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The Relationship Between Women's Protest Activity and Female Representation in Latin
American Democracies

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ABSTRACT

Historically, Latin American political culture has been dominated by masculine ideology and figures. However, during times of democratic transition in the region, women have found success in mobilizing and creating movements to effect change. This study seeks to examine how these movement activities, specifically popular protest and demonstrations, translate into women's representation in political institutions in the established democracy. To evaluate this relationship two hypotheses are presented. One states that higher levels of protest participation increase the level of representation in democratic institutions. The other asserts that in countries with protest activity on two different ideological fronts, there will be stronger representation in democratic institutions. These hypotheses arise from examination of existing research that finds movements to be influential in creating a new identity for women as political actors. Utilizing both a qualitative and empirical analysis of four selected cases – Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico – the results for these two hypotheses were mixed. However, this conclusion could potentially be attributed to a gap in existing data tracking protests and the fact that this study examined of only one facet of women's movements. This creates the opportunity for further study of both the level of protest activity and the evolution of women as political actors in the region.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

Political institutions in Latin America have seen radical and dramatic structural shifts in the past 30 years. This massive, population dense region of the world has been the stage for ruthless dictatorships, military coup d'états, and finally, for many countries, a transition to multiparty electoral democracy (Jaquette 1989, 6). The wide diversity in the histories and experiences of the region has created a unique political spectrum in which several countries are still struggling under oppressive governments while others enjoy relatively stable, functioning democratic systems. These comparatively rapid and extreme changes in political culture make Latin America a fascinating and important region of study. The examination of factors such as gender in the context of these evolving political environments creates the opportunity for understanding the greater social implications and opportunities that arise as a result of these regime changes.

When examining the relationship between gender and Latin American politics, it is important to gain an understanding of both the traditional political culture that dominates Latin America as well as how societal gender roles are enforced within the political sphere. Often when examining this relationship in this region, the term machismo is used to label the overarching theme where policies and political parties are dominated by traditionally “masculine” values and male-oriented ideals (Friedman 1998, 127). This term serves as a reflection of the patriarchal tradition of Latin American culture where men primarily serve as the lawmakers and leaders in government while women work on the domestic front of family and

private life, where their “association with the private sphere ultimately results in their political marginalization,” (Friedman 1998, 98).

While the political culture of Latin America is a dominant factor in determining gender representation, the potential influence of women’s participation in organized protests on their representation in national-level political institutions has yet to be examined. Women’s groups in Latin America have been particularly notable in their organized demonstrations and vocal opposition of various regimes and policies. The unique opportunity for women to organize as a group based on a shared gender identity lends itself to cohesiveness that few, if any, politically marginalized groups are able to achieve. This group identity has allowed women to circumvent differing political cleavages such as class and race in times of political turmoil to demonstrate on the grounds of gender unity (Baldez 2002, 15). By utilizing their societal, symbolic roles as mothers and wives, Latin women found themselves in a place to successfully organize and execute demonstrations opposing incumbent administrations and assert their potential as viable political actors.

The importance of these movements can be found by examining how they influence the representation of women in contemporary Latin American governments. Where women were once one of the groups restricted to the political margins, the third wave of democratization that came to the region in the 1980’s created the space for women to have unprecedented access to legitimate representation in government, marking this time period as a turning point worthy of examination. In the years since this shift, Latin America has seen some of the highest rates of women’s political representation of any region in the world at both the parliamentary and executive levels. For example, as of 2014, three countries in South America - Chile, Brazil, and Argentina – have female presidents. Several countries including Brazil and Argentina have

implemented gender quotas, enforcing that a certain ratio of seats in legislatures or competitive candidacies be allotted to women. However, not all representation in the region is created equal, and while some women have found access to positions of influence, others are still struggling to see adequate representation in their country's administration.

The question now is to examine the relationship between women's protest activity and political representation. Specifically, I ask how the nature and extent of women's protest activity during and immediately following periods of transition to democracy has influenced the level of women's political representation in the resulting democracy. The research and examination of this question will provide insight into the type of activity that fosters greater representation in democracies, as well as explain why otherwise comparable countries see differences in gender representation. An additional goal is to provide a framework for examining how other marginalized interest groups can gain access to political influence, creating more stable, representative democratic systems.

To accomplish this, I first conduct a qualitative analysis utilizing case studies of four Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. These four countries were selected because they have comparable cultural attitudes towards the roles of women in society and politics, as well comparable levels of economic development. These similarities allow me to control for two potentially confounding factors -- modernization and culture -- that may influence both the propensity for political protest and women's representation in government.

These countries differ, however, in the scale of their protest histories. Therefore, by using these case studies, factors such as cultural attitudes and the country's economic situation can be controlled for, with protest activity remaining as the distinguishing factor to be linked with the progress of women's representation in political institutions. Each case is discussed individually

where I present the country history of women's protest activity during times of transition and in the years immediately following. This includes available information on the size and frequency of protests, the motivation or cause, time frames, and the significant social or political consequences.

In addition to this qualitative analysis of the protest history, I provide a short section presenting a possible model for an empirical analysis of this question. I provide figures that illustrate the status of women's representative numbers in legislative bodies in each of the four cases and relative to one another as well as the existing correlations between the protest variable and representation. Information on cultural attitudes is based on data taken from the World Values survey while political representation data is from the Gender Statistics database compiled by the World Bank. Data on the economic and academic standing of women is also found in the World Bank dataset. These figures show both the progress of individual countries as well as the progress of the cases in relation to one another. This section provides a description of the analysis as well as discussion of the relationships or correlations that emerge from the analysis.

Following the presentation of the cases, I present the conclusions. As important, I discuss the obstacles faced in attempting to answer this question. Much of the data necessary to properly examine the relationship between, for example, the size, class composition, and duration of women's protests during the transition period has not been collected because this would require systematically searching through Spanish-language news reports from the 1980s to construct an original database of women's protest during this period.

Chapter 2

Literature Review

To understand how protest participation during democratic transitions influences subsequent political representation, it is important to first identify existing research relevant to this question. This includes literature on the status of women in modern Latin American governments, how women gain political access as a group, what impact cultural constraints have in gender representation, and more broadly, how the relationship between gender and politics has been approached from a research standpoint thus far. Employing a wide range of research was important moving forward in this examination as it was crucial to understand gender and politics in both the general sense as well as within the specific Latin American context. While a number of academics have contributed invaluable insights to these fields, perhaps the most notable and pertinent to the question put forth in this paper have been Lisa Baldez, Sofia Alvarez, and Leslie Schwandt-Bayer. These three authors have been particularly instrumental in the examination of women in government specifically in the Latin American context, and how it informs modern politics and gender relations in the region. With this in mind, their works will receive particular attention as the existing scholarship is examined.

Authors Lisa Baldez and Sonia Alvarez offer some of the most important insights into the role of women and women's movements in the recent history of Latin American politics with their respective works *Why Women Protest: Women's Movements in Chile* and *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics*. Both authors highlight the impact of the organization of women in the 1970's and 80's by examining case studies of two

Latin American countries, and offer a perspective on how the political culture of Latin America can either hurt or help the progression of women's groups from social movements to legitimate political influences.

In her book, Baldez takes an extensive look at the history of different women's groups in Chile by comparing two different movements: one comprised of opponents of socialist President Salvador Allende in the early 1970's and the other opposing the military dictatorship of General Augusto Pinochet in the 1980's. As previously mentioned, these two movements operated on opposite principles where the Allende protests painted the socialist government as chaotic and the Pinochet protestors fought against what they saw as an oppressive military regime that violated human rights. Baldez, however, argues that it is not the movements themselves that are important to analyze, but how and why the women choose to disregard otherwise diverse interests informed by factors such as socioeconomic class and instead mobilize under their united identity as women. It is on this point that the theories of Alvarez and Baldez most intensively converge. Baldez asserts the stance that women generally mobilize on the shared "[reflection] of women's widespread exclusion from political power," (Baldez 2002, 4). While Baldez examines this phenomenon within the context of Chile specifically, Alvarez allows for a more generalized conclusion by putting this exclusion in the context of Latin American political culture. Alvarez delves into the history of the machismo, the term previously mentioned to describe the premium placed on masculinity that has permeated much of Latin America for decades, or even centuries. This patriarchal mentality has given way societal norms that create a male dominated political culture. It is with this foundation that Alvarez makes the crucial assertion that the *machismo* is associated with oppressive military and authoritarian regimes and that the incorporation of women into the political arena could potentially work to undermine this masculine

authoritarianism and pave the way for a regime change. Both Baldez and Alvarez conclude that in their respective case studies, political transition and political culture is a gendered phenomenon in which the role of women has been somewhat underplayed. Alvarez even goes so far as to lament the lack of connection that has been displayed between policy and women's movements. This research serves as the starting point to examining women's political activity in general and how it impacts the actual transition process. This provides the basis for my own research examining the specific type of political activity of protests, and how women fare in the aftermath of transition as a result of that activity.

The examination of the growing presence of women in Latin American governments in academia has provided invaluable insights to the history and future of women as political actors in the region. However, there are gaps in the existing research. Many academics have noted that the current scholarly analysis of Latin American women during the years of transition and in the governments of the present day remains relatively fractured and disconnected. This has been largely attributed to the fact that similar fields of study such as gender in politics and comparative politics are evolving separately from one another, potentially damaging the opportunity to cross-examine events and theories and identify relationships. This trend is one that is noted by academics in this area of study such as Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer in her analysis "Comparison and Integration: A Path Toward Comparative Politics of Gender". In this work, Schwindt-Bayer articulates the concern that gender in politics is not given the amount of attention and credit that is warranted by other areas of study in the political science field. This is primarily an issue in looking at political phenomena, such as the role of women's movements in the establishment and transitions of political institutions, as only a gendered phenomenon, therefore downplaying its relevance to the greater study of comparative politics. This is

problematic as this trend then discounts the role of women as political actors in the broader sense. This is particularly relevant to the research focus of this work as both the information on women's protests and women's representation in politics would be viewed as gendered areas of study. However, they do still have relevance in understanding how certain political activity may or may not result in the effectiveness of a representational democracy.

An issue that has been emphasized in some works in gender and politics that is very important moving forward with my research has been the debate concerning what is meant by the term "representation." The definition of this term has been the subject of much analysis by the existing literature. Using Hanna Pitkin's 1967 work on the issue of representation, Leslie Schwindt-Bayer and William Mishler explore how four different types of representation relate to one another in their article "An Integrated Model of Women's Representation." Identifying the four primary types of representation – formal, descriptive, substantive, and symbolic—Schwindt-Bayer and Mishler explore the disservice that has been done to Pitkin's work by most academics who view the different forms of representation separately from one another. They rectify this by examining how the different types of representation interconnect. For example, they examine the impact that electoral rules, a type of formal representation, have on descriptive representation, typically viewed as the concept that institutions are made up of a representative sample of their constituencies. This work is especially pertinent as it utilizes World Value survey data to create measurements that explore the different facets of representation and attitudes towards that representation. This serves more as a framework however as it may not properly consider country-specific cultural elements that could impact resulting conclusions about relationships. This makes this article more informative on concepts to keep in mind moving forward.

In general, the literature on this topic has been varied. There is extensive research on the history of women as political actors and the roles that they took while facing oppressive regimes and in the transition. Where there appears to be a gap however is in the examination of how specific actions could determine female representation in the aftermath of the transition process. Additionally, there is existing work on the current status of women in Latin American governments. Answering this question of how protest movements may affect representation would answer to the apparent lack of exploration of a relationship between representation and factors besides cultural elements, in this case, protest activity.

Chapter 3

Theory: Qualitative Analysis and Case Studies

The purpose of this study is to assess the relationship between women's protest activity and political representation in contemporary Latin America. In order to examine this relationship, the following hypotheses will be tested:

Hypothesis 1: More women's participation in political protest activity during times of democratic transition increases the level of women's representation in the resulting democracy.

Hypothesis 2: In countries where women are active on two different ideological fronts there will subsequently be stronger representation of women in democratic political institutions.

The logic behind these hypotheses comes from the examination of the political opportunity that arises from protest participation. Historically in Latin America, repressive regimes have eliminated the chance for traditional political institutions such as political parties to remain active in country politics and in mobilizing for country needs. In these environments, politically marginalized groups, namely women, have often found the space to mobilize and become more politically active since they are not seen as traditional participants and are therefore not a threat to the regime (Dandavati 1996, 7). In this sense, women become much more visible outside of the domestic sphere where they are confined to their cultural identities as mothers and wives. Under oppression, women have been able to use these identities to form protest movements and create the image of themselves as political actors. The hypotheses will therefore test whether the strength or scale of these protests contributes to the development of a

new identity as political actors, thus increasing women's political participation in the aftermath of a democratic transition.

Case Selection

In the following section, four different Latin American case studies will be analyzed in terms of their political history, the role and presence of women in protest in these histories, and current levels of representation for women in the political institutions of these countries. The analysis of these cases will serve to answer the two proposed hypotheses of this research:

Four Case Studies

The role of the women's movement in Chile's democratic transition is among the most nuanced and complex in Latin America. Where the majority of women's activist groups in the region began activity as a response opposing authoritarian regimes in the 1980's, Chile saw a unique environment where women mobilized both in support of and against military regimes (Baldez 2002, 1). Protests served as a vital tactic in vocalizing opposition to incumbent administrations for these movements, making them an integral part of the country's political history. Additionally, for the purposes of this study, the rich history of the role of protests in Chile on two different ideological fronts provides an interesting opportunity to better understand the scale of these demonstrations and to evaluate the implications for women in the present political environment.

The importance of women as political actors in mobilizing for regime shifts first became visible and notable in the 1970's in the wake of the democratic election of Salvador Allende in

1970. Having made his socialist policy leanings known, Allende's victory caused a ripple of concern among the elite classes that Chile would soon be crushed under a chaotic socialist agenda. Women, a demographic whose support Allende struggled to gain, were among the first to publicly voice their discontent with the election outcome. On September 8, 1970 a group of thirty women from the opposition National Party stood in protest outside of the presidential palace, wearing all black to symbolize the perceived "death of democracy," marking the first of a series of small scale public protests in the early months of the administration. Two days later, this same group of women organized a march to the presidential palace in the capital of Santiago, where they were harassed by the youth members of Allende's Unity Party with gendered insults and thrown rocks. Participation in these protests saw a surge at a military parade on September 18, where 3,000 women waved black flags as a symbol of defiance (Baldez 2002, 59). These types of marches and demonstrations continued on a small scale, with women typically waving flags, chanting slogans, and singing the national anthem to convey their opposition. Eventually, the various women's groups joined up with the Fatherland and Liberty, a political coalition aimed at representing those who did not vote for Allende. This increased visibility proved to be an opportunity for women to have greater participation in large-scale protests that included other groups and for the anti-Allende media to appeal to women as defenders of Chile's freedom (Baldez 2002, 60). However, in these early months, the inability of these women's groups to branch out beyond their politically conservative group confines allowed the Allende camp to undermine their efforts by framing them as shrill housewives, and relics of an upper class threatened by reform.

This difficulty in crossing party lines however was short lived, and the eventual unification of different political and socioeconomic groups facilitated one of the most notable

demonstrations in Chile's history – The March of the Empty Pots and Pans. The political environment surrounding Allende's administration, coupled with policy implementations such as agrarian reform and the privatization of certain key industries, resulted in a dire economic situation for the country resulting in an atmosphere of chaos and instability. Issues such as food shortages and skyrocketing food prices brought the political turmoil into the domestic sphere and soon appeared to women that this new order was hindering their ability to take care of their children and homes. This assault to the cultural identity of women as mothers and wives proved to be a catalyst for women to cross political lines and unify on the grounds of their shared gender identity. This unification manifested with the March of the Empty Pots and Pans. On December 1, 1971 at 6:30 pm, thousands of Chilean women gathered at the Plaza Italia, a traffic circle in the main avenue of Santiago that served as the starting point for the march route (Baldez 2002, 78). Participants ranged from upper class women to women from the shantytowns and the working class, with leaders of the movement representing political leadership from the Right, Center, and Radical factions. Figures on the number of participants are varied since many come from sources with opposing motives. The most reliable estimate is thought to be around 5,000 women as reported by The New York Times, with local papers putting estimates anywhere between 50,000 and 200,000 (Baldez 2002, 78). As indicated by the name of the demonstration, this march marked the first use of clanging empty pots and pans in Chilean protest, a tactic that would prove symbolic when echoed in the protests against the military regime in the following decade. In this procession, women were met with thrown rocks, insults, and teargas bombs, and eventually with police and military force intervention. The demonstration proved to be a watershed moment in Chilean protest history, as the clanging from the pots and pans became a nightly occurrence from inside homes around the city. The demonstration would also prove to be

extremely influential in future protests as it laid the foundation for the development of Pinochet's female support base, and in that it sparked a national discussion on how it framed women as capable political actors.

Immense conflict and dissatisfaction with the Allende administration coupled with foreign intervention eventually resulted in a coup d'état ousting Allende and implementing the military regime of General Augusto Pinochet in 1973. Women's participation in Chilean politics became prevalent once more in the 1980's during the deterioration of the Pinochet regime and in the initial stages of democratic transition. With the military regime yielding another economic crisis and committing extensive human rights violations, women once more showed that they were able to unify across political interests and affiliations, this time to vocalize their opposition to the dictatorship.

In this opposition, the women's movement was able to more closely integrate itself with other organizations such as worker's unions, and take part in large-scale national protest movements. As a country, the Days of National Protest that took place monthly between 1983 and 1986 proved to be instrumental in the public drawing attention to and unifying against Pinochet's violent rule (Baldez 2002, 146). These days of protest initially began with the Confederation of Copper Workers mobilizing the city of Santiago and its outlying areas to protest with the domestic sphere as their stage. As a result tens of thousands of Chileans, including women, kept their children home from school, refused to go to work, refused to utilize public transportation, blocked traffic and police, and banged on empty pots and pans in their homes as protests to the regime. With these nationwide protests taking hold, women's groups were able to once more emerge and organize their own demonstrations in opposition to Pinochet. One example of such a group was the Women's Study Circle (Chuchryk 1994, 77), which

focused protesting on feminist notions. Some protests would coincide with national demonstrations where women would hand out flyers calling for democracy in the midst of the national protests. On other occasions, the coalition would meticulously plan their own demonstrations, such as the Marches of the Empty Shopping Bags in June 1983, where women would convene at farmer's markets with empty shopping bags and shout in opposition to the regime and the food prices and shortages associated with it. Another notable event for the Study Circle was an August 11, 1983 sit-in carried out by sixty women in the name of democracy (Chuchryk 1994, 78). In all, the group held eleven protests between May 1983 and October 1984, providing just one example of a women's group remaining active and asserting a role for women in a national protest movement.

Another group that proved to play a pivotal role in carving out a space for women's participation in the anti-regime movement was the Women for Life (Mujeres por la Vida or MPLV). The MPLV was a coalition of sixteen different women representing leadership in sixteen different political affiliations that formed on the basis of restoring the human rights violated by the Pinochet regime. The group was massively successful in organizing more than 170 events between 1983 and 1988 that included protests and hunger strikes. Perhaps their most important demonstration however was on December 29, 1983 at the Caupolicán Theater in Santiago, where nearly 10,000 women came together, leaving any existing political ties at the door to symbolize protest against Pinochet. Protestors showing up in large numbers proved to be more frequent during this wave of protests, with another example seen on International Women's Day in 1988 where 1,000 women assembled, chanting slogans and slowing traffic. These demonstrations serve as only a sampling of the events that were held by Chilean women during this time of transition (Baldez 2002, 156).

An important consequence of these protests and women's involvement in them was the resurgence of Pinochet's largely female support base. As women grew more and more vocal in opposing Pinochet and calling for his removal in the country's upcoming referendum, the dictator was able to call on the memory of the anti-Allende protestors to try and mobilize some semblance of support. In this regard, the protests of the past still had a notable impact on the country's transition to democracy. When conducting interviews in Chile for her work, Lisa Baldez noted interviewees that supported Pinochet, looking back on him and his administration fondly and their involvement in his support campaigns with pride. Many of the same women that mobilized and protested against Allende composed some of Pinochet's most loyal base, with women representing the majority of the share of the votes to keep Pinochet in power (Baldez 2002, 174). These women did mobilize in trying to motivate others to vote in favor of Pinochet, however these efforts proved futile, with Pinochet eventually being voted out of power in the Chilean referendum in 1988. However the legacy of the protests against Allende proved to still be a player in Chile's democratization process.

The response to these large, female driven protests is nearly as important as the events themselves when understanding their influence on women in Chilean politics today. The harsh military and police response to the protests overall did not exclude women. Reports of verbal and physical abuse during the protests as well as the rape and torture of imprisoned or detained activists were rampant (Baldez 2002, 163). This treatment also created a contradictory image of women in the resistance movement. Where one depiction saw women as defenseless victims being brutalized by police, other images of women as warriors against oppression fighting for Chilean democracy were also created. This creates the question that essentially the crux of this research: do protests really serve as an avenue to mobilize women as autonomous political

actors? While these protests put women in the public eye as active members in their political environments, did these images translate into the resulting democracy as legitimate political representation? This notion will be further analyzed in the context of all four case studies later in this section.

Chile is relatively unique in Latin America as it saw strong women's movements that were both in support of and against the military regimes during the period of democratic transition. In contrast, the examination of Brazil's mobilization of women during transition showed strong opposition to authoritarianism and protest strictly on the basis of ending the regime that had been in place since 1964. However where Brazil women's groups differed, was in their lessened use of popular protest as the favored tactic in mobilizing against the opposition. The Brazilian resistance movement faced repression and a lack of public forums that lent themselves to cohesive public protest. This has led to some discrepancy in the existing scholarship regarding the role of public protest in the Brazilian women's movement.

First, in order to understand the environment that gave rise to the Brazilian women's movement, it is important to place its evolution in the historical-political context of the country. In March 1964, a right wing military coup resulted in a two-party system consisting of the government party (National Renewal Alliance or ARENA) and the opposition (Brazilian Democratic Movement or MBD). This effectively ended the previous multi-party system. This transition resulted in a sharp decline of living standards for the vast majority of the Brazilian people and a vicious cycle of continuous military administrations. The regime was responsible for implementing a process of rapid industrialization and modernization of rural areas (Machado 1993, 90). This proved beneficial for the middle class, but detrimental to large portions of the population. The reform resulted in the drastically uneven pay gap that became a mobilizing point

for many under the regime. The impact on the lower classes prompted a few demonstrations and urban movements in the 1970's. These are worth noting because of the fact that women have historically been very involved in the type of urban, grassroots organizations that were mobilized to respond to this inequality (Machado 1993, 90). Additionally, these economic reforms had directly affected women in that they impacted social services and shifted women's roles in the labor force. These reforms opened a greater space for upper class women to participate in academia and other sectors where they were not previously represented, but pushed working class women into lower paying, difficult jobs. These events therefore made issues such as wage inequality, daycare, and human rights among the primary mobilizing factors for the women's movement.

As Brazil entered the 1970's and 1980's, the country witnessed one of the largest and most versatile women's movements in Latin America. Many scholars and even participants have noted that the perception of women as being on the political periphery, or as non-threatening political actors by the military regime, created an environment primed for the emergence of women as political actors in the face of an otherwise oppressive regime (Corcoran-Nantes 1993, 136). This factor coupled with the political liberalization that began under President Geisel in 1974, now known as the *abertura*, the process where the regime partially relaxed control over civil liberties such as free speech, contributed to the rise of an estimated four hundred feminist organizations that were founded throughout the 1970's and 1980's (Alvarez 1990, 10). In this environment, women took advantage of the opportunity to organize, with hundreds of women motivated to participate in protests (Alvarez 1990, 10). Before this point, women's groups were typically more of forums for women to gather and discuss issues of inequality and to engage in politics outside of the domestic sphere. These groups for mothers and wives were often

organized and encouraged by the Popular Church and allowed women to be active in and try to mobilize support for their community needs. It was truly this unique political moment where the women's movement became much more public in its opposition to the regime and to its policies that impacted family and everyday life.

The abertura in many ways serves as a starting point for the examination of women's public protest during this era. Of particular importance was the acknowledgement of International Women's Year in 1975 by Brazil, as this provided one of the very few forums for groups to publicly protest the oppressive regime. This event marked one of the first occasions when women were able to publicly organize and demand to have their needs, and more general political concerns, acknowledged. This marked the first of what has been viewed as an upward trend of protest by Brazilian women in 1975 and 1976, with particular emphasis on causes related to poor and working class women's groups. One notable example is the groups of ninety to one hundred women that would regularly put on protests at the Secretaria de Bem Estar Social (SEBES) in order to call attention to the regime's neglect of public child daycare facilities (Alvarez 1990, 99). The use of popular protests by Brazilian women's groups saw another resurgence in the 1980's in matters such as unemployment, urbanization, housing, transport, and basic services. This particular protest trend was not unique to women however, as the insurgence of workers in São Paulo and a resulting strain on the city resources led to large urban protest movements in the general population. At one point, author Yvonne Corcoran-Nantes notes, "in São Paulo, hardly a week went by without some form of political protest taking place," (Corcoran-Nantes 1993, 141). The strong sense of inequality that was pervading the city and the government's inability or unwillingness to acknowledge or address it served as the catalyst for these large demonstrations, in which the participants were largely women (Corcoran-Nantes

1993, 137). These larger, more notable movements serve as illustrations of the abertura's gateway-like effect for thousands of women to mobilize in demonstrations to call for electoral participation and to voice anti-regime sentiment in the years of transition for Brazil (Alvarez 1990, 12).

While the purpose of this particular research is to explore the potential relationship of popular protest and public demonstrations on the resulting representation for women, I feel that it is important to note the other avenues that the Brazilian women's movement utilized to voice their opposition to the regime. For example, while they do not fit into the traditional protest framework that has been used thus far, Brazil's women's groups were successful in organizing forums to attempt to mobilize change. One example was in March of 1978, where 5,000 people attended an assembly to create a petition to address cost of living issues. Women's groups also used other forms of vocalizing opposition, such as the publication of women's newspapers and editorials as seen in the example of *Brasil Mulher*, the first women's editorial that brought a female voice to the political sphere (Alvarez 1990, 95). While these do not fit the mold that has been used thus far, it could potentially impact how they have created their identities as political actors and could prove to be another approach worth exploring in future research, as will be elaborated upon in the conclusion and discussion portion of this research.

Continuing with the examination of strictly anti-regime movements, I will now move to the women's protest movement in Argentina. What's important to note in the case of Argentinian women's protest movements is that it was comparatively much smaller than many of its neighbors. This can be attributed to a number of factors that have little to do with the ability or desire of women to mobilize as a group within the country. Primarily, this movement's comparatively small scale can be attributed to systematic issues such as the Church's limited

involvement in the opposition, the destruction of the feminist foundation when the junta was implemented, and the stronger presence of male-dominated politics in the country just to identify a few of these factors to consider (Alvarez 1990, 262).

Even with these environmental or cultural factors to consider, Argentinian women were able to assemble a movement that proved to play an important role in the democratic transition process. What is extremely important to this research is how protests proved to be a major part of the movement's strategy to voice their demands and opposition to the military junta that took power in the country in March of 1976. This military rule was in place until the democratic election of Raúl Alfonsín in 1983. Under military rule, regulations were implemented that proved to be particularly restrictive to women. Examples of such repression included severely reducing, or completely cutting social, health, and education services. This presented an especially difficult situation for Argentinian women as they were expected to take care of their homes, but obstacles finding work made this difficult (Feijoó and Nari 1989, 110).

In response to the oppressive regime, women in Argentina, as in the previously explored cases, found that the regime provided the political opportunity for them to create their own movements. The nature of these women's movements has primarily been split into three different categories, the first two being the Feminists and the Housewives Organization. The Argentine Feminists consisted of several different groups, such as the Center for the Social Study of Argentine Women (CESMA), that all mobilized on the grounds of women's rights. Many of these group members attempted to work both within the political parties and these gendered groups. While their primary source of mobilization was through debates, outreach programs, conferences, newsletters and film showings, they did on occasion demonstrate in the name of the junta's handling of women's issues. One such example can be seen in 1983 at the Tribunal of

Violence Against Women where three different feminist organizations demonstrated calling for justice in a shocking and public rape case (Feijoó and Nari 1989, 116). The Housewives Organization, which mobilized around the notion of women struggling to secure the basic needs for their households, was more reliant on protests than the Feminist groups. While the Organization had a history of participating in boycotts and demonstrating against the poor quality of life experienced by others in the country under the junta, their protest activity saw an intense upswing in October-December 1982. During this time, the Organization participated in *vecinazos*, the strong urban protests that emerged in response to high costs of living under the regime. The women that participated in these movements also had the important opportunity to serve as negotiators with local governments to alleviate tensions between groups. Also notable about this group was their alliance with another very important group in the Argentine women's movement.

Perhaps the most well-known and visible opposition to the regime came in the form of the demonstrations organized by the Madres of the Plaza de Mayo. Initially organized in 1977 by fourteen women aged forty to sixty-two, this group would go on to spark branch groups, such as the Abuelas of the Plaza de Mayo, as well as keep the memory of the mistreatment and human rights violations of the junta visible, demanding that action be taken. The mission of the Madres was to publicize and resist the disappearance of the estimated 30,000 Argentinian citizens during the years of the "Dirty War" under the regime (Feijoó and Nari 1994, 113). Their tactics were focused on making their opposition and demonstrations very public. Such tactics included constructing life-size silhouette cutouts to represent actual disappeared people to carry at demonstrations, distributing paper hands at events to represent the missing, releasing balloons with the names of the missing, and parading in masks to represent the equal importance of each

missing individual (Femenía and Gil 1987, 15). The protests of the Madres of the Plaza de Mayo were so symbolic and influential that many of their tactics at demonstrations became symbols of the anti-regime movement in Argentina and reminders of the human rights violations committed. The white handkerchiefs that the women wore around their heads at their demonstrations soon became a symbol of the group, and their walks around Argentina's Plaza de Mayo worked to create a new significance for the plaza (Feijoó and Nari 1994, 113). Much of the protests that took place in the Argentine women's movement were dependent on the group's identity as women and mothers. This has often led to the conclusion that the movements were apolitical, and that the protest of women based on issues such as human rights continued the traditional division of labor, which could contribute to the difficulty in securing a place in the democracy.

To conclude the qualitative examination of women's protest in Latin America, I will briefly summarize the protest environment of the relatively complex culture of Mexican democracy. The case of Mexico is unique from the other selected cases in that it has technically been a democracy since the end of the country's revolution in the 1920's. However, the reign of the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) from this time until the 2000 election provides an example of a flawed democratic system with abuses and controversies that mirror many of the military regimes present in much of the rest of Latin America.

Similar to the Brazilian women's movement, the Mexican women's movement was expansive and multi-faceted. However, protest proved to be a significant tactic in their mobilization efforts, particularly in the wake of the significant student demonstrations in 1968 that served as a gateway in some ways to large-scale public demonstrations (Craske 1993, 115). The economic crisis and dramatic inequality that gripped the country proved to be a strong mobilizing point for women's groups. With issues such as housing, economic inequality, and

need for services creating unrest in the country, women were successful in creating urban movement groups that actively utilized protests as a primary tactic. The objective of these demonstrations was to disrupt everyday activities to call attention to the need for the addressing of the issues. This manifested in public rallies and marches on government and public spaces (Escandón 1994, 208). The women also employed unconventional tactics of public protest by selecting certain issues and dramatizing them in public forums. One such example was the protests against water shortages in the country. To protest, women would do their laundry or bathe their children in the public fountains and water sources. An important note about the Mexican women's protests however, was the fact that protests did not appear to be focused on motivating social or political change (Bennett 1998, 124). Instead, they were focused on particular issues that society was facing and appeared to stop once the issue was addressed.

In summary, each country presented has history of protests playing some role in their respective resistance movements. In Chile, protests were heavily utilized in support of two different ideological fronts as what appears to be the primary mobilization tactic. In Brazil, though there was a notable women's movement mobilized against the regime and protests were present, other forms of mobilization such as community groups, petitions, and media were more heavily emphasized. In Argentina, the relatively smaller women's movement also relied fairly heavily on protests in their resistance to the regime. These protests were typically viewed as apolitical as many of the groups mobilized based on their identities as mothers and wives rather than asserting themselves as political actors. Finally, Mexico also saw high use of protests by women's groups to voice opposition. The object of these demonstrations was to disrupt public life; however they typically revolved around specific issues rather than the government itself, and often subsided once said issue was addressed. These conclusions can be used to compare the

level of protest activity—Chile seeing it high on two fronts, Argentina and Mexico seeing high levels against authoritarianism or other issues, and Brazil favoring alternative tactics—with the level of political representation in the contemporary political institutions of these countries.

To examine the relationship between these different protest environments and political representation, it is vital to determine where these countries stand in terms of this proportional representation today. For the purpose of this study, I will be determining level of representation by the percentage national legislatures that are made up of women -- specifically in the lower houses. This data was taken from the Gender Equality Data and Statistics database and spans from the mid to late 1990's to 2014. Differences in representation are illustrated in Figure 1 as follows:

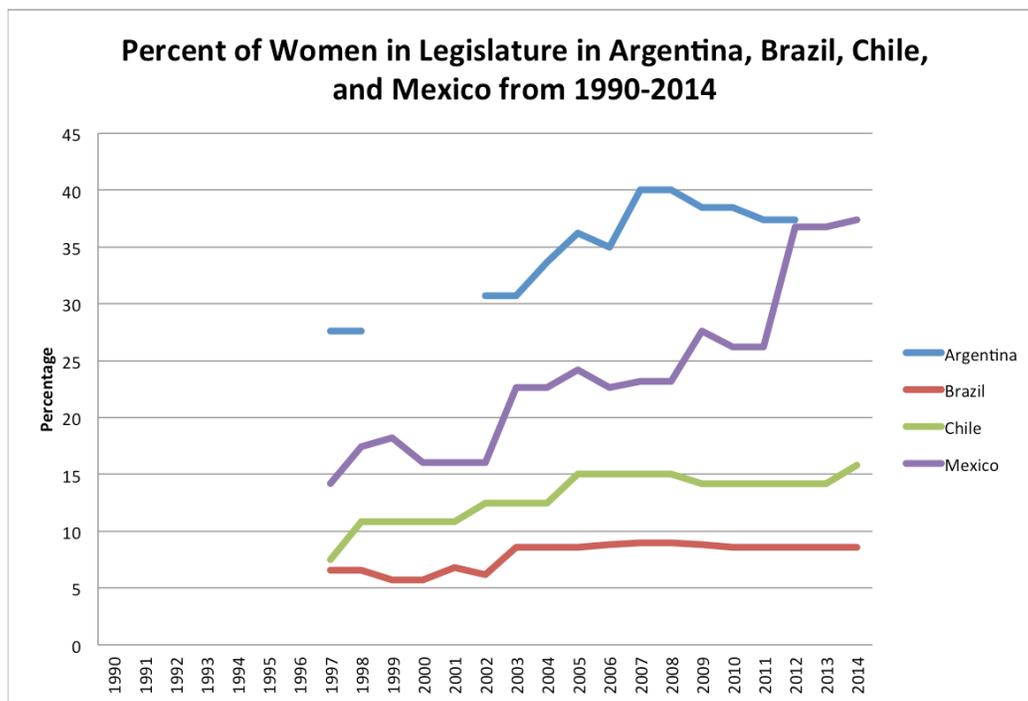


Figure 1. Percent of Women in Legislature

This graph illustrates the trends in women's representation in each country's legislature. It shows that Argentina has seen proportionately higher representation of women than the other

cases until around 2012-2013 where it becomes even with Mexico. Also illustrated are the relatively lower rates of women's representation seen in Brazil, and in some respects, Chile. In Brazil, the percent representation remains around 5.3-8.8% while in Chile rates are seen between 7.5 and 15.8%. This is in contrast to the comparatively higher rates of representation seen in Argentina, where percentages surge from 6.3% in 1990 to 40% in 2007 and 2008, before dipping slightly to 36.6% in 2014. Mexico is also notable in its representation in that it has seen a strong upward trend, starting at 12% in 1990 and rising to 37.4% in 2014. Overall, women's legislative representation has been increasing since the early 1990s in these four countries.

To answer the question that this paper puts forth, it is crucial to examine these representation rates in the context of the protest activity in each country that has been presented in this section. In Chile, Mexico, and Argentina, the protest movements have been recorded as being a primary source of mobilization in the women's movements. The size, frequency, and nature of different demonstrations and popular protest movements have been noted by historians as serving as an outlet for women's political participation as well as playing a role in activating the transition to democracy. The fact that these three countries where protest was a vital tool see a higher representation of women than in Brazil, where protest was only one of many avenues women could utilize to gain political access, could serve to support the first hypothesis that higher levels of protest participation result in higher levels of representation. This conclusion however would be weak at best, considering the fact that protests were a significant part of the Chilean women's movement, and proportional representation in this country is only slightly above that of Brazil's. Overall, it is difficult to draw a conclusion from this data when connecting it to the protest histories of each country. However, I will tentatively confirm the first hypothesis,

which posits that a stronger presence of protest activity could potentially lead to higher political representation.

The results of examining the second hypothesis were slightly more conclusive. In the second hypothesis, I asserted that when protest movements were active on two different ideological fronts, in this case pro and anti-regime, the percentage of representation of women would be higher than in countries where protest movements were only active in opposition to the regime. The logic behind this assertion was similar to that of the first hypothesis, that protest participation allows women to assert themselves as viable political actors. The fact that there would be two different fronts would produce even more active political participants and therefore result in higher rates of representation. This however, did not prove to be the case.

In order to test this hypothesis, I selected two cases to represent both sides. I selected Chile for the fact that it saw political protests both in favor and against the regime, and Argentina since its protests were starkly in opposition to the regime. In both countries, protest served as the primary source for vocalizing opposition. Additionally, there was more data available for these two countries in terms of the scale of their political representation, allowing a more comprehensive understanding of women's political activity and representation in the country rather than just examining percentage of representation. To accomplish this, I utilized the figures available through the World Bank Gender Statistics dataset on women's representation in power committees and women's issue committees starting in the 1980's up until 2002. The differences in representation in these two countries are illustrated in Figures 2 and 3 as follows:

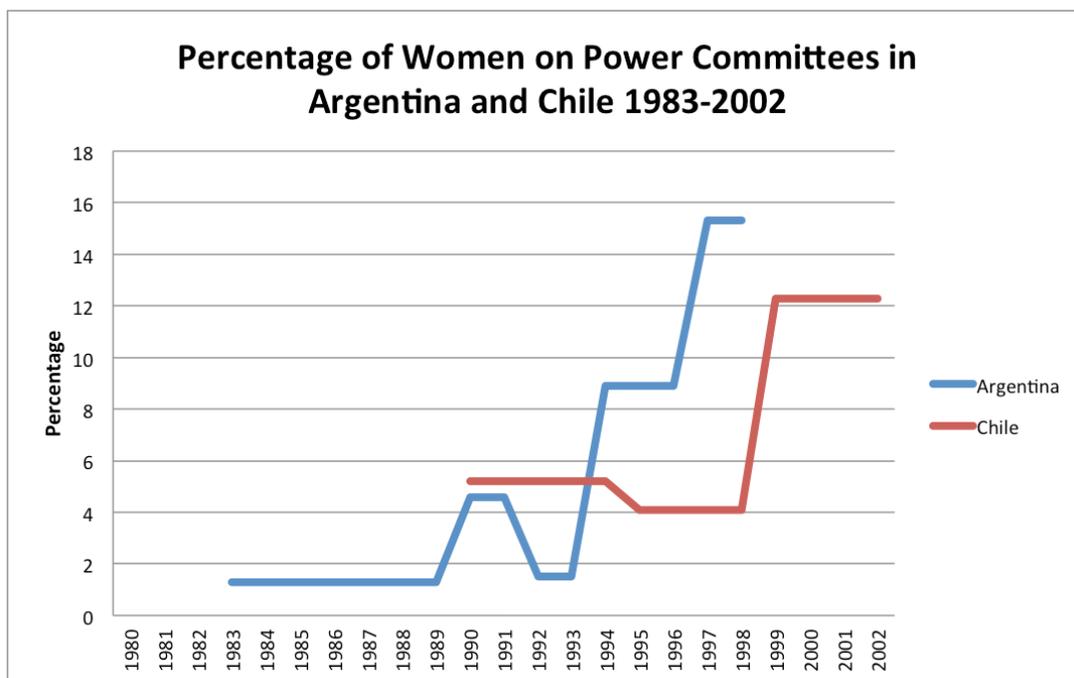


Figure 2. Percentage of Women on Power Committees in Argentina and Chile



Figure 3. Percentage of Women on Women's Issue Committees in Argentina and Chile

As these two graphs illustrate, Argentina has consistently seen a higher representation in these political institutions. This fact combined with the re-examination of Figure 1 looking at women's representation in legislature, which finds Argentina having significantly higher

percentages of women represented, serves to disprove this initial hypothesis. Where it was initially thought that women's participation in political protests on two different ideological fronts would yield stronger representation in the resulting democracy, this apparently has not been the case. Argentina, which saw women mobilize in popular protest solely in opposition to the military regime, has experienced higher levels of proportional representation for women on different political committees and in the legislature. This is compared to the lower rates in Chile who had women mobilize on both sides. Therefore, I can conclude that this second hypothesis is false based on the available qualitative and statistical information.

As demonstrated, it is difficult to comprehensively understand the scale and nature of women's political protests in qualitative study. The examination of existing scholarship on the subject has yielded an image of very active women's movements that utilize protest as a means of opposition in addition to other avenues. This information combined with the available statistical data of women's representation in political institutions allows us to begin to imagine the type of relationship that may exist between these two phenomena. The inherent issues with a qualitative analysis however, led to the need to begin to operationalize this information to be examined in a quantitative, more objective sense, as will be illustrated in the next section. Additional limitations and obstacles that could skew the results found in this section will be further discussed in the conclusion and discussion section.

Chapter 4

Empirical Analysis

In addition to the qualitative analysis of the four selected case studies, a brief quantitative study was conducted in an attempt to more clearly operationalize and systematically analyze the potential relationship between women's protest activity during times of transition and political representation in the resulting democracy. The following section outlines the variables examined, how they were measured, and the sources of the data. Finally, an overview of how the variables were going to be examined in relation to one another will be provided.

In this study, the independent variable is the level of women's participation in political protest. Operationalizing this variable and finding reliable sources with reliable data proved to be a significant challenge for this analysis. I finally settled on using data from the World Values Survey to determine the level of protest activity going forward. The data is compiled from surveys taken in the four cases—Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico – in five different years spanning from either 1984 to as recently as 2014, all from the World Values Survey database. The exception is Brazil, for which the data is only available for three different years since the country did not participate in two of the questionnaire waves. Around one thousand participants were asked various questions and their answers catalogued. For the protest data used here, I focused on three different questions to get an idea of the level of protest participation in the country and then crossed the answers by female responses to narrow the focus to women's participation. The questions examined were as follows:

1. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never: Boycotts
2. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never: attending lawful/peaceful protests
3. I'm going to read out some different forms of political action that people can take, and I'd like you to tell me, for each one, whether you have actually done any of these things, whether you might do it or would never: joining unofficial strikes

Participants in the survey were then given the response options of have done, might do, never, don't know, or no answer. I then calculated these responses, recorded by the World Values Survey in percentages, into data points to be used for analysis. I did this by dividing the sum of the 'have done' and 'might have' responses by the sum of the 'have done,' 'might have,' and 'never' responses. For the purpose of this study, when calculating the data points for this variable, I removed 'don't know' and 'no answer' responses from the equation.

Next, a couple of different datasets were used to determine the data points for the dependent variable, women's representation. As discussed in the previous section, the datasets from the Gender Equality Data and Statistics provided the information on the percentage of women in legislatures. Information on the percentage of women in power committees and women's issue committees was taken from the World Bank Gender Statistics database. This database also provided the information used to determine the number of female legislators, senior officials, and managers in each country as well as the proportion of women in ministerial level positions.

The World Bank Gender Statistics Database also provided the data points for the economic and social control variables that are necessary for this analysis. By controlling for these variables and evaluating how they relate to women's representation, the model is more effective in isolating protest activity and representation relationships. Economic development

was measured with what percentage of the labor force is made up of women. Social progress or development was operationalized using the literacy rates for each country.

An important variable to factor in this analysis is the cultural attitudes towards women in Latin American political institutions. The *machismo* attitudes that pervade the region are important to consider when examining the conditions that women are working in to try and achieve political access. To calculate these data points, I used the World Values Survey once again. I selected the following questions to determine cultural attitudes:

1. Do you agree strongly, agree, disagree, or disagree strongly? On the whole, men make better political leaders than women do
2. Do you think that a woman has to have children in order to be fulfilled or is this not necessary?
3. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements: When jobs are scarce men should have more right to a job than women

To create the data points for the first factor, the sum of responses of ‘strongly agree,’ and ‘agree,’ were divided by the sum of all responses. Similarly, for the next two points, responses of ‘agree’ were divided by the sum of both responses. As with the calculation for protest data, the ‘don’t know’ and ‘no answer’ options were excluded from the equations. Additionally, for this variable, it was not cross-sectioned by gender and all participant answers were recorded.

To examine the relationship between protest and representation, I examined the partial correlation between protest and three different measures of representation: the share of the cabinet positions held by women; the share of the seats in the lower house of the legislature held by women; and the share of officials and ministers who are female. The protest variable is an index that combines information from three survey responses about women’s prior participation in political protest, boycotts, or strikes.¹

¹ The index is created using the alpha command in Stata, and is very similar to the first factor from factor analysis.

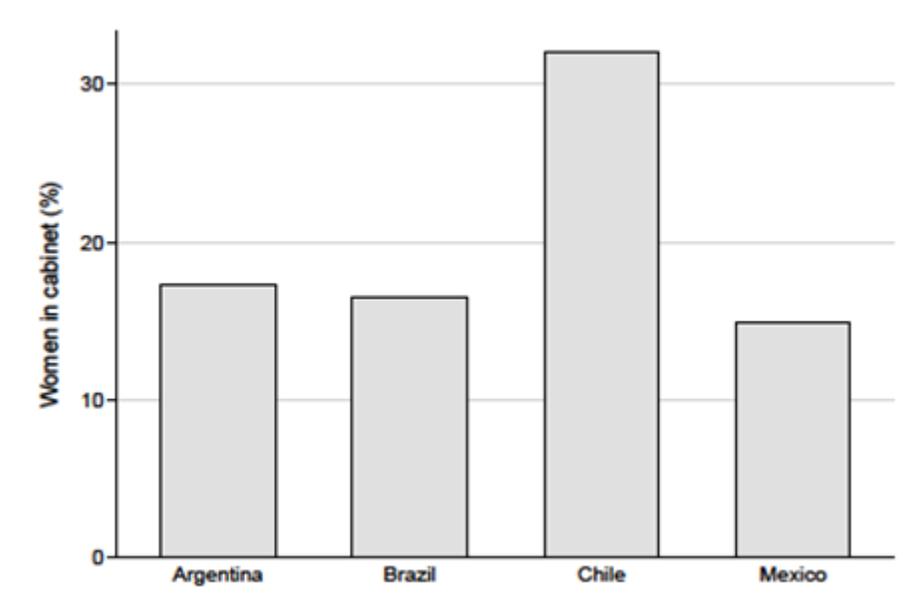


Figure 4. Women's Representation in Cabinet (%)

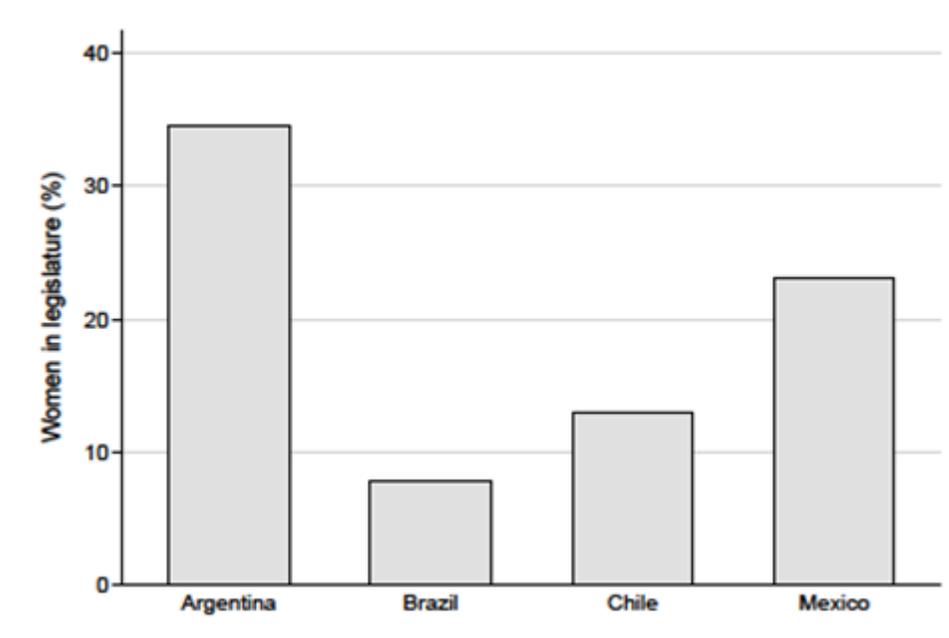


Figure 5. Women's Representation in Legislature (%)

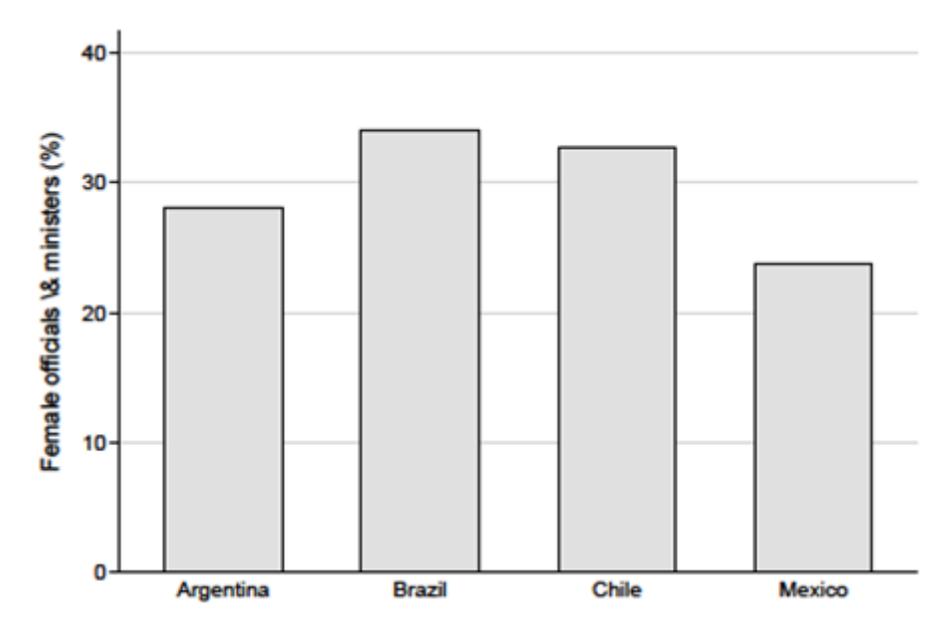


Figure 6. Female Officials and Ministers (%)

Figures 4-6 demonstrate the average level of representation for each indicator in each country. In Figure 4, the average percentage of women represented in cabinets is represented on the y-axis with each country presented on the x-axis. Figure 5 presents the percentage of women in legislature with each country represented on the x-axis. Figure 6 represents the percentage of female ministers and officials in each country, with the countries presented on the x-axis. In distinguishing these different measures from one another, the legislature refers to the lower house of country parliament, the cabinet measure refers to the higher, executive level, and the ministers and officials level represents the percentage of significant decision making roles or heads of department positions that are held by women. The data from the y-axis for each graph is from the World Bank Gender Statistics data set. These graphs show that the average representation varies a great deal depending on the variable and country. Where Chile saw a much higher average representation in cabinet than the other three countries, Argentina has a

significantly higher average than the other cases in legislative representation. Brazil sees low averages for the first two factors, but has a slightly higher percentage of officials and ministers. Mexico does not experience a great deal of variation in its averages with the exception of a fairly significant dip in cabinet representation. Using the averages rather than examining progression trends in line graphs as in the qualitative section shows a different outcome has shown Chile and Argentina, two countries with significant protest activity in transition periods, that average representation percentages have remained relatively high.

To account for other factors that are likely to influence women's representation, I used a linear model with control variables for culture and the economic status of women. Further, to account for the time trend in the data (i.e. women's representation is generally increasing over time), the model controls for year fixed effects. Culture is measured an index that averages information from two survey questions about women's right to a job outside the home and the whether women make good leaders. The economic variable is an index constructed from information on the female literacy rate and women's labor force participation rate.

The next three plots show the partial regression plots (sometimes referred to as added-variable plots). They show the empirical relationship between protest and various measures of women's representation once we condition on the time trend and controls for culture and the economic status of women. The circles represent each data point and the line shows the best fit given those data points. A positive line indicates a positive relationship between the two variables. The coefficient and standard error reported at the bottom describe the slope of the line and the extent to which the data points are observed close to the line of best fit.

Figures 7-9 represent the calculated relationship between the protest variable and the three specified levels of representation. Figure 7 analyzes the relationship between protest,

represented on the x-axis as calculated from the World Values Survey data, and cabinet representation data from the World Bank. Figures 8 and 9 also use the protest figures calculated from the World Values Survey represented on the x-axis with representation data represented on the y-axis as taken from the World Bank.

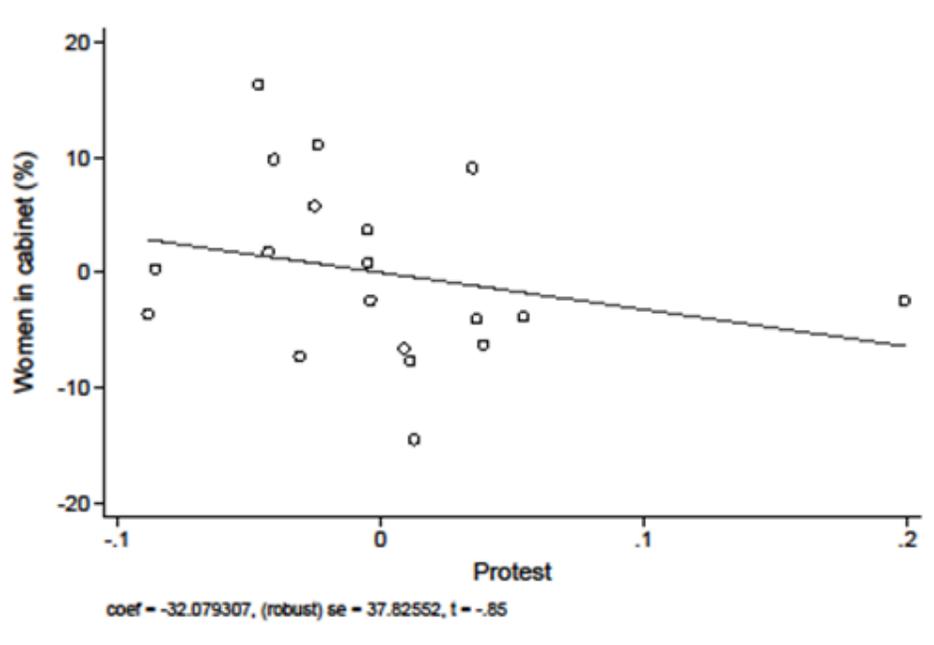


Figure 7. Protest and Cabinet Representation

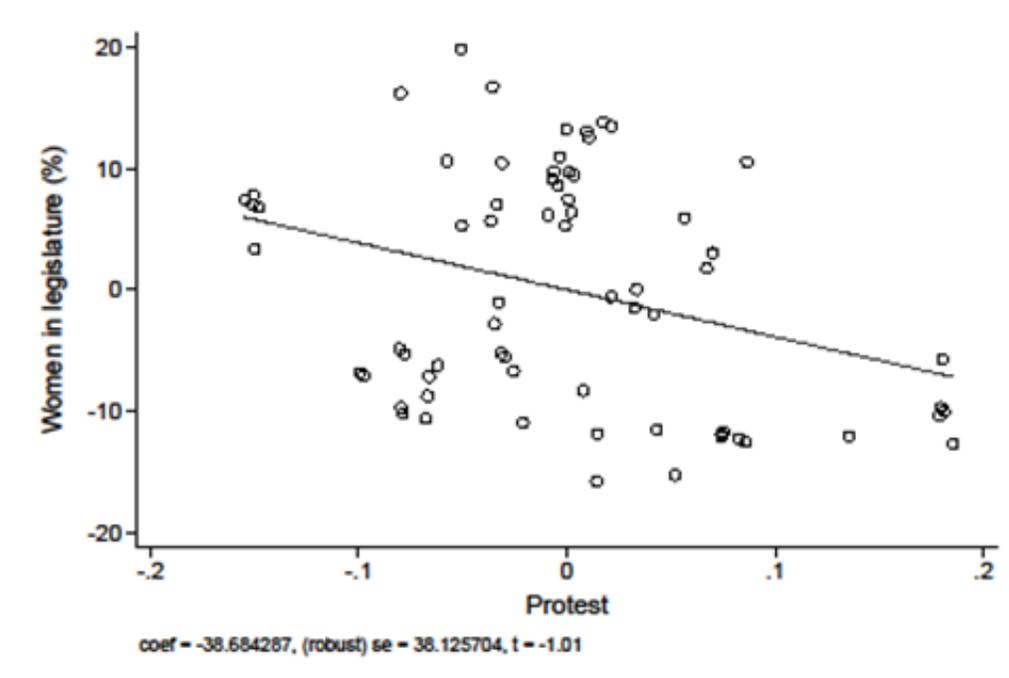


Figure 8. Protest and Representation in Legislature

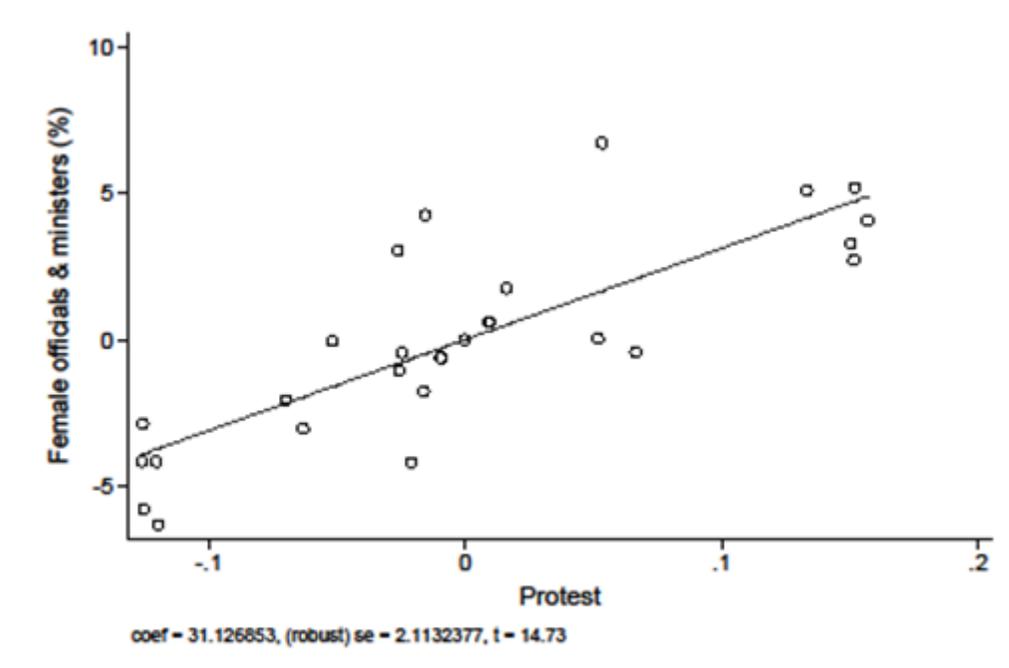


Figure 9. Protest and Female Ministers and Officials

Examination of these figures with their corresponding coefficients shows that for the most part, the hypotheses were disproven. Figures 7 and 8 both represent moderate negative correlations between the protest variable and percent female representation in cabinet and legislature respectively. Figure 9 however represents a moderate positive correlation between the protest variable women in senior positions as ministers or officials. Putting these correlations into context, this could indicate that while protests don't necessarily help women get elected to parliament, participation could help a woman to gain more influence once already in the legislature.

Looking at these results in their entirety, this regression model appears to disprove the proposed hypotheses. However, a major issue that needs to be addressed that could impact these results is the unreliability of the data used to generate the protest variable. The fact that the protest information is based off of sample surveys could result in bad data points that do not accurately represent the prevalence or scope of Latin American protests. Additionally, the ages of the participants are not provided, meaning that the demographic that participated in the protests during the times of transition are potentially excluded in the responses. This has the potential to influence the conclusions drawn in terms of inflating or underplaying the potential correlation between these two factors.

Chapter 5

Conclusion and Discussion

Women's movements in Latin America have proven to be extensive and dynamic avenues for women to gain political access and have their voices heard in the region. The oppressive regimes that defined many Latin American countries provided the space for women to emerge as political actors in a culture that was relatively restrictive in keeping women in the domestic sphere and maintaining male-oriented political ideologies. For many women and groups in the region, popular protest was a significant method to vocalize opposition to authoritarianism. The opportunity for women to emerge as a group and take advantage of the opportunity to affect change created a foundation for them to begin to frame themselves as political actors. The importance of identifying the potential relationship that may exist between protest and representation is important in the opportunity to begin to answer why different countries may see different levels of women's participation. Additionally, understanding what sort of mechanisms and visibility potentially contribute to representation in established institutions could provide a new framework for understanding how other politically marginalized groups may gain access to political influence.

In order to try and understand any potential connection between these two factors, I formulated two hypotheses to test to begin exploring this potential relationship. The first, asserted that higher levels of women's participation in popular protest would have a positive correlation with women's representation in political institutions. The second stated that in countries where women's movements protested both in favor of, and against authoritarian

regimes, there would be higher levels of political representation. Theoretically, in finding answers to these hypotheses, some foundational work would be laid for future investigation into this relationship.

To find these answers, I employed two different analyses looking at four different cases in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, and Mexico. First, I utilized a qualitative, case study analysis. This was conducted by compiling and presenting available information on the context and scale of the protest movements that existed in each country. This information was examined in relation to the progress of political representation in each individual country and then in relation to one another. In addition to this qualitative analysis, a brief quantitative analysis was run using a potential model for future study. In this section, data points for women's protest activity in addition to economic, social, and cultural variables were run against representation measures to determine any potential existing correlations.

The results to these different methods were mixed and inconclusive. Examining the case studies presented in relation to each country's current representation levels resulted in the tentative confirmation of the first hypothesis. The weak conclusion was that in countries where the protests were the significant aspect of women's mobilization, there was a higher level of women's representation in parliament. However, with Chile's relatively low rates and its history of significant protest movements, this conclusion would need to be much further tested. Rejecting the second hypothesis proved to be more definitive, with Argentina and its history of anti-regime protests seeing consistently higher levels of political representation than Chile with its pro and anti-regime protest past. The significant flaw in this conclusion however is that it is more subjective in evaluating what makes one country's use of protests "significant" compared to another. The quantitative analysis on the other hand, yielded negative results to the hypotheses

when representation was measured as percentage of women in cabinets and legislatures. There was a positive correlation however when measuring the protest variable against the percentage of female ministers and officials. These mixed results from the two analyses tentatively conclude disproof of the hypotheses, but the mixed results leave much room for further exploration.

One of the strongest factors informing these results was the limitations that emerged in this study. First, a severe information and data deficit regarding women's protest activity proved to make any sort of quantitative analysis difficult. The data that was used was taken from the World Values Survey and was the summary of participant responses to questionnaires. However, this is not completely reliable in getting an accurate read on the prevalence of these movements. The wording of the question could be viewed as more of a measure of attitudes towards protests rather than a measure of actual participation. The lack of filtering participant responses by age could also impact the outcome. Additionally, these figures did little provide information regarding the size and frequency of the protests, which are important factors to consider when determining the significance or impact protest movements. It also may be worth it to consider the fact that the individual being questioned may be influenced by how they individually define the term "protest." The case study analysis used was an attempt to gain a better understanding of the scale of these protests. However, this proved to be almost equally difficult as actual size estimates and number of protests was rarely provided.

Answering this question has significant potential for future research. The difficulty in locating reliable protest data indicates the scholarship gap in understanding a phenomenon that was not insignificant in an entire region's history. To develop a more reliable database understanding women's protests, future research could invest in analyzing local, Spanish-speaking newspapers and media to try and find reliable numbers on protest sizes. My difficulty

in understanding advanced Spanish proved to be another limitation in this study as it limited the amount of sources that I could use to try and find this information as well as preventing me from attempting to create this data set myself. The use of Spanish-speaking newspapers would likely account for smaller protests that are otherwise unacknowledged in English speaking sources. This too could potentially lead to skewed results however in that different newspapers may have different motives for either exaggerating or downplaying the scale of the protests. By creating this new data set, the model that was presented in the quantitative section of this research could be more effectively run and relationships more accurately assessed.

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Education

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Enrolled in exclusively Spanish-taught courses focused on literature and the history of U.S-Spain political interactions

Work Experience

Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE)

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Sales Strategy and Research Intern

- Selected from 160+ applicants for internship at company headquarters
- Identified gaps in sales strategy through document analysis and in-person interviews
- Presented research and next-step recommendations to senior leadership team

Fins Tropicali Restaurant

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Cashier/Counter Server

- Developed customer service skills in the food and beverage industry
- Communicated effectively with co-workers in a fast-paced environment

Central Pennsylvania Institute of Science and Technology September 2013-December 2013

GED and English as a Second Language Tutor

- Tutored adult learners working towards their GED and assisted English as a Second Language student in improving language skills in one-on-one sessions
- Created personalized weekly lesson plans based on student need and compiled reports on student progress for program supervisor

Activities

Alpha Chi Omega Sorority

Vice President Facility Operations

2012-2013

- Coordinated housing contracts for 55 women
- Served as chapter delegate to Penn State housing overseeing maintenance and bylaw compliance
- Organized design and move to new residence hall
- Worked directly with headquarters to ensure renewal of chapter accreditation

Penn State IFC/Panhellenic Dance Marathon (THON) Volunteer

2012-2013

Malini Club Member

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