

A NEUTROSOPHICAL EVALUATION FROM PERU

*EMPOWERMENT AND  
PARTICIPATION OF LATIN  
AMERICAN WOMEN IN POLITICS*

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## PROLOGUE

*“Freedom cannot be achieved unless women have been emancipated from all forms of oppression. We all assume that the objective of the reconstruction and development program will not have been achieved unless we see in visible practical terms that the status of women in our country has radically changed for the better and that they have been empowered to intervene in all aspects of life. life on an equal footing with any other member of society”.*

*Nelson Mandela*

In the search for the approval of women's rights, one of the main requests was their participation in the political sphere, their right to vote, their incorporation into political spaces and full participation as citizens.

The political participation of women is a matter of human rights, considered as a central strategy in the construction of gender equality and in the strengthening of democracy, but the limited presence of women in political decision-making spaces reflects that our democracy still It is not effective, therefore, this research will contribute to the theoretical enrichment that helps in the intervention to promote the political and social empowerment of women, and will analyze the political representation of women in democratic systems.

The importance of women's political participation lies in guaranteeing a true democratic rule of law, since women represent half of the population, this book mainly considers the position of the group of independent women called DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a new era) who propose a vision of the world without class, gender and race inequality, so that basic needs become basic rights and all forms of violence are eliminated, allowing all people to have the same opportunity to develop fully it's potential under the values of solidarity in human relationships.

In Peru, the first achievement was obtained with the municipal vote, during the Peruvian Constituent Congress of 1931. According to Valdivia (2019), the path towards the recognition of the political equality of women is marked by historical milestones: A first milestone It was the recognition of the female vote in the municipal elections of 1933.

The second was the constitutional recognition of women's citizenship in 1955 with the constitutional reform in the Manuela Odría government, which recognized women lawyers as citizens with the right to vote to participate in all political elections.

The third milestone, the universalization of the right to vote, referring to the constitutional recognition of the right to equality and non-discrimination for women in 1979.

The fourth was in 1997 with the approval of the gender quota in the electoral lists for various popularly elected positions. Finally, the fifth milestone is the

constitutionalization of the guarantee of gender representation in 2002, that is, parity and alternation in public office. (Valdivia, 2019, p.19)

In this sense, this book seeks to know the factors that influence the political participation of women to access public office and decision-making spaces, hence the importance of knowing the factors that help or limit the viability of female political empowerment and their participation in electoral processes; the practical contribution lies in providing political organizations with relevant actions and strategies to promote the participation of women in politics and especially in electoral processes, since as it is a matter on the public agenda, laws such as parity and alternation in the following general, regional and municipal elections.

The recognition of Peruvian women as subjects of rights is the result of a gradual process, through history it has been shown that women are in a situation of social disadvantage to access public and political spaces, therefore knowing the situation the political participation of women in our town will allow us to provide a referential framework for the diagnosis and design of municipal public policies that enable the political empowerment of women.

The political participation of women is important because it favors the fulfillment of goal number five of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) on achieving gender equality and empowering all women and girls, although today more women hold public office, encouraging more women to become leaders will help achieve greater gender equality.

This book analyzes some theoretical issues of empowerment and political participation of women, with a special interest in Latin American women. Under this premise, an evaluation is carried out with the help of Neutrosophy, of the political participation of women in the 2018 electoral process in the Municipality of Huamanga, Peru.

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## CHAPTER I

### FEMALE EMPOWERMENT IN POLITICS

The possibility for all citizens to participate in the management of public affairs is at the very heart of democracy. At the same time, the full and equal participation of women and men in political decision-making provides a balance that more accurately reflects the composition of society and thus can increase the legitimacy of political processes by making them more democratic and receptive to the concerns and perspectives of all segments of society.

Despite these facts, in most countries of the world, the political arena is still largely dominated by men, and it is even an exclusively male stronghold in some countries. In democracy, everyone's voice is heard equally; however, throughout history, women, who constitute fifty percent of the world's population, are underrepresented in decision-making processes at all levels of governance in the world, and are even politically dominated and marginalized, socially, economically, physically, and psychologically by their counterparts. Therefore, the participation of women in political discourse is a recent phenomenon.

The participation of women in political decision-making positions was recognized as a political right after the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Articles 2 and 21 of the declaration stipulate equal enjoyment of political rights without discrimination. For reasons of sex or any other reason. Even in most western states, the franchise right of women is not recognized in the first wave of democratization, except in the United States, Great Britain, and some European countries.

It is increasingly recognized that the political empowerment of women is essential for modern states. Both academics and professionals see a link between women's political empowerment and outcomes for women, children, and society as a whole (Alexander, Bolzendahl, & Jalalzai, 2016; de Castro, 2017; Di Liscia, & Herminia, 2007; Ortega Ospina, 2017; Sánchez and Falconi, 2015; Vázquez, 2010).

The benefits of women's empowerment are also increasingly addressed in the academic literature investigating economic and social development (Imada, 2020; Mora Cuervo, 2021; Ochman, 2016;). Empowerment is therefore of great interest to various stakeholders working to reduce poverty, whether they are advocacy organizations, development scholars, or government officials.

Attention to gender is also increasingly meaningful to the international community. Statements by a wide range of international bodies - led primarily by the United Nations, but including the Inter-Parliamentary Union, the African Union, the Commonwealth, the Council of Europe, the European Union, and the Organization of American States - urge the Member States to achieve a minimum of 30% women in all elected positions (Krook, 2006, Towns, 2010).

With the inclusion of the political representation of women and the empowerment of women and girls in the fifth Sustainable Development Goal, the political empowerment

of women is a high priority issue in international development cooperation (Mosedale, 2014).

In political statements, such as the Beijing Platform for Action and the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, there is a twofold approach: First, the empowerment of women is a goal in itself and, second, it can provoke other processes of prosperity (Malhotra, Schuler and Boender, 2002).

The issue of women's politics (2016, p. 257) recently confirmed that, although the concept of women's empowerment is well developed, "progress on the empirical front has faced significant challenges around the development of traceable measurements and data availability. "

## **Feminist theory**

Contemporary feminist theory emerged from the women's movement because of the illustration in the eighteenth century, beginning with the questioning of inequalities between the sexes in social, economic, political, educational, and other spheres, in that context it was raised that a person's knowledge was not due to nature but to education, which allowed women of high social status to make a series of claims and demands to access the same rights as men.

As every social movement had its stages, which refer to the path traveled for the recognition of women's rights in history, called "The 4 waves of feminism" the first wave refers to "suffragism" which was a global, social reformist movement, political and economic of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, promoted the extension of the right to choose and be elected defended by equal suffrage. The second wave was "feminism for equality" in the 60s, it sought physical autonomy without exclusion for women and the socialization of domestic activities with men, conditions that allowed them to go out into the labor, educational and political sphere (Colazo, 2020).

The third wave was the so-called "Feminism of difference" where the theoretical contribution from the knowledge of women to the social field is prioritized, visualizing the thought and praxis of masculinities as a response to cultural patterns; and the fourth wave is the so-called "Post-colonial Feminism" where intersectionality in gender was prioritized as a dynamic between coexisting identities, that is, it understands that ethnicity, gender, economic class, sexual orientation, age and other categories are constructed and are interrelated among them (Colazo, 2020).

Feminist theory that emerged in the wake of the second wave of feminism in Europe and the US in the early 1980s has continued to be questioned, reinterpreted, and used ever since. As a theory, methodology or praxis, it emerged from feminist debate, awareness, and action and, therefore, "does not belong exclusively to the academy" (Bracke and de la Bellacasa, 2004, p. 313).

Feminist theory involved several activists/theorists, many of whom worked without knowing each other, investigating how patriarchy, the system through which men have historically controlled public life and domesticated women, had an impact not only on how women perceive reality, but also on how reality itself is perceived.

The feminist movement was initially of a social and political nature, and later began to question various concepts, characters, ideas and positions developed by traditional social theories regarding women and the feminine, thus transcending into the academic field (a space where women were excluded) under feminist theory.

Gross (1986) refers that this theory is based on the creation of representations that allow women to be considered equal to men and that one of its precursors, Mary Wollstonecraft (1759-1797), laid the foundations for claiming the same rights, opportunities, and conditions for women, which until then were only accepted for men.

Feminist theory has put forward different conceptual categories such as: empowerment, intersectionality, autonomy, gender, parity, alternation, among others, being the patriarchal system one of the first categories studied. According to Vélez (2010) patriarchy considers women as objects of men, politically excluded and thrown into a differentiated education reaffirming reproductive roles, without rights to be in the social sphere.

A central tenet of feminist theory is that the experience of oppression itself potentially privileges people in terms of their knowledge. Where women are concerned, this is expressed in a variety of ways, whether in terms of everyday practice itself having been excluded from analysis, through a feminist rewriting of object relations theory, through the gendered division of labor, through care relations, etc. (Mosedale, 2014)

A concept that perhaps encompasses all this is marginality, "a central place for the production of a counter-hegemonic discourse that is not only found in words, but in habits of being and in the way of living" (Hooks, 1990, cited by Solórzano and Villalpando, 1998, p. 149). The theory of critical point of view and broadens the concept of objectivity in a way that has significant implications for the production of knowledge in general and for the production of knowledge related to the empowerment of women in particular.

Feminist theory rejects "objectivity" in its classical sense, that is, as a claim to be able to achieve transcendence, to position oneself outside and above the world and to be able to inspect it from the shining space platforms of the powerful. Rather, it is argued that precisely when conceptual frameworks appear most value-free is when they are most likely to serve the interests of the dominant group (Harding, 2004).

Feminist theory, by contrast, accepts the socially situated character of its own claims for knowledge, arguing that these are enabled precisely through various experiences of social marginality. Therefore, marginality is not simply a place of deprivation, but also a place that "feeds one's own capacity for resistance" (Hooks, 1990, cited by Solórzano and Villalpando, 1998, p. 150).

Also, you need to think in terms of plural points of view; Different experiences of marginality have the potential to shed light on different forms of oppressive social practices, as Black feminists such as Hooks and Collins (1986, cited by Wilder, Jones and Osborne-Lampkin, 2013) have argued so strongly.

It is important to appreciate that feminist theory rejects relativism with as much enthusiasm as objectivity. Relativists argue that, in the absence of a single "objective"

way of judging knowledge claims, all claims can only be local, "each valid in its own light and unable to claim anything from others" (Harding, 2004, p. 131).

Feminist theory accepts no such thing. Feminist and anti-feminist claims are not complementary; they are in conflict, as Harding acidly points out (2004, p. 132). Women's wombs don't wander through their bodies when they study math. The hunter man did not just create the history of mankind. Raped and abused women are not only to blame for themselves. And so on.

When Mohanty (1991) criticized Western feminism for assuming that its truly situated knowledge was universal or objective, she was not arguing that all knowledge was relative (Stone-Mediatore, 1998). In her later writing, she stated that her own analysis "is based on the notion of epistemic privilege as developed by theorists from the feminist point of view" (Mohanty, 2003, p. 512).

Instead, she championed a common issue, a common set of concepts, and ultimately the possibility of a common political project with white feminism. In 2003, Mohanty stressed that:

The challenge is to see how differences enable us to better and more accurately explain connections and border crossings, how specifying differences enables us to more fully theorize universal concerns. It is this intellectual movement that allows my concern for women of different communities and identities to build coalitions and solidarity across borders. (Mohanty, 2003, p. 505)

While feminist views can (and do) accommodate difference, they also involve circumscribing what counts as a feminist. However, it is not a question of establishing a meta-theory of feminism; feminisms are the "product of a continuous and political negotiation within and between various groups of women who theorize from the point of view of their experiences of gender, race, class and other oppressions" (Hirschmann, 2012, p. 320). Therefore, the development of a feminist point of view is necessarily a collective task.

Point of view theorists also stress that one must fight for a feminist point of view, the vision available to women under patriarchy. While getting a better understanding of how you are subordinate can be liberating in and of itself, it can also be distressing, especially if the remedies are hard to imagine. Also, learning more about how your own behaviors and attitudes subordinate others is never painless.

For all these reasons, participating in a point of view development process is not something that can be prescribed; you must choose it. It takes courage to embrace the difference and the partial knowledge of one's own and of others, in search of "a more adequate, richer and better story of a world, in order to live in it well and in a critical and reflective relationship with one's own domination practices and alien and with the unequal parts of privilege and oppression that make up all positions" (Haraway, 1988, p. 579). However, without a moral and political act of commitment to develop such a vision, "women's distinctive practices and thinking remain part of the world created by male domination" (Harding, 1986, p. 150).

In short, actually experiencing oppression has the potential to produce valuable knowledge; different experiences of oppression produce different knowledge; not all knowledge is equal; through the exploration of knowledge situated in a different way, we can better understand and thus challenge our own subordination and that of others; Developing such knowledge is a collective activity and is not painless.

This thought also puts women in a position of submission in the face of male symbolic power (differential cultural traits), likewise, it considers that these attitudes are acquired through endoculturation (anthropology) or socialization (psychology), where people transmit their knowledge, thoughts and culture through learning and language (Rojas, 2015) or other social practices, these are necessary aspects to understand the attitudes of discrimination or relegation of women in different spheres of society.

The argument that allowed us to focus on gender equality from politics was presented by Kate Millet (1970) with the phrase "The personal is political", she considered that all social inequalities have their origin in the dominance of men over women and that the practices of inequality produced in the private sphere are reproduced in the public sphere; This made it possible to make visible aspects that were considered foreign to women, such as: the right to intervene in public affairs, the right to instruction or higher education, the right to exercise all professions and the right to control their own assets and resources (Song, 2019).

With this theory, the structure of society was being questioned, it was proposed that, to achieve equality between women and men, their insertion in politics is necessary to allow them to have broader struggles aimed at female autonomy, that is, political self-determination, social, economic, and intellectual.

Valcárcel (1995) refers that the margins in politics have changed and that feminism is not willing to admit that there are areas from which equality, consensual decision and dialogue are excluded.

Under this theory, the author Kate Young (1991), maintains as thesis the different needs of working women with respect to the life cycle, that is, the needs of older women are related to health, housing, physical security, and financial stability; While younger women have their needs in response to the responsibilities of childcare and safety in the face of violence, this contribution allowed this book to understand the needs and socioeconomic characteristics of women candidates, as well as the roles they play, their autonomy and social experience in an intergenerational way and discover that despite being in the same sector as working women, their perspectives and priorities are different in terms of politics and leadership (Peet and Hartwick, 2015).

Likewise, Kate Young's contribution allowed us to know the perception of women candidates about the electoral process, since under their arguments women who want to enter politics go through a series of obstacles and barriers such as access to technical training, social experience, indifference and even harassment by colleagues; This argument made it possible to analyze the possibilities for the former candidates to continue in political spaces, as well as the perception they have regarding their defeats during the campaign and about the triumph of the current women councilors.

The feminist theory at the same time constructs a definition of women's empowerment, the researcher Cristina Sevillano (2014) argues that this term refers to power in the face of material goods, but, above all, to the ability to interrelate with other actors in various contexts, This explanation made it possible to analyze and describe the personal motivations and autonomy of the former candidates to get involved in politics and to know their own characteristics to join a political organization and negotiate their placement on the electoral lists.

## **Democratic theory and political representation**

"Democracy is a political system, where the power of the people is exercised over the people, becoming subject and object at the same time" (Sartori, 2019). In democratic countries, the election of who will be our representatives is exercised through voting and the power to make decisions in favor of all citizens is conferred.

In the middle of the 20th century, many women's organizations were formed that demanded the exercise of full citizenship, that is, the approval of the right to political equality since this constitutes a fundamental element for democratic systems.

Currently, there are laws and policies that seek to contribute to equal conditions between men and women, even so, there is little presence of women in public spaces or decision-making due to cultural and economic barriers, therefore, "If representativeness is a key element of democracy, in Peru there is no representative democracy, since we have a deficit in the amount of presence of women in political spaces" (Valdivia, 2019).

Representative democracy as it is known today has evolved from two key sources. First, during the 20th century, the expansion of the right to vote transformed liberal and constitutional regimes into mass democracies. Second, when structured through constitutionalism, electoral representation allowed for a dynamic, if not very fruitful, balance between elite rule and the social and political democratization of society, with political parties dismissing parliaments as main places of representation. Until relatively recently, these two sources shaped what was called the "standard narrative" of representative democracy (Urbinati and Warren, 2008).

The standard story has four main characteristics. In the first place, representation is understood as a principal-agent relationship, in which the principals -the electoral constituencies formed on a territorial basis- elect agents to represent and act according to their interests and opinions, thus separating the sources. legitimate power of those who exercise that power.

Second, electoral representation identifies a space in which the sovereignty of the people is identified with the power of the State. Third, electoral mechanisms guarantee a certain capacity for response to the people by the representatives and political parties who speak and act on their behalf. Finally, universal suffrage endows electoral representation with an important element of political equality (Sparks, 2018).

The complexities of the principal-agent relationship, which is the core of the standard representation, are well recognized. The translation of votes in representation, for

example, is mediated by various electoral systems with more or less exclusive characteristics. Parties, interest groups, and corporate organizations set agendas, while public spheres, the defense of civil society, and the environment shape preferences and shape public opinion, as well as debate and leadership within organizations. own legislative bodies (Ackerly, 2006).

Furthermore, the principal-agent relationship between voters and representatives is notoriously difficult to maintain, for numerous reasons ranging from information deficits to corruption of representative relationships (Mansbridge, 2018).

These complexities continue to exist, but have been overcome by new realities, so that the very formulation of the problems within the standard narrative is increasingly inadequate. Perhaps the most significant of these developments has been the dislocation, pluralization, and redefinition of constituencies. The central feature of the standard narrative is that constituencies are defined by territory; individuals are represented to the extent that they are inhabitants of a place (Jaquette, 2018).

From the formation of the modern state, territorial residence became the fundamental condition for political representation, a more inclusive condition than representation based on status and companies. In fact, the territory has had an important historical relationship with political equality that has been maintained until modern times.

In ancient Athens, Cleisthenes changed the condition for counting as an Athenian citizen, moving from family and clan identity to residence in the demes or town (Hansen 1993, cited by Kingzette and Neblo, 2021). In this way, Cleisthenes transformed the mere fact of residence into a sufficient condition for the equitable distribution of power and laid the foundations of the modern concept of constituency.

However, territoriality, although historically essential for the evolution of democratic representation, only identifies a set of ways in which individuals are part of, or affected by, collective structures and decisions. Issues such as migration, world trade and the environment, for example, are extraterritorial; they are not subject to any territorially organized policy (Kingzette and Neblo, 2021).

Other issues are not territorial, especially those that have to do with identity, such as religion, ethnicity, nationalism, professional identity, leisure, gender identity and many social movements. These non-territorial interests are not new to theorists of democracy. The main object of disagreement in the elaboration and interpretation of the democratic constitution of the Weimar Republic, for example, was whether the representation should represent individuals or corporate interests.

In modern constitutional democracies, however, old corporatist views of parliaments and representation have given way to the representation of individuals whose only common characteristic is residence. Thus, legislatures serve non-residential constituencies only indirectly, not because citizens have a quota of power assigned by the territory, but rather because pressure and advocacy groups can organize votes based on territory along non-territorial lines. (Volk, 2021).

Other venues have sprung up to represent other types of groups. The world is now populated by a large number of transnationals, extraterritorial and non-territorial actors,

ranging from relatively formalized institutions built from territorial units (such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the European Union and numerous organizations created under the treaties), to a multitude of non-governmental organizations, transnational movements, associations and social networks, each of which makes claims and fulfills representative functions (Volk, 2021).

Closely related, the places of collective decision-making are increasingly differentiated. In developed democracies, markets and market-oriented entities are likely to continue to function as dynamic sources of change. Governments are increasingly nimble in channeling market forces and incentives, as are civil society organizations.

In many cases, this evolution drastically shifts the objective of collective decisions, away from planning models centered on the state - which can obtain, so to speak, the sovereignty of citizens to act on their behalf - and towards models of governance. These issue- and policy-based networks of government actors and stakeholders are often more effective than bureaucracies that are accountable to the legislature but lack formal legitimacy and clear representative responsibility to those affected by decisions (Contreras and Montecinos, 2019).

The panorama of democratic representation is also clouded by the increasing complexity of matters, which increasingly puts the powers of representative agents to the test and, therefore, their capacities to defend the interests of their constituents and act accordingly. There is the well-known technical and scientific complexity that comes with the large amount of information and the high levels of technology that go into most public decisions, which is often compounded by the political complexity that comes with the existence of multiple and overlapping constituencies (Addor, 2018).

As a consequence of these developments, the standard narrative has been expanded to the breaking point. One of the most important problems is, ironically, the element that gave rise to democratic representation: electoral representation based on residence. The claim of any State to represent its citizens - its claim to sovereignty on behalf of the people - is open to challenge, not because States do not encompass peoples, but because collective issues only partially admit this type of definition of constituencies.

Electoral representation continues to be the ultimate reference for state power. But while Burke (1968, cited by Heiss, 2020), imagined that representatives could monopolize considered opinion on public ends through the use of deliberative judgment, representative assemblies today must go ever further to achieve legitimacy. politics of their decisions. Judging by the decline in trust in governments in general and in legislative bodies in particular, claims for representation based on territorial constituencies (according to the standard model) continue to weaken (Addor, 2018).

Electoral representation remains crucial to constituting the will of the people, but the claims of elected officials to act on behalf of the people are increasingly segmented by issue and subject to broader debate and deliberation by actors and entities that also have representative claims (Vázquez, 2017).

Political trials that were previously linked to state sovereignty through electoral representation are now much more dispersed, and the spaces for claims and representative speeches are now relatively open. In complex and widely democratic societies, representation is an objective of competing claims (Vázquez, 2017).

Until recently, democracy theorists were not well positioned to respond to these developments, having divided their work between those working with the standard account of representation and those dealing with participation and inclusion. The division of labor followed the channels excavated by Rousseau more than two centuries ago, who identified the *res publica* with direct self-government and representative government with a surly form of power.

The English people, Rousseau claimed, are free only the moment they vote, after which they return to "slavery," to be ruled by the will of another. "Sovereignty," wrote Rousseau, "cannot be represented for the same reason that it cannot be alienated. It consists essentially of the general will, and the will cannot be represented. The will is either itself or it is something else; there is no possible middle ground. The people's deputies, therefore, are not and cannot be their representatives; they are nothing more than its commissioners. They cannot definitively conclude anything" (Rousseau, 1978, cited by Ahlstrom-Vij, 2019, p. 198).

Rousseau thus configured representation to the terms of the principal-agent dispute, while stripping the delegate of any role in shaping the political will of the people. In legal usage, Rousseau understood political representation in terms of "imperative man": the delegate operates under a trust contract that allows the principal (the citizens) to temporarily grant an agent his power to take specific actions, but does not delegate the will decision-making, which is retained by the principal (Ahlstrom-Vij, 2019).

Rousseau's distinction between legitimate government (or democratic government, in contemporary terminology) and representation was based on discourses with very different historical roots. Democracy originated as direct democracy in ancient Greek city-states, while representation originated in the medieval Christian church and in feudal relations encompassed in the Holy Roman Empire, its monarchies, municipalities, and principalities (Vázquez, 2017).

However, in modern discourse, the concept of political representation has evolved beyond this distinction, becoming something more complex and promising than the Rousseauian distinction between the (democratic) will of the people and the (aristocratic) judgments of political elites. The representation, which was developed together with the constitutionalization of the powers of the State, went on to indicate the complex set of relationships that give rise to the activation of the "sovereign people" far beyond the formal act of electoral authorization.

After Rousseau, it is increasingly understood that representative politics has the potential to unify and connect plural forms of association within civil society, partly projecting the horizons of citizens beyond their immediate ties, and partly provoking that citizens reflect on future prospects and conflicts in the process of conception of national policy (Ahlstrom-Vij, 2019).

Political representation can function to focus without permanently solidifying the sovereignty of the people, while transforming its presence from formal sanction (will) into political influence (impeachment). Most importantly, political representation can give politics an idealizing dimension that can transcend the limits of territoriality and formal citizenship in political deliberation.

However, Rousseau's formulations failed to shed light on these potential transformers of political representation. Although he believed that representatives were necessary, he defended electoral selection rather than lottery or rotation, mechanisms traditionally associated with democracy. Whatever his ideas in other areas of democratic theory, regarding representation he reaffirmed Montesquieu's idea that the lottery is democratic while the election is aristocratic.

He came to the conclusion, with Aristotle, that while all offices that require only good sense and the basic feeling of justice should be open to all citizens, offices that require "special talents" should be filled by election or filled by a few (Rousseau 1978, cited by Brown, 2020).

The contemporary view that representative government is a mixture of aristocracy and democratic empowerment is the late son of the Rousseau model. "Realist" and "elite" democrats, such as Schumpeter (1976), Sartori (1965) and Luhmann (1990), have replicated Rousseau's idea that representation is essentially aristocratic, while considering democratic participation utopian. impeachment (Brown, 2020).

Modern societies - with their bureaucratic concentrations of power, their scale, and their complexity - dictate that citizens are largely passive, periodically mobilized by elections (Brown, 2020). Although elite and realist democratic theorists have been widely criticized within democratic theory, it has not been for their explanation of representation as periodic selection, but for their depiction of citizens as passive.

Pluralist democratic theory, originated by Truman (1951) and Dahl (1956) in the 1950s, emphasized the multiple ways in which citizens of contemporary democracies can put their interests on the political agenda in addition to voting, due to the porous design of liberal democracies. Participatory democracy theorists writing in the 1960s and 1970s pointed out that the many channels of representation in pluralistic democracies were, in fact, occupied by those with the most resources, especially education and wealth.

Using the ideals of Aristotle, Rousseau, Marx, J.S. Mill and Dewey, participatory democrats instead focused on the characteristics of democracy most immediately related to self-determination and self-development, while accepting Rousseau's view of representation as essentially undemocratic (Brown, 2020; Vázquez, 2017).

Communitarians within democratic theory, borrowing from classical republicanism, have at times overlapped with participatory democrats because of their focus on active citizenship. Although classical republicanism focused on institutional design - in particular, checks and balances - these tensions were absorbed by the standard narrative of representation, leaving contemporary communitarians to focus on closeness rather than distance, and in direct engagement rather than indirect (Vázquez, 2017).

Deliberative democratic theory, the third and most recent wave of contemporary democratic theory, focuses on inclusive political judgment. From this perspective, the standard account of representative democracy is suspect because of its poor understanding of the formation of political will. The standard narrative, with its emphasis on elections, pressure groups, and political parties, suggests that political trials are, in effect, aggregate prefixes (Thompson, Jaramillo, & Vélez, 2019).

Deliberative theories of democracy were spearheaded by Habermas in the mid-1980s and were quickly followed by parallel theories focused on judgment: Gutmann and Thompson (1996), Pettit (1999a), Rawls (2005), and Richardson (2003), among others, focused their attention on the formation of public opinion and judgment, the institutionalization of deliberation and the relationship between inclusion and deliberation. However, various currents of deliberative democracy theory did not take representation into account, either because deliberation was conceived within a participatory framework or because it was conceived within already established institutions (Thompson, Jaramillo, & Vélez, 2019).

For others, like Habermas (1996), however, representation problems reappear in potentially productive ways. First in "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" (1989) and later, more fully (1996), Habermas considered that representative institutions mediate between the State and society through the public spheres of judgment, so that representation is incompatible without the deliberative attention of citizens mediated by public spheres, and the reflective transmission of public deliberations to the domain of representative institutions (Arilla, 2017).

Habermas was interested not only in the correlation between the judgments emanating from the public sphere and institutionalized representation, but also in those moments of disjunction that generate extra-parliamentary forms of representation, particularly through the new social movements and other types of associations of civil society (Arilla, 2017).

Importantly, these creative disjunctions are intrinsic to the functioning of representative democracy. In this way, Habermas opened a window to representation beyond the standard narrative. Direct attention to representation within contemporary democratic theory comes from three other sources as well.

The most recognized of them, Pitkin's already classified *The Concept of Representation* (1967), comes from the standard story itself. Pitkin provided a comprehensive theory of representation, primarily in electoral contexts, just when participatory democracy had captured the imagination of progressive democrats (Gurza Lavalle, 2017).

In fact, Pitkin herself departed from the participation paradigm shortly after its publication, returning to the topic only to point out that the relationship between democracy and representation is "uncomfortable" due to their different genealogies: if democracy is based on the presence of citizens, representation is, at best, a surreptitious form of participation for citizens who are physically absent (Gurza Lavalle, 2017).

Nevertheless, Pitkin outlined the generic characteristics of political representation in constitutional democracy. For representatives to be "democratic," he argued, (a) they must be authorized to act; (b) must act in a way that promotes the interests of those represented; and (c) people must have the means to hold their representatives accountable for their actions (Gurza Lavalle, 2017). Although Pitkin understood these characteristics in the context of electoral democracy, they can actually vary in a wide range of contexts and meanings.

However, Pitkin did not investigate further the kind of political participation that representation produces in a democratic society. Nor were his initial ideas discussed or developed. Instead, they stood as the last word on representation within democratic theory for three decades, until the appearance of Manin's *The Principles of Representative Government* (1997).

Manin combined an elitist-realist approach to democracy with a deliberative approach, arguing that representative government is a unique form of government due to the constitution of deliberative politics through election. Manin's work departed from the standard model by focusing on the deliberative qualities of representative institutions (Hayat, 2018). However, in other respects, it reproduced the standard division between democracy and representation.

In Montesquieu's spirit, Manin viewed elections as a means of judging the characteristics of rulers. The value of democratic choice is that the many are better than the few in recognizing competent individuals, although worse than the few in acting competently (Hayat, 2018). But electoral suffrage itself, in Manin's view, produced no change in the practice and institution of representation, which are substantially the same today as when few citizens had the right to vote.

Representative government is inevitably a form of elective aristocracy because it discriminates among citizens and excludes some from the decision-making process. The very purpose of representative selection is to form an aristocratic regime. In this line of thought, it follows that the discourses that implicate representative institutions as exclusive are simply incoherent. Such institutions cannot be anything other than what they are, that is, aristocratic entities that, in the best of cases, are constituted and contained by democratic elections.

Thus, in this story, parliamentary sovereignty can be seen as an electoral transmutation of Rousseau's doctrine on the general will of the people, which, paradoxically, transforms the people into a passive body, with periodic capacities for selection, but not for voice. While these debates about representative inclusion, active versus passive, were important, they overlooked the obvious fact that many groups in established democracies lacked even passive inclusion.

While early participatory critics of the standard count had moved away from representation, in the early 1990s, theorists began to focus on the representative exclusion of marginalized groups - especially those based on gender, ethnicity, and race. - of the centers of political power. The initial questions referred to injustices in the form of exclusion. But these questions went to the very heart of not only the meanings of representation, but also its mechanisms and functions.

Kymlicka (1995) defended the representation of groups within the institutions of representative democracy, pointing out that the representation of individuals as individuals is not sufficient for self-development, since self-identity depends on the relationships and resources of the group.

Phillips (1995) argued in *The Politics of Presence* that the 'politics of ideas' - in which interests, political positions, and preferences are represented by agents within political institutions - does not understand that correct inclusions require that diversities within society have a represented presence, embodied in representatives who provide distinctive characteristics (Hayat, 2018).

Obviously, for minorities whose claims are not present in political institutions, representation based on formal equality is not fair either. However, the strongest historical argument for fair representation has not been based on the advantage or disadvantage of a group, but on the proportional representation of individual interests.

If all individuals have the same right to be represented, their representatives should have a presence in representative institutions in proportion to the number of individuals who have interests who wish to be represented. In fact, as Mill argued, non-proportional recount, as occurs in majority systems, is a violation of quantitative equity, while proportional representation "ensures a representation, in proportion to the number, of each division of the electoral body: no two great parties only" (Mill, 1991, p. 310).

Modifying systems of representation to increase their sensitivity to the historical disadvantages of groups can run counter to the equity embodied in quantitative proportionality, a tension that continues to deserve the attention of democratic theorists.

For a democratic system to be effective, it must comply with certain elements, such as the recognition of full citizenship both in civil, political and social terms (Pachano, 2011), which did not happen in Peru, since the supposed life Republican was marked by the presence of regimes that did not recognize the citizen status of the majority of the population, as in the case of women, therefore, the representation of this sector in the highest spheres is a constant demand if it is to be achieved. In a true democratic state, on the other hand, achieving representativeness in the short term is the main foundation of the gender quota, and the law of parity - alternation, which are referred to in the following chapters of this book.

The issue of political representation has become increasingly visible and important within contemporary democratic theory for two reasons. The first is the dilemma between the standard accounts of democratic representation, focused mainly on electoral representation based on territory, and an increasingly complex political terrain, which is less confined within the territoriality of the State, more pluralized, and that it increasingly relies on negotiation and informational deliberation to generate political legitimacy.

These developments are fueling a renewed interest in the impact of electoral representation on the general patterns of inclusion and exclusion, as well as in the new forms of representation that are rapidly evolving in non-electoral domains such as the

development of administrative policies, the defense of the civil society and global civil society.

The second reason is peculiar to democratic theory, which has tended to follow Jean-Jacques Rousseau in assuming that representative democracy is, at best, an instrumental substitute for stronger forms of democracy.

Until recently, participatory, and deliberative democrats paid little attention to political representation, leaving the issue in the hands of neo-Schumpeterian theorists, who considered that democracy had to do primarily with the selection and organization of political elites (Hayat, 2018).

This consensual division of labor began to unravel some 15 years ago at the hands of those interested in broad patterns of inclusion and exclusion in political representation, particularly minorities and women. The turning point was clearly identified by David Plotke, who wrote in 1997 that “the opposite of representation is not participation. The opposite of representation is exclusion. And the opposite of participation is abstention” (Arilla, 2017 p.45).

Representation is not an unfortunate compromise between an ideal of direct democracy and messy modern realities. Representation is crucial to constitute democratic practices” (Plotke, 1997, p. 19). Furthermore, theorists of democracy increasingly appreciate the contributions of representation to the formation of public opinion and judgment, as well as its role in shaping multiple avenues of social influence within and often against the state.

Importantly, these re-evaluations are leading an increasing number of democracy theorists to revisit the problems of electoral design and to think about democratic representation beyond the ballot.

More generally, the issues of justice raised by representation are issues of isegory, or the equal opportunities that each citizen must have in order for their voice to be heard. “Democratic representation is a fair or equitable representation to the extent that it involves issues of defense and representativeness; that is, a significant presence, not a simple presence, in the game of discord and agreement that is democracy” (Urbinati 2006, p. 42).

Fraser (2007, pp. 313-14) has formulated the relationship between representation and justice quite precisely:

Representation is the setting in which struggles for distribution and recognition unfold. By establishing the criteria for political membership, it tells us who is included and who is excluded from the circle of those who are entitled to a fair distribution and reciprocal recognition. Representation, therefore, constitutes a third political dimension of justice, together with the (economic) dimension of redistribution and the (cultural) dimension of recognition.

From this perspective, the equality guaranteed by universal suffrage within nations is simply equality with respect to one of the many dimensions that constitute "the people."

Thus, from a normative perspective, the definition of constituency based on geography introduces an arbitrary inclusion / exclusion criterion from the outset.

The exclusions do not affect individuals, who are, after all, universally included through the residency-based franchise, but rather issues, as residence-based constituencies de facto residency-based interests as the most common. worthy of convergence and political decision, an effect that is arbitrary from the perspective of justice.

Although the costs of defining territorial constituencies are higher for disadvantaged groups, as suggested above, the theoretical point is even broader and deeper. But the territory is not entirely the destination, even when it is the starting point for the definition of the constituencies, as well as the distribution based on the residence of one vote for each citizen.

The history of race-based redistricting in the United States can be understood as an attempt to shape geographic constituencies to encompass non-geographic issues, and to do so by including racial minorities in decision-making bodies. Quotas and reserved seats also compensate for the inflexibilities of geography, although each arrangement carries costs for other dimensions of representation.

Functional role adjustments, even ad hoc, can pay off at some point. Mansbridge (2018) notes that empirical political scientists increasingly identify forms of representation that are not based on standard "promising" mechanisms, whereby candidates make promises to voters and are then judged in subsequent elections based on the results.

In "surrogate representation," for example, a representative claims an electorate beyond his or her constituency, as when Barney Frank (a member of the US House of Representatives from Massachusetts) represents homosexuals beyond his or her district or Bill Richardson (Governor of New Mexico) represents Latinos beyond his state.

These functional adjustments not only demonstrate the insufficiencies of the territorial constituency, but also its malleability. A key challenge for democracy theorists is to imagine how this malleability can be harnessed beyond the borders of nation-states.

Under democratic theory, INMUJERES (2007) supports a new model as a democracy proposal, called "Gender democracy" that seeks a comprehensive transformation of discrimination and exclusion in decision-making processes and in the personal sphere, a relevant aspect This proposal is its emphasis on the processes of strengthening the citizen rights of women and their organizations, considering this argument, the current situation of women in political and social spaces was analyzed to make visible the discrimination and gender prejudice that the candidates during the electoral process.

Likewise, the contribution of Violeta Bermúdez (2019) on the necessary measures that States must adopt to guarantee political equality, made it possible to analyze the progress of public policies in Peru aimed at guaranteeing the presence of women in decision-making spaces. jointly, the effectiveness of the policies implemented by the government to guarantee true representativeness as the fund of a democratic state.

## Gender focus

"The gender approach is an analytical and methodological tool that allows us to understand the different needs, responsibilities and concerns of women and men at each stage of life, in order to achieve equitable and just relationships. Likewise, this tool recognizes other inequalities and discriminations caused by ethnicity, social origin, sexual orientation, among others" (MIDIS, 2015).

"This approach recognizes the existence of asymmetric circumstances in the relationship between men and women, built on the basis of gender differences, constituting one of the main causes of violence against women" (Law No. 30364, 2015) as well as in the gaps in women's political participation.

The gender approach provides women with self-awareness of situations of inequality, as well as the need to develop their autonomy and achieve their full development in public space. This approach made it possible to make visible the situation of discrimination experienced by women candidates in their process of political and social participation as leaders and professionals.

The gender approach implemented in politics seeks a political electoral system that guarantees the political rights of women, prevents, attends, and punishes political harassment, as well as adopting parity and alternation in the electoral lists; on the other hand, it also aims to strengthen female activism, women's leadership, and their access to decision-making positions as part of their empowerment and political autonomy.

According to Fraser (2007), in order to avoid truncating the feminist problem and inadvertently colluding with neoliberalism, today's feminists must revise the concept of gender. What is needed is a broad and capable conception that can accommodate at least two sets of concerns. On the one hand, this conception must incorporate the problem centered on work associated with socialist feminism; on the other hand, it must also accommodate the culture-centered problematic associated with putatively "post-Marxist" currents of feminist theorizing.

Rejecting sectarian formulations that present these two issues as mutually antithetical, feminists need to develop an explanation of gender that encompasses the concerns of both. This requires theorizing both the gendered character of political economy and the androcentrism of the cultural order, without reducing either of them to the other.

At the same time, it also requires theorizing two analytically distinct dimensions of sexism, one focused on distribution and the other on recognition. The result will be a two-dimensional conception of gender. Only such a conception can sustain a viable feminist politics in the present age.

Seen through a lens, gender has affinities with class; seen through the other, it is more akin to status. Each of the lenses highlights an important aspect of women's subordination, but none of them is sufficient on its own. Complete understanding is only achieved when the two lenses overlap. At that time, gender appears as a categorical axis that encompasses two dimensions of social order, the dimension of distribution and the dimension of recognition.

From the distributive perspective, gender appears as a class differentiation, rooted in the economic structure of society. It is a basic organizing principle of the division of labor, it underlies the fundamental division between paid “productive” work and unpaid “reproductive” and domestic work, assigning women the main responsibility for the latter.

Gender also structures the division within paid work between the highest paid, male-dominated professional and manufacturing occupations, and the lowest-paid, female-dominated “pink collar” and domestic service occupations. The result is an economic structure that generates gender-specific forms of distributive injustice.

From the perspective of recognition, instead, gender appears as a status differentiation, rooted in the status order of society. Gender encodes pervasive cultural patterns of interpretation and evaluation, which are fundamental to the status order as a whole.

Thus, an important characteristic of gender injustice is androcentrism: an institutionalized pattern of cultural value that privileges the traits associated with masculinity, while devaluing everything encoded as “feminine”, paradigmatically -but not only- women.

Androcentric value patterns, ubiquitously institutionalized, structure broad swaths of social interaction. Expressly codified in many areas of law (including family law and criminal law), they inform the legal constructions of privacy, autonomy, self-defense, and equality. They are also ingrained in many areas of government policy (such as reproductive, immigration, and asylum policy) and in standard professional practices (such as medicine and psychotherapy).

Androcentric value patterns also permeate popular culture and everyday interaction. Consequently, women suffer forms of gender subordination, such as sexual harassment, sexual assault, and domestic violence; trivializing, objectifying, and degrading stereotyped representations in the media; contempt in everyday life; exclusion or marginalization in public spheres and in deliberative bodies; and denial of full rights and equal protection of citizens.

These damages are injustices due to lack of recognition. They are relatively independent of political economy and are not merely “superstructural.” Therefore, they cannot be overcome by redistribution alone, but require additional and independent remedies of recognition.

When the two perspectives are combined, gender emerges as a two-dimensional category. It contains both a political-economic face that places it in the realm of redistribution and a cultural-discursive face that simultaneously places it in the realm of recognition. Furthermore, neither dimension is a mere indirect effect of the other.

Undoubtedly, the distributive and recognition dimensions interact with each other. But gender maldistribution is not simply a by-product of the status hierarchy; nor is gender misrecognition entirely a by-product of the economic structure. Rather, each dimension has some relative independence from the other. Therefore, neither of the two can be corrected completely indirectly by remedies directed exclusively at the other.

It is an open question whether the two dimensions have the same weight. But repairing gender injustice, in any case, requires changing both the economic structure and the status order of contemporary society. Neither one, by itself, will be enough.

The two-dimensional character of gender plays havoc with the idea of a choice between the politics of redistribution and the politics of recognition. This construction assumes that women are a class or a status group, but not both; that the injustice they suffer is a bad distribution or a bad recognition, but not both; that the remedy is redistribution or recognition, but not both.

Gender explodes all this series of false antitheses. Here you have a category that is a composite of both status and class. The gender “difference” is not only constructed simultaneously from economic differences and institutionalized patterns of cultural value, but the maldistribution and recognition of intellectual property rights are also important factors.

The implications for feminist politics are clear. Combating the subordination of women requires an approach that combines a policy of redistribution with a policy of recognition.

The development of this approach requires a conception of justice as broad and with as much capacity as the previous vision of gender. This conception must also accommodate at least two sets of concerns. On the one hand, it must encompass the traditional concerns of distributive justice theories, especially poverty, exploitation, inequality, and class differences.

At the same time, it must also encompass concerns that have recently been highlighted in the philosophies of recognition, especially disrespect, cultural imperialism, and the hierarchy of status. Rejecting sectarian formulations that present distribution and recognition as mutually incompatible concepts of justice, this conception must accommodate both.

This means theorizing maldistribution and misrecognition by reference to a common normative standard, without reducing either of them to the other. The result, once again, will be a two-dimensional conception of justice. Only such a conception can comprehend the full magnitude of sexist injustice.

Fraser's (2004) conception of justice focuses on the principle of parity of participation. According to this principle, justice requires social agreements that allow all (adult) members of society to interact with each other as peers. For participation parity to be possible, at least two conditions must be met.

First, the distribution of material resources must be such as to guarantee the independence and “voice” of the participants. This “objective” condition excludes forms and levels of dependency and economic inequality that prevent participation parity. Thus, social arrangements that institutionalize deprivation, exploitation, and large disparities in wealth, income, and leisure time are excluded, thereby denying some people the means and opportunities to interact with others as peers.

In contrast, the second condition for participatory parity is "intersubjective." It requires that institutionalized patterns of cultural value express equal respect for all participants and guarantee equal opportunities to achieve social esteem.

This condition excludes institutionalized value patterns that systematically depreciate some categories of people and the qualities associated with them. Thus, institutionalized value patterns that deny some people the status of full partners in the interaction are excluded, either by charging them with an excessive attributed "difference" or by not recognizing their distinctive character.

Both conditions are necessary for participatory parity. None of them, by itself, is enough. The first highlights concern traditionally associated with distribution theory and focuses on justice, especially concerns regarding the economic structure of society and economically defined class differences.

The second highlights the recently highlighted concerns in the philosophy of recognition, especially those relating to the order of society and culturally defined hierarchies of status. However, neither condition is a mere epiphenomenal effect of the other. Rather, each of them has a certain relative independence.

Therefore, neither of them can be achieved wholly indirectly through reforms aimed exclusively at the other. The result is a two-dimensional conception of justice that encompasses both redistribution and recognition, without reducing either of them to the other (Kantola and Lombardo, 2017).

This approach conforms to the conception of gender proposed above. By interpreting redistribution and recognition as two mutually irreducible dimensions of justice, it broadens the usual understanding of justice to encompass both the class and status aspects of gender subordination. Furthermore, by subjecting both dimensions to the general norm of participatory parity, it provides a single normative standard for assessing gender justice.

To the extent that the economic structure of society denies women the resources they need to fully participate in social life, it institutionalizes sexist maldistribution. To the extent that society's status order constitutes women as less than full partners in interaction, it institutionalizes sexist misrecognition. In any case, the result is a morally indefensible gender order.

Thus, the norm of participatory parity serves to identify, and condemn, gender injustice in two dimensions. But the rule also applies to other axes of social differentiation, such as class, "race," sexuality, ethnicity, nationality, and religion. To the extent that the social agreements prevent the parity of participation in any of these axes, either through poor distribution or misrecognition, they violate the requirements of justice.

The result is a normative standard capable of solving some of the most difficult political dilemmas feminists face today. These dilemmas arise at the intersection of multiple axes of subordination, when, for example, efforts to remedy the unfair treatment of a religious minority appear to conflict head-on with efforts to remedy sexism.

## **Human rights approach**

This approach is based on the fulfillment of human rights as “faculties, prerogatives, interests and assets of a civic, political, economic, social, cultural, personal and intimate nature, ascribed to the dignity of the human being, which are recognized by instruments national and international” (INMUJERES, 2007, p. 40).

Human rights have certain conditions that seek to protect life, liberty, and guarantee people's citizenship exercises. Likewise, it also recognizes the long struggle of women for their recognition as subjects of rights. For this book, this approach allowed knowing the fulfillment of the political rights of women without any type of restriction, whether, for reasons of origin, ethnicity, language, political opinions, social origin, economic position, among others.

The political right of women is expressed in the right to choose and be elected, to participate in the management of public affairs, access to the public function and participate in organizations and social movements, these aspects constitute a central point in participation citizen and democratic systems (INMUJERES, 2007).

## **Women's political empowerment**

The empowerment of women is a multifaceted concept and is usually defined with several dimensions, such as “rights, resources and voice” (Silvestre, Royo and Escudero, 2014), “resources, perceptions, relationships and power” (Tandon, 2016), or “Sources, agency and achievements” (Ochman, 2016).

One of the schools of thought on empowerment emphasizes the ability of individuals to make decisions in areas of their life. Choice is central to Naila Kabeer's writings: “One way of thinking about power is in terms of the ability to choose: being disempowered, therefore, implies that a choice is denied” (Kabeer, 1999a, p. 426-427). This is reflected in the definition of Gita Sen (1993), according to which empowerment consists of “altering power relations ... that limit the options and autonomy of women” (cited in Desai, 2010, p. 5; see also Malhotra et al., 2002, p. 6).

The focus on choice underscores the importance of women being able to make meaningful decisions in critical areas and key aspects of their lives (Kishor, 2000). What are these key aspects? They are related to a series of fundamental rights, but historically denied to women. Today women's rights are considered human rights (Bunch, 1990). Therefore, for the political empowerment of women, the choice is linked to the discourse of human rights, which implies capacity and freedom for women (Kerr, 1993). 1 Human rights include freedom of expression, association and assembly, freedom of movement, to practice religion and to participate in the selection of political leaders, as well as the freedom not to suffer violations of physical integrity (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010).

The word empowerment has as its main element power, which in the case of women can be sustained with a double meaning:

- 1) Power as a source of oppression when there is abuse towards them, this type of power is usually associated with "power over" that includes force, control, class, abuse, among others, which generates an asymmetric relationship, monopolizing power for men and leaving the female sex at a disadvantage (INMUJERES, 2007).
- 2) Power as a source of emancipation in its use, that is, to change the very sources of oppressive power, basically supposes "power with" referring to the possibility of agreeing or fighting organizationally, "power for" which is the potential of each person to influence their own life and change the justice systems and the "power of" or interior, understood as the ability to correct and transform power relations, achieving physical, economic and political autonomy (Urzelai, 2014).

Power relations, as León (1997) refers, can mean domination as well as challenge and resistance. The term empowerment is recognized at the global, national, local, and communal levels, since it was promoted by feminist women in areas of activism and social movements, to later move on to development cooperation's and is currently a term widely used in various social spaces, economic and political.

For the same author, empowerment is a process that allows people to expand the possibility of changing their history and transforming their environment, which implies self-development, improving their situation and social relationships, based on knowledge and practices that allow them to obtain the power to control their own resources, assets, and decisions.

"Female empowerment is a process by which women can organize to increase their own self-sufficiency, expanding the capacity to make strategic decisions and control resources that will help challenge and eliminate their own subordination, in a context where they left. denied" (Rowlands, S / F cited in León, 1997, p. 192).

It therefore includes the strengthening of the social, economic and political position of women, that is, it is a process where women achieve greater power over their decisions and the situations that arise in their actions, this process allows to recognize the existence of unequal relationships that prevent a true transformation, therefore, for women it is necessary to modify these power relations in an equitable way.

In this book, female empowerment is considered from the point of view of Guzman, Portocarrero and Vargas (1991), who start from the needs regarding "the condition and position for the development of women; the condition is understood as the material state that seeks to emphasize their practical and daily needs, while the position of women (crucial for their empowerment) supposes their social and economic position of women with respect to men".

Formal legal frameworks are the most widely considered in the human rights literature (Landman and Carvalho, 2009). But for women, customary rights violations, which are often rooted in informal culture rather than formal legal frameworks, are just as important to consider.

They are more likely to be present in women's domestic or local life: "domestic and inter-family relationships are central to women's disempowerment in a way that is not

true for other disadvantaged groups” (Alkire et al., 2013, p. 5). Therefore, when defining the dimension of choice in women's political empowerment, the needs, and interests that “arise from the routine practices of daily life” must be evaluated (Alkire et al., 2013, p. 5).

With this perspective, having freedom of movement is an essential aspect of women's empowerment. Closure - confinement in the domestic sphere - is a fundamental part of disempowerment. The process of leaving this sphere, such as the “ability of women to move around their city” or the “ability to visit a health center without obtaining permission” is an empirical measure of female empowerment (Hanmer and Klugman, 2016, p. 6). Legal restrictions on travel without permission for women can coexist with customary restrictions.

The position of women in economically stable countries has not improved since their integration into the labor market, due to the destruction of colonial powers towards political organizations, including women, replacing them with a more manageable political form in which women are involved. notably absent, that is, it is managed as a social category with unequal access to resources.

On the other hand, strategic interests are generated, which constitute a process of awareness of women about the position of dominance as a social imposition and susceptibility to change, this situation occurs when the position of women in society is questioned, seeking to be included in all key decisions and at the highest levels of government and state.

In this way, the empowerment of women is articulated with equity, but its difference is based on the identification of the causes and structure of women's oppression, that is, empowerment starts from recognizing the inequalities between men and women and inequalities among themselves due to conditions of race, class, history, or current position in the economic order.

Empowerment linked to politics involves increasing the power of women in terms of capacity and increasing their own self-confidence (self-esteem and leadership) in life and influencing the direction of change (political involvement) through the ability to have control over its material and non-material resources. Empowerment seeks to empower women through the redistribution of power between societies and within each one of them, it seeks to deepen links between equality and development through self-empowerment (de Castro, 2017).

For Oxal and Baden (1997), female empowerment is a process by which women acquire greater control over their life, body and their environment, in such a way that they have the ability to make decisions in important matters and carry them out, thus as a control over their lives in different spaces (home, community and nation), this implies other aspects such as: freedom of action, autonomy, decision-making power, access and control of economic resources, absence of violence, access to information and legal and political equality (Aguila, 2014).

The political empowerment of women is a process of increasing the capacity of women, which leads to greater choice, agency and participation in decision-making in society.

This definition is three-dimensional and includes the three most prominent currents of thought on empowerment: that of choice, that of agency, and that of participation. These three dimensions of empowerment must be measured longitudinally.

Politics is the sphere of decision-making in society. Individuals in formal and official positions in government allocate scarce resources, for example, tax revenue, and direct resources to some groups at the expense of others (Arendt and Kohn, 2008), and have the power to enforce their decisions, ultimately with force. Politicians' decisions affect individual choices by encouraging some behaviors and prohibiting others.

People with formal or informal political power have power over other social institutions, such as the family or education, and can codify certain practices in legislation. The analysis of the composition of individuals who occupy formal positions of power and important positions in civil society reveals who is entitled to make decisions throughout society.

The organization of civil society and the elements of participatory development, both at the macro and micro level of society are considered as mechanisms where empowerment takes place. The general reference on empowerment refers to the expansion of options, choice, control and action; In this framework, women are considered as a transversal category, as people who overlap in all spheres of society where family and inter-family relationships are a central point in the empowerment of women, therefore, it is necessary to be aware of the political action at the household level (Alexander, Bolzendahl & Jalalzai, 2016).

A basic level of control over resources also fosters empowerment. Control over resources implies the absence of forced labor and the right to perform paid work, but also the freedom to own property. Engels attributed the subordination of women to the increase in private property by men, which resulted in the increasing economic dependence of women on men. Some feminist theorists argue that inheritance and control of property by women is the most important factor in securing economic and other powers (cited by Arendt and Kohn, 2008).

When women are unable to own land or have bank accounts, other discriminatory customs are legitimized. Ahlstrom-Vij (2019) emphasize that what is important for women's autonomy is not income per se but having a livelihood that does not depend on the husband. When women are in control of property, land and loans, their economic power and choice are expanded in a number of areas.

Finally, starting from the idea that women's rights are human rights, access to justice is fundamental to the dimension of choice of women's political empowerment. If women are unable to challenge threats to their normal practices in everyday life through the judicial system, customary practices that restrict women's choice remain unchanged.

If a judicial system does not enforce the equal rights of women to own property or inherit resources in its sentences, then formal legal rights will be less important. Therefore, to be able to choose and make meaningful decisions in critical areas of their (daily) life, women must have basic freedom of movement, have property rights, be free from forced labor, and be treated as equals in the judicial system.

A second stream of thought on empowerment focuses on agency. Malhotra *et al.* (2002) affirm that “the second element of empowerment that distinguishes it from other concepts is agency, that is, women themselves must be significant actors in the process of change that is described or measured” (p. 7). Agency is the ability to be an active agent of change through the ability to define one's own objectives.

For the political empowerment of women, the agency is deeply tied to voice. Gender-based power relations can hinder women's ability to speak freely, discuss politics among their peer group, or participate in public debate. To have political power, women, like men, must have the freedom to express any political opinion in any media and the freedom to form or participate in any political group.

If women cannot publicly express their political preferences, then they cannot exercise civic agency or demand support from the state and change in society itself. Activism, through collective organizations and “the growth of civil society and participatory development methods both at the macro and meso levels of society”, are “mechanisms by which empowerment occurs” (Malhotra *et al.*, 2002, p. 4).

In addition, Hanmer and Klugman (2016) state that empowerment includes the ability of women to interact effectively in the public sphere, which suggests the need to access the media and the ability to include issues on the agenda of women. media, since journalism mediates opinion formation. Thus, if “news is made by men, it is believed that it also reflects the interest and values of men” (Hanmer and Klugman, 2016, p. 34).

In summary, in order to exercise the agency and define its objectives, women must have freedom of discussion and be able to participate in civil society organizations (CSOs), as well as be represented in the ranks of journalists.

A third line of thinking about empowerment emphasizes the role of participation. Feminist theorists have advocated a descriptive similarity between representatives and voters because racial, ethnic, and gender groups are uniquely suited to represent themselves in democracies.

In the case of women, the argument is that women, due to different socialization and life experiences, “bring to politics a set of different values, experiences and knowledge” (Harding, 2004, p. 6) and should be present in the political arena. Arguments in favor of descriptive representation suggest that formal political equality and the protection of liberty through civil liberties are not enough. In addition, women must have a legislative presence (Harding, 2004).

Arguments in favor of descriptive representation are already common in international declarations on women. For example, the 1995 Beijing Platform for Action stated: “The equal participation of women in decision-making is not only a requirement of simple justice or democracy but can also be considered a necessary condition for their taking into account. the interests of women” (United Nations, 1995, paragraph 181).

In 2008, the Southern African Development Community adopted a protocol on gender and development with the goal of increasing the representation of women in the public and private sectors to 50%, including using affirmative action. Previous studies on women's empowerment often include political participation in operational definitions.

In line with this common operational definition of women's empowerment, increasing the proportion of women in legislative bodies is one of the three indicators of the goal of "promoting gender equality and empowering women" in the Goals of Millennium Development.

In short, participation in politics requires a descriptive presence in formal political office and that women have de facto equal participation in the distribution of power.

Like other definitions of empowerment (Di Liscia and Herminia, 2007; Mohanty, 2003; Mosedale, 2014) the political empowerment of women is highlighted as a process. Thus, the change in empowerment must be evaluated over time, as a transition, as a movement away from disempowerment (De Castro, 2017).

This change may refer to the trajectory of individuals, but when it comes to national indicators, it generally refers to the process of how the situation of the average citizen in a country has changed over time. Therefore, a longitudinal perspective is crucial for the political empowerment of women, since some rights that are almost universal today were not present in the past. For these reasons, in addition to the need to facilitate comparisons between countries, we must also facilitate them over time (De Castro, 2017).

The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), in 1994 provided a framework for the empowerment of women that was built by Sara Longwe, who introduced a series of elements, such as: well-being, access to resources (materials, In the case of politics, it may be more useful to think as enabling factors or inputs to promote an empowerment process (example: education and employment), awareness, participation and control of women (Malhotra, et al, 2002) .

The same author also writes about certain criteria to measure the empowerment of women in the community, these being: a) Economic, which involves the participation of women in managerial positions, representation of the demands of women in economic policies. b) Sociocultural, such as female illiteracy and access to a wide range of educational options. c) Family / interpersonal, which includes legal, political and religious support for changes in regional trends on marriage age and divorce options. d) Legal, considers the laws that support women's rights and access to resources. e) Political, such as the representation of women in regional or local government entities. f) Psychological, as the procedure that accepts the inclusion of women (Malhotra, et al, 2002).

Female political empowerment includes leadership, which must have the appropriate characteristics such as political management, self-leadership, and clarity of objectives. De Castro (2017), on the other hand, conditions the political leadership of women to the following aspects: technical and managerial training, communication techniques, negotiation and conflict management, values, and knowledge on women's issues.

Empowering women for their full citizen and political participation begins by exercising their right to vote, being necessary information and training actions that allow them to run as eventual representatives of the government, for this, it will be necessary to work on gender equity both in the power structures of

political parties, as in society itself and the recognition of their capacities as leaders and managers of development. (Sánchez, 2009, p.56)

The empowerment process is different for each woman, it depends on their individual and collective experiences, and also on the “organizational” ones, since it becomes an individual and collective project that allows managing and negotiating interests.

Individual empowerment is choosing who to marry, leaving a violent or inappropriate relationship, having or not having children and how many, seeking an activity that generates income, participating in organizations of different types and levels, and participating in the public-political sphere according to the context of each woman's life (León, 2013), therefore, empowerment can be utopian if it is not related to social struggles, the defense of democracy, exercising true citizenship and changing our society starting with a process personal and then community.

From feminism, empowerment is considered as the transformation of subordination structures, that is, a process of freedom in all personal dimensions, so that when this issue is discussed, the economic, political and social are related.

For her part, Magdalena León (2013) proposes a pyramid of political empowerment of women, considering at the base civil society, organizations, peasant women, academics and NGOs who carry out social pressure in public affairs; secondly, there are public servants, women to whom the State has given a space by designation as executors of public policies; and at the top are women representatives of power as decision-makers of public policies. This triangle works as a collective harvest strategy that shows the spaces for political empowerment of women and also the action at the political level for the creation and implementation of public policies in favor of equality.

The Women's Empowerment Index (WPI) has traditionally been the most widely used indicator to measure the empowerment of women. These indices were advanced by the UNDP in 1995 to complement the Human Development Index (HDI). The GEM indicator measured gender inequality in three dimensions: “economic participation and decision-making, political participation and decision-making, and power over economic resources” (Klasen and Schuler, 2011, p. 7).

The rationale behind the IDG was “to monitor overall human development and include a penalty for gender gaps in human development, that is, a gender-sensitive measure of human development” (Klasen & Schuler, 2011, p. 3). These two measurements have been quite influential (see discussion in Schuler, 2006), but were suppressed in 2010 by the UN. They were replaced by the Gender Inequality Index (GDI) and, to some extent, by the Inequality-adjusted Human Development Index (IHDI) (Klasen and Schuler, 2011).

Using indicators on a number of issues (maternal mortality rate, adolescent fertility rate, proportion of parliamentary seats held by each sex, attainment of secondary and higher education, and labor market participation rate), the IEG is calculated from a way that reflects gender-based disadvantage in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labor market (UNDP, 2013). The GPI was available in 2014 in 149 countries (Klasen and Schuler, 2011).

Other authors have proposed alternatives to these dominant measures. For example, several new measures of women's empowerment use survey data at the individual and household levels in all countries (Alkire *et al.*, 2013; Hanmer & Klugman, 2016; Mahmud *et al.*, 2012).

The Cingranelli & Richards (CIRI) project on human rights (Cingranelli & Richards, 2010; Cingranelli, Richards, & Clay, 2014) is an expert-based survey that assesses the extent to which countries contemplate certain rights in the law, as well as in what measure are met in practice.

These data contain two relevant measures: The economic rights of women is a composite measure of ten rights related to the economic sphere, while the political rights of women is a composite index consisting of five aspects of political rights. Previous versions of this dataset also contained a measure of women's social rights (Cingranelli and Richards, 2010).

The two CIRI indicators are available in 200 countries (although the temporal coverage is limited in some countries) from 1981 to the present. Although the CIRI project has contributed greatly, its indicators have also been criticized. For example, their measurement has been criticized for not explicitly taking into account differences between women (Liebowitz and Zwingel, 2014).

Others have argued that the CIRI's two measurements of women's political and economic rights capture the position taken by the government and not the actual situation of women in the country: "In summary, the CIRI focuses on state law, not in the equality of women" (Caprioli *et al.*, 2009, p. 841). Finally, the short time span is a limitation for many types of analysis when substantial advances in women's political rights took place before 1981.

In 2009, the OECD advanced the Gender and Social Institutions Index (SIGI). The measure measures gender inequality in institutions more than in results and combines twelve indicators in five sub-indices: Family Code, Physical Integrity, Child Preference, Civil Liberties and Property Rights (Branisa, Klasen and Ziegler, 2009).

Since the political empowerment of women in a country is generally considered a process, a measure is not appropriate if it only covers the most recent years of the most economically developed countries, countries where the empowerment of women is, on average, the tallest. In general, the above measures are considered to have a biased coverage towards highly industrialized countries.

While the dismantling of the GEM and GDI indices and the recent introduction of the GII may be welcome in terms of improving conceptualizations, they discourage comparisons over time. Therefore, the current alternatives do not meet the need of policy makers or academics for indicators that are comparable and available on an annual basis and that measure the situation in most low-income countries over time.

A measure of women's empowerment can refer to the absolute situation of women or to the relative inequality between men and women. It is important to consider absolute measures for some aspects of empowerment (Arat, 2015).

For example, the fact that women can move freely is relevant to their empowerment, regardless of whether men can move freely as well. In other words, when both men and women experience equally low freedom, rating women as highly empowered relative to men would not reflect the lived experience of women. Instead, it is necessary to record the absolute situation of women.

But other aspects of women's empowerment are best evaluated in relation to men. For example, the formal political representation of women is best studied as a gender proportion of members of a parliament. A combination of absolute and relative measures makes it possible to assess the position of women in relation to men, as well as their absolute attainment of certain fundamental civil liberties.

Critics of the above measures have also stressed that all women must be taken into account, not just those of the elite (Arat, 2015). Christian Welzel (2013, p. 47) argues that "the critical question is inclusion: what is the typical condition of most people in a society?" Previous measures of women's empowerment, such as the GEM, are criticized for their elitist bias (Klasen, 2006).

For example, Cueva Beteta (2006, p. 222) argues that, in the GPI, "the existence of gender inequality among the ecologically less favored population - which is usually older - is not taken into account" (p. 222). Therefore, a measure of women's autonomy must take into account the experiences of all women, whether they are elite or not.

A third issue is the need to accurately measure empowerment in relevant fields such as economic, educational, or political (Alkire, 2005; Alkire et al., 2013; Hanmer and Klugman, 2016). Measurements separated by domain recognize that women can gain in one domain faster than in another and allow an isolated assessment of women's progress in each domain.

The usefulness of measuring women's political empowerment apart from empowerment in other areas, such as education or the economy, also allows researchers to understand the process by which women are empowered in all areas. For example, some theorists argue that the economic empowerment of women must precede political empowerment.

This theory is not valid when a measure of empowerment influences the economic and political spheres. The GDI and the GEM, in particular, have been criticized for the great influence of GDP in their measurement (Hanmer and Klugman, 2016), which limits the testing of hypotheses.

Finally, none of the existing measures provide systematic measures of uncertainty, measurement error, and bias. This may be based on inter-coder agreement and coder reliability estimates, the reliability of alternative measures for a core concept, or other characteristics of the data, including more complex estimates such as discrimination parameters and parameters. global error rates of a measurement model (Hanmer and Klugman, 2016).

## Regulatory framework

The first demands for the recognition of women's rights, was channeled by the suffrage movement in the nineteenth century that demanded the vote for women and the recognition of their citizenship rights, having progressive results at the international level, are presented in various frameworks laws that guarantee the political exercise of women:

The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights adopted by the UN in resolution 2200 of December 16, 1966, recognizes in article 25 that all citizens enjoy, without any of the distinctions mentioned in article 2 and without undue restrictions, of the following rights and opportunities:

- a) participate in the management of public affairs, directly or through freely chosen representatives,
- b) vote and be elected in authentic periodic elections, held by universal and equal suffrage,
- c) have access under general conditions of equality to public functions in their country (UN WOMEN, 2014)

Convention on the elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women CEDAW by the General Assembly of the United Nations on November 7, 1967, became a fundamental principle in the interpretation and implementation of international human rights regulations, which requires States adopting the necessary measures to achieve equality in all spheres, including politics.

CEDAW systematizes the rights of women recognized in various international instruments on human rights, its content revolves around two concepts: equality between the sexes as a guiding principle of fundamental rights and discrimination against women in its different forms, whose eradication It is the final goal towards which the policy of the States parties must be oriented (Valdivia, 2019).

The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing in 1995, was one of the four world conferences on Women, based on the political agreements reached in the three world conferences held previously, among its most notorious and impactful results is the approval of the Beijing Platform for Action adopted by 189 countries.

This document is focused on generating the necessary conditions to expand the role of women in society; thus becoming a key normative framework of global policy on gender equality, which establishes 12 crucial areas: women and poverty, education and training of women, women and health, violence against women, women and conflicts armed forces, women and the economy, women in power, decision-making and institutional mechanisms for the recognition of women, women's human rights, women and the media, women and the environment and the girl child (Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, 1995).

Regarding female political participation, the axis was adopted: women in the exercise of power and decision-making, considering equality in decision-making as an essential

element for the empowerment of women, two strategic objectives were agreed upon: a) Take measures to guarantee equal access and full participation of women in power structures and decision-making by governments, political parties and the United Nations. b) Increase the capacity of women to participate in decision-making and leadership (UN, 1995).

At the national level, the legal recognition of Women's Rights has been the product of a constant struggle to access and have legal guarantees for the exercise of their citizenship, achieving the enactment of the following laws:

1. Political Constitution of Peru 1993: Article 2 paragraph 2 - Right of everyone to equality before the law, no one should be discriminated against based on origin, race, sex, language, religion, opinion, economic condition or of any other nature.
2. State Policy of National Agreement No. 11, made in January 2003, on the commitment of the Peruvian State, proposes "to combat all forms of discrimination, to strengthen the participation of women as social and political actors, and to give them equal access to productive resources and employment" (UNDP, 2003)
3. Law No. 28983 "Law of Equal Opportunities between women and men, establishing in article 6 that the executive branch, regional governments and local governments in all sectors must adopt policies, plans and programs integrating the principles of the aforementioned law. in a transversal manner" (Law No. 28983, 2007)
4. The Gender Quota Law "requires the participation of men and women either in the nomination lists or in elected positions, establishing a minimum percentage of presence of each of the sexes" (Valdivia, 2019). It was approved in 1997, under Law No. 26859 that established the obligation to include 25% of women in the lists of candidates for the Congress of the Republic, being reformed in 2000 to 30% in the lists of nominations for Parliament. Law No. 27387, Organic Law of Elections, article 116 establishes 30% of women and / or men in the applications to the regional council and municipal council. On October 31, 2003, Law 28094 on Political Parties included the mandatory quota of 30% of women in the lists of candidates for leadership positions in political parties or groups.
5. In April 2019, Law No. 30996 was enacted, which modifies the Organic Law of Elections, this modification incorporates parity and alternation in the lists for the congress, establishing that in the following general elections of 2021 the lists of candidates for the congress must include 40% of women or men located interleaved, likewise this measure will be progressive, for the general elections of 2031 the lists of candidates for the Congress of the Republic must include fifty percent (50%) of women or men , located interspersed.
6. In July 2020, Law N ° 31030 "Law that modifies norms of electoral legislation to guarantee parity and alternation of gender in the lists of candidates" is promulgated, said law establishes compliance with parity and alternation in the following general, regional and municipal electoral processes; thus, repealing Law 30996 previously presented.

At the regional level, the approval of regional and provincial policies that seek the exercise of citizenship and political participation of women was carried out thanks to the impulse of NGOs that intervene in Ayacucho and by organized civil society through the regional council, mainly the following:

1. In April 2018, the “Regional Ordinance No. 003-2018- GRA / CR is approved and promulgated, which declares the development of capacities and strengthening the leadership of women in the Ayacucho region of public interest and regional priority for their participation politics and citizenship” (Regional Ordinance No. 003-2018-GRA / CR, 2019).
2. In 2016 the Provincial Plan for Gender Equality 2016-2018 was approved, becoming a regulatory framework at the provincial level.

## CHAPTER 2:

# EMPOWERMENT AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA

The main motto of the 1995 UN Women's Conference was "parity." He suggested that "gender equity" was an equal representation of 50% of men and women in power structures (Rosen 1995). The realization of "gender equity" is a multidimensional process of attaining basic capacities, legal rights, and participation in key social, economic, political and cultural arenas (Healey 2009; Moghadam and Senftova 2005).

It is clear that "political participation" is only one part of the "gender equity" measurement framework, which Moghadam and Senftova (2005) suggested including 44 indicators in seven areas. However, whether at the local or national level, for women to achieve empowerment, participation and rights in the formal political sphere are key indicators (Moghadam and Senftova 2005).

Women's political participation is generally measured by the percentage of women in power structures (Rosen 1995). The percentage of female representatives in parliament has been applied internationally as an important indicator of women's political participation, especially at the national level (Inter-Parliamentary Union 2012).

The "glass ceiling" effect has been widely debated in women's political participation (such as Powell and Butterfield 1994; Conway 2001; Cotter, Hermsen, Ovadia and Vanneman 2001; Palmer and Simon 2008). In economics, the term "glass ceiling" refers to "the invisible but insurmountable barrier that prevents minorities and women from ascending to the top rungs of the business ladder, regardless of their qualifications or achievements." (Federal Glass Ceiling Commission, 1995a). Today, the metaphor is widely applied to obstacles that hinder the advancement of women (Federal Glass Roof Commission, 1995b).

The low participation rate of women at the highest levels of politics (encountering a "glass ceiling") is a persistent problem in gender stratification. Three explanations of the differences in the political representation of women - social structure, politics and ideology - have been addressed at different levels.

Paxton and Kunovich (2003) demonstrated that gender ideology greatly affected the number of women in national legislatures, introducing a recently available measure of national gender ideology into a transnational model of women in legislatures.

To increase the participation of women in political leadership, it is important to pay more attention to a number of issues, such as customs and trade regulations, bribery, gender gap in political training, public spending on education, feasibility economy of the country, access to electricity and the Internet, political freedom, and cultural variables such as performance orientation, collectivism, and power distance. Of these, the gender gap in political empowerment and the collectivism / cultural variable are more important (Bullough, Kroeck, Newburry, Kundu and Lowe 2011).

While research and studies have focused on the careers of women in politics and government, some researchers indicated that very little attention had been paid to the participation of a broader stratum of women in different aspects of government and law. politics (for example, Howell 2002).

Getting women involved in politics and government is not just about occupying leadership positions. Meaningful political participation requires a broader definition of politics, which extends beyond the institutional boundaries of the party-state to other areas of social and economic life (Howell 2002).

## **The status of women and their political participation**

Valdivia (2019), quotes Gianfranco Pasquino to explain political participation, who defines it as “the set of actions and behaviors that aim to influence in a more or less direct and more or less legal way on public decisions, likewise, the selection of the holders of power in the political system or in each political organization, from the perspective of preserving or modifying the structure of the dominant interests system”(Pasquino, 2011 cited in Valdivia, 2019, p. 48)

Valdivia also affirms that the right to political participation is a fundamental right in every democratic state that, although it is usually associated with electoral moments, participation is more than the right to vote, it is about being able to intervene in political life of the country without any type of exclusion or discrimination, participate in the formation of the state and in the direction of government policy. Political participation also includes the right to integrate the various State agencies through the exercise of public function, thus the right to participate is expanded with the right to occupy and perform government positions and functions on an equal footing (Valdivia, 2019).

The political right of women requires their participation on an equal footing with men and the adoption of guarantees or suitable mechanisms for its effective validity; In the “Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women”, in Article 4, all States Parties shall adopt appropriate measures to ensure women on equal terms with men and without any discrimination in the different social spheres, Political law consists of three substantial elements: the right to vote and be elected, the right to participate in the management of public affairs, and the right to have access to public service (INMUJERES, 2007).

The political participation of women for years has been socially and politically invisible, the struggle for the recognition of women's rights began in the nineteenth century from the so-called suffrage movements, in Anglo-Saxon countries, with the search for the right to vote as part of citizenship.

In 2007, ECLAC announced that one of the challenges of democracy is not only promoting the participation of women, but also recognizing and incorporating them in the institutions where decisions are made; In Peru, there are still limitations for women's political participation, because it is conceived as a secondary activity in collective action (separation of private and public spaces).

Having less possibility of financing in the electoral campaign (to promote the training and participation of women), having very little practice and experience in politics, the low public visibility of women (MIMP, 2009), poverty, sexist education, illiteracy and violence are some of the factors that limit the participation of women in politics (Ferrer, 2008).

The United Nations (UN) raises three arguments about the importance of the incorporation of women in political decision-making:

- 1) The fulfillment of participatory democracy (democratic legitimacy), since democracy must represent all groups in society and women constitute half of the population; in addition to creating conditions that promote more women accessing the structures of political power, and opportunities to pursue a political career.
- 2) The equal participation of women leads to greater development prospects, that is, it can guarantee that their interests, concerns and priorities are considered on the political agenda.
- 3) Finally, the most powerful argument is the multiplier effect of promoting the empowerment of more women in all spheres of their lives, this contributes to generating new roles for women, different from the traditional ones, women leaders reinforce the concept of female citizens versus female victims, subdued and economically dependent (UN WOMEN, 2014).

Many factors influence the electoral success of women, the first and basic being the inclusion in the list of candidates, but this inclusion should not occur with the application of the gender quota law as a ceiling but should promote their inclusion in the same proportion and position as that of men (JNE / Observa Igualdad, 2018).

The difficulties of women's access to the political system can be understood from the non-existence or precariousness of public spaces in which the problems faced by women cease to be strictly feminine and become matters of common interest (Patron, 2000). Therefore, it is necessary that equal opportunities be a transversal agenda in public policies and that it is not exclusive to the work only of women authorities, on the contrary, all the key actors and agents of our policy must be involved.

## **Factors influencing women's political participation**

The discussion on identity representation versus substantive representation in the case of women highlights the fact that by itself the condition of being a woman does not automatically mean the representation of her interests. For example, for the Colombian case, Wills (2007) argues that the absence of a gender identity between the candidates and the voters implies that there is no real representation of women. In other words, greater inclusion of women in decision-making positions is not related to greater participation on the part of female voters, since there is no identification between them.

On the other hand, Olivier and Tamayo (2017) show that activist women differed from non-activists in that they have a greater gender awareness. That is, they felt better represented by women. The intuition behind this statement is that women who claim to have a greater gender identity tend to be linked to women's groups, which promote the political activism of their members.

Both Olivier and Tamayo (2017) and González (2020) find that women who have a more left-wing ideology tend to be more politically active and find that left-wing parties tend to be more concerned about the role of women in the politics, and for a greater visibility of these in the public sphere. Therefore, women tend to prefer candidates who support this type of initiative and participate more when they follow this ideology.

Olivier and Tamayo (2017) find that left-wing parties tend to favor policies more in line with women's interests (subsidies according to the number of children, state protectionism, as insurance against divorce), and therefore, women with this political ideology they tend to be more politically active.

In addition to ideology, the perception of discrimination is also an important factor in explaining the greater involvement of women in politics. González (2020) has similar results when finding that women who perceived discrimination against women among candidates nominated in elections tended to participate more. Both investigations justify this relationship, based on the incentives generated by the perception of discrimination. In other words, the perception of discrimination implies feeling relegated from different areas (public sphere, labor sphere), and therefore generates incentives towards activism, insofar as this constitutes entry into the public sphere.

Another factor that has proven to be important in explaining the greater or lesser participation of women is their occupation. After an exhaustive analysis of the sexual division of labor (including domestic work), Wills (2007) finds that belonging to a hierarchical structure in the private sphere is reflected in greater participation in the public sphere. As an example, the author proposes that having subordinates or making business decisions encourages a participatory attitude.

For his part, González (2020) found that the existence of family responsibilities (having children) implies that women do not participate and dedicate themselves to the home. Similarly, the authors find that economic restrictions operate in the same sense, for both men and women, on participation.<sup>5</sup> In contrast, family restrictions operate in opposite directions, which demonstrates the importance of understanding the environment private, in order to explain the public participation (either labor or political) of individuals.

A rich literature explores the gender gap in the developed world, especially in the United States. A number of consistent findings emerge from this literature on the impact of individual covariates on participation, and on gender differences in particular. Not surprisingly, education, income and employment status are consistent predictors of women's participation, and that they tend to reduce any gender gaps.

However, these conclusions may not extend directly to Latin America or the rest of the developing world. One possibility is that the developing world follows a very similar

trajectory to that of the United States and other post-industrial countries. In those countries, a series of cohort effects reduced the conventional political participation of older women during the 1960s and 1970s. These cohort effects gradually faded due to generational replacement and economic transformation.

Similar transformations could take place in Latin America, although they could be limited by the later enactment of women's suffrage laws, slower economic growth, and fewer job opportunities. On the other hand, the unique characteristics of Latin America and other regions may point to totally different participation patterns.

For example, middle-aged women in the United States and Western Europe are unlikely to engage in unconventional political action. But given the important role Latin American women played in the pro-democracy movements of the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, it is possible that gender and age have the opposite effect in Latin America. It is not clear how gender and participation are related in the developing world, so we dedicate this section to considering how to adapt participation models from the developed world to the developing world.

Most of the previous work ignores contextual effects and focuses on individual covariates. But gender differences in participation rates can arise from three different sources: differential resources, differential effects, and differential context.

First, men and women have differential access to resources and opportunities that affect political mobilization. For example, when women have fewer opportunities for employment or education, the lack of these resources can reduce participation as a whole compared to that of men.

Second, men and women may respond differently to the same factors; education can mobilize women more than men, or vice versa. Third, gender differences can reflect broader cultural contexts. For example, Inglehart and Norris (2000) argue that gender has different patterns with participation in industrial versus agrarian societies, with more traditional sexual roles that depress women's political participation in the latter cases.

In the following paragraphs, we review the findings of the existing literature on individual and contextual covariates that affect gender differences in participation. Next, we consider how each factor might work differently in the developing world and in the specific context of Latin America.

At the individual level, previous research has identified a number of factors that have consistent effects on participation and the gender gap. Numerous studies point to the importance of education, socioeconomic status, age, marriage, and employment in participation in general. Differences between men and women in these traits are also often held responsible for any gender gap in political participation. Religion is added to this list, given the important role of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Latin America.

### **Education and socioeconomic status**

Education is one of the strongest individual determinants of voting and other forms of political activity. Education provides skills that help voters overcome the bureaucratic

elements of voting and increase the ability to make abstract decisions. Education also determines civic attitudes. Even in developing countries, increased education is associated with higher levels of civic duty and efficiency.

Previous research suggests that education contributes to the gender gap both through differences in access and differences in impact. Different educational levels between men and women are often cited as a significant reason for gender differences in participation. Education can also have different effects for men and women: some researchers have observed a greater influence of education on the participation rates of women.

Similar patterns can be predicted in Latin America: education should increase participation for all, but its impact should be greater for women. There are still differences in the education rates of men and women in Latin American countries, although these differences are small for the younger generations. Furthermore, the influence of education on economic opportunities and mobility should be more transformative for women than for men, as has been found in other contexts.

Previous work also found that socioeconomic status (hereinafter SES) affects participation. Some forms of participation require a minimum level of resources, for example to make contributions to the campaign.

Individuals of higher socioeconomic status may also have a greater sense of being "stakeholders" in the political process and may have more access to political information. Social class can also be related to attitudes towards sex roles, as more traditional gender roles are held for longer in working-class families than in middle-class families.

In Latin America, the SES is expected to have a similar pattern in conventional politics, but not in unconventional participation. In conventional politics, participation is expected to increase with the NSE. Furthermore, as previously discovered, a higher SES should be associated with a change in attitudes about gender roles.

Regarding unconventional politics, we do not have a strong expectation. Previous work has not found any relationship between social class and protest activity. Furthermore, during Latin American transitions to democracy, all sectors of women were represented in protest movements, suggesting a limited relationship between social class and unconventional participation.

### **Employment status**

Having a job outside the home is often related to increased political participation by women. Jobs provide skills and avenues for political debate and increase and diversify the economic interests of individuals. Political mobilization efforts can also be related to participation in the workforce, such as union efforts to mobilize their members to vote.

However, the effects of employment could be less transformative for women in Latin America, where women are less likely to be part of the workforce and their work experiences are less politicizing. The types of employment available to Latin American

women lead to the expectation that participation in the labor force will have a lesser effect on the political participation of women than of men in these countries.

### **Age and generations**

A fundamentally different relationship between age and participation can be predicted in Latin America than in the United States and Western Europe, reflecting recent transformations in Latin American society. The direction and nature of the effects also vary according to the type of participation: conventional or unconventional.

Research on conventional participation in the developed world finds that age is an important determinant of increased political activity. The explanation of the life cycle of political participation describes younger citizens as politically inactive, since other commitments, such as school, work or social life, displace political interests.

As individuals age, they become more connected to their communities through long-term residency, increasing their interest in local politics. Increased connectivity is driven by increased use of public services, including schools, increased awareness of community issues, and a growing interest in solving those issues, driven by an expectation of long-term residency.

These broader interests produce higher levels of participation and create habits of participation. Participation levels tend to be higher in people between 50 and 60 years old, with slight decreases in older people, related to deteriorating health.

However, a key difference between the developed world and Latin America is political socialization: the propensity of individuals to participate in politics can be established in the late 1920s or early 1930s and continues at that level for most of the time of their lives.

Many generations of Latin American women socialized under undemocratic political systems, and some under systems that explicitly excluded women. Consequently, a large gender gap is expected for the older cohorts, but a small or no gap for the younger post-democratization cohorts.

This is comparable to earlier work on the gender gap in the United States, which found that pre-emancipated people consistently maintained lower participation rates than post-emancipation generations. These cohort effects are greater for forms of participation other than voting, including conventional and unconventional participation.

In the case of unconventional participation, the results are reversed. Aging tends to reduce the levels of unconventional participation in the United States and Europe. The economic and social costs of such participation tend to be higher for middle-aged and older citizens with more personal and professional responsibilities, and their expectations regarding the benefits of protest activity are, on average, lower.

Pérez and Pinchulef (2017) found in a cross-national study that those over 60 years of age are the least likely to participate in protest activities and gender differences are especially large for this age cohort. This pattern is especially strong in agrarian societies.

In the case of Latin America, this pattern could be attenuated by the experiences of older women and their active participation in protests during transitions to democracy, suggesting that in Latin America the unconventional gender gap will decrease with age.

## **Marriage**

Recent work from post-industrial countries finds that marriage tends to narrow the gender gap. Traditional tasks related to raising children have been altered by technology or transferred to the state or social institutions.

In such circumstances, marriage has similar effects for men and women. However, older analyzes of the influence of marriage on participation tend to find that marriage reduces women's participation. Domestic obligations, childcare, and traditional sex roles prevent women from engaging in politics and isolate them from organizations and communications associated with political interest and participation. And marriage tends to decrease participation in protest activities, at least among women.

Family structures in some Latin American countries continue to be closer to the traditional model, with less employment outside the home and fewer female group members. A negative effect can be predicted in Latin America: marriage will decrease participation, especially of women.

## **Religion and religiosity**

In the developed world, studies of the effects of religion on participation suggest that it can have both positive and negative effects on participation rates for women. On the one hand, religious institutions often provide avenues for women's activity outside the home and contribute to the creation of civic competencies.

Churches are also an avenue that provides civic skills to a wide range of individuals from different social classes and diverse racial and ethnic groups. On the other hand, some religious confessions reinforce traditional gender roles, including less political activity on the part of women. In addition, churches with a more hierarchical structure, such as the Catholic Church, offer fewer opportunities for their members to acquire civic skills through church-related activities.

In Latin America, the potential effects of religion are equally complex, especially because of the participation of religious organizations in politics and democratization movements. On the one hand, Latin America remains predominantly Catholic, and the Catholic Church is often characterized by defending conservative sex roles that could limit women's political participation, even opposing women's suffrage in some cases. Furthermore, the growing Protestant church includes highly conservative elements who take similar positions on gender roles and leadership, and often advocate avoiding the political world.

At the same time, both the Catholic and Protestant churches play empowering and mobilizing roles in Latin America. Catholic priests and laity have participated in progressive social programs, political mobilization, and movements for democratization. In addition, in many Protestant churches, women participate in

leadership positions, providing experiences and demonstration effects that can increase political participation.

In some Latin American countries, religious leaders (Catholic priests and Protestant ministers) run for political elections under the banner of a religious party and use religious affiliation to mobilize voters. All this implies that religion could increase attention and participation in politics.

Religiosity, rather than specific doctrines or denominational membership, is also expected to be an additional mechanism influencing political activity. Religiosity and its accompanying involvement in church activities contribute to developing civic skills that can translate into greater involvement in mainstream political activities. On the contrary, high religiosity is negatively related to protest activities.

Given that women are more religious than men, and this is also true in these Latin American countries, religiosity is expected to increase levels of conventional participation and decrease unconventional protest activity by women. Although its effects may differ according to the type of participation activity and according to gender. For example, women's suffrage laws should influence the political actions of women, but not of men.

Three particularly important contextual variables can be identified in Latin America: (1) democratic governance and political freedom, (2) economic development, and (3) women in public office.

### **Democratic governance and political freedom**

In general, higher levels of participation are associated with higher levels of political freedom, as democratization makes voting meaningful and fosters interest in political activities. In fact, the degree of political freedom in Latin American countries influences the general level of participation.

However, the influence of political freedom on gender and participation in Latin America is not evident. It could be argued that gender gaps are minimized under an authoritarian regime. Women often played an important role in protests against authoritarian regimes in these countries.

Under authoritarian regimes, women may have been better able than men to participate in protest activities because prevailing attitudes of gender roles make women's protest activities less political and therefore less political. in need of repression.

Women can also be harmed by the return to democracy and mass party politics. Parties tend to subdivide the population into different interests, and therefore the coalitions of women present under authoritarian regimes can break down. Furthermore, party politics can substitute for social movements in which women were active.

However, with the return to democracy and greater political freedom, more women can feel confident that political participation is acceptable and that such participation would have fewer personal ramifications.

In addition, in the 1990s, coalitions between social movements, NGOs, government agencies, and political parties collaborated in policies to combat domestic violence and in the application of gender quota laws in Argentina, Chile, the Dominican Republic, Mexico and Peru.

### **Economic development**

Scholars often argue that lower levels of economic development reduce women's participation rates and produce a negative gender gap. Regardless of individual economic status and educational attainment, development is assumed to have important contextual effects.

Institutional and development factors help explain variations in participation across the world and in Latin American countries. These factors should also influence other types of effects. Economic development can lead to a broader social shift in gender roles and values that increases the participation of women, even among low-educated and low-income individuals. In other words, development can lead to a general change in attitudes, with less disapproval of mobilized women and higher expectations of equal participation.

However, the empirical tests for this hypothesis are limited. The mechanism by which economic development influences participation rates for women and men has not been rigorously tested. Many of the explanations focus on mechanisms at the individual level: increased education and financial resources for women and a concomitant reduction in traditional gender roles for these individuals.

Others find that development increases participation, but without examining gender differential effects. Our Latin American cases offer an opportunity to separate the individual and contextual effects of development; half fall into the industrial category (as defined by Inglehart and Norris), while the rest finance the agricultural category. In addition, a measure of per capita income is included, and we let it interact with gender to capture any developmental effects on differences in participation.

### **Women owners**

Several recent studies find that women react to the presence of female office holders and candidates in a way that men do not. Women's political engagement, political knowledge and effectiveness, and trust in legislatures increase as more women seek and hold political office. However, Lawless (2004) presents null results, or positive effects for men and not for women, between political office holders and civic attitudes and participation.

Latin American countries vary in their percentage of female representatives in the lower house of their national legislatures, from more than 30% in Argentina and Costa Rica to less than 10% in Venezuela, Brazil, Guatemala and Honduras. Several Latin American countries have quotas that force parties to appoint women, dramatically increasing the number of women legislators.

With wide variation in the levels of female officers in Latin American countries, we expect the participation of women in politics to be higher in countries with large numbers

of women politicians. As we do not expect this to influence men's participation, our hypothesis is that the interaction between women in public office and the gender of the respondent will be positive.

Gender differences in political participation translate directly into political power, access to resources, and policy outcomes. Unequal participation rates imply a less representative and less legitimate government. Latin American governments are facing a decline in trust indices and the legitimacy of their citizens; ensuring the equal participation of all will strengthen these regimes in the face of continuing political storms.

The political equality of women remains a concern in more stable democracies and is at least as important in young democracies with great development challenges. However, in almost all of the seventeen Latin American countries in this study, a gender gap is observed consisting of conventional and unconventional participation. The effects can be attributed in part to differences in opportunities and beliefs between men and women, in part to differential effects of individual covariates, and in part to context.

The first type of effects are factors that affect men and women equally, but differences in the distribution of covariates lead to a gender gap. For example, education has a strongly positive relationship with participation in all models, which implies the need to increase women's access to education. But, in many ways, this process is already underway, as younger generations of Latin American women enjoy much more equal access to education.

Religiosity also has the same effects for men and women, but with differential treatments: Latin American women are on average more religious than men. Religiosity increases conventional political actions and diminishes unconventional ones. Thus, belief differentials contribute to reducing the gender gap in conventional participation and increasing the gap in unconventional participation.

Two individual factors influence the participation rates of men and women differently: employment and age. In Latin America, the labor situation influences the participation of women more than that of men, both in conventional and unconventional activities. By going beyond traditional household roles, women in the workforce are exposed to new channels of communication and gain skills. This exposure increases participation, although it has no influence on men's participation.

Age has strikingly different patterns for men and women. In the case of conventional participation, men's participation increases with age, but age has no impact on women. The net effect is that the gender gap increases dramatically with age. On the contrary, in the case of unconventional participation, the gender gap decreases with age: the participation rates of women in protest activities decrease more slowly than those of men.

Both things reflect recent Latin American experiences with authoritarianism and democratization, which restricted the conventional participation of women, but gave them an important role in unconventional participation. In any case, we hope that, with the generational change, these differences should disappear.

Finally, contextual variables also influence the magnitude of the gender gap, but not without some unexpected results. As others have shown, the presence of women among elected officials in a country increases the political participation of women. One potential implication is that electoral systems that increase the proportion of women in elected office can help reduce the gender gap and equalize participation rates.

The gender quota laws in force in several Latin American countries can help equalize the participation of the masses and increase the presence of women in the political elite. The type of regime also influences the participation rates of men and women, but in this case, these are unconventional policies.

Women's participation rates in protest behavior are higher in societies with fewer political freedoms, while the pattern for men is that there are higher levels of protest activity with more political freedom. This pattern seems to reflect the protest role of women under authoritarian regimes.

## **Citizenship and spaces for women's participation**

Tomas Marshal considers that citizenship is the highest status that a person can enjoy within a community to become a full member of it. Citizenship is a basic concept of democracy; this author considers a division of three forms of citizenship:

- a) Civil citizenship, which encompasses the rights of the person and their property with respect to individual freedom.
- b) Political citizenship, which refers to the possibility of electing representatives and being elected.
- c) Social citizenship, which is related to the rights to health, security, education, housing and employment (Marshal, S / F cited in Pachano, 2011).

By relating citizenship with women, the exclusion of this sector in this area is recognized for many years because, citizenship rights were attributed exclusively to men and in the case of women it was conditional on the guardianship of a father figure, for example: recognition as citizens only to women 21 years of age or married.

Citizenship is a condition to exercise rights and freedoms as individuals, being considered as a status, made up of access to basic resources for the exercise of rights and duties, where non-discrimination constitutes the necessary and sufficient condition of citizenship (Marshal, 1998 cited in Añón, 2002).

Although women achieved citizenship rights in 1955, the search for this recognition was much earlier, in 1911 María Alvarado Rivera was one of the first Peruvian women to raise the issue of equal civil and political rights for women, and one of the first political groups to consider women as citizens was the Peruvian Aprista Party, which allowed women to vote in its internal elections in 1931.

For Virginia Vargas, the conception of citizenship cannot be detached from the historical and current conditions of our region, since there were unequal processes of modernization and expansion of citizenship that developed at first in an inconclusive and exclusive way. (Vargas, 2000), therefore the beginning of the independent

republican life of Peru was restricted to certain social sectors, who will not complete 200 years of citizen participation in the next bicentennial of Peru's independence.

Exercising citizenship is not only exercising the vote or being elected, but also getting involved in spaces for citizen participation, where the collective action of the population is promoted in the processes of debate, deliberation and decision-making on public affairs or prioritized social agendas. (MIMP, 2007).

For her part, Virginia Vargas (2000) refers that citizenship will always be restricted, since it will depend on clear strategies and concrete alliances of governments, but above all, on respect for diversity and the context of each country that, finally determines the full exercise of citizenship.

The democratic system of Peru has provided laws and regulations through mechanisms and spaces for participation that guarantee the free exercise of citizens, hence the political empowerment of women begins to be constituted in said spaces of participation through the community role, in which, many former candidates began to form their political and social trajectory.

These spaces for citizen participation are based on the direct involvement of citizens in public actions, generating communication between citizens and the State through certain mechanisms, in Law No. 26300 "Law of the rights of participation and citizen control" It is established as participation mechanisms:

- a) Open council, is an instance of direct consultation of the local government to the people, convened for a specific purpose.
- b) Neighborhood councils is a type of social organization that neighbors can form according to where they live, in order to be represented and recognized before the municipality.
- c) Management committees, neighbors have the right to co-participate, through their representatives, in the execution of works and economic development efforts.
- d) Participatory budget organized civil society and its authorities jointly decide the actions to be carried out with the resources available for each year.
- e) Regional or Local Coordination Council is the meeting of the Governor, councilors (mayors, councilors) and representatives of the social organizations of the region or local where through dialogue they reach agreements on issues of regional interest / local (Law No. 26300, 1994).

Likewise, the so-called social spaces or public spaces are open places of formation, opinion, agreements or consensus that make possible common or concerted action that influence, question or modify the political agenda, in which common interests and the exchange of opinions are established.

These are the only spaces where differences can manifest, reconcile and transcend in common agreements (Patron, 2000) through political action, some of these spaces are: the round table for the fight against poverty, unions, social organizations, the people's

defense front, regional and local advisory councils, grassroots organizations, among others.

## **Latin American historical context**

Latin American societies have been indelibly marked by a colonial order that created, maintained, and justified unequal power relations through interconnected hierarchies of gender, race, class, geographic location, and generation. The colonial political order was based on patriarchy, an ideology that justified monarchical rule by appealing to the divine and natural order of the patriarchal family.

The political power of patriarchy depended, therefore, on daily practices that naturalized hierarchies of gender (men over women and male heads of family over other members), generation (parents over children), class (the elites over the lower classes and the elite men over the lower-class men and slaves) and race (the descendants of Europeans over the other races).

As colonial society developed, women's lives were also increasingly governed by the concept of honor, which created links between family prestige, women's sexual behavior, and the purity of European blood. Colonial records reveal how these cultural discourses served as resources in political battles over patriarchal privilege and family status.

For example, non-elite men hailed themselves as husbands and fathers, resorting to patriarchal speeches to demand political respect. Elite women defended their honor by demanding that the courts punish men for breaking their marriage promises and legitimize children born out of wedlock. Both slave and free women of the plebs confront notions of honor in an attempt to protect themselves from exploitation and violence.

As the new independent republics replaced Spanish colonial rule, men of all social and racial classes faced greater political opportunities, while women continued to face the limitations imposed by patriarchy and honor. Increasingly, legitimate political authority was not situated in the natural order of the family or in divine design but arose from the consent of politically equal elite men.

A monarch's control over adult men and owners was increasingly viewed as a violation of men's rights to equality and liberty, but men's control over women, children, and other dependents of the household continued. being fair and natural. However, working-class, poor, and indigenous men successfully expanded their political power by claiming recognition - and thus political equality - of the patriarchal privileges they shared with elite men.

In contrast, the liberal republics of Latin America initially preserved and enforced women's lack of political power. Legal codes increased the patriarchal privileges of husbands over their wives and reduced women's rights to property and children.

The liberal republics of the 1990s reinforced the centrality of women's maternal identity in politics. As feminist critics have pointed out, liberal republics were built on the political

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action of separate spheres, dividing the legal and public equality of men from the natural and private inequality of women.

As disputes over political power unfold in public, politics became the "natural" preserve of men, a non-comprehensive area marked by male activities of competition, aggression, and dominance. The private sphere, on the other hand, was a feminized space, associated with the functions of women as mothers and wives, and idealized as a space for upbringing, restoration and health.

The gendered construction of public and private in liberal republics became a lasting legacy of women's political participation in Latin America. Women were formally denied public roles as citizens but resisted using their private identities as mothers to justify their demands for inclusion and resources.

The first wave of the feminist movement in Latin America strategically used a language of "civic maternalism" and family welfare to advocate a wide range of improvements in the political, legal, economic and social position of women. The leaders of the middle class and the elite counted on women as bearers of future citizens and transmitters of national values ("republican motherhood").

For example, reformists seeking women's suffrage argued that increased political and social participation by women would ensure healthy families, transmit civic values to future generations, and generally contribute to national stability and progress. Consequently, public policies on population growth, public health, labor rights, social welfare, and economic development reflected and reinforced a maternalistic gender ideology that valued motherhood and family care.

The reformers demanded the creation and expansion of state programs to protect women not as citizens, but as mothers. Chile's first protective labor legislation, for example, benefited working mothers. However, even in this period, maternalistic discourses contained tensions and contradictions.

Although motherhood as a cultural resource cut across social divisions, lower-class and racially marginalized women often struggled to be recognized as good mothers and citizens. The economic changes of the early 20th century increased the participation of women in the workforce, but political and social reformers viewed wage labor as male and valued the role of women as homemakers.

In the middle of the century, many Latin American states attempted to confront the dual threat of communism and class contradiction through state-building projects that incorporated workers, peasants, and urban sectors into the nation. However, the ideals of social harmony continued to defend the well-ordered family, maintained by a caring mother.

On the one hand, laws and populism and corporatism perpetuated the centrality of maternal roles for all women, while preserving the distinction between women who could and could not dedicate themselves exclusively to these tasks.

The normative value placed on this vision of motherhood and family also had contradictory effects for women in the socialist-inspired regimes that emerged in the

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mid-20th century. Women actively participated in social movements throughout the region and were even combatants in armed struggles in Cuba and Nicaragua.

However, socialist governments reinforced traditional gender roles in the family and the workplace by promoting policies that improved wages for working-class men and prioritized women's family responsibilities over their economic roles or roles. public. Even when women entered politics, the opportunities offered by states, and the ambitions and goals of women themselves, often emphasized women's caring capacities rather than their contributions as active citizens or resilient workers.

The power of maternalism also appeared in the prominence of right-wing women who resisted socialist projects. In Chile, the conservative group Power Women found that the policies of Allende's socialist government attacked the role of women as wives and mothers. In Nicaragua, mothers protested against the compulsory military service implemented by the FSLN during the war with the United States.

The connection between women's maternal identities and their political activism has been further discussed in the context of Latin American authoritarian regimes and subsequent pro-democracy movements. Starting in the decade, civil and military governments brutally restricted democratic processes: political parties were dissolved, elections controlled or eliminated.

Opponents were tortured, disappeared and killed, and public demonstrations of dissent were violently silenced. The militarized regimes effectively closed the public sphere, which paradoxically created a space for women, who framed their protests as derived from maternal imperatives. In this way, the idealized cultural understanding of motherhood legitimized the political activity of women.

The "ideology of national security" of the military dictators of the Southern Cone placed the army in a heroic fight against the communist threat, in order to preserve and protect women and children. However, this conflict destroyed the social fabric by making husbands, fathers, sons and daughters disappear. The women mobilized to protest human rights abuses and demonstrated to demand the return of their missing family members, framing their actions as a natural extension of their parenting roles.

Faced with the economic crisis and the indifference of the state, poor and working-class women created soup kitchens, shopping cooperatives, artisan collectives, and community nurseries to address the growing impoverishment of their families. Feminist groups analyzed the connection between patriarchal politics in the home and in dictatorships.

Across the political spectrum, women harnessed their cultural power by appealing to maternalistic ideologies, exposing the immorality and illegitimacy of military governments. Scholars have called these cases of mobilization of women under the dictatorship "militant motherhood."

Maternalistic discourses thus legitimized women's public responses to political crises. This framework implied that the return to "normal" politics would be. Despite the notable participation of women during this time, male norms and expectations associated with electoral politics re-emerged when democratization began.

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Many Latin American women continued their activism at the grassroots and grassroots level; however, those who sought to enter the rarefied world of national or international science once again faced the historical legacies of maternalism. However, democratization coincided with alternative discourses that were developing simultaneously in the transnational and international spheres: those of gender equality and human rights.

The United Nations Decade for Women sparked regional and international collaborative efforts to have women's rights recognized as basic human rights. Eager to demonstrate their democratic credentials, the new leaders of Latin America signed the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), committing their governments to carry out a series of reforms in the matter of gender equality.

Subsequent regional events, such as the creation of the Inter-American Court of Human Rights and, above all, the adoption of the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women, further reinforced the importance of women's rights and discourses on gender equality throughout the region. Transnational networks and feminist gatherings continued to bring together gender equality advocates to push for social and political changes that improve the well-being and empowerment of women.

In particular, gender equality advocates seized on two important political concessions specifically designed to combat the marginalization of women from formal politics after democratization. In the first place, in accordance with their obligations in the framework of CEDAW, the new democratic governments created ministries of women's policy in the executive branch, entrusting these bodies with the promotion of gender equality in public policies and administration.

Second, many Latin American legislatures passed electoral quota laws, which required political parties to appoint specific percentages of women to public office. Although their impact has varied across the region, experts agree that quotas remain the most effective method of increasing the numerical representation of women in the short term. Its advocates believe that quota laws, weak as they are, are necessary to combat the political exclusion of women and promote gender equality.

Today, Latin American governments include more women, a notable change from the 1970s. Due largely to electoral quota laws, women's participation in legislative seats rose to 25.6 percent of the region's single or lower houses, placing Latin America in second place after the Nordic countries (41.6 percent) and on par with Western Europe.

In Bolivia, Cuba, Nicaragua and Ecuador, the representation of women exceeds the percentile, and in Costa Rica, Argentina and Mexico, it exceeds the percentile. The change has also occurred in the executive branch, where women have reached (and been re-elected) the presidencies of the most powerful and developed countries in the region, such as Chile (Michelle Bachelet, 2006 and 2013), Argentina (Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, 2007 and 2011); Costa Rica (Laura Chinchilla, 2010); and Brazil (Dilma Rousseff, 2010 and 2014). Women have also been credible presidential candidates in Mexico, Venezuela and Peru.

However, the legacies of maternalism remain. Recent studies echo Chaney's findings from almost half a century ago: Latin American legislatures and executives are characterized by the division of political labor according to traditional ideas about the social roles prescribed for men and women.

Schwindt-Bayer (2010) finds that female legislators throughout the region give higher priority to issues related to children and families, and Miguel argues that female legislators in Brazil more commonly support policies that involve care and attention. Likewise, the study by Escobar-Lemmon and Taylor-Robinson (2016) on female ministers concludes that, even when the number of women in presidential cabinets increases, women are concentrated in feminized and less prestigious portfolios, such as those related to with culture, tourism and family.

In addition, female presidents and presidential hopefuls continue to face opportunities and obstacles related to cultural definitions of appropriate political roles for men and women. The first female presidents elected in Latin America, Violeta Chamorro (Nicaragua, 1990-1997) and Mireya Moscoso (Panama, 1999-2004), campaigned as widows of powerful male leaders, presenting themselves as mothers of the nation, which minimized criticism from that they had violated cultural norms of femininity by attempting to enter a traditionally masculine realm.

Although current female presidents are less constrained by maternalism, analysis of the media coverage of their campaigns reveals that familiar terms often dominate narratives about women's political careers. For example, the media emphasized Fernández's status as the wife of then-President Néstor Kirchner, leaving aside her status as Senate leader and powerful player within the Peronist party.

While many male politicians also benefit from ties to political families, we find that the popularity and authority of female politicians are often seen as derived from male heads of households rather than as a product of their own abilities. women's policies. The positioning of powerful women politicians within family narratives occurs even when there are no family ties.

For example, the media referred to Rousse ff as “the woman that [outgoing president] Lula gave to Brazil” and described the outgoing president of Costa Rica, Óscar Arias, as Chinchilla's “political father”. Regardless of the talents or backgrounds of women politicians, the cultural discourses that explain their rise to national leadership reflect deeply ingrained patriarchal norms.

## **Motherhood as a structural constraint and a framework for political action**

While much of the studies on maternalism in Latin America have focused on the entry of women into politics, less attention has been paid to how motherhood creates unequal structural obligations that limit women's political careers. Despite gender equality norms, the gender division of domestic work with the woman who performs the bulk of caregiving persists. Women politicians in Latin America must choose between meeting their political obligations or caring for their families.

Data from Latin barometer for the years 1990, 2000 and 2010 show that respondents recognize the change in the norms regarding family care: for example, the percentage of respondents throughout Latin America stated that “domestic work and the responsibility of the children” should be shared by “the mother and the father equally”.

However, respondents express greater ambivalence when asked directly about women's work outside the home. When asked for the statement "It is better for women to stay at home and for men to work." However, when asked if “women should only work if men are not earning enough”, respondents disagree less, indicating greater agreement that women should only work when compelled by necessity economical.

The results of the World Values Survey (EMV), carried out in Argentina and Chile, in Mexico and in Costa Rica, also demonstrate the value that continues to be given to the traditional divisions of labor and care based on gender.

Reacting to the statement: “When jobs are scarce, men should have more right to a job than women,” between a quarter and a third of those surveyed agreed. Another statement, “A job is fine, but being a homemaker is just as satisfying,” asks respondents whether women can find the same value in both paid employment and unpaid domestic work.

74% of Mexicans, and 77% of Mexicans, agree. In Argentina, 65% of respondents (and 60% of respondents) agree, and in Chile, 56% of respondents (and 52% of respondents) agree. Although the EMV cannot specify the ideological orientations that underlie these attitudes, the responses reveal how the work of caring for women is valued: a significant part of the citizens believe that men are more.

Most believe that unpaid domestic work and participation in the paid workforce have the same emotional benefits for women. However, some surveys show a gap between the sexes, as women's views on motherhood are more divergent than men.

Except for Mexico, women disagree more than men on the two VMR questions: for example, almost 100% of Chilean men agreed that economic crises gave men the right to work, compared to only 1% of Chilean women.

Together, the two surveys reveal several trends. First, despite positive support for co-parenting by respondents, the ideals of the supporter man and the homemaker woman retain their cultural significance. Second, women seem more willing than men to abandon maternalistic ideologies and to support women's employment opportunities.

In general, however, maternalism remains central to the cultural imaginary of Latin America and attitudes towards the possible abandonment of traditional roles by women remain highly ambivalent. Ideals of gender equality and differentiation of gender roles coexist, often in uncomfortable ways.

This uncomfortable coexistence translates into very practical limitations for women with a professional vocation, as revealed by several surveys on the use of time. A survey conducted in Argentina, for example, estimated that 80% of all unpaid work is performed by women, where “unpaid” work refers to domestic chores at home, including those associated with raising children.

Similarly, a study carried out in Montevideo concluded that women were the main caregivers in the percentage of households with children. More specifically, the Montevideo survey estimated that households with school-age children require weekly hours of childcare, and that women spend disproportionately more than men: 32 hours (67%) compared to 16 hours (37%).

In Mexico, a 2010 survey found a pronounced gender gap for an average household that requires 36 hours of unpaid domestic work: women completed 30 hours, while men completed 6 (17%).

ECLAC, using recent data from Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Uruguay, found that women spent between half and a third of the time that men spent on paid employment, but between three and five times more time than men on domestic work unpaid. In addition, the share of unpaid work of men, when it occurs, differs significantly from that of women: surveyed women report cooking, washing clothes and dishes, cleaning and shopping, while men report repairing or install appliances.

The care gap, a measure that compares the time that men and women spend caring for children, is significantly higher in Latin America than in the global North: for example, ECLAC estimates that the gap is an average of minutes per day in Mexico and Nicaragua, and between and minutes per day in countries such as France, Finland, the United States and the United Kingdom.

These trends have clear implications for women seeking a political career. First, social class matters: Although many surveys do not disaggregate their data, those that do reveal clear differences between income quintiles.

Although the gap in caring for people never disappears, it is smaller among men and women in the highest quintile. This reduction does not mean, however, that upper-class men perform more housework, but that upper-class men perform the same number of tasks as lower-class men, and the fewest tasks performed by class women. high relative to lower class women indicates that upper class women delegate their unpaid work to paid domestic help or other family members.

Consequently, women in the economic elite face fewer structural barriers to career, including politics. The class difference in the care gap is one reason why women politicians at the national level are disproportionately elite.

Second, family size conditions women's political opportunities. The fewer children's women have, the more they can pursue careers outside the home. A survey carried out in Argentina found, for example, that almost 1% of women without children work outside the home, compared with almost 1% of women with one child, 1% of women with two children and only 1% of women with three or more children.

These trends echo the relationship between family size and women's political commitment. For example, another Argentine survey showed that the percentage of women living alone, compared to the percentage of women living with a partner and children, expressed interest in politics. Furthermore, the percentage of women who live alone participate in political, civic or labor organizations, compared to the percentage

of women who live with a spouse and children. Women without children have more time to learn about politics and participate in it.

The fact that the childcare gap limits women's political careers has also been corroborated by studies comparing the career paths of men and women politicians. In Costa Rica, Colombia and Argentina, female legislators are less likely to be married and have fewer children compared to male legislators.

In Argentina's Chamber of Deputies and Senate, women are more likely to be divorced, single, or widowed compared to men. Only 1% of female deputies are married, compared to 1% of male deputies, and only 1% of female senators are married, compared to 1% of senators. Almost twice as many female senators are divorced or single compared to senators.

Also, the deputies have more children than the deputies. 96% of deputies and 100% of senators have children, compared to only 1% of female deputies and 1% of senators.

Female representatives also have smaller families: in the Argentine chamber, most women have one or two children (43%), while most men have between three and seven children (61%). In the Argentine Senate, most men and most women have between three and seven children; however, there are more male senators (66%) who have large families compared to female senators (53%). These results give empirical weight to the conclusion that incumbent women face greater difficulties in reconciling work and family life.

Also convincing are the data from the waves of the Latino barometer, which asked: "Do you think that women and men have the same chances of reaching public office?" Although the question did not refer specifically to the gap in caring for people, the aggregate results indicate skepticism throughout the region about equal access for women to political life.

In Argentina, Chile and Mexico, half or almost half of all respondents answered "no", and female respondents answered "no" by seven to eight percentage points more than men. Furthermore, in all cases except Chile, El Salvador, and Panama, the percentage of all respondents, and the percentage of women surveyed, who answered "no" increased from 1997 to 2006.

This result indicates that neither equality policies (that is, gender quotas) nor concrete increases in female representation have persuaded Latin American citizens that politics is a level playing field. In fact, skepticism about equal access to politics has increased.

This finding may reflect diverse concerns among respondents, but it is possible that as government rhetoric on gender equality leads more women to seek high-level political positions, more women face the structural barriers imposed by motherhood.

An Argentine senator speculated that men prefer strategy meetings scheduled for the evening, because they know that women cannot attend. In their opinion, men wish to "exclude women from the definition meetings of the agenda, but include them later in the work sessions in which plans are edited and finalized [already made] ... When a document, generally it is an already prepared document".

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A deputy complained that “the congress demands so much from women, as if they had no other responsibilities; Well, men have no other responsibilities and use the task of childcare against women, arguing that this means that women cannot participate in the most important discussions”.

Keiko Fujimori, a candidate for the presidency of Peru in 2012, encountered this dead-end situation: The sexual division of labor limits the availability of women for political operations, reducing their ability to scale party hierarchies and ensuring dominance of politician of men.

The problem is further compounded by travel. In Chile, most of the population lives in Santiago, but the national congress is in Valparaíso, miles away. In Argentina, deputies and senators spend half the week in the capital, Buenos Aires, and the other half in their home province.

Thus, many legislators face the challenge of maintaining a home in two cities. Not surprisingly, politically active women in both countries routinely cite the enormous challenges of reconciling political careers with family life. In Chile, which does not have a gender quota, interviewees frequently cited this difficulty to explain the underrepresentation of women in Congress.

In short, cultural beliefs translate into concrete realities that limit the availability of women for public service. Women politicians who are both mothers and professionals face a paradox: adjusting to traditional roles means prioritizing families and, therefore, violating the norms that govern the daily life of politics, but dedicating themselves fully to their careers violates maternal expectations.

In any case, women politicians must transgress the cultural norms of motherhood, and political opponents or competitors can exploit any misstep. Cultural expectations placed on women to care for their families create an even greater barrier for non-elite women, who often have fewer personal and family resources to pursue political careers.

Elite women dominate national offices, both elected and unelected. Non-elite women, including indigenous or African women, have made inroads into national politics, but progress remains slow: for example, in countries where indigenous women have made the most progress, Bolivia and Ecuador remain less than 4% of the legislature.

Given that motherhood continues to limit women's political participation, what role does the ideology of maternalism play in politics in contemporary times? Do individual women continue to act like Chaney's supermoms, framing their political careers by appealing to maternal roles? Or do the new norms of gender equality provide alternative discourses through which women justify their entry into politics?

To answer these questions, we examined the political campaigns of the Latin American presidential candidates, both in terms of media coverage and self-presentation of the candidates, and the perspectives of the headlines at the national level.

National politics is a place for the production and dissemination of cultural frameworks that define expectations about the political capacities and leadership qualities of men and women.

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Women in office were found to be highly aware of the prevailing expectations around their political roles, although their responses vary. Four main ways in which women use maternalism as a framework for political action have been identified: the traditional super mother, the technocratic nurturer, the democracy denier, and the macho minimizer. Like all typologies, these categories represent ideal types.

The categories do not enclose the identities of individual women politicians and do not predominate in certain political parties, but rather represent a series of cultural narratives that women politicians can display based on specific contexts. For example, opponents, competitors, and the media can draw on gender ideals to frame women politicians in certain ways, and women politicians can respond with their own representations.

Similarly, the political issues most important to voters can offer women politicians opportunities to strategically deploy certain aspects of maternalism. Women politicians can appeal to different meanings of maternalism, or deny it altogether, in response to these varied contexts.

The typology thus illustrates important trends in the changes, continuities and tensions around maternalism in Latin America today. First, all political leaders must address, explicitly or implicitly, the suitability of female characteristics, particularly those related to motherhood, for public service.

The tensions between maternalism and discourses of equality are perhaps greater for women competing for the position of chief executive: in the strong presidential systems of Latin America, society's expectations privilege men, who, by virtue of their Sex, they are presumed to have leadership skills (assertiveness and decision-making capacity) that their competitors are presumed to lack.

The prominence of congressional candidates varies according to the electoral system (that is, whether they are single-member or multi-member districts), but congressional candidates tend to have less visibility than presidential candidates. Once in power, expectations of presidents and legislators remain different. Legislators are expected to work collectively and cooperatively, while presidents often act unilaterally and are expected to behave in an authoritarian manner. Consequently, the usefulness of maternal frames may depend on the office.

However, our categories highlight the different ways in which women politicians negotiate their participation in what remains a traditionally male activity. Second, these cultural frames are used with different frequencies, illustrating once again their role as strategic and context-specific resources, and not as fixed personality types. Our interviews show that, at certain moments and on certain political occasions, women emphasize or minimize their family identities, their political experience, or their ability to make difficult decisions.

Michelle Bachelet's campaign in Chile is especially illustrative. Bachelet's commitment to gender equality and her willingness to confront sexism in politics make her unique among the presidents of the region. As a candidate, Bachelet directly challenged the masculine bias inherent in expectations about political leadership and advocated a

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broader conceptualization that included traits and characteristics considered feminine. A television ad exemplified this approach: In the ad, Bachelet praised women's ability to excel as workers and scientists while balancing the needs of their families. He concluded by saying: "Strength does not know gender, nor does honesty, conviction or ability. I bring a different kind of leadership, with the perspective of someone who looks at things from a different angle. Let's change our mentality; after all, a female president is simply a head of government who does not wear a tie. "

However, Bachelet did not justify her political vocation in terms of her maternal identity or her unique abilities to solve crises or fight corruption. Nor was it presented as apolitical. Rather, she drew on her experiences as a single mother and head of the family to claim a broader understanding of the daily life, concerns, and struggles of Chileans, especially women.

He underscored the political importance of day-to-day roles and responsibilities. She combined her image of "female leadership" with her educational achievements (she is a medical doctor and fluent in five languages) and her political experience, especially as Defense Minister.

Although Bachelet has nuanced her leadership and political priorities, her opponents and the media tend to paint her in a more traditional way. Once in power, she was called the mother of the nation, and some political commentators linked her high approval ratings to the fondness she created through her personal sympathy.

This maternal framework, promoted by political experts and opposition politicians, contributed to a broader pattern of attack on Bachelet for lacking strong and decisive leadership. Rather than attribute his popularity to his leadership skills and successful policies, commentators hinted that Chileans supported Bachelet because of his warm and sympathetic personality. Despite Bachelet's own efforts to emphasize her talents and abilities, cultural expectations around the maternal qualities of women and the masculinity of the executive position influenced the perception of her presidency.

Women legislators also strategically deploy the technocratic framework of care to balance equality with more traditional ideas about the role of women. Many of the interviewees emphasized their credentials and skills, noting that their qualifications and capabilities, including long periods of public service, were equal to men. However, they also framed their political identities as emerging from experiences that link women more closely than men to the social fabric of the nation.

For example, an Argentine legislator mentioned motherhood when explaining the roll call vote: "I think about my responsibility as a mother: how am I going to justify my efforts to improve this country to my daughter? He added that he did not believe that male lawmakers saw responsibility in terms of their generational and parental responsibility. Similarly, his colleague declared: "I am doing this for a better world for my son."

This notion of women's unique sensitivity to caring and empathy dominated most policy makers' explanations of policymaking, although interviewees linked this connection to their female identities in general, rather than their maternal identities specifically.

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Mexican legislators made statements such as: 'Women have a unique vision of resistance and improvement ... it is the global vision of women'; 'women are closer to the people and have policies centered on society'; and women 'more easily see the problems society faces'.

The Chilean deputy pointed out that women's views on politics were more "oriented to the common good ... more deeply rooted" and that this orientation made them less partisan than their male colleagues and more open to working with legislators from other parties. Others explained their political preferences by saying that "women are more empathetic" or that women are more interested in "people on the margins [of subsistence], of marginality" due to their greater connection with the social fabric.

These comments reveal a perspective grounded in both cultural ideals and women's social experiences: technocratic caregivers combine classically feminine notions of caregiving with a detailed understanding of politics. This framework presents feminine ideals as sources of experience and strength in policymaking, something that voters also expect.

As an Argentine deputy explained, "women have greater sensitivity in the areas of health, poverty, disabled people and the elderly, but women also receive a political mandate, it is our political responsibility to represent these issues, because voters demand more political work women than men". Another explained that "women have a double position: they must know all the political areas that men know and they must also know women's issues." This comment indicates how technocratic caregivers understand that while women are not explicitly required to be mothers of the nation, they are expected to care for the disadvantaged.

Thus, political women who position themselves as technocratic caregivers do not justify their political career through motherhood. The fact of being women and mothers transmits politically and socially relevant dimensions of their identity, but these identities do not legitimize their public presence and can be strategically adopted.

Many "technocratic caregivers" also identify gender equality and women's rights as policies of great importance and insist that they are as qualified as men for public office. However, technocratic caregivers also know that society, still influenced by maternalism, assigns the main caregiving responsibilities to women, and they position themselves accordingly.

## **Women's political participation in Latin America**

Between 1940 and 1970 there was an important role in Latin America, women began to take actions from the social, labor and cultural aspects to adopt a political character through feminist and union groups; Raising the demand for civil and citizens' rights as paramount, the first country in the American region to grant the female vote was Ecuador in 1929 followed by Uruguay and Brazil in 1932 (Valdivia, 2019).

According to Donoso and Valdés (2007), in most Latin American countries the processes of organizing women occurred simultaneously with the organization of popular social classes, as well as with the socialist and anarchist currents of thought;

Women's organizations had their work in the different economic classes, where they carried out a series of actions with characteristics of this separation, for example, from the popular sectors, the participation of women was found in workers' organizations, middle-class women were organized in cultural spaces and upper-class women in charitable actions responding to Catholicism and charity.

In Peru, women's organizations were proposing common objectives agreed around their condition and position in society, becoming aware of exclusion in political and national life, thus establishing the goal of achieving the right to citizenship and specifically to the vote, this process was not easy, as both male and female opponents focused on pointing out that public affairs were by nature men's affairs and that women's place was the home, in addition to alleging that women's access to vote Women would bring the family disaster and would be influenced by the wishes of priests (Poulsen, 2015).

The debate for the right to vote began in the Sánchez Cerro government, as arguments in favor, works were praised and the struggles of great women such as María Jesús Alvarado, Zoila Aurora Cáceres, Angelina Acosta, Ángela Ramos, Magda Portal, among others were recognized; However, a large part of the politicians present intervened with patriarchal excuses and arguments characterized by discrimination and the backwardness of women in the domestic sphere, thus the first debate for the unrestricted vote was rejected by 71 votes against and 46 in favor.

Subsequently, women's suffrage was proposed in municipal elections, in that context, under the idea of giving a good image of the Country with new trends and doctrines, this right was partially recognized, only for women of 21 years, married women and men. mothers, but it did not materialize as it was considered a measure ahead of its time.

According to Valdivia (2019), in the government of Manuel Odría, the granting of the female vote obeyed a political calculation, since this government had the desire to vindicate and legitimize its image, as well as the need to distance itself from the anti-democratic aura that accompanied since he came to power, thus, on September 9, 1955 in the newspaper "El Peruano" Law No. 12391 was published, which contained the modification of article 84 of the Political Constitution, recognizing citizenship to Peruvian men and women of legal age, to married persons over 18 years of age and to the emancipated.

In 1956, the voting was partial, since the voters were left out, until in 1979 the new political constitution incorporated the illiterate population into the voting processes, where the participation of women was fully visible for the first time. in the elections for democracy.

Currently in Latin America the political participation of women has improved compared to past times, our region has the highest percentage of women parliamentarians after the Nordic countries, however, there is still a sexist culture and situations of discrimination such as: restriction on economic and physical autonomy, high rates of violence, the assignment of child-rearing roles and caring for the elderly, all of these

constitute obstacles faced by women in gaining access to power in political parties and in lowering their representativeness at local levels of government (UN WOMEN, 2014).

Hernández (2016) in his research "Political participation of women in the municipal sphere: Obstacles, opportunities and challenges" developed in Mexico; sets as its main objective to detect and demonstrate the obstacles, opportunities and persistent challenges for the full political participation of women in the municipal sphere of Mexico, obtaining as results that: the existence of socio-cultural patterns exert a relegation of women in the sphere Local politics, likewise, that the economic condition and social status of women have a decisive influence on the accessibility to hold elected positions and even remain in them. Finally, considering the gender approach and feminist theory, women combine their personal life with public action, which makes them have an overload of work that limits their full performance and realization, this situation, together with the lack of access to basic services such as education and well-paid employment, complicates the insertion of women in politics.

Moran (2012) in his research on "Political and citizen participation of women", developed in El Salvador. Its objective is to determine the type of perception that the population has about the political and civic participation of women. Among its most relevant results, it finds that the perception of the population is based on knowledge about citizenship and the degree of education, that is, the higher the educational level of the person, the greater acceptance of women's political participation, a second This finding refers to the existence of an inversely proportional relationship between political enthusiasm and education, responding to the idea of the separation of the academic sphere with political action.

Gómez and López (2013) in their thesis to opt for the title in Social Work "Women and politics", developed in Chile, their objective is to know the female political participation and analyze the reality experienced by women in their process to access and remain in political power in the Bío Bío Region.

Among their results, they mention that the main difficulties for women to enter and remain in politics correspond to reproductive work, sexist limitations and economic status. Recognizing the patriarchal patterns presented by feminism, we have the presence of structural barriers in society, where the association of domestic roles as the exclusive task of women limits their choice as authorities and influences their decision to participate in politics; Regarding the characteristics of political women, it is found that they are mostly single women and with a professional university education.

Montero (2012) in his master's thesis in Political Science and Sociology "Community political activity for transformation and empowerment, looking with interest at the participation of women" developed in Buenos Aires - Argentina, maintains that, for the involvement of women in politics starts from the condition (material state in which it is found) and the position (social and economic position in relation to men in each society), both aspects are articulated with the interests and female empowerment. It concludes that the political practice of women reduces the gaps between the domestic and the public and influences women to open up in the space of transformation of the social order.

Rodríguez (2015) in his thesis to opt for the professional degree in Anthropology "Social and political participation of women leaders, members of the Network of Women Authorities Trujillo, 2014" developed in Trujillo-Peru, raises the objective of analyzing the social and political leadership that women exercise in the various activities promoted by the network of women authorities, to promote the gender approach and local female political participation.

Among its conclusions is the importance of the sense of self-worth and the political empowerment expressed in the contribution of the women authorities themselves in the well-being of their families, these women authorities discover their potential to redefine and reinvent themselves through politics as new social actors, with the ability to develop their autonomy, political dialogue and exchange with others, therefore the feeling of power, dignity and rejection of abuses are strengthening.

Cortez (2018) in her master's thesis in Public Management "Political participation of women in the management of local governments in the province of Ascope, 2017", developed in La Libertad, aims to analyze whether it is feasible to gradually improve empowerment of women in political participation for the management of local governments in the province of Ascope.

This author concludes, among other results, that the empowerment of women in management has an increase compared to previous years, but that it is essential to improve personal security so that women can make decisions and be part of social and political organizations; This thesis agrees with what is proposed by feminist theory that incorporates empowerment as a process by which women gain control of their resources and reinforce their individual capacities such as confidence building, control over their lives and their ability to debate orders .

Capcha and Inga (2015) in their thesis to opt for the professional degree in Social Work "The reproductive role of women and the influence on their political participation in the Mantaro district in 2013" developed in Huancayo, consider as the main objective to determine the influence of the reproductive role on the political participation of women in the Mantaro district; in which it is concluded that compliance with the reproductive role, being these the diversity of domestic chores, maternal duties, care of children and care for the elderly, act as a limitation in the political participation of women, generating an overload of work and limited time.

Araujo and Montes (2007) in the "Systematization of the experience of the network of councilors of the Ayacucho region" refer that there is a difficulty in the articulation that councilors have with their roles as women, mother, wife and councilor; And while it is true that women's rights as citizens under conditions of equality are formally recognized, in practice there are no conditions for them to exercise them.

Likewise, they mention that part of empowerment is the training processes that give them tools and facilitation in terms of municipal management, from the theory of democracy, countries with this type of system respond to the reduction of gender gaps Therefore, access to health, education, work and, above all, justice in the face of the violation of rights, makes it easier for women to acquire public management tools for political professionalization.

Cancho (2015) in his thesis to opt for the professional title in Social Work "Political performance of women councilors in the municipal management of the province of Huamanga" raised the objective of knowing the political performance of women councilors, reaching as a conclusion that the Factors that limit the performance of women councilors are the scarce experience in public management, the ignorance of their functions, the lack of leadership and the scarce budget in the public administration; Likewise, the motivation of the then councilors is based on their experiences as professionals and leaders of social organizations.

## CHAPTER 3

### NEUTROSOPHICAL EVALUATION OF THE POLITICAL PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN CANDIDATES AND ELECTED OFFICIALS OF THE PROVINCIAL MUNICIPALITY OF HUAMANGA

The concern to overcome the scarce presence of women in high public positions has been placed on the agenda of many countries, including Peru, which makes it a democratic challenge, but also an essential element for the design and execution of public policies to reduce the representativeness gaps.

Current figures reveal that there is limited political participation of women, the UN mentions that women have little representation worldwide not only as voters but also in managerial positions, elected positions, public administration, the private sector or in the academic world (UNWOMEN, 2017).

According to the Gender Equality Observatory of Latin America and the Caribbean, Peru ranks tenth out of 32 countries with 27.69% of women elected as parliamentarians and the penultimate position in the number of women mayors in Latin America with 2.9% (2019). As reflected in the figures presented, Peru has not achieved true equality for elected positions or in the political system, since only 3,109 women are part of the electoral political system out of a total of 12,905 authorities, representing only 24% at the national level (UN WOMEN, 2017).

Next, a case study is exposed where it was investigated through neutrosophic techniques, on the factors that influenced the political participation of women candidates during the 2018 electoral process by the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga and its assessment.

#### **Case description**

In Ayacucho, the social composition is characterized by being patriarchal, since there is a predominance of men over women, where the differentiated division of roles, poverty with a female face, limited access to education and health are some of the determining factors. for the participation of women in politics, since failing to overcome these obstacles prevents the development of capacities and strengths for female political leadership.

This section presents the central aspects of the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga as a governing body that promotes local development that has political, economic and administrative autonomy.

#### **Characterization of the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga**

This institution is under a democratic representation for election periods, for whose current 2019-2020 management, the former candidates interviewed nominated, therefore, these aspects are presented in the following sections.

The Provincial Municipality of Huamanga (MPH) began its operation protected by the Constitution of 1924, ratified with the Municipalities Law of 1822, D.L. No. 51 and the Organic Law of Municipalities No. 23853 (as a local government body). It exercises jurisdiction in the territorial area of Huamanga with 16 districts including the district of Ayacucho, as responsible for promoting the development and fulfillment of functions according to the Organic Law of Municipalities.

Currently, it is governed under Law No. 27972 Organic Law of Municipalities, which establishes that local governments are basic entities of the territorial organization of the State and immediate channels of neighborhood participation in public affairs that institutionalize and autonomously manage their own interests. of the corresponding communities, being essential elements of the local government, the territory, the population and the organization (Law No. 27972, 2013).

Among the provisions, there is political, economic and administrative autonomy in matters within its competence, this autonomy is established by the Political Constitution of Peru that lies in the power to exercise government, administrative and administrative acts subject to the legal system; Thus, as a purpose, local governments represent the neighborhood, promote the adequate provision of local public services and the integral, sustainable and harmonious development of their constituency.

The MPH is the local government body that comes from the popular will in accordance with the electoral law, has legal status under public law and full capacity to fulfill its purposes, with economic and administrative autonomy in matters within its competence applying the laws and Provisions that in general and in accordance with the Political Constitution of Peru regulate the activities and operation of the national public sector (MPH, 2016).

The Mission of the municipality is "To promote the integral and sustainable development of the province of Huamanga, providing quality public services to close social and infrastructure gaps, based on transparent municipal management, agreed with cultural identity and neighborhood participation" (MPH, 2016)

Its Vision is "To be a leading institution in promoting the integral development of a sustainable, safe and orderly city within a participatory and efficient environment" (MPH, 2016)

The purpose of the municipality is delimited in:

1. "Lead, promote and foster comprehensive, sustainable and harmonious socioeconomic development of the province of Huamanga, considering disaster risk management processes in a transversal manner.
2. Promote the well-being of the citizen with the adequate provision of local public services that satisfy their vital needs of health, housing, supply, security, culture, recreation, transportation and communications.
3. Representing residents politically and organizationally in local government, through community participation programs and the exercise of the right to petition.

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4. Develop social programs guaranteeing the full exercise of rights and equal opportunities for its inhabitants.
5. Promote local economic development, by promoting and boosting the business activity of Micro and Small Enterprises (MYPE), in accordance with regional and national regulations and policies” (MPH, 2016)

Its organizational structure is shown in Figure 1.

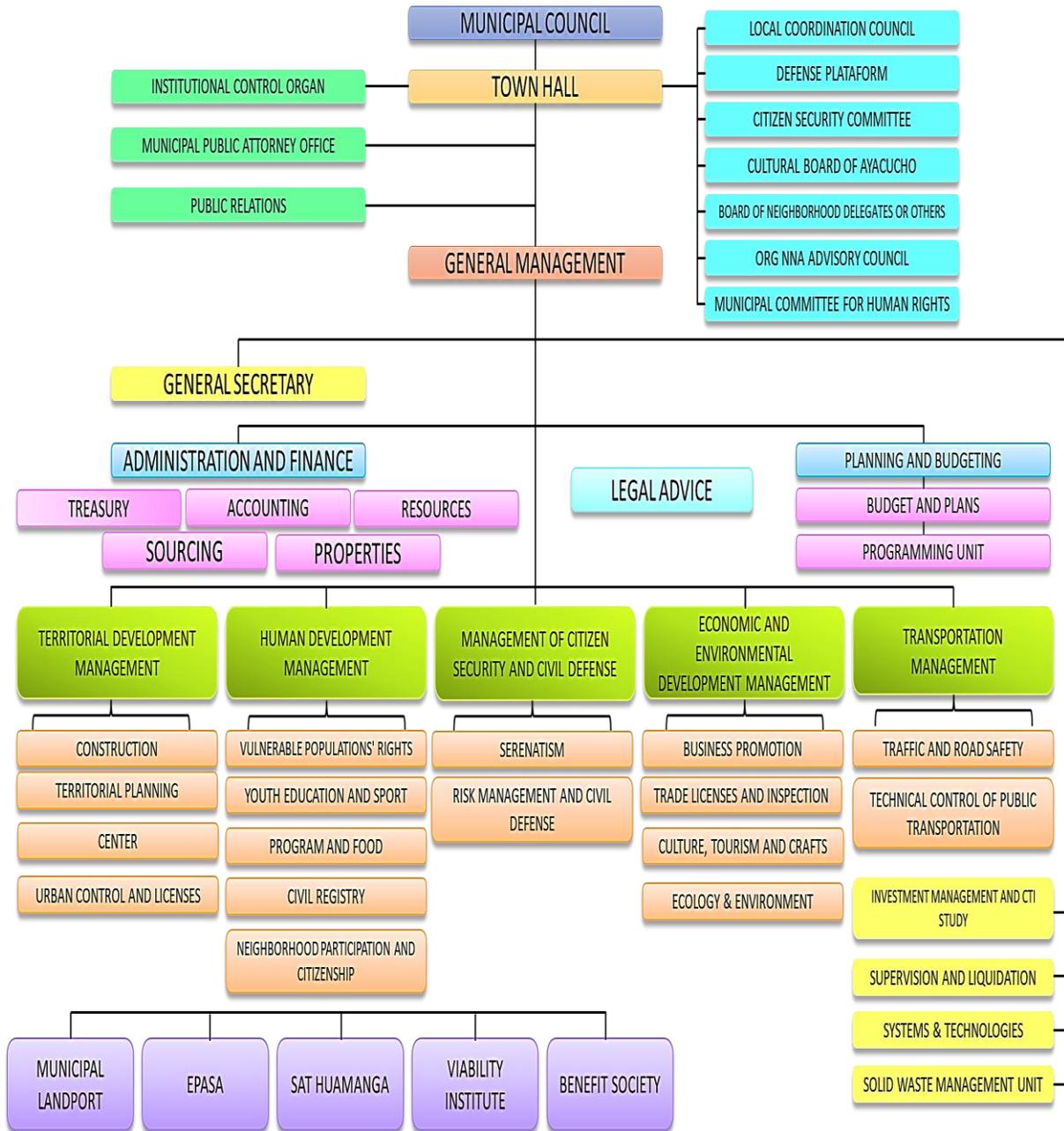


Figure 1: MPH organizational structure

Source: ROF 2016 MPH

## **Characterization of the Municipal Council**

The Municipal Council is the highest governing body of the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga, it is composed of the mayor who presides over it and the eleven councilors who have the power to exercise their regulatory and supervisory functions in accordance with the Political Constitution of Peru, the Law Organic of Municipalities, the Internal Regulations of the Municipal Council of the MPH and other current legal provisions (MPH, 2016). The Municipal Council's support and coordination body is the Office of the General Secretariat.

The councilors of the Huamanga Provincial Council are the legitimate representatives of the province's citizens, who are elected by popular vote in accordance with Law No. 26864, Municipal Elections Law, to exercise the public office, as well as the attributes such as the organization, function, attribution, development of the sessions, the operation, number, composition of the Commissions of Aldermen, the relationships and mechanisms, are defined in the Internal Regulations of the Municipal Council (MPH, 2016).

Among the main powers of the Municipal Council described in the Regulations of Organizations and Functions 2016 of the MPH are the following:

1. Approve the Agreed Development Plans and the Participatory Budget.
2. Approve, monitor and control the Institutional Development Plan and the investment program, taking into account the plans and their participatory budgets.
3. Approve the Urban Development Plan, the Rural Development Plan, the Urban Areas Zoning Scheme, the Human Settlements Development Plan and other specific plans based on the Territorial Conditioning Plan.
4. Approve the Local Environmental Management System and its instruments, in accordance with the national and regional environmental management system.
5. Approve, modify or repeal the ordinances and nullify the agreements.
6. Create, modify, suppress or exempt contributions, rates, excise duties, licenses and rights, in accordance with the Law.
7. Declare the vacancy or suspension of the positions of mayor and councilor (s).
8. Approve regulations that guarantee effective neighborhood participation.
9. Establish ordinary and special commissions, in accordance with its regulations.
10. Approve the annual budget and its modifications within the deadlines indicated by law, under responsibility.
11. Approve the delivery of infrastructure constructions and municipal public services to the private sector through concessions or any other form of participation of private investment permitted by Law.
12. Approve the creation of population centers and municipal agencies.

13. Authorize and respond to requests for information from council members for auditing purposes.
14. Approve the celebration of national and international cooperation agreements and inter-institutional agreements.
15. Approve the mayor's remuneration and the councilors' allowances.
16. Supervise the management of the officials of the Municipality.
17. Approve the spaces for consultation and neighborhood participation, at the proposal of the mayor" (MPH, 2016).

### **Electoral context 2018**

The previous 2015-2018 management of the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga had Dr. Salomón Hugo Aedo Mendoza as provincial mayor for the Renace Ayacucho Regional Movement, who already had political experience as a former mayor of the District Municipality of San Juan Bautista.

Within the previous municipal council of the total of 12 councilors, there were 4 women, two of them from the same winning Regional Movement and two councilors from the groups that were in second and fourth place in the provincial elections, the location and election of the women in that management was determined by the trajectory of social and political leadership, therefore, sometimes the councilors of their political organization assumed the leadership of municipal mayor in the absence of the head; At the end of this management, the then Mayor recognized the deficient management carried out in local transportation and a great advance in solid waste management, but did not emphasize the social area.

Subsequently, the Regional and Municipal Elections (ERM) were held on October 7, 2018 for the election of governors, vice governors, regional councilors, mayors and municipal councilors for the 2019-2022 period. Huamanga, was the province with the highest number of candidates, with a total of 15 organizations registered at first, of which two were declared inadmissible by the Special Elections Jury, being the case of the Peruvian Aprista Party (for not complying with the minimum required by the gender quota) and the Peru Libre National Political Party, leaving only 13 political organizations in contention: 6 Regional Movements and 7 Political Parties.

During the electoral campaign, in Huamanga the media and social networks played a decisive role in influencing the votes of citizens, since they provided more space only to certain political organizations on the covers of local magazines; Regarding dissemination, virtual surveys were carried out through social networks and in some cases posts and publications in favor or against some candidates and candidates, likewise, there were different already traditional campaign strategies such as: the famous caravans, pasted from posters, debates organized by different social sectors, among others.

In these electoral contests there was a total of 159,489 votes by the citizens at the provincial level, the distribution being as follows: the Musuq Ñan Regional Movement

obtained 24.22% of votes, Qatun Tarpuy 19.96% of votes, Desarrollo Integral Ayacucho el 18.601% of votes and Ayacucho wins 10.48% of valid votes.

Each of these political groups was able to place at least one alderman in the Municipal Council, as shown, all these winning political groups are regional movements that have managed to position themselves in the region, thus managing to supply the crisis of the national political parties, However, they still lack an active organic life outside of electoral periods, which restricts the political empowerment of their militants.

In the 2018 regional and municipal elections, in the Ayacucho region the public office with the highest presence of women was the district council (43.4%) and the lowest position was the regional government with only one candidate (JNE / Observa Igualdad, 2018) This situation is aggravated if the elected women are considered, since of a total of 11 councilors for the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga, only 3 are women.

The causes of the low political participation of women lie in the limited access to education, the limited economic resources and strategic contacts for the development of campaigns, the weak empowerment of women, the limited development of young female leaderships, the social stereotypes and the absence of public policies with a gender perspective.

This situation requires overcoming structural knots such as: making visible the concentration of power and hierarchical relationships in the public sphere, reducing socioeconomic inequality, recognizing the persistence of poverty, changing discriminatory and violent patriarchal cultural patterns such as political harassment, and achieving advances for the just social organization of care (Miloslavich, 2008). In order to dent this problem, feminist organizations and institutions gave as a short-term proposal the implementation of affirmative action's such as gender quotas, parity and alternation at all political levels.

For this reason, the objective of this research was set as an objective:

1. Analyze the factors that influenced the political participation of women candidates during the 2018 electoral process by the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga.
2. To know the perception of women candidates about their experience during the 2018 electoral process and about the factors that made possible the election of the current councilors.
3. Analyze the situation and implementation of public policies that contributed to the political participation of women candidates in the 2018 electoral process by the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga.

## **Methodology**

An explanatory applied research was carried out, since it seeks to know the factors that influenced the political participation of women in the 2018 electoral process. contribute to the design of projects and initiatives to improve women's political participation and empowerment (Ander-Egg, 2001).

## **Method of research**

The research is qualitative in nature, in that it seeks to know the subjective components of former candidates such as perception, motivation, among others, through immediate and personal information (Ander-Egg, 2001), in the same way, following what has been stated by Hernández et al. (2014), this design allowed us to examine the ways in which former candidates perceived or experienced their insertion in politics and in the 2018 electoral process.

## **Techniques and instruments**

The techniques applied were as follows:

1. In-depth interviews with the former candidates of the different political organizations.
2. Survey of former candidates and a focus group of current councilwomen in order to know their perception from their position as councilwomen of the Municipality about the factors that mainly influenced their political participation and the quality of the electoral process.
3. Documentary analysis to complement the information and analyze the implementation of public policies in the 2018 electoral process, at the level of the province of Huamanga.

The interviews were carried out with the objective of knowing the characteristics of the candidates, in terms of place of origin, age of application, marital status, degree of education and activities and economic income; as well as their opinions on the factors that may have influenced their political participation. An interview guide was used as an instrument for them. The following factors were analyzed:

1. Previous social and political experiences
2. Political autonomy
3. Influence of the feminist movement
4. Self-esteem and leadership
5. Educational situation
6. Knowledge of the electoral system
7. Gender roles
8. Gender biases
9. Economic autonomy

Additionally, they were asked for a description of their experiences in the electoral process carried out. An analysis of each aspect with a summary of the most significant responses is shown in the results section.

Once the interviews were concluded, a survey was applied in order to quantify which are the factors that most influence the political participation of women in the Municipality of Huamanga and their appreciation of the quality of the electoral process in three questions: 1) Participation Feminine (Equity), 2) Transparency and 3) Social Impact.

For a more effective handling of the subjectivities and the indeterminacies of the evaluations, the use of linguistic terms linked to a set of single value neutrosophic numbers (SVNS) was used, for which Neutrosophy operations were carried out.

The documentary analysis complemented the information to examine the progress in the implementation of public policies in the 2018 municipal electoral process and the impact of regional and local laws.

Next, some basic elements of Neutrosophy and the equations used are exposed.

### Neutrosophy basics and operations performed

Neutrosophy was created by Professor Smarandache (1997) to deal with neutralities. This theory provided the basis for a series of mathematical theories that generalize classical and fuzzy theories, such as neutrosophic sets and neutrosophic logic (Ramos, 2019).

The original definition of the truth value in neutrosophic logic states that the sets  $N = \{(T, I, F) : T, I, F \subseteq [0,1]\}$ , constitutes a neutrosophic evaluation of a mapping of a group of sentence formulas in  $N$ , and for each sentence  $p$  we have (Smarandache, 2005):

$$v(p) = (T, I, F) \tag{1}$$

On the other hand, with the aim of facilitating the practical application to decision-making problems, it has been proposed to use the sets of unique neutrosophic values, (SVNS) that, through them, it is possible to use linguistic terms, in order to obtain a greater ease of interpretation of the results obtained with this type of data (Wang, *et al.*, 2010).

For its use and interpretation,  $X$  is defined as a universe of discourse, so a single value neutrosophic set of said universe of discourse is defined as;  $A$  over  $X$ , representing an object, defined as shown in (2).

$$A = \{(x, V_A(x), I_A(x), F_A(x)) : x \in X\} \tag{2}$$

Where:

$$V_A(x) : X \rightarrow [0,1], I_A(x) : X \rightarrow [0,1] \text{ y } F_A(x) : X \rightarrow [0,1] \text{ with } 0 \leq V_A(x) + I_A(x) + F_A(x) \leq 3, \text{ for all } x \in X.$$

The components  $V_A(x), I_A(x), F_A(x)$ , denote the true, indeterminate and false membership of  $x$  in  $A$  respectively. An SVN number, then will be expressed as  $A = (a, b, c)$ , where;  $a, b, c \in [0,1] \text{ y } a + b + c \leq 3$  (Liu, 2016).

Some operations between SVNSs are shown below (Chen and Ye, 2017):

1. Sean  $A_1 = (a_1, b_1, c_1)$  y  $A_2 = (a_2, b_2, c_2)$  dos SVNS, then the sum of  $A_1$  y  $A_2$  is defined as:

$$A_1 \oplus A_2 = (a_1 + a_2 - a_1a_2, b_1b_2, c_1c_2) \tag{3}$$

2. Dados  $A_1 = (a_1, b_1, c_1)$  y  $A_2 = (a_2, b_2, c_2)$  two SVNS it follows that the multiplication between  $A_1$  y  $A_2$  is defined as:

$$A_1 \otimes A_2 = (a_1 a_2, b_1 + b_2 - b_1 b_2, c_1 + c_2 - c_1 c_2) \quad (4)$$

3. The product of a scalar  $\lambda \in \mathfrak{R}$  positive with a SVNS,  $A = (a, b, c)$  is defined by:

$$\lambda A = (1 - (1 - a)^\lambda, b^\lambda, c^\lambda) \quad (5)$$

4. Be  $\{A_1, A_2, \dots, A_n\} \in \text{SVNS}(X)$ , where  $A_j = (a_j, b_j, c_j)$  ( $j = 1, 2, \dots, n$ ), the Single Value Neutrosophic Weighted Mean Operator (SVNSWA) proposed by Ye (2014) is defined as follows:

$$O_w(A_1, A_2, \dots, A_n) = \langle 1 - \prod_{j=1}^n (1 - V_{A_j}(x))^{w_j}, \prod_{j=1}^n (I_{A_j}(x))^{w_j}, \prod_{j=1}^n (F_{A_j}(x))^{w_j} \rangle \quad (6)$$

Where:

$w = (w_1, w_2, \dots, w_n)$  is a vector of  $A_j$  ( $j = 1, 2, \dots, n$ ) such that  $w_n \in [0,1]$  y  $\sum w_j = 1$ .

5. Be  $A = (a, b, c)$  a single-valued neutrosophic number, the scoring function  $S$ , based on the degree of truth membership, indeterminacy or falsity, proposed by Deli (2015) is defined by:

$$S(A_j) = 2 + T_{A_j} - F_{A_j} - I_{A_j} \quad (7)$$

These mathematical expressions were used to work with the evaluations provided by the candidates on the factors of influence and the quality of the electoral process.

The linguistic terms used to assess the factors that influenced the political participation of women in the Municipality of Huamanga, and their associated neutrosophic numbers, are shown in Table 1.

Table 1. Linguistic terms for evaluating the influence of factors on the political participation of women and their associated SVNS

| Linguistic Term | Evaluation     | SVNS             |
|-----------------|----------------|------------------|
| EL              | Extremely Low  | (0; 1; 1)        |
| VVL             | Very very low  | (0.1; 0.9; 0.9)  |
| VL              | Very low       | (0.2; 0.85; 0.8) |
| L               | Low            | (0.3; 0.75; 0.7) |
| ML              | Medium Low     | (0.4; 0.65; 0.6) |
| M               | Medium         | (0.5; 0.5; 0.5)  |
| MH              | Medium High    | (0.6; 0.35; 0.4) |
| H               | High           | (0.7; 0.25; 0.3) |
| VH              | Very high      | (0.8; 0.15; 0.2) |
| VVH             | Very very high | (0.9; 0.1; 0.1)  |
| EH              | Extremely High | (1; 0; 0)        |

Once the evaluations of each factor by the candidates were obtained, an overall evaluation of each factor was obtained through the aggregation function (6). These general evaluations were ordered by means of the scoring function (7) to determine the degree of influence of the factors on women's political participation in the municipality.

The linguistic terms used for the evaluation of the quality of the electoral process, and their associated neutrosophic numbers, are shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Linguistic terms for the evaluation of the quality of the electoral process and its associated SVNS

| Linguistic Term | Evaluation          | SVNS               |
|-----------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| E               | Excellent           | (1; 0; 0)          |
| VG              | Very good           | (0,8; 0,15; 0,20)  |
| G               | Good                | (0,60; 0,35; 0,40) |
| F               | Fair                | (0,50; 0,50; 0,50) |
| FB              | Fair tending to Bad | (0,40; 0,65; 0,60) |
| B               | Bad                 | (0,20; 0,85; 0,80) |
| VB              | Very Bad            | (0; 1; 1)          |

With said terms, the three aspects were evaluated and through aggregation, an overall evaluation of the quality of the 2018 electoral process was obtained.

### Population and sample

The universe of this investigation is constituted by 69 candidates who participated in 13 electoral lists that applied to the Municipality. Consistent with the qualitative method, a non-probabilistic sample was applied at the discretion of the researcher according to its significance to 22 candidates for the interview and a focus group. The survey was applied to the 69 candidates.

The primary sources are constituted by the ex-candidates to the council and mayor's office, as well as the current councilors of the Municipality.

In the case of secondary sources, the normative documents that promote and strengthen the political participation of women were located, selected and reviewed, mainly the laws referring to political participation.

## Results and discussion of the interviews

### Socioeconomic characteristics of former candidates

Although there is no single profile of the politicians in our town, this section presents sociocultural aspects such as the place of origin, the age of application, marital status, education level and economic income, which characterize women. candidates who participated in the electoral process of the municipal elections of 2018 for the province of Huamanga.

## **Place of origin**

To be a candidate, it is not a requirement to be born in the province for which you are applying, but to have a current residence in it. The former candidates who participated in the municipal elections of 2018 come from different places, the majority (15) come from the same province of Huamanga, mainly from the five metropolitan districts and some rural districts; to a lesser extent (3) they come from other provinces of the region such as Cangallo, Parinacochas and Fajardo; and only one comes from Lima, but she is the daughter of Huamanguino parents.

The women who come from the interior provinces already reside for a long time in the city, they migrated very young to the capital of the region in search of better educational and economic opportunities.

## **Age of nomination of former candidates**

Age sometimes determines the level of the political trajectory of the candidates, in addition to articulating with the young quota applied in regional, provincial and district elections, where people between 18 and 28 years of age are considered a citizen or young citizen. age reached on the closing date of submission of applications for the registration of candidacies (JNE, 2019).

Most of the former candidates at the time of their application were in a relatively young age range of between 31 and 45 years (11), a stage in which the former candidates have some economic, family stability and previous social experiences that helped to strengthen the fulfillment of your goals; in second place are the candidates with an age range between 20 to 30 years (6), which represent the quota of young people, which most political organizations have estimated only to ensure the registration of their lists; Finally, there are the candidates with more than 45 years (2), who have the most experience in spaces of citizen participation as leaders, leaders or activists who will be more sure of their political capacities.

Age in politics can be an important indicator of experience and empowerment of women, since it reflects confidence in the political career with respect to the formation of management and leadership competencies (Pachano, 2011).

## **Marital status**

Marital status is related to having or not having a partner under legal protection, a situation that influences the political participation of women, due to the impact of opinions, suggestions and support from their partners on their public actions that directly involve their family.

Most of the former candidates (9) are single, having greater economic independence and autonomy in their development as citizens, to act in public spaces, to decide on their candidacy and to assume a leading role in political campaigns; in the same way, the former separated candidates (3) also have autonomy to decide their candidacy, but the family burden and the responsibility with the children, limits in some way their political development, especially if they are minor children.

On the other hand, in the case of former married candidates (4) and partners (3), they take into account the opinion and decision of their partners for their candidacies, limiting their social and economic autonomy, however, they see emotional support in their family and the possibility of distributing household chores and care to carry out community and productive activities.

### **Level of education**

The degree of education indicates the technical abilities obtained by people and is an aspect highly respected by society, almost all of the former candidates (17) have a higher education, many of them with postgraduate studies (8), others with university degree (4) and higher technical study (5), a situation that allows them to access better economic and social opportunities, on the other hand, only a minimum number of candidates (2) have secondary studies in the absence of family support.

The educational setting is the basis for overcoming certain sociocultural obstacles that limit women's political participation such as gender roles and prejudices, developed in the following sections, likewise, accessing greater opportunities allows them to have economic stability and therefore autonomy.

### **Economic activity and income**

The economic activity refers to the set of actions carried out to obtain a monetary income and cover the needs; Most of the former candidates (13), having a higher education degree, have their main source of income in their professional practice, allowing them to obtain income above the minimum wage and have labor rights from their work centers; In second place (5), there are the former candidates who, by not accessing job opportunities, saw in the trade obtaining economic income independently, but with an income of less than 1000 soles per month, finally only one former candidate mainly performs the tasks and home care, this due to his condition as unemployed but has access to a retirement pension with a minimum salary that allows him to have some independence.

The economic income of former candidates determines economic autonomy as a factor that influences empowerment and political participation, a situation that we will see in the following sections.

### **Factors influencing the political participation of former female candidates**

The factors that influence the political participation of women tend to be multiple and varied according to the economic, social and cultural context; some of these favors and facilitate political participation such as: self-esteem and leadership, political autonomy, educational situation, social and political experiences, the influence of the feminist movement and knowledge of the electoral system.

On the other hand, the situation of exclusion of women in political spaces is based on discriminatory social practices more than on other considerations such as capacities, therefore, among the factors that hinder the political participation of women are the roles and prejudices of women. Gender, likewise, economic autonomy becomes a

factor that enables, but at the same time conditions, the insertion of women in political spaces. The influence of these factors on former candidates is presented below, as collected in the interviews.

### **Self-esteem and leadership**

In the subjective affective dimension, self-esteem contains the emotions, desires and events of one's own history, events and lived experiences (Ríos, 2001). From the feminist perspective, self-esteem is related to the desire to feel good internally and the need for that desire to be legitimate by third parties about the capacities that one has. One of the most recent aspects of reflection on self-esteem arises from the social participation of women in development processes and political intervention, women who fight for different causes, including the cause of women who have not been able to participate or lead processes at times. crucial (Ríos, 2001).

In politics, self-esteem is one's own security and determination to have the skills and knowledge to come to power, such as social leadership and good performance in office. Most of the former candidates (12) consider themselves leaders due to their participation in different spaces and their ability to influence a group of people, projecting security in the performance of their representative positions that they held in different social spaces and centers. labor, which allowed them to strengthen capacities and skills to face personal and social difficulties and above all to assume new obligations; Likewise, the achievement of their objectives as leaders responds to the collective transformation for development and the common good, here are some testimonies:

"If I consider myself a leader because I assert my rights and the rights of others" (Candidate N ° 6 - TEPA Party).

"Yes, in my sector because many people consider and value the work I do and at the same time I see that they follow in my footsteps and get motivated" (Candidate N ° 1 - PPC Party) "They are always asking, a situation happens and they ask me what Do you think, tell us something, orient us something, then I believe that in me they see someone who can give them accurate and neutral information based on that, follow their decisions and in many cases they feel that I have influence on them "(Candidate No. 5 - DAY match)

"I like politics, but before that I had to see the harsh reality that exists in my District and if it can be improved it will be done, not necessarily holding a position, it is done out of conviction" (Candidate No. 1- MIRE Party)

"I have been providing technical assistance and supervision for the improvement of their micro-enterprises [...] I am proud to be part of the progress of these women, 95% were women" (Candidate N ° 5 - TEPA Party)

On the other hand, in a smaller number (7) some former candidates, despite having been in front of a work team in the campaign, consider continuing in the process of strengthening their leadership skills, seeking the constant legitimation of their capacities by their environment.

"I do not consider myself a leader, but I enjoy collaborating or supporting to achieve a good and group purpose" (Candidate No. 11 - TPP Party)

"I do not consider myself a leader, but I believe that each person can direct our experiences and ways of thinking, we have the freedom to act" (Candidate for mayor - MIRE Party)

Self-esteem and leadership are two components of political autonomy in the sense of having the ability to trust themselves and influence social transformations, having control over their own decisions, these are factors that enable the political participation of women.

### **Political autonomy**

According to Magdalena Valdivieso (S / F), the concept of autonomy is associated with the idea of self-determination, that is, not being subjected to external pressures when deciding what life to lead, it is seen as the freedom of movement and action that constitute an important indicator of progress in their social, political, material and personal condition.

Autonomy in politics is self-determination about the ability to decide to participate or not in political processes, former candidates were not pressured by their environment to decide to run, but while insertion into political life generates an impact on them and in their families, they considered the support and endorsement of their family and close friends, allowing them to have an emotional support network where the recommendations and opinions provided greater security in their decision.

"I did not think to apply, and I sat down with the family and we came to the decision that suddenly it was time to make the intentions known to society, in the end the decision was mine" (Candidate N ° 5 - DIA Party)

"My father told me, look, daughter, three political parties have proposed to you so far, it is not for the pure, they are looking for you for something so accept [...] both of you work for both of you and I accepted" (Candidate No. 1- Party DD)

"I consulted with everyone, my close friends, my family, my mother opposed this process, my friends told me: if you want it, we will accompany you [...] the support was strong from close people" (Candidate No. 4 - QT Match)

"I decided to participate, because I wanted to bring a new face to politics" (Candidate N ° 2 - FA)

Due to the negative perception of current politics, there is distrust to get involved in a political organization and run for public office, this situation worsens if we consider that there are a series of socio-cultural barriers to making an autonomous decision on such an important aspect which is the political role. For this reason, autonomy, as well as empowerment, are processes of capacity building and change attitudes that are acquired through social experience and training in civil and political rights acquired in social spaces.

## **Educational situation**

The educational situation is a sociocultural factor that facilitates the political empowerment of former candidates because it allows them to develop capacities and skills, acquire critical concepts, learn about reality and make social and economic self-determination viable.

The educational situation of the candidates is an aspect highly valued by the population, who constantly demand the academic preparation of their representatives, but of the 13 electoral lists for the MPH in 2018, only 5 men of the 39 candidates who were in the top positions, they had postgraduate studies, unlike the women, who mostly had such studies, as seen in the section on education in this chapter, however, the former candidates consider that the level of Education gives them support for their political capacities, generating confidence in them to be considered suitable in public management and exercise their citizenship rights.

Similarly, political organizations consider the educational situation as a channel of mobility and social integrity, for this reason they relate academic preparation with the political capacities of people and allow it to be established as a selection criterion to incorporate women into electoral lists.

## **Previous social and political experiences**

For Roger Hart (2017), participation is the ability to express decisions that are recognized by the social environment and that affect one's life and / or the life of the community in which one lives. For this reason, citizen participation is understood as the intervention of citizens in the public sphere, which is later considered as the social experience.

Previous participation in public spaces for citizen consultation, allows developing and acquiring experiences of social leadership and self-security, most of the former candidates (12) previously belonged to social organizations and volunteers, mothers' club, neighborhood councils, consultative spaces on the matter of youth and women, association of market workers, participatory budgets, defense front, roundtable for the fight against poverty, union of workers and university leaders, in which through dialogue they reached agreements on issues of regional interest / local / institutional.

The participation of the former candidates in these spaces is given by the approach with the problems of their community and the time they have available, and at the same time allowed them to access leadership training courses, social management, gender issues and empowerment, which facilitated the recognition of the population. On the other hand, less than half of the former candidates had no experience in these spaces, placing them at a certain disadvantage.

Here are some testimonials about their social experiences:

"I participated in the accountability meetings of the Municipality and women's organizations" (Candidate N ° 6 - TEPA Party)

"I participated in the Defense Front because I was a union leader for 15 years" (Candidate N ° 2 - FA Party).

"We created the organization of youth leaders of the Chiara District, we organized the community and citizen security, we implemented Bio gardens and we improved the quality of life of the disabled in real abandonment" (Candidate N ° 1 - MIRE Party)

"If I received several (trainings) the world of organizations allows you to have constant training [...] from the JNE and other NGOs such as Manuela Ramos, Flora Tristán and several that helped strengthen me on these issues" (Candidate N ° 4 - Party QT)

"I participated in spaces of educational sectors and in others" (Candidate No. 1- PPC Party)

Previous experience in social spaces is characterized by solid and voluntary community work, this serves as a starting point and vehicle for women's political participation, since they act as a "springboard" to formal political systems (Cruz, 2015), the participation of former candidates in social spaces made possible political autonomy and their candidacies in the 2018 electoral process.

On the other hand, the political experience of women, considered as participation prior to an electoral process as a candidate / or any position, and / or they have held public positions of popular election (Seifert, 2016), is below that of men, being an obstacle to the development of their candidacies and the probability of election.

Although the majority of former candidates have previous social experiences, in the case of political experience, the opposite happens, almost all former candidates (18) did not have a candidacy prior to 2018, since they were not considered by the different political organizations because of the low recognition of their social leadership, so their involvement in the electoral process was due to direct invitations from representatives of the political groups to run for the office of councilors.

Only one former candidate had previous experience in an electoral process, she ran for the provincial council for a political party in which she was active but did not manage to occupy the position on that occasion, but socially positioned her to be considered as a candidate again for another political party, giving her greater advantage in terms of experience in political campaigns and in the electoral process.

Social experience is a factor that facilitates the political participation of women since it allows them to increase their social and political position (León, 1997) with this, their negotiation capacities and a greater probability of being considered as candidates by political organizations.

### **Influence of the feminist movement**

This movement is one of the largest at the world and national level, which since its appearance has achieved certain structural changes, but which to date are not yet substantial, therefore, there are still various demands that were evolving according to the context social, political and economic of each Country.

Knowing the history of this movement makes it possible to make visible the progress and pending in gender inequality and consider it in the elaboration of public policies, most of the former candidates (14) have knowledge about this movement due to the training obtained from social spaces Few women (4) of this group feel identified with

the actions and objectives of feminism, since they attribute the exercise of their political and civil rights thanks to the struggle of this movement.

On the contrary, for some (10) the perception of this movement is based on negative ideas and images imparted by the media, social networks and opposing groups that seek to show feminism as a movement against machismo or as an institutional movement and not social, due to the minimization of the social demands of women, here are some testimonies about the opinion of feminism:

"According to what I have heard, because I have not inquired either, it is very radical that there must always be greater attention to women and men aside and I stay on the sidelines, because I believe in the rights of both [...] but good or bad, if there were not these movements, we would not have been seen, because women were dedicated to doing domestic work and it was not long ago [...] thanks to the influence of these movements we have now been taken into account and they consider us "(Candidate N ° 5- Party DIA)

"I do not agree with feminism or machismo, I believe that both sexes deserve the same respect and treatment to change this society" (Candidate No. 11 - TPP Party)

"Although there are women who do not want to call themselves feminists, they are, women who already discuss feminism, even question what it is, because it seeks equal rights, it is an ideological current that does not seek to disappear men like many They say it to the contrary, it seeks to equalize the conditions in terms of women's empowerment [...] they should understand well what feminism is and what it seeks "(Candidate No. 4- QT Party)

The misrepresentation of the objectives of feminism prevents the recognition of women's rights, this situation makes some former candidates (5) not consider it and reject the influence of the feminist movement on them, since when entering the political space, they cannot have a discourse as radical as they conceive it, due to the negative perception of a certain sector of the population.

The feminist movement, insofar as it seeks to position the reduction of gender inequalities in the public interest, allows women to access training with a gender perspective and the strengthening of their skills, so that when they reach municipal management, they can promote public proposals with a focus gender that lessen these differences.

### **Knowledge of the electoral system**

Although the electoral system has a set of premises established in the Organic Law of Elections, those interested in applying must know key aspects such as the application requirements, electoral bodies, electoral quotas, party financing, among others; Most of the former candidates (14) had a certain theoretical and normative understanding of the electoral processes and requirements for their registration, as well as the social demands of their gender to promote an inclusive and egalitarian democracy, this due to the training provided by private institutions to which they accessed from the social

spaces in which they participated and at other times by their own political organizations, as they refer:

"Yes, I received workshops on Human Rights, democracy [...] from private institutions such as the National Human Rights Coordinator, the IEP, but to date I think they have stopped operating" (Candidate for Mayor's Office - MIRE Party) " If (you knew about the electoral process), review several reports on the electoral process before applying" (Candidate N ° 11- TPP Party)

On the other hand, few former candidates (5) were unaware of the electoral processes and the requirements to be candidates before running for the council, due to the prejudice that electoral spaces are only for men, which generated less interest on the part of women. women to access information on electoral processes or political training, but in some of them, because their political aspirations differed from the candidacy as councilors, seen in their testimonies.

"I did not (know) because I had not given importance to that, I thought at one point that it was only for men" (Candidate N ° 9 - MÑ Party)

"Before going to the Council, the truth was not (I knew about the requirements) because my space was to operate politically, it was to coordinate with the leaders [...] I never thought I was going to run as councilor, mine was more regional" (Candidate N 1 - Match DD)

Prior knowledge of the electoral system and training in public management issues and municipal council functions are viable factors for women's political participation because they allow them to negotiate their income and locations on the lists (indicated in the next section) in compliance. of some electoral terms, in the same way it could improve the possible performance of women as authorities and make possible their continuation in these spaces.

### **Gender roles**

The behaviors designated by society depend on the sex with which they are born, where behaviors and different spaces of development are attributed for men and women, in the socialization process most of the former candidates (14) did not grow up with the differentiation of roles, which allowed them to function in any area of society, facilitate their emotional independence and build their autonomy.

On the other hand, few of the former candidates (5) grew up with the differentiation of gender roles, which is why they were removed from the political sphere as an insecure space for participation, but when accessing training, obtaining social experience and academic preparation, they were they modified the precepts they had to get involved in politics.

"We grew up with marked roles, I had only one brother and all the sisters had to do housework, cook, clean, but my brother did not [...] as a woman we could not be very late or wear one type of clothing or being very delicate [...] but when I entered the University I understood that it was not only the private but the public that could also be disputed "(Candidate N ° 4 - QT Party)

Gender roles become a limiting factor for women's political participation due to the assignment of up to a triple role (reproductive, productive and community tasks), which generates a conflict between the family and work life of women. The former candidates, during the 2018 electoral process, carried out different activities along with the political campaign; Most of them (13) were in charge of at least one child and because of the unfair social organization of domestic work they found themselves at a disadvantage in terms of autonomous management of their time and decision-making to run for office, on the other hand, those who had greater facilities are single mothers, having greater independence in their decisions and had family support to cover their absence during the campaign.

“One of the problems that I could have with my ex-husband was because he is not a politician, he does not understand that he is political, he told me what is it? You dedicate a lot of time to that, that's why I had to break down barriers to continue ”[...] we worry about what they are going to have for breakfast, what are they going to have lunch, we worry about their clothes, about cleaning everything, even about your pets and work is more [...] it is difficult to be a mother and to be a politician, because of the time ”(Candidate N ° 1 - DD Party)

Only a few former candidates (6) continued with their paid jobs along with their electoral activities, since they did not have small children in charge, but the need to contribute economically to their homes and their professional development, being at an advantage with respect to the time and autonomy to participate in the campaign and financial independence.

The head of the household allows greater control of economic responsibilities and family decisions, many former candidates consider themselves as such due to the economic contribution they give to their family, the extensive composition of their homes, because of the responsibility in the decisions of their home and for temporary jobs of their partners who leave them in charge of the home.

For this reason, the presence of small daughters / sons in the composition of households and gender roles are limiting factors for women's participation as they influence physical, economic and political autonomy.

### **Gender biases**

Gender discrimination is unequal relationships where the power of men is valued and women are underestimated, giving unequal treatment to women to apply for or promote to management positions (Reynaga, 2013), many former candidates (10) involved in social and political spaces felt at some point underestimated in their political capacities and questioned about their performance as social leaders without having exercised it yet, due to stereotypes in the political sphere; while discrimination is multiple and intersectional, social conditions such as age, educational level and religion of the former candidates increased the possibilities of suffering discriminatory acts, as they refer.

"If I felt discriminated against by the population for being a woman and belonging to another religion (Israeli Community) when I started the campaign" (Candidate N ° 7 - FREPAP Party)

"Yes, it was when there were elections for president of the community since years after years only men were representing them, when the men elected me they obstructed the election, arguing that I was young and that women have no character and that only men could lead a community" (Candidate No. 1- MIRE Party)

"Yes, like the marginalization in the Municipality for not having higher education to hold a position in COPROMUH" (Candidate N ° 6 - TEPA Party)

"Many times [...] the first time they doubted it was because I was a woman, I had no experience, I was new to that space and because the woman was going to get pregnant at some point and that was going to subtract the position [...] several times I have been made to feel bad in the campaign by social networks and by the candidates themselves, it is not easy for women to enter politics "(Candidate N ° 4- QT Party)

Gender stereotypes in politics are based on the reproductive roles assigned to women, which distances them from public space, therefore some former candidates (9) who did not previously participate in political spaces were not limited by gender discrimination. However, during their experience in the campaign they contrasted that these constructs rooted in society are reflected in discriminatory phrases.

"I heard phrases like" women would not know how to handle such a great responsibility "; " women do not know how to function "; " women are not prepared for political positions "" (Candidate No. 11 - TPP Party)

"Many phrases such as" Women do not know anything about politics, they are there to fill, because they request it "" (Candidate N ° 9 - MÑ Party)

"Sometimes they said, "there are very few who stand out, give priority to the family and would be distracted by their problems" (Candidate No. 11- QT Party)

The elimination of discriminatory and exclusionary attitudes are the pillars of any democratic system to ensure the political representation of the citizenry, so that when it is not fulfilled, it becomes a limiting factor and sociocultural obstacle for the participation of women in social and political spaces.

### **Economic independence**

The economic situation is a fundamental factor for women to be able to participate as candidates, firstly because it enables them to have economic autonomy and to pay for campaign expenses and, on the other hand, it can be a determining factor for their location on the electoral lists.

Although the former candidates did not feel economically evaluated to join political organizations, they recognize that this factor is determining in some aspects; since it gives them an advantage for the development of strategies and campaign actions to have greater social visibility and the probability of obtaining more votes; In a study on the 2016 general elections in Peru, male candidates in different locations on the

electoral lists spent an average of 4.6 times more than their female colleagues on advertising during electoral campaigns (International IDEA, 2017). , autonomy and economic stability are influential factors in the decision to run for an electoral process.

On the other hand, the economic situation is usually an element in the negotiation for the locations on the electoral lists, since at certain times the spending capacity for political activities is evaluated, this puts the candidates with fewer resources or independence at a disadvantage economical.

"I have seen cases where there are people who try hard, they are very good professionals but they do not have the political opportunities [...] And I have seen that a good amount of money is invested for the psychological positioning of the party, but as Ayacuchanos it is necessary to see, who They are investing a lot, they are mortgaging our region, I do not agree, but it is the reality "(Candidate N ° 1- DD Party)

The former candidates with the highest income, coming mainly from the exercise of their professions (13) and as merchants (5), who have greater autonomy and better opportunities for spending on advertising and social positioning, placing them at an advantage over former candidates dedicated to household chores (1).

Therefore, the economic situation can be a limiting but also positive factor in terms of autonomy for political and social participation of women.

### **Women candidates' perception of the electoral process**

The election of the candidates depends on the electoral behavior of the citizens, deciding who to vote for responds to certain models such as the geographical environment or conjunctural factors that voters face when choosing a party or candidate (Montecinos, 2007, p. 10). However, each candidate created their own perception based on their experience, motivation and permanence in politics on aspects present in the 2018 electoral process, which are presented below.

#### **Motivation to participate in politics**

The experience and social experience of the former candidates allowed them to conceive the idea that politics is one of the ideal instruments to achieve substantial changes and contribute to the common good, this defined the motivation of most of the former candidates (9) who, by participating constantly in social spaces they assimilated the demands of the sector they represented, which motivated their decision to run for the electoral process and seek to position the women's agenda in the public interest; For Sánchez (2009), women who participate socially enter politics out of the desire to contribute to change and community development, as they report in their testimonies.

"It comes from deep within, I am not going to see politics as a profession, I am not going to see it as a means to survive, for me politics is a passion with the aim of recovering the freedom of the Country and the dignity of all Peruvians [ ...] There are still many reasons to continue in politics" (Candidate No. 1- Party DD)

"I did not find in any councilor, in any authority the agenda that we had as women or young people [...] when you are in civil society you understand that your demands are

important, let's see if the authority listens to you and does something, but the authority does have power of decision and decide what is best for a city, and you understand that sitting on the other side you cannot do more than what you have already done, you need to go to the other to decide and change what you believe, it was a very thoughtful decision " (Candidate No. 4- Party QT)

"Sometimes from the place where we are as citizens, we make a statement or make criticisms, but why don't we change that mentality and start promoting a change that we have always wanted and wish for? That was what motivated me, that honest people must also give ourselves that opportunity to occupy a political position and demonstrate that if a healthy and correct policy can be carried out" (Candidate for Mayor's Office - MIRE Party)

On the other hand, in a lower proportion of former candidates (8), family and friend support constituted the main motivation of some of them, as the application to an electoral process is a decision highly evaluated by the time required and the conformation of the work teams for the execution of the campaign plans, then having the family support and support of the close environment, finalized their candidacies.

On the other hand, the proposals and positions of some political organizations motivated the identification in some former candidates (2), who when seeing the trajectory and public recognition of the organizations for which they applied, perceived the opportunity of their personal self-realization.

"I participated because with the party we had common characters, such as the political position" (Candidate No. 2- FA Party)

"They expressed their knowledge and interest in having a professional in the tourism sector on their team, which by the way was not in any of the movements or political parties of those elections. I accepted the proposal, because I had many ideas to improve the city in my field" (Candidate No. 5- TEPA Party)

Finally, the professional experience and the achievements obtained from their academic fields were the main motivations of the current MPH councilors, all inclined to contribute to the improvement of society with ethical convictions.

### **Method of joining political organizations**

The social participation of the former candidates allowed the recognition by the political organizations to be considered candidates for the provincial council, most of them (14) entered the different political organizations by direct invitation from the mayoral candidates, comrades of leadership and family members, to make up the electoral lists for which they nominated, without having previously militated in said organizations; In the former candidates with greater social importance, the invitations came from different political organizations, allowing them to analyze the proposals and consider certain criteria such as the possibility of being elected, the location on the lists, identity with the political ideology and the opinion of the family to make the decision to run for the 2018 electoral process, mentioned in their testimonies.

"The invitations were diverse, but there comes a time to decide which one is the most expectant and that happens in young people and women, I did not really feel comfortable in any of them, but that is the need of the young man to want to do things but how There are no spaces or they are limited or they are conditioning factors, you have to assume what they say, that time the engineer's proposal was the most feasible, openness to not conditioning myself to be behind him, so that I can go out and campaign on my own on that side it was the one that had the most openness and the least economically conditioning also "(Candidate N ° 4 - QT Party)

"One day another political party came to offer me, I did not want to know anything about corruption, I did not want to accept it, but they convinced me [...] until my father told me to accept and because most (of the candidates) were women" (Candidate No. 1 - Party DD)

"It was a direct invitation, they called me in those days, three movements called me and I had to sit down to analyze together with the family and we decided to present myself for that project" (Candidate N ° 5 - DIA Party)

To a lesser extent (5), some former candidates were already militants or continuously participated in the political organizations for which they ran, their entry into these organizations was before the 2018 Municipal Regional Elections (EMR) thanks to family members who invited them. To enter these political spaces, in the case of FREPAP as part of their religious practices, this situation allowed them to know the internal planning of the political organizations and the criteria considered for the election of the candidates.

### **Negotiation and placement on electoral lists**

According to the organic law of elections, political organizations must comply with declaring the form of election of their candidates, all political organizations registered in the 2018 ERM by the MPH opted for the closed primary elections with a single consensual list, the location In these lists for many former candidates (11) it was assigned together with the invitations that were made, which did not allow negotiation during the formation of the lists and they did not know how to do it, since they were mostly considered in the last locations that it limited their choice, but allowed them to gain experience in electoral campaigns; On the other hand, the former candidates who were located in the first five positions had experience and social support, which gave them negotiation skills and visualize the importance of their location on the electoral lists, referred to in their testimonies.

"That was done by the person who was supporting us (in terms of location), he wrote us that he is from the same congregation [...] a councilor was missing and almost last among, 6 I think" (Candidate N ° 6 - FREPAP Party)

"Number 10, I am not very interested in the place or position, I just wanted to experience what politics is like" (Candidate N ° 11 - Party MÑ)

Likewise, the two current councilors of the winning political organization were in the first positions by appointment of the current mayor, but "getting a location on an electoral

list requires financial resources, having influence or ancestry in a professional, social or union group ; or having had public visibility "(Soldevilla, 2012, p. 115), although the councilors did not have previous social or political experiences, their academic achievements and recognition as professionals gave them support to be considered in these locations.

On the other hand, to a lesser extent (8), the negotiation capacity such as the agreements, was reflected during the meetings to determine the locations with all the applicants to the council of their political organizations, where they were previously evaluated to be placed on the lists ; social support, soft skills, political positioning and management skills were criteria for negotiation considered in the meetings of political organizations to occupy the first five positions in the candidacies, as they refer in their testimonies.

"We all met and there we began to decide the numbers, they did not put us to the finger, we were gathered all the applicants to the council to locate ourselves according to certain criteria, those who had more experience were placed in the first [...] I was the 5" (Candidate N ° 5 - DIA Match)

"I went on the 1st, first I was as a candidate for mayor [...] the last day of registration I was scared and I gave up, I went back to the mayor's office and told them I am going to go as first councilor and that's how they put the mayor" (Candidate No. 1- Party DD)

"In QT, we made proposals for the mayoral and council candidates according to their abilities and experience, then they were approved by them" (Municipal Councilor N ° 1 - QT Party)

The ability to negotiate as it is a social skill and therefore is changing and conditioning the context, when it is used in politics and especially in the location on the lists, it must have certain qualities and elements that support its political actions, that are mostly acquired in social experiences and empowerment.

### **Experience on the electoral process**

The perception of the electoral process is an influential factor in the political participation of women, since it increases the possibilities of remaining in social and political spaces. The 2018 ERMs meant a process of learning, capacity building and leadership performance for most of the former candidates (16) and for the current women councilors (3), who, when participating for the first time in an electoral process, perceived in a positive way, their experience allowed them to be closer to the needs and demands of the population and to assume a leading role in front of a working group.

"Positive, because I got to know the reality of our countrymen in the different districts ..." (Municipal Councilor No. 1- QT Party)

"It was pleasant because it was possible to get to know closely the reality in which we live and really know what the population needs" (Municipal Councilor N ° 5 - MÑ Party)

"A good learning of participation in social groups, development of communication skills and knowledge electoral issues "(Candidate No. 1- PPC Party)" It was a very interesting

stage, one of learning and getting closer to many more people "(Candidate No. 5- TEPA Party)

"It was hard work; I met a lot of people and the needs they have" (Candidate N ° 6 - TEPA Party)

On the other hand, the negative perception of some former candidates (3) about this electoral process was based on certain obstacles such as limitations in economic resources that influenced the population to vote for them and political harassment through the social networks, as they refer in their testimonies.

"Our campaign was austere, but it was sad that every time we came to a place to campaign people asked for gifts" (Candidate No. 11 - TPP Party)

"The experience that I had was that political campaigns require a large amount of money to be financed, because when you invest the little budget, you find yourself in a disadvantageous situation" (Candidate for Mayor's Office - MIRE Party)

"It was a very complicated, difficult issue, but it was satisfactory [...] complex due to the attacks that I suffered through social networks personally and this affected my family [...] in general, women have to assume various positions, if I had not done one Such a public campaign would have gone unnoticed as some candidates" (Candidate N ° 4 - QT Party)

The experience acquired by the former candidates on this electoral process influenced their intentions to run again for political office, but above all to continue in political and social spaces, as will be seen below.

### **Possibilities of continuing in politics**

To determine the permanence of women in politics, it must be taken into account that there are still certain obstacles such as political harassment, patriarchal hierarchy in the public sphere and the unjust social organization of household chores, as well as political practices with women. that women do not feel identified, since from the beginning it was not designed and practiced based on gender equality.

However, the motivation and perception of the electoral campaign allows most of the former candidates (11) to intend to continue in political spaces and to apply again to an electoral process, although without defining the political projection, but under the conviction of contributing to social development and create new political paradigms for women.

"I would like to continue venturing into (politics), this first experience has helped me to prepare more, and the next time I will introduce myself to something else (not as a councilor)" (Candidate No. 5- DIA Party)

"Yes, for being able to highlight the needs of these organizations (mothers' clubs)" (Candidate No. 2- DD Party)

"Yes, of course I do, I think the worst thing women can do is be afraid, because that is what prevents us from moving forward" (Candidate No. 4- QT Party)

Despite the fact that the 2018 electoral process was the first experience of most of the former candidates, some of them (6) give up on running for an electoral process again, driven by personal projects at a professional level, due to the economic factor (seen in the economic situation) and the underrepresentation of women in political organizations, in the same way, few former candidates (2) see in the lack of experience and political harassment situations that they must assess before applying to a next process electoral.

"No, from my side I intend to work well as a professional [...] after the experience, I am not very interested in politics" (Candidate N ° 9 - TPP Party) "No, because of the economic factor and other than always women we were in second place" (Candidate N ° 6- TEPA Party)

"I am evaluating, I would love to, but you have to compete with politicians, with money and unfortunately our population lacks awareness to know how to choose well, now political campaigns are purchases of consciences, money rules" (Candidate No. 1- MIRE Party)

Finally, two of the current councilors would continue in the political spaces due to the commitment to change but running for an upcoming electoral process would depend on political circumstances, on the other hand, only one councilwoman would not stand for another electoral process since she aspires to development. of new leaderships and public representatives in the locality.

### **Former candidates' perceptions of electoral defeat**

For the former candidates, the weak internal organization and the opinion of the citizens were the conditions that limited the triumph of their political groups. Most of them (14) see that the economic factor, already mentioned in the previous chapters, is the main reason for not being elected, but at the same time they attribute the responsibility of social positioning and discrimination on the part of the media to the media. citizens made some candidates for mayor, as conditions for their non-election, mentioned in their testimonies:

"We carried out an austere campaign, that's why we didn't win" (Candidate No. 1- TPP Party)

"In the city at least we have not had problems [...] the problem was when we went to the countryside, we have become ill accustomed to expecting something from the person who is going to visit, that is the reality [...] the residents tell you? won't you give us anything? Not even a match? " (Candidate No. 5- Match DAY)

"We did not give gifts, we had financial limitations, people are used to receiving something" (Candidate No. 2- FA Party)

"During the campaign, not only has the economic differentiation been seen, but also the media have their favorite candidates and try to promote them more, written media that manipulate polls and there are tendentious ways to favor some" (Candidate for Mayor - Match LOOK)

"In my case, the candidate for the lead was very influential because there were no preferences to mark and what society said" corrupt "they also said" Serrano "because of his physical characteristics, that is discrimination" (Candidate No. 4- Party QT)

On the other hand, for few former candidates (5), the weak internal organization of their political groups for the planning and execution of the campaign, the lack of registration of candidates in all electoral districts and the observations by the electoral bodies, they limited the times to position their candidacy thus restricting their choice.

"Not having candidates in all Districts and Provinces" (Candidate No. 2- DD Party)

"Due to the observation of the ONPE and the officialization of our candidacies at the gates of the elections and not having consolidated candidates 100% for the Province of Huamanga" (Candidate N ° 3 - Party SP)

"Disunity of candidates between regional and district. In addition to the counter-campaign and very little budget that we manage for the campaign time" (Candidate No. 5- TEPA Party)

"It's easy, we were a baby party, we went with only three districts, we competed with politicians who had several positioned districts" (Candidate No. 1- DD Party)

### **Perception of current female alderwomen on the electoral triumph**

In the 2018 electoral process, the strategies used by each political group sought to position their candidates to have greater chances of being elected, in that sense, the current councilors think that the victory was based on the teamwork they displayed during the campaign, the composition and political trajectory of its members, the organic structure and the political proposal embodied in the government plans that are attached in the annexes. As they refer in their testimonies.

"Teamwork, a proposal for a political project, being part of a solid political movement with a long history [...] and our plan that included: open schools, road rings, tram, land use planning, improving citizen security and transportation and environmentally friendly ordinances" (Municipal Councilor N ° 7- MÑ Party)

"Overcoming the challenges and difficulties during the political campaign" (Municipal Councilor No. 5- MÑ Party)

"My political party was not the winner, we were in second place, so the first two councilors entered the Provincial Municipality, that is why I entered, [...] health, education, water, commerce, agriculture and transportation were prioritized" (Regidora Municipal N ° 1- QT Party)

Of these government plans, only the Musuq Ñan Regional Movement (winning group) recognizes the reduction of gender gaps in poverty as a strategic objective for the development of our town, leaving pending the fulfillment of other agendas on the issue of inequality, currently the Elected candidates frame their actions in the fulfillment of their regulatory and supervisory functions.

On the other hand, considering the perception of the former unelected candidates, allows to contrast the success factors considered by the councilors, they attribute that, the campaign strategies, the economic condition measured in the advertising spending, the political positioning, the irregularities the electoral process and the location on the lists were the determining factors in the election of the current councilors, as mentioned in their testimonies.

"It is a better-known party in the city, a better-worked campaign" (Candidate No. 11- TPP Party)

"They were well formed in the campaign in both districts and provinces" (Candidate No. 2- DD Party)

"Unfortunately, they are millionaire campaigns that they carry out, advertising, gifts are nothing else, that's why they win" (Candidate No. 1- MIRE Party)

"Of course, the economic investment, also the number of supporters and a good campaign strategy" (Candidate No. 5- TEPA Party)

"There was fraud in the count, in some places they did not allow our representatives to enter the premises" (Candidate N ° 7- FREPAP Party)

### **Perception of current municipal management**

Regarding politics at the local level, the former candidates (2) located in the last places of the winning political organization, recognize that the lack of economic and human resources cause weaknesses in the current administration, as well as the perception of the current councilors who acknowledge the presence of disagreements between the authorities, but at the same time the intention of overcoming said obstacles for the good of the province and the fulfillment of government plans.

"There will always be something that the population does not agree with the government, if you work well, it is not always going to convince the population" (Candidate N ° 11- MÑ Party) "I perceive the efforts of regional and local authorities to move forward with our city despite the discrepancies" (Municipal Councilor N ° 1 - QT Party)

Although the former candidates do not have an official participation in the current municipal management, they consider certain shortcomings in the implementation of the work plan of the winning political organization, finding themselves in disagreement with the political actions, this perception is shared by many sectors of society Thus, in 2019, according to a survey published in the La Jornada newspaper, 70.2% of those surveyed disapproved of the current mayor's management, 21% approve of it, and 9% prefer not to express an opinion, this situation generated by the breach of promises elections and the appointment of officials who did not meet a technical profile.

"Deficient, it is not because as many say, "since you have not won, that you are resentful" is not that, but improvisation is seen a lot, there is no general analysis of what you want to do" (Candidate N ° - 5 DAY match)

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"Terrible, every year it goes from bad to worse, as the years go by, the political interests are no longer the society, they are only economic interests but not to improve the quality of life of our society" (Candidate No. 1- Candidate MIRE)

Finally, beyond obtaining legal guarantees for women's political participation, the conditioning factors for a woman to decide to participate and get involved in political spaces are very varied, from elements that make autonomy feasible and others that hinder this activity; This entire process defines the perception of women with respect to their expectations and subsequently influences their decision to remain and continue in politics, to contribute to progress towards a representative and equal democracy.

## Results and discussion of the surveys with neutrosophic assessment

### Factors of greater relevance in the political participation of women in the Municipality of Huamanga

According to the results of the applied surveys, the absolute frequencies shown in the bar graph of figure 1 were obtained.

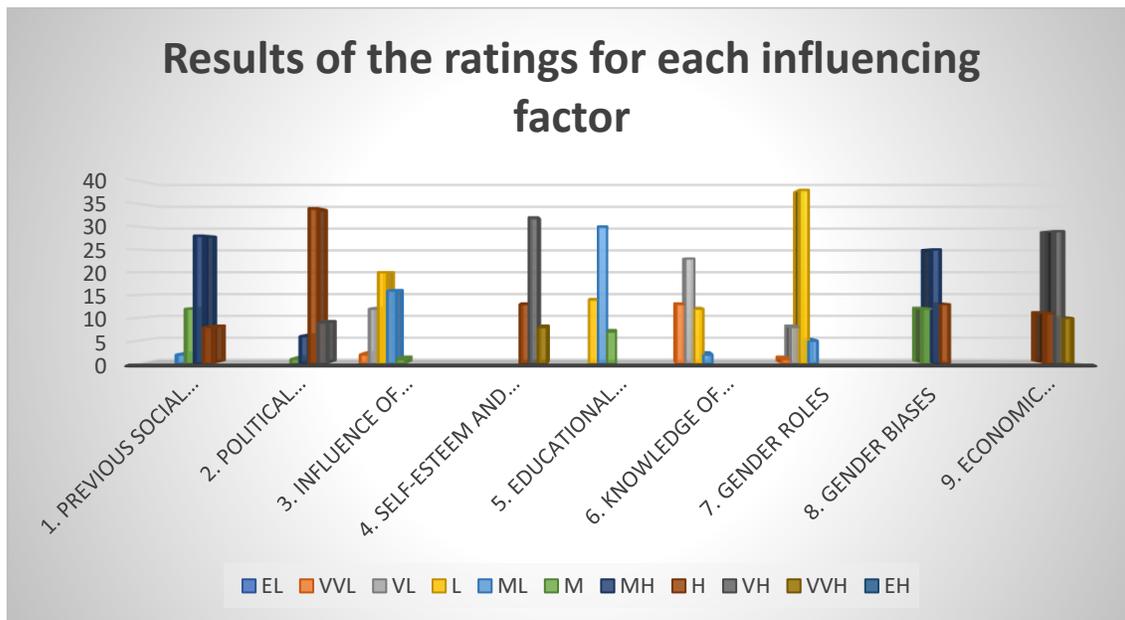


Figure 1. Results of the ratings for each influencing factor

As can be seen, the factors Previous political and social experiences and Gender biases were rated between medium and high, with a medium high rating prevailing. Self-esteem and Leadership and Economic Autonomy were mostly evaluated as very high. The influence of the feminist movement and gender roles, between very low and moderately low, with a predominance of low, especially in the second. The educational situation was rated mostly medium low and Knowledge of the electoral system very low.

The results of the aggregated evaluations for each factor and their respective scores, in order to obtain a single evaluation, are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Assessments of the factors of influence on political participation, obtained through the aggregations and scoring of the SVNS.

| <b>Influence factor</b>                             | <b>SVNS Aggregation result</b> | <b>Score</b> | <b>Evaluation</b> |
|---|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <b>1. Previous social and political experiences</b> | (0.6; 0.36; 0.4)               | 1.83307613   | MH                |
| <b>2. Political autonomy</b>                        | (0.71; 0.24; 0.29)             | 2.17212437   | H                 |
| <b>3. Influence of the feminist movement</b>        | (0.31; 0.74; 0.69)             | 0.89045339   | L                 |
| <b>4. Self-esteem and leadership</b>                | (0.8; 0.16; 0.2)               | 2.44615309   | VH                |
| <b>5. Educational Situation</b>                     | (0.39; 0.65; 0.61)             | 1.13054481   | ML                |
| <b>6. Knowledge of the electoral system</b>         | (0.2; 0.83; 0.8)               | 0.57219924   | VL                |
| <b>7. Gender roles</b>                              | (0.3; 0.75; 0.7)               | 0.85779125   | L                 |
| <b>8. Gender bias</b>                               | (0.61; 0.35; 0.39)             | 1.85808495   | MH                |
| <b>9. Economic autonomy</b>                         | (0.81; 0.15; 0.19)             | 2.47742023   | VVH               |

With the corresponding scores, the order of priority or importance of the factors was also obtained, according to the criteria of the respondents, as shown in Table 4.

Table 4. Ranking of the factors of influence on the political participation of women in the Municipality of Huamanga

| <b>Order</b> | <b>Influencing factor</b>                 | <b>SVNS Aggregation result</b> | <b>Score</b> | <b>Evaluation</b> |
|--------------|---|--------------------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| <b>1</b>     | Economic autonomy                         | (0.81; 0.15; 0.19)             | 2.47742023   | VVH               |
| <b>2</b>     | Self-esteem and leadership                | (0.8; 0.16; 0.2)               | 2.44615309   | VH                |
| <b>3</b>     | Political autonomy                        | (0.71; 0.24; 0.29)             | 2.17212437   | H                 |
| <b>4</b>     | Gender bias                               | (0.61; 0.35; 0.39)             | 1.85808495   | MH                |
| <b>5</b>     | Previous social and political experiences | (0.6; 0.36; 0.4)               | 1.83307613   | MH                |

|          |                                    |                    |            |    |
|----------|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------|----|
| <b>6</b> | Educational status                 | (0.39; 0.65; 0.61) | 1.13054481 | ML |
| <b>7</b> | Influence of the feminist movement | (0.31; 0.74; 0.69) | 0.89045339 | L  |
| <b>8</b> | Gender roles                       | (0.3; 0.75; 0.7)   | 0.85779125 | L  |
| <b>9</b> | Knowledge of the electoral system  | (0.2; 0.83; 0.8)   | 0.57219924 | VL |

According to these results, the most influential factors are economic autonomy, self-esteem and leadership and political autonomy, in that order, with an influence, very very high, very high and high, respectively.

Meanwhile, the least influential factors are knowledge of the electoral system, gender roles and the influence of the feminist movement.

### Evaluation of the 2018 electoral process

The evaluative criteria of the candidates on the electoral process in which they participated are shown in the graph in figure 2.

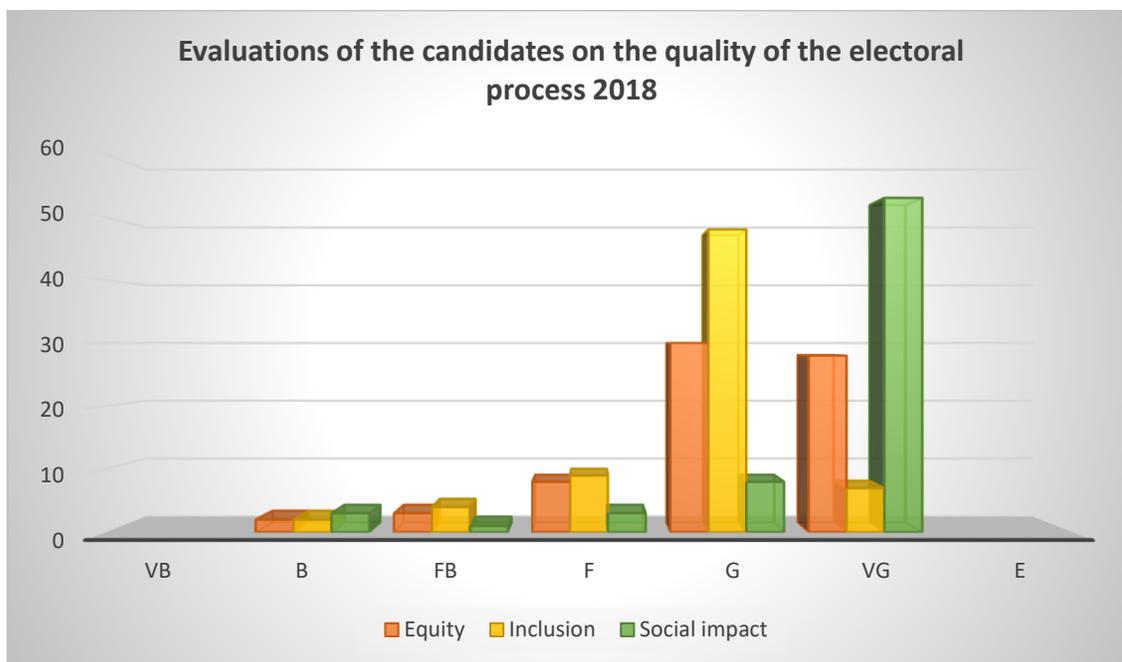


Figure 2. Evaluations of the candidates on the quality of the electoral process 2018

As can be seen, the evaluations of the three aspects ranged mostly between Fair and Very good, with positive evaluations (F and VG) being more frequent. This shows that the candidates hold a good opinion about the process carried out. By adding the evaluations by aspect, the results shown in table 5 are obtained.

Table 5. Aggregated evaluations by aspect analyzed on the quality of the electoral process.

| <b>Aspect evaluated</b> | <b>Aggregation</b> | <b>Score</b> | <b>Evaluation</b> |
|-------------------------|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| Equity                  | (0.68;0.27;0.32)   | 2.09082693   | G                 |
| Inclusion               | (0.59;0.36;0.41)   | 1.82772759   | G                 |
| Social impact           | (0.76;0.19;0.24)   | 2.31651952   | VG                |

As a result of the aggregation, it was obtained that the Equity and Inclusion aspects were rated Good, while the social impact was rated Very Good.

To obtain the evaluation of the quality of the electoral process in general, the results of the three aspects were added, as shown in table 6.

Table 5. General aggregate evaluation of the quality of the electoral process

| <b>Aspect evaluated</b>                  | <b>Aggregation</b> | <b>Score</b> | <b>Evaluation</b> |
|--|--------------------|--------------|-------------------|
| General quality of the electoral process | (0.68;0.26;0.32)   | 2.101157975  | G                 |

En resumen, las candidatas evaluaron que la calidad en general del proceso electoral fue buena.

### **Progress of the implementation of public policies in the 2018 municipal electoral process.**

Public policies as government actions to carry out social changes vary according to the ideological political position and the various theoretical approaches of decision-makers (INMUJERES, 2007), thus, the policies implemented for equal opportunities have allowed women to have legal support and real equality in the exercise of their citizenship, therefore, below, various measures developed and implemented are presented with the purpose of supporting the political participation of women both at the national, regional and provincial levels.

The measures for the achievement of political equality were presented by CEDAW (1967), where in article 4 of the agreements of this convention, the adoption by the States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating the equality of facto between man and woman; These measures will cease when the objectives of equal opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

The gender quota is an affirmative measure to guarantee the political exercise of women under certain equal conditions, since, despite having universal suffrage and therefore the right to be present in the powers of the state, there are obstacles to become political actors.

“The objective of the gender quota lies in two points: one that women have a greater presence in political decision-making spaces until the barriers that prevent or limit women's access to politics are eliminated; and on the other hand, it is estimated that a group of 30% of women can become a critical mass to make their voices and their proposals heard”(Valdivia, 2019).

But this measure was restricted at first, so in the following paragraphs we will go through the path for the approval of this quota in Peru and its incorporation in the ERM, as well as the progress in its application during the municipal electoral process of 2018.

In 1997, the gender quota mechanism was introduced into Peruvian law, although there was a presence of women in the national parliament, this presence was scarce since, in the 1956-1962 Parliament of the 235 parliamentarians, 9 were women, from the parliament of 1963-1968 of the 185 parliamentarians 2 were women, these figures showed that the political participation of women was not only based on their right to vote but also to be elected, revealing the need to implement mechanisms to equalize this situation.

The first formal proposal for the approval of the gender quota was formulated from civil society with an open letter in the framework of the second presidential round between Alberto Fujimori and Mario Vargas Llosa (1990) this initiative was given by the Feminist Coalition called FOROMUJER Among the proposals that said letter had was the inclusion of women in all decision-making bodies at the social level through the promotion and establishment of a quota system that ensures the equal presence of women and men (Valdivia, 2019), in at that time the issue was ignored by both candidates.

“After the IV World Conference on Women in 1995, the then Congresswoman Lourdes Flores Nano presented Bill No. 00712 for the congressional elections where it included the gender quota, but it was shelved. For 1997 the then official congressmen Luz Salgado and Martha Hildebrant presented Bill No. 2574 establishing that in the lists of candidates for congressmen of the Republic it must include at least 25% of women, in April of that year the Special Commission of The Women of Congress held the public hearing "Electoral Code: Quota Systems" where it was accepted to recommend to the Plenary of Congress that the issue of quotas be incorporated into the Electoral Code”(Valdivia, 2019).

In October 1997, Law No. 26859 - Gender Quota Law was published, which initially referred to 25% of the presence of women on electoral lists, later Law No. 26864 on Municipal Elections included the same formula for elections municipal.

“In the government of Valentín Paniagua, by Law No. 27387 the Organic Law of Elections was modified and among the changes the percentage of the quota was increased to 30%. Thus, from 2001 onwards, the minimum quota of 30% is the one in force in the general elections and in 2002 for the municipal elections”(Valdivia, 2019).

In recent electoral processes, the gender quota contributed by increasing the presence of women in the congress of the republic, in regional councils and municipal councils, however, due to the patriarchal structures of political organizations this law has become

in a limitation or a mere "formalism" as a requirement for the registration of electoral lists.

In the case of the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga, in the 2018 elections, at first 15 organizations appeared, of which two were declared inadmissible by the JNE, being the case of the national political party Peru Libre for not complying with the internal election modalities and the Peruvian Aprista Party for not complying with the gender quota since they considered only 3 women of the 11 councilors, which shows that the control for compliance with the Law in this electoral process was effective; Finally, 13 lists suitable and registered for the electoral process were left in contention, which met the gender quota, having at least 4 women on their lists, which corresponds to 30% of the 11 councilors that make it up.

Two of the political organizations complied with the established minimum of 30% (4) for the presence of women on their electoral lists, one of them a Political Party founded on the basis of the Evangelical Association of the Israelite Mission, whose history has shown that women have been subordinated to the fulfillment of reproductive roles in society, the other organization is the Regional Movement that currently has municipal management, whose first two candidates are the current councilors; those who consider that they would not have been candidates and less councilors if it were not for the gender quota; Because in our locality there is the absence of effective affirmative practices, where parity democracy, understood as the inclusion of more than half of its population in its political powers, is still a structural challenge.

Seven of the political organizations registered in this electoral process, opted for the presence of 5 women, who represented 45% of the list of councilors, exceeding the minimum quota, however, it is still necessary to make visible the possibilities of election according to the location in the found, developed in the parity and alternation of this chapter. The former candidates of these political organizations consider that the gender quota is only a compliance with the law that does not necessarily guarantee equality in this space, as they refer to in their testimonies.

"Although it is true that quotas make a number of women compulsory, that does not guarantee that participation is complete, since to date there are prejudices against the female gender" (Candidates No. 5- TEPA Party)

"Yes, in part (it guarantees the participation of women), but it is an obligation for the parties, but if it is fulfilled it is because it is a requirement" (Candidate No. 1- TPP Party)

"The participation of women in the plates is the consequence of the quota law [...] it is not because they have that good will but because the law forces them" (Candidate for Mayor's Office - MIRE Party)

On the other hand, only four political organizations guaranteed the presence of between 6 to 8 women in their registration lists, exceeding 50% in terms of compliance with the gender quota, the Independent Regional Innovation Movement was the organization with the highest presence of women with 8 in total and headed by a woman.

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Sometimes political science is replaced by statistics to know the number of women candidates, but not their autonomy and political empowerment, however, the presence of women in politics has allowed the expansion of the parliamentary agenda with favorable legislation, but in municipal cases, it has not had the same impact, since there are not many women with public leadership who openly embrace the women's agenda, as the former candidates refer:

“By force the parties have had to put women in, but parallel to the quota, that women are entering the political task and that they are leaving us [...] we do not have authorities that respond to our needs as women, the law helps to incentivize, but parallel there must be training, strengthening and vigilance” (Candidate N ° 4- QT Party)

"If it fulfills as an important factor, but women have to understand how to make an effort and distribute our time to assume political responsibilities" (Candidates N ° 3- SP Party)

"In this aspect I also consider that it is a reality of many candidates, to be chosen only for fulfilling quotas as a woman or young person and belittling or putting in second place the value of the work that precedes them" (Municipal Councilor No. 5- MÑ Party)

Peru has had the Gender Quota Law for almost two decades, which has allowed achieving certain equality and a greater presence of women in politics, however, in practice the minimum gender quota has shown deficiencies in terms of location of women on electoral lists, as it does not guarantee their presence in expectant places, which limits an equitable participation of women and men.

### **Parity and alternation**

Parity is an affirmative action strategy that seeks to achieve equality for women in political practice, with the aim of achieving an equitable distribution of public powers. In order to obtain the approval of parity, at first “the duality of humanity was taken as an argument and later from the democratic State the premise that if the laws prevented women from accessing many of their rights, it is also the duty of the laws match this situation” (Valdivia, 2019).

The parity system looks for the same number of male and female candidates on electoral lists; this model admits one candidate more or less from some of the two sexes based on the total number of seats.

Alternation, meanwhile, "is a variety of the mandate of position or placement of people on the electoral lists, which implies organizing them following the rule of a woman / a man or a man / a woman, is what is also known such as the “zebra rule” or “zipper rule”, expressions used to illustrate what alternation strictly means, but, for alternation to work effectively, it is essential to combine it with parity ”(Valdivia, 2019), therefore these two measures in many countries are more effective than the gender quota.

In Peru, the proposal to implement these measures was promoted by the NGOs Manuela Ramos and Flora Tristán, during the 2011-2016 legislative congress different political groups and congressmen presented at least nine bills on parity and alternation, but none were debated and approved, in 2016 the National Elections Jury (JNE) presented Bill No. 1313-2016 to consider parity and alternation in the registration lists

of candidates, later the then congressmen of the period 2016-2019 Acuña , Quintanilla, Lapa and Donayre presented their bills corresponding to this issue.

For its part, the Ombudsman's Office, through the area "Adjunct for women's rights", stated that "the candidates are usually located in the lower thirds of the electoral lists, which limits their real possibilities of election, this was detected in 21 of the 26 electoral districts of the 2016 general elections. The same situation was found in 44% of the nominations for women councilors at the provincial level and in 40% at the district level of the 2018 ERMs" (El Peruvian, 2019). This forced our legislation to analyze our corrective measures to ensure the representation of women in senior positions.

In April 2019, the current president Martín Vizcarra, faced with the political crisis that we were going through due to the constant acts of corruption that involved congressmen, judges and prosecutors, presented a total of 12 legislative initiatives, including eliminating the preferential vote and establishing the parity and alternation in the electoral lists; In August of that same year, through Law N ° 30996, the Organic Law of Elections (N ° 26859) was modified to establish that in the next parliamentary elections of 2021 the lists of candidates for Congress must include 40% of women or of males located interspersed.

This Law, in the complementary provisions, clarifies that its application would be progressive, that is, in each electoral process the minimum percentage required would increase, in the general elections of 2026, the lists of candidates would include forty-five percent (45 %) of women or men, located interspersed; and in the elections of 2031, only fifty percent would be achieved, that is, 50% of women and men, placed in an interspersed manner, but only in the general elections.

However, thanks to experiences of achieving full equity in countries where parity and alternation are applied, it was possible to enact in July 2020, Law No. 31030 "Law that modifies norms of electoral legislation to guarantee parity and alternation of gender in the lists of candidates" which establishes the application of parity and alternation in all electoral processes at different levels, including at the municipal level, thus repealing the progressive law previously presented. The first impact of this law will be seen in the results of the general elections of 2021, where parity and alternation will be applied for the first time, and in 2022 in the regional and municipal elections.

In the municipal elections of 2018, parity and alternation was not a mandatory requirement, so the political organizations did not consider the implementation of these measures in the conformation of their lists; Of the 13 lists from the MPH, 9 lists had the intention of achieving parity in their lists of candidates, since the municipal council only has 11 seats, the parity cannot be fully applied 50/50 because it is odd number, but placed them close to parity as an affirmative measure.

On the other hand, only 4 registered lists were far from this desired parity, since they placed more people of the same sex in the first places of their lists, having in this group 2 lists with the presence of 7 women and 4 men, and the another 2 lists inversely, 7 men and 4 women.

As shown, most of the political organizations opted for achieving parity between their male and female candidates, but the situation changes radically when the alternation on these lists is considered, since none of the registered lists carried out this measure, 7 organizations opted for the placement of women in the first number for councilors but alternation was not applied in the subsequent positions; 3 organizations considered women in numbers 2 and 3 without continuing with the alternation; and finally, 3 organizations considered women only from position number 5, limiting their election as councilors, as shown in the following table:

Table 1: Parity and alternation in the political organizations of the 2018 electoral process by the MPH

| Type              | Political organization                      | N° of women participants | N° of male participants | Position of women in the list |
|-------------------|---|--------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Regional Movement | Tecnología de punta para Ayacucho           | 5                        | 6                       | 2/ 4/ 5/ 6/ 8                 |
|                   | Mov. Independiente Innovación Regional      | 7                        | 4                       | 1/ 4/ 6/ 7/ 8/ 10/ 11         |
|                   | Qatun Tarpuy                                | 5                        | 6                       | 1/ 4/ 8/ 10/ 11               |
|                   | Desarrollo Integral Ayacucho                | 5                        | 6                       | 5/ 8/ 9/ 10/ 11               |
|                   | Musuq Ñan                                   | 4                        | 7                       | 5/ 7/ 9/ 11                   |
|                   | Gana Ayacucho                               | 5                        | 6                       | 1/ 4/ 6/ 10/ 11               |
| Political Party   | Somos Perú                                  | 5                        | 6                       | 3/ 5/ 7/ 8/ 9                 |
|                   | Frente Popular Agrícola del Perú            | 4                        | 7                       | 6/ 7/ 8/ 11                   |
|                   | Partido Popular Cristiano                   | 7                        | 4                       | 1/ 3/ 4/ 5/ 7/ 10/ 11         |
|                   | Frente Amplio por justicia, vida y libertad | 5                        | 6                       | 2/ 6/ 9/ 10/ 11               |
|                   | Democracia Directa                          | 6                        | 5                       | 1/ 2/ 5/ 6/ 9/ 11             |
|                   | Todos por el Perú                           | 5                        | 6                       | 1/ 5/ 9/ 10/ 11               |
|                   | Alianza para el Progreso                    | 6                        | 5                       | 1/ 3/ 6/ 9/ 10/ 11            |

Source: Own Elaboration, data from the JNE / Electoral Platform

The lists of candidacies for the ERM are under the modality of blocked and closed, being the responsibility of the political organizations the location of their candidates, so having an expectant place in the list increases the possibility of being elected and is determined by some factors seen in the previous chapter.

For the former candidates, the location on the lists is essential for the election and without the application of parity and alternation, they had one more obstacle to their participation.

"If they won, more than anything by dragging and the proposals of their mayor" (Candidate N ° 6 - TEPA Party)

"Not being visible (during the campaign), if we see that many media have not gone to many meetings and that the mayoral candidate has not had many problems or frowned upon [...] I think they have led a campaign behind the mayoral candidate because it is a drag issue, I think that issue should change, each one should earn the position for which they are "(Candidate No. 4-QT Party)

"The people best known for their social work [...] unfortunately did not enter, they entered only because of the drag and because of the location they had" (Candidate N ° -5- DIA Party)

As can be seen, neither the quotas, nor the parity and alternation guarantee the quality of representation of its politicians, in Peru this task falls to the political organizations, according to Law No. 30414 that modifies the Law of Political Parties (Law No. 28094) among the objectives of political groups are to carry out education, training and training activities, in order to forge a civic and democratic culture, which allows to train citizens prepared to assume public functions, which is why the political demand current is to access public financing to guarantee such actions.

### **Political harassment**

The definition given to both violence and political harassment against women includes any action, conduct or omission, among others, based on their gender, individually or as a group, that has the purpose or as a result of diminishing, nullifying, preventing, obstructing or restricting their political rights, which violates the right of women to a life free of violence and the right to participate in political and public affairs on equal terms with men (Organization of American States, 2015).

In 2008, the National Network of Women Authorities (RENAMA) was created based on the Network of Councilors of the Ayacucho Region, created since 1998, as a first space for the articulation of women authorities. In the meetings of boards of directors and national meetings promoted by feminist NGOs, women authorities began to give various testimonies of acts of violence in politics; As a result of this, the first study of the subject was carried out by Tammy Quintanilla, commissioned by the Flora Tristán Center for Peruvian Women, Diakonia Peru and Calandria, which sought to identify "The forms of discrimination, exclusion and political harassment of the last years to women members of RENAMA in the period 2011-2014".

This study had a sample of 187 female authorities from various municipal and regional positions, showing that 2 out of 5 female authorities suffer from political harassment; They considered that the reasons for these acts were due to their previous career, lack of experience, their ideas and the possibilities they had of winning, likewise, those who committed it were people who were members of other political organizations (45%),

members of their own organization (25%) some media (23%) and by others (7%) (Pinedo, et. al, 2017).

The referred study on political harassment became a precedent to make more cases of political violence against women visible. In "The Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women", better known as the Convention of Belém do Pará in 1994, aggressions against women in both private and public spaces were considered as the violation of human rights, here, the foundations were laid so that in October 2015, Peru signs during the "VI Conference of States Parties to the Follow-up Mechanism for the implementation of the convention - MESECVI" the declaration against violence and political harassment against women authorities, emphasizing the need to advance in a definition of violence and political harassment; likewise, in the importance of adopting norms, programs and measures for the prevention, attention, protection, eradication of violence and political harassment against women by the attending States.

Among the advances of this type of norms, is the characterization of the types of political harassment, these being: sexual defamation, accusing without evidence of crimes, summons to private meetings at dangerous times and places, inducing to commit administrative errors, intercepting communications, obstructing initiatives or proposals, acts of violence in its different dimensions, and the most recurrent is interfering with functions.

In the study on "Political Harassment in Peru" carried out by the JNE and Flora Tristán, it is found that among the most recurrent forms of political harassment are harassment, pressure and violence; and that, although many of the candidates indicate having been victims of some aggression or violence during their political participation, only 36% of all politically harassed candidates reported the facts (Pinedo, et.al, 2017).

Given this situation, there is a need to have a regulatory framework that punishes this type of violence, therefore, from the different legislative, executive, organized civil society and investigations spaces, they presented a series of actions to recognize political harassment as a crime, the which are referred to in the annexes.

The last proposal presented for the sanction of political harassment was in 2019, by the then congresswoman Luciana León, Bill No. 3978/2018-CR "Law that prevents and punishes political harassment against women" sought to prevent and sanction political harassment against women produced in the public, private or mixed sphere, including all organizations and / or institutions that operate in the public life of the country, such as political parties, unions, social, youth and student organizations; in order to safeguard the political rights of women under the principles of equality and non-discrimination.

This bill sought diligence, immediate, timely intervention, simplicity, orality, reasonableness and proportionality recognized by our Political Constitution of the State and current international treaties (PL N ° 3978/2018-CR, 2019), however, it was archived For this reason, Peru currently does not have a specific law on the sanction of political harassment; but if it is considered as violence against women, in Law No.

30364, Law to prevent, punish and eradicate violence against women and members of the family group, in private and public spaces.

Faced with this situation, the National Elections Jury (JNE) in 2018 created a reporting tool for cases of Political Harassment, called “Protocol of attention and reporting for cases of violation of political rights of candidates who belong to social groups in state of vulnerability”, as an indigenous population,

Afro-Peruvian, young people, LGTBI and people with disabilities, this route of attention begins with the complaint of the aggrieved candidate before the Special Electoral Jury (JEE) who are in charge of reviewing the type of violence for its respective procedure, breaking down into two forms: yes They are cases of violence, pressure, harassment, threat, persecution and others of the same nature, the procedure is carried out by the same candidate, referring to the Public Ministry or Court of Honor of the JNE; On the other hand, if they are cases of denigrating propaganda, promotion of acts of violence and / or discrimination, the procedure is carried out by the representatives of the political organization and the JEE initiates the sanctioning procedure according to articles 14 and 15 of Resolution No. 078- 2018-JNE.

Although this protocol is important to stop and make this type of violence visible, its diffusion is scarce, since a large part of the former candidates for the MPH of the 2018 electoral process, are unaware of this procedure, if the figures of political harassment are compared In previous investigations, in the 2018 electoral process, only 6 cases of complaint were reported at the national level (presented in annexes) which is minimal with respect to the cases witnessed.

During the municipal elections of 2018, in the province of Huamanga, the former candidates recognized that local politics is marked by acts of verbal aggression against women, the interviews with third parties and field observations confirm the political harassment in the electoral contests of 2018, especially through social networks, however, they are not reported. Only one of the former candidates interviewed, who suffered the most acts of aggression, issued a public statement reporting that from the beginning of her electoral campaign she suffered insults, defamation, systematic attacks on social networks and physical injuries by other candidates; However, he did not report due to ignorance of the protocol, but according to

Interviews with other former candidates were to avoid legal processes that involve the political organization for which she was running and limit the possibility of being elected.

## **Regional and local laws**

### **Regional ordinance on women’s leadership**

In the 2015-2018 management of the regional government together with the NGOs that intervene in the region on the issue of women, a Regional Ordinance in favor of the political participation of women was consolidated in 2017. The then regional councilor Daisy Pariona presented before the Regional Council the draft regional ordinance on “Strengthening the leadership of women for their political participation”, taking it to ordinary session on April 11, 2018. It was approved with a majority vote and

promulgated under regional ordinance No. 003-2018 -GRA / CR on April 30, 2019, declaring of public interest and regional priority the development of capacities and strengthening of leadership of women in the Ayacucho region for their political and citizen participation, free from violence and political harassment, at the regional level and local.

In turn, it provides that the Regional Social Development Management implement as a priority and mandatory strategies, actions and / or activities for the development of capacities and strengthening of women's leadership to guarantee their political participation and equal opportunities in regional development. and local (Regional Ordinance No. 003-2018- GRA / CR, 2019).

Most (17) of the former MPH candidates are unaware of the existence of this regional ordinance, due to non-compliance with its execution; on the other hand, to a lesser extent, some former candidates (2) are aware of this ordinance due to the impact on politics and the participation of women, but they understand that by not being disseminated it limits its execution, as they refer to it.

"The ordinance is very good, unfortunately everything remains on paper" (Candidate No. 6- TEPA Party)

"It is not duly fulfilled because, unfortunately, we still have a patriarchal society where women are put aside" (Candidate No. 1- TPP Party)

"It is not being complied with, because that ordinance for women informs the leadership of women in their political participation free from violence and without harassment and that is not being fulfilled" (Candidate N ° 11- MÑ Party)

With an effective implementation, the ordinance could help affirmative measures such as quota, parity and alternation, to have an adequate effect on politics, since it prioritizes the training and prior preparation of women to be inserted in public management and spaces. community and institutional decision-making, however, implementation strategies at the regional level are still scarce since there are no indicators on the progress of this ordinance so far.

### **Provincial gender equality plan**

At the provincial level, through the project carried out between 2015 and 2018 on the "Improvement of Services for the promotion of gender equality and opportunities for women in the district of Ayacucho, San Juan Bautista, Carmen Alto and Jesús de Nazareno - Province of Huamanga ", the Provincial Gender Equality Plan 2016-2024 was approved, whose diagnosis through participatory workshops found that among the problems that most affect women in the province is the political gap, since of the 15 districts of the province, in 2014 where a total of 77 district councilors were elected, only 19 were women and 58 were men (2017).

In the last electoral process of 2018, for the management 2019-2022, a total of 79 councilors were elected at the level of all the districts of the province, of which 22 are women and 57 are men; making visible once again the gender gap in political participation.

This provincial plan constitutes a planning instrument that allows diagnosing and prioritizing current and future problems, here 7 strategic objectives were raised: public policies, education, health, violence, employment, political participation, environment and gender, all oriented to the national regulations on gender equality.

Regarding the dimension of political participation, the strategic objective is to: promote the participation of women in decision-making spaces and strengthen their political participation as part of the exercise of their citizenship from an intercultural and intergenerational perspective. this result through 8 specific objectives (MPH, 2017):

- Implement local policies and / or regulations to promote women's access to decision-making spaces.
- Implement local capacity building projects and / or programs to promote women's access to decision-making spaces from a gender and intercultural perspective.
- Develop training programs for women from an intergenerational and intercultural perspective at the provincial and district levels.
- Promote the strengthening of social organizations at the district level.
- Incorporate gender equality into the agenda of AARLE and the school municipalities.
- Dissemination of political civil rights.
- Strengthen the network of women authorities and incorporate women authorities at the communal, district and provincial levels.

As can be seen, there is a regulatory framework at the provincial level, however, in the advancement of its compliance, very little is done; In the transparency portal of the Provincial Municipality of Huamanga there is no information on the progress of this plan, likewise on the friendly consultation page of the Ministry of Economy and Finance there is no budget progress on issues of empowerment of women at the provincial level and regional; All of this makes this normative document an important challenge for municipal management with a view to the bicentennial.

Public policies to guarantee the political participation of women have had a long and complex process for their approval, where the feminist movement and organized civil society played a determining role at the provincial level, over time, some of these measures were insufficient and they did not fully comply with political equality, such as the gender quota that became a ceiling more than an opportunity and in the following general elections we will be able to see the impact of the parity and alternation recently approved for congressional, regional and municipal elections; Although at the regional and local level there is a regulatory framework such as provincial ordinances and plans, its progress and compliance is nil so far.

## CONCLUSIONS

The political participation of Latin American women could be summarized, on the one hand, as a constant struggle for the expansion of the concept of citizenship and, on the other hand, as a process of construction of a valid space for participation in the public sphere. Women have occupied the reproductive role within the home in Latin American history. Until the beginning of the last century they were confined to the private sphere and almost completely excluded from the public sphere. This fact was modified throughout the 20th century, which can be considered as the century of transformation of the notion of gender in Latin America.

The former candidates participating in the 2018 electoral process have varied socioeconomic characteristics, the majority being relatively young, single without children, with higher and postgraduate studies, which allows them to have a stable and regular economic income, situations that contributed to greater autonomy in their decisions to participate in politics. On the other hand, previous experience, social trajectory and professional achievements have made it possible for most of these women to be invited by different political organizations to run on their electoral lists as candidates for the council and, in one case, for mayor.

As for the factors that influenced the political participation of women candidates for the MPH, these are of a sociocultural and economic nature, thus, educational level, family support, previous social participation, political militancy, negotiation capacity and economic autonomy were factors that facilitated their participation and placement on the electoral lists.

On the other hand, there were limiting factors such as the overload due to their reproductive roles as mothers and the productive roles (professional performance) that limited them in terms of time to participate in political spaces, in addition to stereotypes of gender manifested in discriminatory phrases and attitudes that distance women from political activity, made it difficult to choose former candidates and placed them at a disadvantage with respect to their male counterparts.

Regarding the perception of the former candidates regarding their political participation in this electoral process, most agree that it was an important experience that allowed them to get closer to the population, better understand the electoral process and develop their leadership and negotiation skills.

The elected candidates perceive that their success in the election is due to the political trajectory of their groups, their preferential location in the lists and the government plan worked out collectively, however, they recognize that they have weaknesses in the current administration, but they have the desire to overcome taking into account the regulations of the municipal council of the MPH.

In the case of the former non-elected candidates, they perceive that their defeat was mainly due to the weak social position in the electoral lists and the internal difficulty of their political organizations, however, they were motivated to continue participating in

other political spaces and to try a next process electoral, since its main motivation is the search for the common good.

Regarding the implementation of public policies related to the political participation of women in this electoral process, in general they were carried out regularly. Regarding the gender quota law, only one electoral list was declared inadmissible for not complying with the minimum; In the rest of the lists, seven organizations had 45% of the presence of women, four lists exceeded 50% and only two lists complied with the established 30%, which on average represents 41.6% of female representation, exceeding the minimum established by the law.

However, the problem arises in the application of parity and alternation, which, as it is not yet mandatory, not all the coming organizations opted to comply with it, since seven lists had the location of women in the first number including the winning lists, but in the following locations, the presence of men was mostly found and 3 organizations considered women only from the fifth location, limiting their choice.

At the regional level, although progress has been made in some policies to guarantee the leadership and political participation of women, these are little implemented by the regional and local government due to the lack of interest of the authorities and the scarce budget allocated to this issue, such as Thus, the performance of women councilors is characterized by their presence in feminized commissions such as education and health.

Finally, the inclusion of women in politics is an ethical duty to achieve a true democratic and equitable State, since, being more than half of the population, it is necessary to be represented in the same number as men, guaranteeing the presence of women throughout the political system and in decision-making spaces, however, there are still pending challenges such as preparing women to assume public office and perform well as authorities.

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