionalism, not because they simply are PAN members.

Rosalinda Robeldo, PRI: I belong to the state Congress in Nuevo León, and only six of the 42 positions are held by women. There is a significant problem with these low numbers of women in positions of power. Like Susana Segovia, I think that there needs to be a revision of the civil codes and local legislation that affects women, especially with respect to the idea of pater familias. Women have a right to power in families--I am hopeful, because younger men are more agreeable to this than the old machos. The legitimacy of womenÕs opinions--both within the home and out in the world--is often quite low; many times women are not taken seriously. As women we must cooperate and fight the stereotype that women cannot work together and will end up only fighting one another.

Martha Lucía Micher, PRD: Our vision of our futures as women must be independent of political partiesÕ opinions. There is a high cost on families for women participating in politics . There are other problems that women face that we must address: problems of womenÕs health, time pressures, problems in the households. I support the idea of quotas; women must believe in each other and support each other. Like the women who have spoken before me, I believe that the women in all the states should try to get the sexist civil codes reformed.

Concepción Torres Zaragoza, CESEM: I am speaking from my experience working with an NGO in Michoácan. Women are very active in the NGOs; there is a high rate of participation. In part this is because in many areas of Michoácan (and Guanajuato), no men are around most of the time--theyÕve either left for the United States or Mexico City--either way, the women are responsible for everything in their communities. In my state, there has been a mobilization of women for municipal services and electoral democratization. I think that it is easier for women to be active at the local level because the family pressures MaLú [Micher] mentioned are less. Women across Mexico have been successful at this level. We must see what affirmative actions municipalities can take to ensure and promote increased

female participation. For example, a WomenÕs Department or Ministry exists in many communities, but these are supposed to be only for issues specific to women, and not necessarily for social services, which women still are concerned about.

Alba Nélida Flores, Universidad de Chilpancingo: I would like to speak about the situation I see from my work in Guerrero. Women are active participants in the unions of Guerrero, but they still are not enough in the higher positions of power. In addition, there has been little mention of indigenous women at this conference--there are numerous tribes in Guerrero. It is easy to ignore or overlook the indigenous women, but we should not. Something else we need to talk about is violence against women--we have to confront the fundamental problem that we live in a culture that condones violence against women.

Discussion from the audience:

Ruth Olvera: The questions all of us must answer are these: What are women working for? What are we trying to do? In addition, we must remember to seek out the opinions of housewives--their position is valid, as is the position of women who work outside of the house. We must always promote a plurality of ideas and opinions of women from all parties, sectors, and levels of life. This is what we have done in our group, Mujeres de Coahuila.

Beatriz Paredes to Alejandra Massolo: MexicoÕs municipal structure has gone through several transformations, but there still isnÕt proportional representation within the local level. This can lead to direct, and complex, confrontations. To Concepción Torres Zaragoza: You talked about all the men leaving the communities, this is important because it requires women to balance their family responsibilities with their role on committees and councils.

Marta Lamas: Politics still has a masculine face in Mexico. Women must organize and be present for their concerns to be addressed. For example, in Italy, the women in politics wanted to get child care so that they could be more active in conventions and congresses. The male convention organizers did not think it was important, so to make an impact all of the women brought their children to the convention. After that, the men thought child care was important, and it was provided.

Patricia Espinoza: What happens to the women who go back to being housewives after being active in public life? How can we adjust those cultural, social, and personal pressures so that they can stay active and offer their talents to society? Women need to take off the labels that the political parties put on them, and not be resigned to their lot in life. Accepting without complaint is a product of our social experience and exploitation.

Laura Itzel Castillo: Of the 104 municipalities the PRD holds, only three have female leaders. The party wants to take affirmative steps to increase the number of women running for municipal as well as federal office. The problem with the current 30% female quota the PRD has is that women are always put on the bottom of the candidate lists. This is going to change, however, so that a woman is every third person listed as a candidate, for both federal and local elections.

Cecilia Loría: The theme of family has been emphasized in this panel. We need to talk about single mother families. These new family scenarios in Mexico tell us that we have been attributing characteristics to MexicoÕs families that were never there. I also am trying to reform the civil code on families.

Responses of the panelists to the questions and comments:

Martha Lucía Micher: I want to reply to the questions about going back to being a housewife. We must emphasize that there is a difference between assigning and assuming roles. I donÕt disparage being a housewive, or the household work--but women should not be forced into that role.

Alejandra Massolo: In response to Beatriz Paredes--we have a role and responsibility as scholars to stimulate, foster, and investigate these issues. We are only beginning to investigate how to help women achieve positions in municipal government.

Concepción Torres Zaragoza: In response to Beatriz Paredes--when women ask to participate with my organizationÕs activities, they say they do not know about government. Therefore, they need training. Within the political parties, they are not interested in active militant training.

Presencia y ausencia de las mujeres en los ayuntamientos

Alejandra Massolo
UAM-Iztapalapa

Los ayuntamientos en México carecen de pluralidad de género, si bien paulatinamente están adquiriendo pluralidad política al ganar partidos de oposición las elecciones municipales. Actualmente 19% de las ayuntamientos están en manos de partidos distintos al PRI, mientras que en 1994 eran 10% de los ayuntamientos. Este relativo avance del pluralismo político sobre los municipos es muy importante y significa uno de los fundamentales cambios que se deben impulsar y consolidar, pero es un proceso que conlleva inequidad de género, limitando así el potencial del pluralismo politico para contribuir a la democratización de las instituciones de representación y gobierno.

De los 2,412 municipios existentes, apenas contamos (enero de 1996) con 85 mujeres presidiendo ayuntamientos, o sea 3.4 por ciento del total.1 De estas 85 alcaldesas, 70 corresponden a la filiación politica del PRI, quienes representan menos del uno por ciento de los 1,542 municipios donde gobierna el PRI. Solamente 14 alcaldesas pertenecen a la pluralidad política. Respecto a los prinicipales partidos de la oposición, el PAN tiene 7 alcaldesas (partido que gobierna 221 municipios); el PRD tiene 4 alcaldesas (partido que gobierna 180 municipios). En cuanto a los partidos más pequeños, el PFCRN tiene dos alcaldesas, el PT una, y el PPS una. En conjunto, las 85 alcaldesas conducen el gobierno local de 2,316,833 habitantes de México (censo de 1990).

A lo largo de más de una década, la proporción de mujeres presidiendo ayuntamientos prácticamento no ha variado, manteniéndose alrededor del 3.5 por ciento, aunque hubo un descenso en l99l a 2 por ciento (51 alcaldesas) y un leve aumento en 1995 a 3.7 por ciento (90 alcaldesas). La desigualdad de género es patética en la distribución de las alcaldesas según el tamaño del municipio, distribución que tampoco ha variado a lo largo de los años, salvo muy pocas excepciones. De las 85 actuales alcaldesas, 30 gobiernan municipios de menos de 30 mil habitantes; 11 fueron electas en municipios de 50 mil hasta 100 mil habitantes, y apenas dos en municipios de más de 200 mil habitantes, pero sin ser grandes ciudades: Nuevo Laredo, Tamaulipas (PRI), y Uruapan, Michoacán (PAN). En 20 entidades federativas existen mujeres presidiendo ayuntamientos, y el estado donde se encuentran más alcaldesas es Veracruz: 15 en total. Ninguna mujer a llegado a ocupar el cargo de alcaldesa de alguna de las 12 capitales de estado que ha ganado el PAN en las ultimas elecciones municipales.

Con la reforma municipal de 1983 quedó establecido el pluralismo político en la integración de los ayuntamientos, y el prinicipio de representación proporcional para el cargo de regiduría abrió las puertas a la incorporación de distintos partidos presentes en las elecciones municipales. Sin embargo, la integración y papel de la regidurias adolecen de una serie de restricciones y deficiencias. Entre otras problemas, destaca el hecho de que las regidurías tradicionalmente se han manejado como piezas del reparto corporativo de cuotas de poder, típicament entre sindicatos y sectores del PRI como intercambio de favores, y como un papel decorativo y cortesano alrededor del presidente municipal. El relativo avance del pluralismo político sobre los municipos está produciendo una nueva imagen y papel del

regidor o regidora ante la ciudadanía y dentro de 1a administración municipal. No quiere decir que el pluralismo político determine de por sí un desempeño público más democrático, responsable y eficaz, ya que pueden darse representaciones plurales que demuestran ser ineptas, negligentes y autoritarias, hasta represivas de la diversidad social. Pero es evidente que el pluralismo favorece la participación de hombres y mujeres en los ayuntamientos, quienes asumen de manera comprometida y digna el cargo de regidor o regidora, a pesar de los obstáculos que enfrentan.

Las mujeres regidoras están desempeñado un relevante papel en la arena de la política municipal y están aportando valiosos esfuerzos al cambio de la gestión de los asuntos publicos que le competen a los ayuntamientos, notablemente aquellas que provienen de partidos de oposición como el PAN y el PRD. Sin embargo, la pluralidad de género es aún muy reducida en las regidurías, ya sean de mayoría relativa como de representación proporcional. Así también es reducida en el cargo de síndico, otro importante papel que integran los ayuntamientos.

Mayoritariamente los municipios son gobernados por hombres, y las mujeres no están ganando espacios en el poder municipal de acuerdo a sus derechos políticos formales y de acuerdo a sus capacidades de participación y liderazgo en el ambito de las comunidades locales. Para reconstruir y fortalecer la nueva institucionalidad democrática de los ayuntamientos que urge en México, no basta la pluralidad política, la reforma electoral y el federalismo, sino que es indispensable contar al mismo tiempo con pluralidad y equidad de género de manera que resulte una nueva institucionalidad incluyente, igualitaria y moderna.

Agua para todos: Successful Urban Protest and Government Policy for Water Services in Monterrey

Vivienne Bennett
California State University, San Marcos

In this presentation I discuss the case of low-income women who succeeded through popular protest in having an impact on federal investment policy for water services for the city of Monterrey. While we would like to think that major infrastructure investments are made following purely technical criteria, the case of Monterrey shows that investment decisions by the federal government were shaped by the political and economic contexts in which they took place, as well as by the relationships between key political actors.

From 1978 to 1990 Monterrey lived with a continuous water crisis, despite the fact that it is Mexico's second most important industrial center and home to the Grupo Monterrey, one of the most powerful economic groups in Mexico. In 1978, Monterrey had a population of two million and its water supply met only 50% of demand. Over 300,000 people were not even connected to the city's water distribution system.

The water crisis was caused because the federal governments under Presidents López Mateos, Díaz Ordaz, and Echeverría did not authorize a single large water infrastructure project to provide potable water for Monterrey, despite the fact that the city experienced the highest population growth rate of any city in Mexico during their sexenios.

The failure of the federal government to authorize substantial waterworks projects for Monterrey was the result of the on going hostility between the government and the Grupo Monterrey during the l950s, 1960s, and most of the 1970s. All planning for Monterrey's water services was handled through the Comisión de Agua Potable de Monterrey, which in turn was controlled by the Grupo Monterrey through its representatives on the CommissionÕs Board of Directors. From 1960 to 1976, the Grupo Monterrey representatives on the Board and the Federal government (through the Secretaría de Recursos Hidráulicos) could not agree on a single major water project for Monterrey. Because the federal government was the source of financing for water infrastructure, the continuous disagreements within the highest levels of the Comisión de Agua Potable de Monterrey meant that no substantial investments were made for more than twenty years.

In 1977 a change in the relationship between the Grupo Monterrey and the federal government allowed the government to invest in major water services infrastructure for Monterrey. Under President López Portillo, the Grupo Monterrey became allies of the federal government and spearheaded the countryÕs industrial development plan for the northern region. At the same time, they allowed themselves to be evicted from the Board of Directors of the Commission, and this in turn left the SRH in control of the Board. In 1980, López Portillo authorized a multi-billion peso Plan Hidráulico for Monterrey. However, the new mega-projects would not be finished until 1985, and in the meantime Monterrey's water system

practically collapsed, the entire city was subjected to water rationing, and dozens of neighborhoods only had water a few hours each day at best.

Under these conditions, housewives from poor neighborhoods all over Monterrey began carrying out protest actions. Between 1978 and 1984 women from over 150 neighborhoods took part in protests over water, the vast majority from low income neighborhoods. The protests used a variety of strategies, but most prevalent were street blockades, kidnapping of water authority personnel and vehicles, and protest rallies and sit-ins at the Governor's Palace. As construction proceeded on the Plan Hidráulico during the early 1980s the protests by low income women increased, because the water crisis became more severe.

In 1984, the governor of Nuevo León announced another massive project approved by President De la Madrid: Agua Para Todos. Agua Para Todos would extend Monterrey's water system to every house in all neighborhoods of the city that were not yet connected to the water system. When it was completed in 1986, Agua Para Todos had connected 157 neighborhoods, servicing an estimated 300,000 people.

Agua Para Todos is significant for two reasons. First, it contradicts urban water policy in Mexico, as well as the urban water policy of all the major funding agencies such as The World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, which states that low income neighborhoods should be serviced at best by communal faucets. In-home water service for low income neighborhoods is vetoed on the grounds that the costs of construction cannot be recovered. (Yet, in fact, in Monterrey, 97% of the cost of providing in-home water service for 300,000 low income people was recovered through payments by the families).

The second significant issue is that Agua Para Todos was authorized by De la Madrid in 1984 in the middle of Mexico's most serious economic crisis, when austerity measures had obligated severe cuts in social spending by the government. Thus, not only did Agua Para Todos represent a major shift in policy, it also contradicted the overall budget priorities of the federal government. For the thousands of women who had participated in protests for over seven years (1978-1984) it was a complete victory.

The protests contributed to making MonterreyÕs water problems a national priority. The ongoing protests threatened the image of the city as a stable place for investment. At a time when the Grupo Monterrey and the federal government were embarking on export-led development and seeking closer ties to the international investment community. The extent and continuity of the protests made national news and were even mentioned in speeches made by De la Madrid. The protests thus called national attention to the water crisis in Monterrey.

Through their protest activity, low income women in Monterrey altered relations of power because they were able to insert their own voice and new demands into a process that until then had considered the voices of only two actors, the government and the Grupo Monterrey. Agua Para Todos was an unprecedented step towards equity in urban water services. The protests in Monterrey were heard beyond the local community and challenged conventional planning in the water sector. Because of the protests, the range of solutions evaluated and selected by policy makers at the state and federal level changed. In the end, MonterreyÕs water services improved because relations of power changed between

the Grupo Monterrey and the federal government, and because through their protests poor women in Monterrey made national news out of the city's water crisis, contributing thereby to the government's decision to prioritize Monterrey and provide water for all.

Roundtable Discussion

An Agenda for the Future of Women in Mexican Politics and Political Life

Commentators:

Laura Carrera: We all see how important this conference has been, especially for politicians and academics to come closer together. Many times we see the distance among us, but we donÕt see our similarities. It seems that there were two important aspects of the conferenceÑleadership and political representation as connected to affirmative action. We must debate these issues, but the discussions must be open and honest. We need to take off our masks. We must have a general debate about these issues without trying to protect our own parties, because if we do not, this conference would have been a futile exercise. We must give each other the benefit of the doubt. Do we agree on the issue of affirmative action? In the next months we must take advantage of the dialogue that was started here, and try to work together in the National Assembly.

Laura Itzel Castillo: In order for us to deepen the debate about the integration of women in politics, we must be included within the political reform of the state. Yesterday there was an agreement about the need for electoral reform; perhaps we could implement changes to the electoral code. We must include social reforms that would address the opportunities for women and girls. We should take the lead from María de los Angeles Moreno, who organized the parliamentary womenÕs organization in the senate. We should organize activities like that for women deputies. This meeting was important because it helped us distinguish between the work that women do in public and private life, but we also see the connections between both spheres of womenÕs lives. We now see how we can work to promote women both as individuals and as members of a group.

María Elena Chapa: IÕd like each of us to achieve independence over ourselves. We need to laugh and smile more. Because now I see how women are silenced and how women carry their problems inside themselves and never discuss them. I propose specific changes for women in Mexican society. We must reduce poverty, and create more jobs in our society. These two larger proposals directly affect the condition of women in our society.. I also propose that we seek media reform in order to help change the distorted images that we see of women. We need to introduce specific social programs that would help girls and young women increase their self esteem. Women politicians want affirmative action, but more importantly, we want a political system that is just and equal for every Mexican citizen. I ask that in the spirit of the assembly, we must generate a debate in Congress about these issues.

Magdalena García: The womenÕs movement is stronger than it has ever been. We are better prepared to help more women because we have received more training. Although there are many of us who are not friends, we all work towards the same objective. We must develop strategies to mobilize the silent majority. We should have an on-going discussion in the National Assembly. Because we, as women, are represented within the National Assembly, change could begin there.

Teresa Incháustegui: I want to raise a proposal. I propose studying the condition of women within the social and political realm. The focus should not be on just the electorate, but we should pay close attention to the issue of women in development. We must ensure that a platform of equality is enacted. We must have an effective dialogue where we can move away from hiding behind party ideology.

Clara Jusidman: One needs to incorporate a gender perspective when looking at how women make policy and how power affects women. We must find a way to guarantee womenÕs rights and access to political power in order for them to have full citizenship. It is fundamental and necessary to sensitize political leaders, whether male or female, to issues of gender. In order to truly help women in the political sphere, we need to have a critical mass of qualified women in elected positions. In the political realm, womenÕs power is very limited. We are relegated to the social policy realm, and we are not included within the economic and financial aspects of policy. This needs to change. We need to train and support women as leaders in other areas such as in the university and in unions so we can diversify our positions of power and leadership within society.

Marta Lamas: At the heart of all the debates we discussed is the question: What is politics? I think we all see the need for certain policies to help women in the political sphere. But we also have to focus on the invisible work that women do. We are no longer victims, but we should stop mystifying the home and family. The home is the workplace of women, not just the place of love and family. We need to support mothers with children in daycare. We need to look at the mechanisms for changing the process of reproduction. Instead of new declarations, our immediate goals should be to talk of a gender perspective in politics. We need unity to help push a common agenda. And I think that this conference has proven that we all agree that we can pursue a common agenda to help women in our society.

Cecilia Loría: The future agenda must be utopian in its scope. This is an era of political maturity and there are two things that unite usÑthe democratic transition and the rise of active citizenship. Active citizenship is particularly important because it has helped give rise to the democratic transition. We need to construct real forms of citizen participation. Because real participation in the political process does not solely entail voting -- true citizen participation also means being involved in the decision-making processes at every level of government. As others on this panel have mentioned, we as women need to work together in the National Assembly. Change will not come easily, but we need to support ourselves.

Patricia Mercado: The challenge for us is to keep building on the momentum that was begun at this conference to help push for womenÕs issues in our country. The challenge now is to construct effective policies for women. We see many agendas in Mexico that focus on women, but we have yet to see any of those agendas being implemented. As we all know, information is power and this conference has helped empower all of us. We must help create a system that can effectively transmit information to every one in the country. Affirmative action is an important tool that we can use to help women in politics, but we need to form a commission that examines how we can use affirmative action for women in all spheres of public lifeÑespecially women in unions. We all can make an impact in the 1997 electionsÑbut we must push pro-women proposals in our respective parties.

María de los Angeles Moreno: What is the agenda for the future? We need a new political agenda that reflects our differences and our similarities. We need to imagine a Mexican democracy that takes into account the contradictions that are apparent within our societyÑa democracy that values tolerance. I hope for a future where we see more women professionals and women politicians in our country. We need to change the expectations that the political parties place on women. We need to change the stereotypes that society has of women, but at the same time instill certain basic values in girls. The dialogue that we begun here must be continued in Mexico. We need more systematic study and analysis of how affirmative action can help women in all areas of societyÑnot just the political realm.

Patricia Parrodi: Gender plurality must be respected. Although we, as women, need a common language to help women, many times a feminist language can exclude others, like PANistas. We need to stop the semantic debates that are so frequent among ourselves. To think about politics, we must have distance. Social and cultural mores that are discriminatory against women must change. Women must be incorporated in different spheres of public life and the ridged structures that exclude womenÕs incorporation in the public sphere must be removed. Women need more training, more information, more consciousness-raising. Even though the search for equality sometimes means losing our individual identity and autonomy, this search must continue.

Ana Rosa Payán: I still believe that it is important to value the family. I think many of us see the family as some sort of anchor that weighs us down or as a jail that confines us. Our primary responsibility is to strengthen the family. If we strengthen family values, every one moves forward in our society. Although I think that it is important for women to work together, we must include men in that process as well.

Lourdes Torres Landa: I think that it is important to recruit women in the area of finance. We all know that finance is an important realm of power, especially in politics. And even though there are a few women in the field of economic development, it is usually the men who get all of the recognition. In terms of politics and the role that affirmative action plays in it, we must try hard not to Òover-democratizeÓ each other. We must recognize our differences, but not think poorly of us who donÕt believe in the status quo.

Closing Remarks

Beatriz Paredes
Confederación Nacional Campesina

Cuando acepté redactar un proyecto de balance y resumen de la reunión a la que asistimos, me debatí entre dos alternativas:

Hacer una sinopsis que sintetizará puntualmente cada una de las presentaciones, una especie de relatoría resumida; o delinear a grandes trazos los elementos que desde mi percepción son los más significativos o reiterados de la reunión y presentar ese documento. Opté por este segundo camino, porque el primer esquema me rebasaba por la amplitud y riqueza de cada trabajo. Y esta es una característica de la reuniónÑel profesionalismo de todos quienes fueron ponentes. Y una buena síntesis hubiera tenido una lectura prolongada y además difícilmente se lograría. Sin embargo, creo que con los organizadores tenemos que intentar rescatar todas las ponencias y remitirlas a las participantes, porque es un trabajo de enorme riqueza. Opté entonces por subrayar algunos elementos con la esperanza de que las puntualizaciones que hagan Victoria y Peter al concluir pueden hacer las presiciones requiridas.

Hablaré primero incorporando lo personal a lo público sobre el ambiente de la reunión. Es evidente que es una reunión que ha sido grata, que ha habido una buena disposición y que estamos aprendiendo a dialogar. Un aprendizaje a dialogar que nos permita trascender ese "te oigo pero no te escucho". Creo que en México estamos enfrentandoÑy que bueno que así seaÑla etapa de la ruptura de los monólogos. Somos una sociedad que monologa mucho entre sí. Y esta caracterización de los monólogos se refleja desde el debate parlamentario en donde rara vez coincide el discurso del diputado que habla inmediatamente depués con las temas esenciales que tocó el diputado que habló antes. (Y les quiero decir que he sido parlamentaria varias veces y he vivido ese experiencia.) Con los monólogos de organizaciones políticas, por espacios profesionales, por fragmentos de la sociedad, por partes del aparato público. La etapa de la ruptura de los monólogos nos está costando un enorme esfuerzo. Y de una suerte de monólogos en donde además de hablar especializada y parcialmente casi siempre nos referimos sólo a la autoridad. Como si el diálogo sólo fuese vertical y en el sentido de abajo hacia arriba o de arriba hacia abajo. Nos está costando mucho construir una posibilidad de dialogar horizontalmente.

Aprender a dialogar supone como ya se dijo aquíÑno prejuicios, no fantasmas, no descalificación a priori. Supone capacidad de comunicación. Y hace un momento veía con enorme sorpresa qué difícil nos es comunicarnos. De la propuesta de Marta Lamas sobre código de comunicación común, seis intervenciones que tocaron el tema hablaron de seis cosas diferentes. Esto nos refleja qué difícil nos resulta escuchar y no interpretar. Capacidad de comunicación supone veracidad, supone un código en donde los conceptos significan para cada quien que los escucha lo mismo, lo comparta o no lo comparta. Esto es un proceso de comprensión, no es un proceso de construcción. Porque los conceptos existen hay que comprenderlos. Y hay que lograr que haya una identidad en la comprensión semántica y profunda del contenido de los conceptos. También capacidad de comunicación de aprendizaje a dialogarÑqué significa dialogar, qué significa destinar tiempo para la reflexión. Los políticos nunca tienen tiempo para

pensar. Sólo tienen tiempo para actuar, para estar en lo cotidiano del quehacer, en la emergencia de la política, en el contacto con el abismo de la realidad. Y el abismo de la realidad no permite que detengas el vueloÑo te elevas, o te estrellas. En ese sentido, destinar tiempo para la reflexión es un aprendizaje que tenemos que tener prácticamente todos los políticos mexicanos, no solamente las políticas. Y en ese sentido, el esfuerzo sistemático que hace la academia de reflexión, sin lugar a dudas puede ser muy enriquecedor.

Otra cosa del ambiente ha sido este extraordinario encuentro humano. Un encuentro humano que nos ha permitido observar la multidimensionalidad de cada persona. Creo que la primera ruptura de prejuicios es esa. Saber que nos divertimos igual cantando anoche rancheras, las reconocidamente parranderas, como las no reconocidas parranderas. Entonces este encuentro humano siempre enriquece este tipo de contacto. Eso sobre el ambiente.

El contexto. La reunión se vuelve mucho más importante en función del contexto. El contextoÑno se les olvide que es una reunión en Austin, Tejas. (Yo siempre estuve pendiente que si llegaba ÒJ.R.Ó a mi hotelÑa ver si había de encontrar nuevas experiencias!) En el contexto, venimos a los Estados Unidos parte de la élite política de los partidos en un momento en que existe tensión entre nuestros países y nuestros gobiernos por el problema de los indocumentados. En un momento en donde el contexto nacional está en tensión por el conflicto en Chiapas y las vías de solución; por la complejidad para reinstalar la mesa de la reforma política en el ámbito del ejecutivo; por discusiones post-electorales de carácter local; y porque el tono del discurso político se ha vuelto mucho más altisonante del que tradicionalmente se usaba en México.

En un contexto en donde la academia de nuestro país y la clase política de nuestro país no han sabido vincularse. Quizás una tradición de una academia en toda la etapa vinculada a los sesentas y los setentas que descalificaba a los partidos vinculados directamente con el gobierno por una tradición de una falta de respeto suficiente de la clase política por la academia. El caso es que no hemos encontrado el modo de que haya correas de transmisión eficiente entre la academia mexicana y la clase política.

En un contexto de descalificación de actores. Nunca como en estos meses en nuestro país pareciera que estamos eliminando a todas las personalidades de la sociedad política y de la sociedad civil. El proceso de desgaste de las figuras públicas en México en los últimos meses ha sido severísimo. En un contexto en donde muchas de las mujeres que estamos aquí tuvimos una experiencia muy dolorosa y negativa por la manipulación informativa de nuestra participación en la conferencia en Peking. Y por la evidencia de que la incomprensión de conceptos generaba un proceso de manipulación. Siempre queda el resquemor de que eso pueda suceder también con esta conferencia. En un contexo en donde se ha evidenciado la incapacidad de los políticos y de las instituciones por lograr que los medios de comunicación no trivialicen las cuestiones políticas. El ámbito de lo trivial es lo que permea en la comunicación colectiva en México. Pareciera que no haya ideas importantes ni hechos trascendentes. Ese es el contexto.

El subtexto. Qué hay abajo, qué hay detrás de la reunión. Una búsqueda. Una voluntad pluralÑplural, ojalá democrática, pero ahorita plural. Un encuentro de mecanismos civilizados para vivir en transición

y lograr que no devenga en involución. Estamos buscando y aprendiendo mecanismos para ir construyendo la posibilidad democrática y civilizada de la transición mexicana. Una actitud de apertura de nuevas relaciones. Hay una disposición de buena parte de las fuerzas políticas y evidentemente de los órganos académicos de los Estados Unidos por ir generando una nueva red de relaciones. De manera positiva, de manera genuina, no queremos pensar en ningún oportunismo; no queremos pensar tampoco en intervenciones dobles.

Una evidencia en el subtexto. Las mujeres del poder en México de todas las fuerzas políticas no estamos dentro de la toma de decisiones esenciales. Nadie que en nuestro país esté dentro de la toma de decisiones esenciales con las circunstancias que vive nuestro país ahorita podría perder estos cuatro díasÑo aprender estos cuatro díasÑen una reunión de este tipo. Estamos en el ámbito de las aportaciones marginales y de repente logramos opinar sobre algunas cuestiones esenciales. Una sensación. El paladinismo democrático de las universidades norteamericanas. Simplemente lo dejo allí Y un escepticismo. Hay un escepticismo que permea en el subtexto sobre si podremos tener alguna continuidad en México, sin copatrocinio de alguna fuerza externa a las que aquí se reunieron. Hablando pues de esto que marca la reunión, me quiero referir a los temas de la conferencia.

Acciones afirmativas se volvió paulatinamente una discusión sobre el desarrollo democrático. Nadie dijo en el curso de la reunión que no estaba de acuerdo en lo que son acciones afirmativas. A la hora de las conclusiones, es evidente que hubo un conjunto de propuestas que voy a tratar de acotar, pero en términos reales el seminario versó sobre el desarrollo democrático y sobre cómo las acciones afirmativas podían tener incidencia en él. Yo quisiera referirme a algunos de los puntos que nuclearon la discusión sobre desarrollo democrático en varios niveles.

Primero tocaré uno en donde hay debateÑel de la familia. Aquí, no hay coincidencia sobre el tema de la familia. Desde la familia como fetiche, desde la familia tradicional como valor paradigmático, desde repensar a la familia en función de cómo son verdaderamentes las familias mexicanas, desde preguntarnos si el siglo veintiuno supone la comprensión de distintos tipos de familias. Esto quiere decir que en el ámbito de lo estructural, lo antropológico, lo cultural, tenemos todavía una discusión muy larga por delante. ÀQué serían acciones afirmativas en relación a la mujer hacia el interior de la familia? Y aquí quiero precisar una formulación incluso hacia el interior de la familia tradicional. ÀQué serían acciones afirmativas en relación a la mujer? Y en otro ámbito, queremos democratizar a la familia. ÀCómo democratizamos a la familia? ÀO no queremos cambiar a la familia? Es obvio que este sigue siendo un tema neurálgico, pero no sólo por razones políticas, ideológicas o culturales, también por razones religiosas. Y cuando entra uno en el terreno de los credos, la discusión cambia de ámbitoÑdemocratizar a la sociedad.

En el ámbito de la sociedad, tocamos necesariamente el tema de la cultura. Y en el ámbito de la cultura en torno a acciones afirmativas habría todo un paquete en relación al papel de la mujer con los medios de comunicación y la imagen que sobre ella proyectan los medios de comunicación. Y en el ámbito de la cultura, habría todo un paquete en torno a las investigaciones, estudios, y vinculación de la comunidad académica con el análisis de la realidad social. Hubo menciones, hubo trabajos específicos que nos permiten conocer cómo se está dando esta evolución, esta participación, estas acciones afirmativas y

estas contradicciones en el ámbito social en los muy interesantes estudios de caso que nos presentaron las investigadoras.

Sobre lo que más hablamos fue sobre el ámbito del poder. En el ámbito de poder, en el terreno político, hablamos de la representación en el ámbito local y municipal y en el ámbito legislativo. En el terreno del ejecutivo hablamos de la necesidad de que los programas públicos tuvieran un enfoque de género y que hubiese claridad en la política social en torno a este enfoque de género. En el ámbito económico, tampoco hubo consenso. El tema del modelo económico en la regiónÑporque es en la región, no es nada más en México (a lo mejor esta sí es una discusión que habría que tener en los Estados Unidos.) En el ámbito económico, evidentemente, no hay consenso. Y hubo preguntas muy agudas si con esta estrategia económica mundial y regional tiene perspectivas el desarrollo de la mujer. Es una pregunta aguda. Y en el ámbito de los espacios reales y nuevos del poder resulta muy enriquecedor a la aportación de Clara Jusidman sobre cómo respaldar los liderazcos en otro renglones de la actividad financiera, científica, etc.

Pero volviendo a donde si hubo coincidencia. Curiosamente, sólo hubo coincidencia en cuanto a las acciones afirmativas en el acceso al poder. ÀQué raro, verdad? No dirían que tenemos algunos intereses en el tema. En las acciones afirmativas en el acceso al poder, hubo dos ofrecimientos muy significativos. La expresión de la Señora Torres Landa que señaló que habían dialogado sus compañeras sobre el tema de las cuotas, y que lo van a discutir. A nosotras nos parece muy importante esa decisión. Y la expresión de la Senadora Moreno y de la Sendora Chapa que el tema de las cuotas también lo van a discutirÑesto es muy importante. Y la expresión autocrítica del PRD que de nada les sirve un sistema de cuotas si no tienen mecanismos para aplicar el sistemaÑlo que supongo significará que van a discutir los mecanismos de aplicación del sistema de cuotas.

Hubo otro asunto en el tema del acceso al poder que se soslayó, y ese soslayamiento me preocupa. Este asunto en que se tipifica que cuerpo de mujer no significa pensamiento de mujer en el ejercicio del poder. Este señalamiento que significa que no siempre que llegue una mujer a posiciones de poder supone que va a haber un comportamiento ligado a los intereses de la mayoría de las mujeres. Y lo quiero subrayar por que quizás es un acuerdo muy sencillo, muy sencillo entre quienes están aquí reunidas para que pudieran saber en qué cosas nos interesa que las mujeres que tienen poder en distintos ámbitos tengan alguna información específica. Por ejemplo, ÀQúe pasa a las presidentas municipales con el manejo de sus policías municipales? ÀPor qué en algunos ayuntamientos gobernados por mujeres los abusos de la policía municipal son verdaderamente atroces? Cuando hipotéticamente nosotros creemos esa parte de nuestra fantasía sobre el pensamiento positivista de las mujeres que tendrán una acción más vinculada con los derechos humanos y con el estricto apego a la ley. Le pasan dos cosas. Uno, no les hacen caso sus comandantesÑeso primero. Dos, no saben lo que es una estrategia de seguridad pública municipal y entonces la delegan. Allí, por ejemplo, tenemos un ámbito por, citar algo. Pero seguramente hay otros ámbitos muy concretos que se relacionan con este ejercicio de grandes valores de tolerancia, de respeto a los derechos humanos, de avances democráticos, de administración honorable en donde podemos hacer algunas cosas juntas. Y también desde luego quienes se interesen por conocer cuál es la plataforma feminista.

En el tema del poder, me quedé con una sensación. No estoy segura que sepamos exactamente qué es el

poder. Y esta sensación devino vuelvo a insistir, de la muy interesante presentación sobre la vinculación entre los aspectos de seguridad estratégica y defensa. Y creo que no estoy segura que sepamos con exactitud qué es el poder porque el ámbito del poder de la mujer siempre ha sido doméstico. Entonces, culturalmente tenemos un profundo aprendizaje del ámbito doméstico del poderÑquítate esa corbata o ponte esta otra; péinate para acá o péinate para allá con los niños. Pero trascender eso a una visión del poder político, del poder del estado y del concepto macro del poder, me parece que es otra tarea en donde las políticas tendríamos que hacer algunas cosas.

Porque queremos aceder al poder sin saber a qué queremos acceder, entonces es muy difícil. ÀCómo se accede legítimamente al poder? Es un asunto en donde hay un papel trascendente de la sociedad civil, de las ONGs, de las organizaciones civiles, de masas, de los partidos. Y supondría un trabajo con acciones afirmativas en todos estos ámbitos y en todos estos terrenos. Un trabajo de politización, de cultura política, de desarrollo democrático. Un trabajo que nos permitiera impulsar que la transición en que está inmerso el estado mexicano, la reforma del estado que está en puerta, nos lleve a diseñar la nueva utopía sobre el México del siglo veintiuno.

Tenemos derecho a plantearnos una utopía sobre el siglo veintiuno. Una reflexión sobre el poder que nos lleve a preguntarnos, primero, cómo vamos a negociar con las dirigencias de nuestros partidos lo que aquí platicamos. Porque de repente hubo propuestas que tienen que ver con que participemos en la reforma del estado, que participemos en la reforma electoral. Seguramente pensamos que es un estrategia potenciarnos como mujeres, pero es un estrategia insuficiente. Lo que ha sido evidente es que no hemos tenido efectividad para conmover a nuestros aparatos partidarios en torno al tema de la mujer. Y aquí yo quiero plantear una propuesta concreta. Que las mujeres que están aquí reunidas (y muchas otras que no estan) se comprometieran cuando menos a presentar una plataforma sobre el tema de la mujer para que sus partidos la asuman como propuesta electoral para 1997. Que no tengamos un solo partido político que salga a la búsqueda del voto cuidadano sin una plataforma en torno a la temática de la mujer. Así estaremos incidiendo en nuestro ámbito natural de poder.

Una consideración final. Una aportación importante de la reunión fue el tema del affidamento. Este asunto del affidamento es algo fantástico. Significa que nos podemos caer bien entre nosotras mismas sin que eso sea motivo ni de preocupación, ni de acabar con nuestro ego, ni con nuestro yo-íntimo. Significa que podemos reconocer que hay mujeres que tiene virtudes y significa que podemos reconocer que algunas mujeres pueden ser dirigentes y líderes y nosotros no tenemos ningún problema por affidarnos a ellas. Que podemos construir nuestras identidades. Pero las identidades necesitan construirse cuando hay pluralidad. Si no hubiese pluralidad no sería necesario la construcción de identidades. Nosotros somos afortunadamente una sociedad y un mundo plural, y como lo dijo aquí Parrodi, además de ser plurales, cada quien tiene el pleno derecho a su singularidad. En ese sentido yo quiero señalar que además de aprender a affidarnos (que le tendremos que buscar un concepto en castellanoÑallí sí vamos a construir, Tere [Incháustegui]), vamos a necesitar reconocer que habemos quienes somos antagónicas. Y tenemos que aprender lo que es vivir en una sociedad democrática de antagonismos leales, de oposiciones consistentes, de interlocutores en donde se ven muy claras las diferencias para que esto nos permita también en el esfuerzo de la unidad de los contrarios, en las tensiones reales de una sociedad dialéctica como es la mexicana, poder vivir y construir la utopía del

siglo veintiuno. Gracias.

"Somos Mujeres Muy Listas"

Una canción escrita por (y para)
las mujeres mexicanas de la conferencia

Esto no puede ser nomás que una canción,
Quisiera fuera una declaración de unión,
Política,
De formas tales,
Que olvidemos las broncas que tenemos a raudales.

Si me criticas no voy morirme,
Si he morir quiero que sea por México,
Por México, por México,
Eternamente por México.

Si alguna vez me siento relegada,
Voy a pensar en esta unión lograda,
Mujeres, mujeres,
La fuerza está en las mujeres.

Tenemos que ponernos muy listas,
Para quedar incluidas en las listas,
Mujeres, las listas,
Somos mujeres muy listas.

Biographical Information

These Bio Sketches have been prepared by the Mexican Center on the basis of original materials provided by each individual. A revised biographical listing will be available later in the conference, and will also be included in the *Memoria*.

María Elena Alvarez de Vicencio received her licenciatura and Maestría in political science from the UNAM, and also has a Master's degree in Law from the UNAM, specializing in Derecho Electoral y Partidos Políticos. She is Diputada Federal for the PAN, and is sub-coordinator for the PAN's Parliamentary block. She also serves as a member of the party's National Executive Committee.

Vivienne Bennett teaches Latin American Politics in the Liberal Studies Program at California State University, San Marcos. She received her Ph.D. in Latin American Studies from The University of Texas at Austin. She is the author of *The Politics of Water: Urban Protest, Gender, and Power in Monterrey, Mexico* published by the University of Pittsburgh Press in 1995. She has done research and published on urban popular movements in Mexico, and is currently researching the history of clandestine political movements in Mexico during the 1970s and their impact on political change in the 1980s and 1990s.

Consuelo Botello is from Monterrey, N.L. and is married with two children. She took her licenciatura in Philosophy at the Universidad de Nuevo Leon and a Diploma in Advanced Studies at the Sorbonne. She has taught at secondary, preparatoria and university levels in Nuevo Le—n and collaborates in the journal *Humanitas*. She has been a member of the PAN since 1967 and at various times has served as a member of the Party's State Committee. Between 1980-83 she was a member of the Primer Equipo Coordinador Femenino a Nivel Nacional. She was local deputy 1979-82, 1988-91, and a federal deputy 1985-88, as well as in the current LVI Legislature, 1994-97.

Leticia Calzada is Diputada Federal for the PRD block in the LVI Legislature. Further details to be provided.

Laura Carrera Lugo estudi— Antropolog’a Social con Doctorado en Sociolingu’stica, especialidad en An‡lisis de Discurso Pol’tico. Ha sido investigadora del Instituto Nacional de Antropolog’a e Historia. Fue Subsecretaria de Organizaci—n del ComitŽ Ejecutivo Nacional del PRI en el per’odo 1988-1992. Actualmente ocupa el cargo de Directora del Instituto Nacional de Salud Mental-DIF del Sistema Nacional. Es coordinadora de la Red Nacional de Mujeres y Punto y pertenece al grupo feminista "De la A a la Z". Ha escrito en varias revistas especializadas y peri—dicos de circulaci—n nacional y ha sido ponente en varias reuniones nacionales e internacionales.

Teresa Carrillo is an Assistant Professor of La Raza Studies in the College of Ethnic Studies at San Francisco State University. Her book manuscript, *Gendered Unions: The Rise and Demise of the Mexican Garment Workers Movement*, follows the "19th of September" Garment Workers Union from

its dramatic emergence after the 1985 earthquake through its difficult transition to a women's labor organization within the patriarchal realm of Mexican trade unions. She teaches courses on government, social movements, and Latinos in the U.S.

Laura Itzel Castillo Ju‡rez es arquitecta egresada de la Universidad National Aut—noma de MŽxico y madre de dos hijos. Laura Itzel ha ejercido los siguientes cargos: Subdirectora del Instituto de Investigaciones en Ingenier'a y Arquitectura S.C., Asamble'sta Integrante de la II Asamblea de Representantes del D.F. Desde joven ha sido militante de izquierda. Actualmente es integrante del ComitŽ Ejecutivo Nacional del Partido de la Revoluci—n Democr‡tica, donde funge como Secretaria de Medio Ambiente y Pol'tica Urbana.

Ana Lilia Cepeda de Le—n is Diputada Federal. She is a sociologist with postgraduate training in political science. In 1988 she was co-founder of the Grupo Mujeres en Lucha por la Democracia and for four years was head of the association. In 1991 this group promoted the creation of the Convenci—n Nacional de Mujeres por la Democracia which, as a broad cross-party front, supported 42 female candidates for election. She was featured in TIME magazine's special issue "The Global 100", TIME's Roster of Young Leaders for the New Millennium.

Elsa M. Chaney did her graduate work at the University of Wisconsin in political science. For the past 30 years she has done extensive research and consulting on women in international development, as well as research on household workers. She collaborates with the Confederaci—n Latinoamericana y del Caribe de Trabajadoras del Hogar with 25 affiliates throughout the region. Presently she is assisting with the studies being carried out by household workers in 10 countries. Her latest publication on this topic is a co-edited volume with Mary Garcia Castro: *Muchacha, cachifa, criada, empleada, empregadinha, sirvienta y ... m‡s nada: Trabajadoras del hogar en AmŽrica Latina y el Caribe* (Caracas: Nueva Socieded, 1993).

Mar'a Elena Chapa has a Bachelor's degree in philosophy and a Masters degree in Human Resources. She is currently PRI Sentator for the State of Nuevo Le—n, and is President of the Congreso Nacional de Mujeres por el Cambio.

Josefina Ch‡vez (details to come)

Nikke Craske is lecturer in Politics at the Queen's University of Belfast, Northern Ireland. She received her doctorate on women and popular protest in Guadalajara from the University of Essex and has since worked at the Institute of Latin American Studies in London and the University of Manchester. She is author of *Corporatism Revisited: Salinas and the Reform of the Popular Sector* and is co-editor of *Dismantling the Mexican State?* and *Mexico and the North American Free Trade Agreement: Who Will Benefit?* both published by Macmillan. She has also written several articles on Mexican politics generally and women and politics in Mexico. She is currently preparing a book on women and politics in Latin America for Polity Press.

Patricia Espinosa Torres received her Bachelor's degree in Spanish Literature from the Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA), where she also undertook graduate studies. She is currently engaged upon a Master's degree in Political Science at the UNAM. She has taught regularly at the UIA, and at the ITESM (QuerŽtaro), and she is part-time researcher in Women's Literature at the Universidad Aut—noma de QuerŽtaro. She has been an active member of the PAN in QuerŽtaro since 1987, contesting various elections for that party. Currently she serves as a member of the PAN's National Executive Committee. Within the PAN she is an active voice in a variety of womens's issues.

Anna M. Fern‡ndez Poncela has a Ph.D in Anthropology from the University of Barcelona and is professor of the UAM (Xochimilco) in the Department of Politics and Culture. She has written numerous articles and chapters on women and politics. Among her more recent publications is *Participaci—n pol'tica: Las mujeres en MŽxico al final del milenio* (editor, 1995, El Colegio de MŽxico).

Rosa Albina Garavito El'as studied economics at the Universidad de Nuevo Le—n, and took her Master's degree in social sciences from FLACSO (Santiago de Chile). She was founder-director of the journal El Cotidiano, published by the UAM, Azcapotzalco, where she continues to teach and research. She was Diputada Federal for the PRD in the LV Legislature (1991-94), and was Coordinator of the PRD parliamentary group. Currently she serves as Director of the Instituto de Estudios de la Revoluci—n Democr‡tica.

Amalia Garc'a Medina is from Zacatecas and is a mother with one child. She has studied sociology at the UNAM and history at the Universidad Aut—mona de Puebla. She has contested various electoral positions and was federal deputy for the PRD in the LVI Legislature. Currently she is Consejera de la Comisi—n de Derechos Humanos del Distrito Federal, and within the PRD she is precandidata a la presidencia nacional del PRD, where she also served as Secretaria de Asuntos Pol'ticos Nacionales del ComitŽ Ejecutivo Nacional. She served as a member of the II Asamblea de Representantes del Distrito Federal where she also presided over the Comisi—n de Seguridad Pœblica y Protecci—n Civil. In addition she is Consejera de la Comisi—n de Derechos Humanos del D.F. She is, or has been, a member of a number of diverse groups concerned with transforming social and living conditions for women, among them: Uni—n Nacional de Mujeres Mexicanas, A.C; Frente Nacional para la Liberaci—n de Derechos de las Mujeres; la Convenci—n Nacional de Mujeres; Acuerdo por la Democracia (ACUDE); "De la A a la Z"; and Campa–a Ganando Espacios.

Judith Gentleman (details to come)

Mary Goldsmith, Ph.D. in Anthropology, University of Connecticut, resident of Mexico for almost 20 years. Currently full professor at the Universidad Aut—noma Metropolitana-Xochimilco. She has conducted extensive research on domestic service, and has published numerous articles on this topic. Member of the editorial board of Debate Feminista and the advisory board of the Colectivo Atabal, a support group for household workers.

Mar’a Teresa G—mez Mont received her licenciatura in Political Science and Public Administration at the Universidad Iberoamericana in 1970 and is about to complete her doctorate in political science from the UNAM. She is federal deputy for the PAN in the LVI Legislature and since 1990 has acted as Consejera to the PAN in the D.F. Since 1988 she has worked extensively on the works and life of Manuel G—mez Mor’n. She has written regularly for the dailies El Nacional and El Financiero, and for the political supplement of Reforma - Enfoque.

Susana Gonz‡lez de Segovia was born in Monterrey in 1937. She has an extensive career in politics for the PAN having served as Diputada Local Suplente 1988-91; President of the PAN's Municipal Committee for San Pedro Garza Garc’a (1988-92) and since 1989 as a member of the Consejo Directivo Estatal del PAN en Nuevo Le—n. Between 1991-93 she was Regidora del Ayuntamiento de San Pedro, Garza Garc’a, and currently is Diputada Local in the State of Nuevo Le—n.

Concepci—n Hinojosa (details to follow)

Teresa Inch‡ustegui (details to follow)

Clara Judisman (details to follow)

Marta Lamas is an anthropologist with a particular interest and specialism in psychoanalytic analysis and has been at the forefront of the feminist movement in Mexico since 1971. She was founder member and activist in Mujeres Trabajaodoras Unidas A.C. (MAS/MUTAC). She works extensively in journalism and has regular editorials in El Universal, Unom‡suno and in La Jornada. Along with others, she founded the journal fem in 1976, the supplement Doblejornada (1987) and the journal Debate Feminista (1990) of which she is the director. In 1992 Marta Lamas founded the Grupo de Informaci—n en Reproducci—n Elegida (GIRE), a program that she currently directs. She has taught courses on womens' and feminist issues at the UNAM, at the Escuela Nacional de Antropolog’a e Historia and at the Colegio de MŽxico.

Gloria Le—n de Mu–oz, has diplomas in Art History and Universal History from the Universidad Iberoamericana. She entered the PAN in 1987 and has held several internal positions oriented towards the regional political promotion of women. In 1993 she was the PAN's Coordinadora de Promoci—n Pol’tica de la Mujer. She is a member of the PAN's national Executive Committee, as well as a Consejera Nacional.

Cecilia Lor’a Savi–on was born in the Distrito Federal. She has degrees in psychology and in psychoanalysis and is a university teacher of pyschotherapy. She is Founder of the Grupo de Educaci—n Popular con Mujeres, A.C; she is a member of the coordinating committee of the Campa–a Gananado Espacios and also of the group "De la A a la Z". She formed part of Mexico's coordinating committee for NGOs at last year's Beijing Conference. Today she is Coordinadora Nacional de Organzaciones de Mujeres "Hacia un Milenio Feminista". She writes occasionally for the Doble Jornada supplement and is author of several books: *Para nacer de Nuevo* (1991), and *Familias en Transformaci—n y C—digos por*

Transformar (1992).

Sara Lovera is a journalist who studied social work, specializing in agricultural communications. She began her career in journalism in 1968 at the daily newpaper El D'a and since that time has also worked in radio and television. She was founding member of La Jornada, where she continues to work. In that daily she is director of the monthly publication "DobleJornada". In 1987 she founded the Centro de Communicaci—n e Informaci—n de la Mujer, A.C. which seeks to develop links between the major means of communication and women. She has received two major national awards for her work in journalism: Rosario Castellanos in 1989, and Al Valor Civil in 1990. She has two children.

Alicia Mart'nez is Professor/Researcher in FLACSO (Mexico). Her Bachelor's degree is in anthropology at the Escuela Nacional de Santoro, and her Master's from COLMEX. Currently she is working on her doctorate in Social Sciences at the COLMEX. She is the author of numerous articles on women in politics and of two books -- *Mujeres Latinoamericans en Cifras* (FLACSO Mexico, 1993) and *Gobierno y sociedad: Pol'ticas pœblicas en MŽxico y CentroamŽrica* (FLACSO Mexico, 1992).

Alejandra Massolo is Researcher/Professor in the Department of Sociology at the Universidad Aut—noma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa in Mexico City. She has a Master's degree in urban sociology. She collaborates in the Interdisciplinary Program of Women's Studies (PIEM) at the Colegio de MŽxico, which has also published her books: *Por Amor y Coraje: Mujeres en Movimientos Urbanos de la Cd. de MŽxico*, and *Los Medios y los Modos: Participaci—n Pol'tica y Acci—n Colectiva de Mujeres*.

Mar'a Guadalupe Mej'a Guzm‡n has professional qualifications in Chemistry and in Psychology with a specialization in Family Therapy. She has worked in areas relating to food technology, and with families through SEP centers for atenci—n psicopedag—gica. She has been a militant within the PAN since 1960, and has served the party in a variety of capacities at the local and national levels, including being a member of its Consejo Nacional.

Patricia Mercado ha trabajado con mujeres en sindicatos desde una perspectiva feminista durante 12 a–os. Como coordinadra de GIRE, y para su desarrollo personal, ha recibido una beca MacArthur (1992). Es coordinadora y presidenta de Mujeres Trabajadoras Unidas (MUTUAC-MAS) (1991). Ha participado en conferencias y seminarios organizados por la academia, el gobierno y organizaciones feministas. Estudi— econom'a en la Universidad Nacional Aut—noma de MŽxico. Martha Luc'a Micher Camarena took her Bachelor's degree in pedagogy and has studied extensively in Italy. She is a professor at the Universidad Iberoamericana (UIA), Le—n, where she teaches Human Rights and social sciences. She was a member of the Mexican NGO delegation to Beijing and was Guanajuato state representative of the feminist movement of NGOs in 1994-95. In 1995 she was PRD candidate for the governorship of Guanajuato, and currently is collaborating in the State Human Rights Attorney General's office serving as coordinator of education. She is a PRD militant, and is vice-president of the PRD (Guanajuato) state council.

Mar'a de los Angeles Moreno received her Licenciatura from the Escuela Nacional de Econom'a at the

UNAM, and subsequently took a postgraduate diploma in Planeaci—n Socioecon—mica from the Institute of Social Studies at the Hague. She has held numerous positions in successive administrations in Mexico, notable among these being Subsecretaria de Programaci—n y Presupuesto (1986-88), and Secretaria de Pesca (1988-91). In the Legislature she has served as Diputada Federal (LV Legislatura) during which time she held, among several major assignments, the Presidency of the Comisi—n de Programaci—n, Presupuesto y Cuenta Pœblica and was Presidenta de la Gran Comisi—n. At that time she was coordinator of the PRI parliamentary group. In 1994 she was elected Senator for the Federal District for the LVI and LVII Legislatures (1994-2000). She has been a member of the PRI since 1970, and held a variety of appointments within the party (including that of Presidenta del Congreso de Mujeres por el Cambio, 1993-95), culminating in her being Secretary General of the PRI's National Executive Committee, and then Party President for the period December 1994 - August 1995. Senator Moreno has received numerous awards and accolades, including that of "La Mujer del A–o 1994" awarded by the Patronato Nacional de la Mujer del A–o, A.C. She is author of numerous journal articles and book chapters. In 1995 she published Evoluci—n de la Deuda Pœblica Externa de MŽxico 1950-1993 (Ediciones Castillo).

Beatriz Padilla has a degree in Political Science and Public Administration from the Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, Mendoza, Argentina, where she also served as advisor to the Rector on international cooperation and exchange programs. She also worked for several years as economic policy analyst at the Instituto de Econom’a y Organizaci—n. In 1995 she obtained her Master's degree in Public Affairs at the University of Texas at Austin; her thesis was on the role of women and NGOs in Latin American development.

Beatriz Elena Paredes Rangel has been Subsecretaria de Gobernaci—n and also of Reforma Agraria. In addition she has served as Mexico's Ambassador to Cuba. At various times she has held elected office on behalf of the PRI, being Diputada Federal on two occasions, Diputada Estatal (for Tlaxcala), and Gobernadora Constitucional del Estado de Tlaxcala. Within the PRI she has been General Secretary of the National Executive Committee, and Directora de Promoci—n y Gestor’a for the C.E.N. Currently she is General Secretary of the Confederaci—n Nacional Campesina.

Patricia Parrodi (further details to follow).

Ana Rosa Pay‡n Cervera is an accountant by training, having studied economics and administration at the Universidad de Yucat‡n. She has served as President of the Community of Catholic Professionals. She entered the PAN in 1983 and has served in a variety of senior party positions in Yucat‡n since that time, as well as a national counsellor. Currently she is Diputada Local, Presidenta del ComitŽ Directivo Estatal, Consejera Estatal y Nacional, and is a member of the PAN National Executive Committee. Since 1987 she has contested several local and federal elections for the PAN, being successful and serving as federal deputy for the 1st District between 1988-90. She was candidate for the state governorship in 1993, and between 1991-93 was municipal president for MŽrida.

Carmen Ramos is an Assistant Professor at Occidental College (further details to follow)

Rosario Robles is Federal Deputy for the PRD in the LVI Legislature, and President of the Comisi—n de Desarrollo Social de la C‡mara de Diputados. She has a licenciatura in Economics and a Master's degree in Rural Development, and has served as a faculty member in Economics at the UNAM since 1979. At the UNAM she was a member of the Executive Committee of the Labor Union (STUNAM) and was Secretaria de Acci—n para la Mujer for six years. She was a founding member of the PRD and since that time has been a member of the party's Consejo Nacional. She is a member of the Comisi—n de Mujeres, and ex-secretary of the Movimientos Sociales del ComitŽ Ejecutivo Nacional del PRD. A feminist, she is a member of the campaign Ganando Espacios and of the group "De la A a la Z". She is the mother of 11 year-old Mariana.

Victoria E. Rodr'guez took her Bachelor's degree at the Instituto Tecnol—gico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey and her Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley. Currently she is Associate Professor at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, at the University of Texas at Austin. Her principal research interests revolve around political and administrative decentralization in Mexico, as well as the current project on Women in Mexican Politics. She is author (with Peter Ward) of *Policymaking, Politics and Urban Governance in Chihuahua: The Experience of Recent Panista Governments* (1992) and *Political Change in Baja California: Democracy in the Making?* (1994), and co-editor of *Opposition Government in Mexico* (1995). She is also author of a forthcoming volume: *Decentralization in Mexico: From Reforma Municipal to Solidaridad to Nuevo Federalismo* and of several articles and book chapters dealing with Mexican politics and public administration. In 1993-94 she served as a consultant for the World Bank on a project on decentralization and regional development in Mexico.

Cecilia Romero Castillo is diputada federal for the PAN. (Further details to follow).

Dulce Mar'a Sauri Riancho was born in Yucat‡n, and took her Licenciatura in Sociology. Prior to her current position as Diputada Federal for the PRI, she has served that party in a variety of senior positions: as diputada, senadora, Interim Governor for the State of Yucat‡n, and as Finance Secretary to the C.E.N. In the present Legislature she serves as Presidenta de la Comisi—n de Cultura, as member of the Gran Comisi—n, the Comisi—n de Hacienda y CrŽdito Pœblico, and the Comisi—n de Programaci—n y Presupuesto. She also teaches at the Universidad Aut—noma de Yucat‡n, and at the Universidad de Guadalajara, Escuela de Turismo.

Lucrecia Solano Martino is from Torre—n, Coahuila. She graduated in Economics from the Instituto Tecnol—gico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey, and has a Master's degree in Mexican History from the Universidad Iberoamericana. She is President and founder of the Centro de Extensi—n Universitaria de la Universidad Iberoamericana in Saltillo. In addition, she has been a founding member of the Municipal Archive of Torre—n, of the Instituto Estatal de Documentaci—n del Estado de Coahuila, and of Mujeres de Coahuila. She is married to Rogelio Montemayor Seguy, Governor of Coahuila.

Kathleen Staudt received her BA, Master's and Doctoral degrees in Political Science from the

University of Wisconsin. She is Professor in the Department of Government at the University of Texas at El Paso (UTEP) where she has taught for more than fifteen years, having recently served as Chair of the Department. Her research focuses primarily upon development theory, public administration, and women in politics in less developed countries, particularly in Africa. Among her books and monographs are *Women and the State in Africa*, and *Women, the State and Development* (both 1989); *Women, International Development and Politics: The Bureaucratic Mire* (editor, 1990); and *Gender Training and Development Planning* (1991).

Lynn Stephen is an Associate Professor of anthropology and acting director of Latino, Latin American and Caribbean Studies at Northeastern University. She is the author of *Zapotec Women* (University of Texas Press, 1991), *Hear My Testimony: Mar'a Teresa Tula, Human Rights Activist of El Salvador* (South End Press, 1994), and *Power From Below: Women's Grassroots Organizing in Latin America* (University of Texas Press, in press). She is the co-editor of *Class, Politics and Popular Religion in Mexico and Central America* (AAA, 1990). She is currently researching the movement for indigenous autonomy in Mexico and the impact of economic restructuring and changes in land reform policy in rural Chiapas and Oaxaca. Her work on agrarian reform policy and the movement of indigenous autonomy continues her ongoing interests in the intersections of gender and ethnicity.

Mar'a Luisa TarrŽs received her doctorate in Sociology from the University of Paris. She is Researcher/Professor at the Centro de Estudios Sociol—gicos, El Colegio de MŽxico. Her principal research interests include social and political participation of various sectors (especially women), social movements and collective action. Recently she edited the book *La voluntad de ser: Mujeres en los noventa* (1993), and is author of many major articles in academic journals.

Mar'a de Lourdes Torres Landa is Contador Pœblico y Licenciada en Adminstraci—n de Empresas. Since 1967 she has been a militant in the PAN, has served on the National Central Committee, and as member of the Consejo Nacional. Currently she is a member of the Consejo Nacional as well as of the C. E.N. del PAN, where she serves as Treasurer.

Ann Varley is Lecturer in Geography at University College London since 1986. She took a first class honors degree in Geography from the University of Oxford in 1980, and her M.A. in 1984. She received her Ph.D from the University of London, on the topic of Ejido land development and regularization in Mexico City, which won the British-Mexican Society Potsgraduate Prize in 1985. She has published extensively on low-income housing and land regularization issues, and is currently working on gender and household issues in housing. Among her books are: *Landlord and Tenant: Housing the Poor in Urban Mexico* (1991, Routledge, with Alan Gilbert), and *Disasters, Development and Environment* (1994, editor, John Wiley).

Lilia Venegas has a Master's degree in social anthropology and is a doctoral candidate in sociology at the UNAM. She is researcher at the Instituto Nacional de Antrolopolog'a e Historia and is also professor at the Instituto Tecnol—gico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. She is author of several chapters and articles dealing with women's involvement in local politics, and co-author of *Testimonios de*

participaci—n popular femenina en defensa del voto: Ciudad Ju‡rez, Chihuahua, 1982-1986 (1992).

Peter M. Ward B.A. Hull, M.A. Cambridge, and Ph.D. Liverpool. He has held senior teaching positions at the Universities of London (UCL) and Cambridge before moving to the University of Texas at Austin in 1991, where he is Professor in the Department of Sociology and at the LBJ School of Public Affairs. Since 1993 he has also served as the Director of the Mexican Center of the Institute of Latin American Studies. He is currently completing two major research projects: local "opposition" governments in Mexico (with Victoria Rodr'guez), and a study of residential land values and land development policy in Mexico. At various times he has served as advisor to the Mexican government and to several international development agencies. Among his most recent books are: *Housing, the State and the Poor: Policy and Practice in Latin American Cities* (1985); *Welfare Politics in Mexico: Papering Over the Cracks* (1986); *Mexico City: The Production and Reproduction of an Urban Environment* (1990); and (editor 1994) *Methodology for Land and Housing Market Analysis*, as well as several major works with Victoria Rodr'guez (see above.)