

**Gender Politics in the Mexican Democratization Process:  
Sex Crimes, Affirmative Action for Women, and the 1997 Elections in Mexico<sup>1</sup>**

"...we cannot speak of democracy while a society exists that maintains half of its human potential in a handicapped, undervalued situation, in subordination to the other half of society; we cannot speak of democracy while the dignity and human rights of women suffer; we cannot speak of democracy until we women occupy the place in society that we deserve." (Gloria Brassdefer, Congressional Deputy for the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional*, (PRI), Mexico, in Lagunes, 1991; author's translation.)

As is eloquently expressed by this female political leader's words, the struggle for women's rights is intricately linked with the democratization process of any political system. Although Brassdefer refers to the situation in Mexico, over the last fifteen years within the struggles of civil society groups and movements demanding that their regimes or governments become more politically democratic, proponents of gender equality have battled for women's rights (Jaquette, 1994; Nelson and Chowdhury, 1994; Cook et al., 1994). Many countries have passed through difficult periods of transition and are moving toward consolidating democracy in their countries (O'Donnell, Schmitter and Whitehead, 1986; Malloy and Seligson, 1987; Mainwaring, O'Donnell, and Valenzuela, 1992). However, as the euphoria fades and the nitty-gritty work of democracy begins, for many people, especially those with less political power such as women, serious questions again arise. Who is benefitting from this form of "democracy"? How and when will demands specific groups with less direct representation in institutional politics be heard and heeded? What new forms of politics need to be employed to get women's issues onto the nation's political agenda?

---

<sup>1</sup> Research for this paper was supported by a Fulbright-García Robles grant for Doctoral Dissertation research (1997-8), a University of Pittsburgh Provost's Development Fund grant for Dissertation Research (1997), and a Heinz Social and Public Policy grant from the Center for Latin American Studies at the University of Pittsburgh (1995).

5. Elections  
6. 1997.

1. Política  
2. Género  
3. Mujeres  
4. Democracia

4156

Within the literature on democratization, general consensus was reached years ago with regard to the importance of procedural definitions of democracy, such as universal suffrage and respect for civil liberties (Dahl, 1971). More recent studies of democratic transition in Latin America added that opposition parties must have a realistic chance of winning office and affecting policy, and the military be controlled by a civilian government (Karl, 1990; Przeworski, 1992). However most recently, observations of the social side of democratization show that the roots of democratic development are not very deep. O'Donnell observed this problem in labor-industry relations (O'Donnell, 1992), Diamond by comparing the above factors with many countries' poor human rights records (Diamond, 1996), Guinier on the lack of progress for minority ethnic populations in the United States (Guinier, 1994), and Mazur on policies for women's equal employment opportunities in France (Mazur, 1995). This has led to a re-questioning of just how deep the roots of democracy are in any democracy, emerging or advanced, for those who have not historically or culturally held political power.

In relation to these questions in the Mexican case, the locus of the fight for women's rights shifted when new political spaces opened up after opposition parties gained strength through the watershed in Mexico's democratization process of the hotly contested presidential elections of 1988.<sup>2</sup> After years of mobilization by political movements in the streets (Massolo, 1994; Bennett, 1992), and coalition building between the women's and feminists' movements and other civil society groups (Lamas et al., 1995; Tarrés, 1996), women then initiated political

---

<sup>2</sup> In the middle of the vote count, when it appeared as though the PRI might lose, the entire computerized system suddenly broke down. Not until nearly two weeks later was a final count announced, with the PRI winning the presidency with 50.2 percent.

activity in the chambers of Congress and the headquarters of the three major political parties<sup>3</sup> (Martínez, 1993; Fernández, 1995a). The numbers of women running for congressional seats and winning elections became a fundamental issue for women's and feminist movements, as female legislators' ability to translate feminists' and women's movements' demands into policy proposals was evident (Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres, 1997; Yáñez, 1997). For example, since more female deputies and senators won positions since 1988, significant policies addressing the issues of violence against women and affirmative action quotas favoring women were approved by the Congress (Lima, 1995; García, 1991). In a society commonly known for *machismo* (Lamas et al., 1995; Hellman, 1994; Gutmann, 1996) and for semi-authoritarian tendencies in its political culture (Almond and Verba, 1963; Muller and Seligson, 1987)<sup>4</sup>, these advances by and for women in institutional politics appear to be extraordinary.

However in the way that much of "women's work" is "invisible," most of Mexican society has not yet noted these advances, let alone international observers. Important lessons about women and other minority groups in institutional politics, as well as about how to reconstruct the credibility and legitimacy of the institution of the Mexican Congress, can be learned from a closer examination of the conditions, strategies, and methods employed by women working through the Congress during the 1988 to 1997 period. Policy initiatives proposed by coalitions of female deputies in the Congress presented early challenges to the

---

<sup>3</sup> The PRI, *Partido Acción Nacional* (PAN) and the *Partido de la Revolución Democrata* (PRD).

<sup>4</sup> I am referring to the general consensus on the Mexican regime over the last few decades (Cornelius, 1989; Camp, 1993) although some recent studies demonstrate that such societal political values are becoming more democratic (McCann, 1996; Nevitte, 1996).

dominance of presidentialist power in policymaking (García, 1995; Robles, 1995; Lima, 1990; 1995). These early efforts in this arena serve as an example of the democratization process of the Congress and executive-legislative relations, which since the July 1997 elections is in the headlines on a daily basis.

Although women's advances and examples provide reason for optimism, feminist and feminine political gains may be precarious, parallel to the difficulties of deepening democracy in the social arenas of industry-labor relations and human rights. Awareness of the historical influences of patriarchal and clientelistic politics on Mexican political culture is widespread among political elites and activists alike. Marta Lamas, a leading Mexican feminist, captured this concern clearly with her classic phrase, "*Cuerpo de mujer no garantiza conciencia de género*," pointing out that not all female legislators are feminists. A similar scenario exists as Mexico waits to see how and what Cárdenas, recently elected to the mayorship of the Federal District, and the *perredistas* (PRD) in the Congress choose to and are able to do.

Thus, the paper begins with a presentation of the theoretical framework of democratic transitions and consolidation in relation to gender politics in Latin America relative to the questions about democratization on micro-levels of politics and for groups underrepresented in institutional politics. Of particular importance is the explanation of the concept of "critical mass" as a threshold for a minority group in a given political entity, and how it applies to women's representation. As the overlap between the literature on democratization and gender politics is limited and yet inconclusive, I apply certain concepts and methods common in the American and comparative literatures in Political Science to provide new perspectives on the status of women's politics and democratization. I utilize Kingdon's work on how the "streams"

of problems, politics and proposals come together for successful policy passage (Kingdon, 1995), to analyze the trajectories of the policies initiated and passed related to the issues of sex crimes and affirmative action from 1988 to the present in Mexico. In the last section of the paper I provide a preliminary assessment of the substantiveness of the sex crimes policies using Sloan's criteria on the problems of bureaucratization of policy implementation in Latin America (Sloan, 1984); and then discuss key positive and negative factors of the problems, politics and proposals affecting how legislators work on women's issues in the LVII (1997-2000) legislative period.

#### Gender Politics and Democratization in Latin America: A Brief Overview

The number of women gaining access to legislative bodies has gradually increased throughout Latin America in the last fifteen years (Valdes, 1993; Nelson and Chowdhury, 1994). These women politicians have designed and promoted the passage of a number of woman-specific public policies, which is unprecedented in the policymaking history of the region (Lamas et al. 1995; Brill, 1995). Two key issues achieving significant levels of attention and legislation in the policy processes cross-nationally include violence against women and affirmative action quotas on electoral lists (Lima, 1995; Jones, 1995; Durrieu and Jones, forthcoming). Both of these issues were among those listed on the Platform for Action of the United Nations-sponsored Fourth International Conference on Women, which took place in Beijing, China in September of 1995 (United Nations, 1995; Garrido, Molina and Ortiz, 1996).

In Mexico, since the first woman was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1952, the number of women in the Congress has risen gradually and steadily until 1988 (see Graph 1 in

appendix). In that year, the numbers of women elected reached new heights, with 61 elected to the Chamber of Deputies, (12.2 percent), and 12 elected to the Senate (18.8 percent). In 1991 however, the number of women elected decreased significantly (Table 2). But then the numbers again ascended in the 1994 and 1997 elections, although not beyond those reached in 1988.<sup>5</sup>

In 1988, with the leadership of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas, a new highly competitive left-leaning coalition was formed to challenge the political status quo, after years of increasing participation in social and political movements (Foweraker and Craig, 1990), ineffective political reforms, and economic crises in the 1980s. Because of massive charges of fraud in the 1988 elections, support for the PRI declined, and the PAN also made strides in consolidating several of its regional bases—to the point of being the first opposition party to win a gubernatorial election in sixty years (Barrera and Venegas, 1992; Rodríguez and Ward, 1995).<sup>6</sup>

How are these changes in women's political representation and Mexico's democratization process related, if at all? Most of the literature on political transitions ignores or excludes the role of women's mobilization and their ways of doing politics in the explanations of transition and consolidation.<sup>7</sup> However, there are several scholars who argue that women's greater political participation and the democratization processes are mutually beneficial to one another. Espinosa and the contributors to her volume on the women's movement in Latin

---

The fluctuation in the degree of women's congressional electoral success is analyzed on the second affirmative action below.

~~The PAN~~ won the governorship in Baja California in 1989.

In his ~~1994~~ article "On the Third Wave of Democratization" in *World Politics* (1994), Doh ~~Chai Shin~~ ~~has~~ no reference whatever to the works done on women's roles and gender analysis ~~in relation~~ to political transitions.

America describe the importance of a number of different kinds of women's movements in the transitional processes in seven countries (1994). In Basu's collection of works on women's movements in seventeen countries and regions (1995), Lamas, Martinez, Tarrés and Tuñon describe how the women's movements in Mexico worked across class, race and ideological lines in order to get their demands heard by and attended to by those with power. In Waves of Democracy, Markoff uses the varying rates of achievement of women's suffrage in different countries as an indicator of democratization (1996).

In addition, one of the most important concepts being employed by researchers who take into the account the role of women in institutional processes and by multi-lateral agencies promoting women's political participation, is that "critical mass". As was first described by Moss Kanter (1977), and then first documented in the Scandinavian legislatures (Dahlerup and Haavio-Mannila, 1985), when a minority group reaches a 30 percent proportion in the given group or a political body, such as a legislature, socio-cultural obstacles, such as patriarchy, can more easily be overcome. The minority then is less likely to be impeded or intimidated by the larger group, and may feel more free to deviate from the dominant norm in favor of other demands specific to the minority group with which they identify.

In her work comparing women's numerical representation worldwide, Staudt argues that until women are fairly represented -- by women -- in legislative bodies, with at least a chance for them to reach a critical mass in order to overcome the cultural barriers of male dominance in institutional politics, the robustness of a nation's democracy remains in question (1995).

Thomas provides further support for the notion of critical mass by demonstrating a correlation between U.S. state legislatures where there is a critical mass or near critical mass of women, and

higher levels of policy output addressing women's need and demands (1994). Based in part on studies such as these, proponents of women's political participation are promoting and initiating gender-equalizing quotas — working at least towards the 30 percent critical mass point — in legislatures all over the world.<sup>8</sup>

Nevertheless, many are skeptical of the substantiveness and sustainability of women's initiatives, and the visible, yet incremental progress in the legislatures, given the strong legacy of authoritarian and patriarchal politics in Latin America (Malloy, 1977; Hellman, 1994).

Moreover, studies of the relationship between women's presence and women's political benefits in political institutions in advanced democracies have not produced clear evidence to support the idea that improvement in women's lives is directly related to the efforts of female legislators.

Mazur's examination of equal opportunity employment policy in France over a forty year period shows that the passage of these gendered policies was merely "symbolic reform" (Mazur, 1995).

This may also be the case in Mexico, and the question is further complicated by the influence of the corporatist Mexican style of politics.

So once again, is Mexico's democratization process benefitting women and their rights? Are the gendered policies passed promoting change for women that was impossible under the one-party system, or are they merely symbolic? There will not be simple answers to these questions. Regardless, examination of changes in female representation since 1988, and progress and evaluation of pro-woman policies provide important insights into the understanding the relationship between minority group politics and democratization in the Mexican context.

The next sections of the paper focus on the early legislative efforts of women in

---

<sup>8</sup> In relation to the Mexican case, note the dashed line on Graph 1 at the 30 percent mark.

congressional and electoral politics, through the lense of public policy analysis. First I present a framework of public policy analysis, using Kingdon's ideas on agenda-setting and policy alternatives (1995). This is followed by the example of the issue of child abuse in the United States in the 1970s and early 1980s (Nelson, 1984), which exhibits key parallels to the issues at hand in Mexico. I then examine the progression of policy initiatives and progress on the issue of sex crimes, beginning in 1981. Following that section, I explain how the issue of affirmative action quotas took shape, and achieved agenda status and passage. As electoral results are an important measure of women's representation and the fulfillment (or lack thereof) of quota mandates, analysis of the 1988, 1991, 1994, and 1997 elections is included in this section.

### **Problems, Politics and Policy Proposals**

In relation to the actors in any given policy scenario, Kingdon discusses the importance of having "policy entrepreneurs" inside and outside of government who can apply their respective forms of pressure at the appropriate moment, in promotion of a certain policy. In the U.S. this includes interest groups, academics, researchers and consultants, media, elections-related participants, and pollsters. In the case of the issues under examination in this paper, a similar list of actors existed, with an important variation on "interest groups." Instead of interest groups as they are known in the U.S., key actors in Mexico were women's and feminist movements, pro-woman non-governmental organizations, and other sympathetic civil society groups (such as human rights groups and citizens' movements).

Kingdon describes the need for three "streams" of policy-related processes or conditions to flow into each other (or co-exist) in order for a policy to have a chance of moving forward in

the policy process. These three streams are: 1) the problem, 2) the politics, and 3) the policy proposals. First, the problem or issue needs to be (or to project the image of being) urgent. An attention-drawing crisis might occur to trigger news coverage, so that it gets into the press, on onto the airwaves and into the minds of a large number of people. Second, the politics of the moment need to be receptive to working on the issue to try to resolve the problem. Not only do the parties in power matter (i.e. in the U.S., Democrats or Republicans in the Congress or in the White House), but also the “public mood” (Stimson, 1992) and pressure from voters are significant.

Third, clear policy proposals or alternatives to the status quo policy need to have gained consensus among the concerned policy communities, and need to be ready to be presented and pushed at the moment the other two streams begin to run together. Then, as the strength of combined streams grows, a “policy window” is necessary for the actors to be able to push the streams into the legislative arena and out again, with success. A policy window is a political moment<sup>9</sup>, which may be caused by such political shifts as elections or a change in power, that open “windows” for issues that are not usually on the agenda.

A prime example of the documentation of this policy process is found in Making an Issue of Child Abuse (1984). In her work Nelson analyzes how concern for child abuse shifted from being a private issue to a public issue, gaining coverage in the U.S. media, attaining agenda status in Congress, and achieving important reforms to antiquated legislation on the issue. The issue got onto the agenda in the early 1970s, a political moment when the wave of the U.S.

---

<sup>9</sup> The concept of “*coyuntura*” in Spanish is useful in the description of the timing of the existence of a policy window.

feminist movement crested, and when the Republican party, which might not be as inclined to legislate the issue as the Democrats, was frantically looking for issues to keep people's faith in their party, in the wake of Nixon's resignation. Although her overall assessment of the reforms is positive, Nelson points out some of the difficulties of opening up the complexities of this issue to legislation and institutionalized state responses. For example, psychological medication of the abuser in isolation from other contextual factors will only partially solve the problem. The social aspects of integrating an abuser back into a family or a community also must be addressed.

There are clear parallels between difficulties related to child abuse legislation in the U.S. and the sex crimes initiatives and penal code reforms, as well as the affirmative action quotas in Mexico. The sex crimes legislation takes what was considered a private issue and makes it public. The feminist and women's movements were at a peak moment in their existence and ability to build coalitions. The PRI was desperately seeking ways to improve its image at this moment, as were the Republicans in the U.S. in the 1970s. Finally, as with the limited response by the state in the U.S., advocates of the broader, feminist form of the penal code reform proposals on sex crimes, which called for a reconceptualization of the treatment of the victims within the state's criminal justice system, were disappointed with the early governmental responses. The next section presents the recent history of the sex crimes and affirmative action policy processes in Mexico, in relation to Kingdon's three streams of problems, politics and policy proposals.

***Luchas Legislativas*<sup>10</sup>: Sex Crimes**

Policy initiatives on reforms to the penal code were presented in the Chamber of Deputies in the late 1960s without significant success (Lima, 1995). They did not arise again until the early 1980s (see Table 1). At this time, a Mexican feminist organization was formed in 1981 called "the Network Against Violence Towards Women," in the wake of the first and second United Nations'-sponsored international conferences of women, held in Mexico City in 1975, and in Copenhagen in 1980. This national organization spearheaded data collection and case documentation to begin to quantify everyday acts of violence against women. The data that were gathered provided the first statistical breakdown on the pervasiveness of sex crimes and proved invaluable in calling attention to the urgency of the problem.

One of the state-level organizations in Sonora, Center for Support Against Violence (CECOV), which was a part of the national network, pioneered the gathering of data on the subject. Their early data provides an idea of the problem of sex crimes, and is fairly representative of general trends found in later studies. Of the 279 reported cases of rape perpetrated between 1987-1989 in the state of Sonora, the following data summarize the situation. According to sex and age, the victims were: 1) adults: 95 percent women, 5 percent men; 2) adolescents: 80 percent women, 20 percent men; and 3) children: 60 percent girls and 40 percent boys. In relation to age, 70 percent were adults, 20 percent were 11-18 years of age, and 10 percent were between the ages of 3 to 10 years. The most common places for rape to occur

---

<sup>10</sup> Due to the limited scope of this paper and focus on institutional initiatives, I excluded numerous civil society efforts, particularly by women's non-governmental and movement initiatives, in the tables on sex crimes and affirmative action. A more complete compilation will be included in my future work.

were in the home, accounting for 70 percent of cases, and in schools, with 16 percent. Incidents in public places accounted for 6 percent of the cases, while 4 percent occurred in isolated places and 4 percent in hospitals. Of the aggressors, 50 percent were relatives of the victim and 35 percent were acquaintances, while only 14 percent were strangers and 1 percent conjugal rape.<sup>11</sup> In only 3 percent of the reported cases were formal denouncements made.

These statistics and those from other studies<sup>12</sup> played an important role in delineating the problem of sex crimes. But it was not until 1988 that a proposal of reform to the penal code on sex crimes was presented in the Chamber of Deputies by Deputy Hilda Anderson of the PRI (Cámara de Diputados, 1988). Not coincidentally, it was at this moment that there were more female representatives in the Chamber of Deputies than there had ever been before. And, not surprisingly, it was one of the first proposals handed down from the Executive branch, just after Carlos Salinas de Gortari of the PRI was inaugurated as president in December of 1988. In the usual form of congressional politics, the executive proposal was passed, which changed the penalty for perpetration of rape from eight years to fourteen. But the executive reform represented only a small part of a much deeper reform proposed by the feminist movement and legislators aligned with them, concerning the rights of the victims, not just the penalty for the crimes. Apparently the three streams of problem definition, politics and proposals were not yet

---

<sup>11</sup> Rivera, Amalia. 1990. "Las reformas a la ley sobre delitos sexuales: Significado y perspectivas." *Doble Jornada* 6 August: 12. Statistics provided from a document on prevention, in the area of Dissemination and Propaganda of the CECOV, Sonora.

<sup>12</sup> The Mexican Association Against Violence Towards Women, (COVAC) carried out an important survey on these issues in 1995. One of their key findings was that the most frequent incidence of intrafamilial violence was against children, with 61.2 percent suffering from either physical or emotional abuse. Abuse of mothers followed, with 20.9 percent of mothers suffering from such violence (COVAC, 1995).

running together. The female legislators had their work cut out for them on the issue for the next three years of their legislative term<sup>13</sup>.

With regard to getting the problem of sex crimes onto the political agenda, neither the statistics nor the weak reform made headline news. Although they contributed to the growing concern around the issue, they did not provide sufficient weight to build support for further promotion of the reforms. In the Congress, the women legislators and civil society groups organized a Forum on the issue, which brought together experts from multiple perspectives on the issue. The thrust of the presentations was that it was not only time for reforms on the issue, but for a reconceptualization of the victims, and how they should be treated and cared for by the state. A plan for the creation of state agencies was proposed and passed. The first agencies specialized in sex crimes were opened in 1989, first in the state of Tabasco, and then in two *delegaciones* in the Federal District (Lima, 1995). But this was only the beginning of what was needed for real change (Lima, 1995).

In March of 1989, while meetings and proposals occupied those working on the issue in the Congress, 19 young women from middle-class families in the south of Mexico City transformed the issue with a collective scream for help. These women were raped, and decided to come forward and press charges against their aggressors (Lovera, 1990). The fact that these women came from middle-class families and neighborhoods broke the stereotype that these kinds of crimes generally took place in poor neighborhoods plagued by delinquents, thus providing more fuel for the fire of public outrage and demands for a political response. But

---

<sup>13</sup> As Mexico has a law of No Reelection, deputies cannot be reelected for consecutive terms. So in 1991, with the next set of congressional elections (all seats open up), all of these legislators would leave these positions, after serving their three-year term.

more significant yet was the common denominator of the profile of their aggressors -- they were all judicial police.

Not only did the collective charges against an arm of the state despised by many Mexicans for their corrupt and violent ways draw more attention to the women's call for help and for justice, it was like a torrential downpour causing the three streams of problems, politics and policies to flood one into another. The cases brought the issue into the mainstream press. They created new links between human rights groups and feminists, as together they documented and fought the impunity of the judicial police (Americas Watch, 1990; 1991). Although the joining of the streams was positive for promoting the sex crimes policies, on the negative side, the cases were almost closed due to inconclusive evidence (Lovera, 1990). There were a number of forces within the bureaucracy and the state that vigorously resisted the unmasking of these crimes, as it risked the fragile legitimacy and public tolerance of the state apparatus.

Nevertheless, the victims and their sympathizers pressed on, increasing public consciousness of the issues of violence against women, and the indiscriminate violence by the judicial police (the state) toward its citizens. Although the process was dragged out by the obstacles in the judicial process and signified great costs for the victims and their families, four of the aggressors were finally charged and put in prison. The duration of the process allowed a number of groups to organize effectively around the issue, and expand the base of mass and elite support necessary to get the issue of sex crimes onto the congressional agenda.

In February of 1990, Meetings were held with the attorney general of the *Procuraduría General de Justicia del Distrito Federal* (PGJDF), to organize working commissions on how to

form and execute a broader plan of specialized state agencies that would respond to victims of sex crimes and work to ameliorate the problem. In May of 1990, the next set of reforms were presented in the Chamber of Deputies by the female legislators, with widespread support from a diverse range of feminist, women's and human rights organizations.

To give a more concrete and personal sense of this important achievement, I have included a translation of Dr. María de la Luz Lima de Rodríguez' "Note for your Archive" written to the Attorney General's Office describing the presentation of the first version of the Reform to the Penal Code on Sex Crimes and Sexual Harassment on May 17, 1990 in the National Congress. Dr. Lima is one of the primary authors and advocates of the legislation in the Congress.

A Note for Your Archive:

On May 17, 1990, we arrived to the Auditorium of the National Congress in Centro Médico, more than 5000 women of all tendencies and sectors.

Excited, it seemed as if it was the birthday of each one of us. Without concern for our different affiliations or tendencies, we formed a great coalition that was felt when Hilda Anderson, deputy for the Institutional Revolutionary Party and current Secretary of the Chamber of Deputies, began to read the document [the new proposal for reform to the penal code on sex crimes]. For us, every line was a social revindication that we felt gave meaning to our existence and gave value to the importance of our work and our ideas, now on a national level.

When some paragraph was read containing transcendental material, cries of joy could be heard. With a thirst for justice, we stood up and cried out our common slogans.

["Se ve, se siente, la mujer esta presente." cited in a Financiero newspaper article the next day; author's insert]...

...it had been many years of struggle. One could see faces with similar thoughts: "Finally!", "We've been waiting a long time for this day!"

The male deputies just watched, perplexed. A few laughed, but the laughter was of the nervous, disconcerted type, without knowing where these ideas came from, who was setting the norms, what was going on?

Some of the male deputies ... looked at us with great respect and seriousness. Afterwards, one asked the question: "Doctora, why these reforms? Why?"

I told him that thousands of victims in the Attorney General's office had been

received, so severely battered or affected by the crimes that we had to participate in the drafting of this initiative.

In the corridors one could see women of diverse tendencies -- happy, amazed, wanting to convince themselves that they what they were living was real.

It was a great day, a moment of emotion and change in our country.

Local deputies from all over the country were invited to the meeting. It was with euphoria that they said they would take this initiative back to their states to make it a reality there too.

Someone asked: "Why didn't this initiative come from the President?"

Because in Mexico, democracy can be exercised, the channels exist. At times citizens do not use them, or they don't work, they only passively wait.

Women, who it seems always have to wait, now have put themselves to work and to legislate for women, for the respect of their children, and for the grandeur of their nation. For Mexico! (Lima, 1990).

In July of 1990, the proposal on sex crimes, with some modifications, passed in the Chamber of Deputies — 377 votes in favor and 0 votes against. In October, the Attorney General's office created two new specialized agencies: the Center for Support of Missing Persons (CAPEA), and the Center for Attention to Intrafamilial Violence (CAVI). In November a second forum took place in the Chamber of Deputies, of similar magnitude to the first one held in 1989. In December of 1990, the Senate passed the reform to the penal code into law. In March of 1991, the Attorney General's office created a fourth kind of specialized agency, the Center for Therapy in Support of Victims of Sex Crimes (CTA). Apparently the policy entrepreneurs managed to bring the streams of problems, politics, and proposals together, and to find a policy window through which to let it flow.

Thus, during the LV legislative period, from 1988 to 1991, not coincidentally when the greatest number of female legislators ever were present in the Congress, significant advances occurred on the issues of sex crimes. However, the momentum behind these efforts slowed in the next legislative period when the percentages of women in the Congress abruptly declined

after the 1991 elections when only 40 women won seats in the Chamber of Deputies (8 percent of the total), and 2 women in the Senate (3.1 percent). It was not until 1994 that initiatives on sex crimes again passed successfully. In February of 1994 the Specialized Unit for Legal Attention to Victims of Sex Crimes (ADEVI) was created by the Attorney General's office to serve the victims of sex crimes.

In 1995, new initiatives began at different levels of politics. In the Federal District, an initiative was proposed to improve the protection of the rights of victims supported with signatures from 13 female senators, 41 female deputies, 148 male deputies, and 9 female Federal District Assembly representatives. National meetings on sex crimes were held in 1995 and 1996 with support of the Attorney General's office. The strategy shifted to building common knowledge and support for future initiatives by broadening the sphere of state support in other administrative circles, such as the Attorney General's office, the Ministry of the Interior, and the Secretariat of Health.

The coalition of women's and feminist groups were primed for the political moment of the 1997 elections with these political experiences behind them, as well as the construction of a broader network of women's groups.<sup>14</sup> On June 23, 1997, two weeks before the July 6 elections, the feminist political group *Diversa y Equidad* held a forum to announce five demands (and proposals for legislation) for the new Congress — regardless of which parties won — to work on in the coming LVII period, from 1997 until 2000. All eight political parties sent representatives to hear and sign onto the accords. The five demands include: 1) the right to freedom from

---

<sup>14</sup> Numerous groups came together through the process of building national consensus on the demands and recommendations for the fourth international conference in Beijing, China.

discrimination based on gender; 2) clearer regulation of the rights and responsibilities within the family (especially paternal responsibility to provide economic child support whether or not he is present in the household); 3) legislation prohibiting firing of women workers when they become pregnant and pregnancy tests when applying for employment; 4) installations of daycare in the workplace; and 5) more progressive legislation for treatment of intrafamilial violence.

As can be seen with the evolution of the issue of sex crimes, the focus shifted from a feminist outcry to an appeal to a broader base of support. The issue was transformed into a family issue, which concerns all of Mexican society, men and women, and ideologically left and right-leaning activists and politicians. Naturally there are pros and cons to this change in strategy, but those will become evident as the new legislative period, and policies unfold.

In the next section I present a similar sketch of the problems, politics and policy proposals on the issue of affirmative action. Following that section I discuss the overlap of the two issues, sequencing in relation to legislative periods and corresponding numbers of women in the Congress.

### ***Luchas Legislativas y Electorales: Affirmative Action***

The questionable presidential outcome of the 1988 election, resulting in Salinas' victory over Cárdenas by a very slim margin, was a grand awakening among many Mexicans. For those already organizing in opposition parties, the widespread accusations of fraud served as a catalyst in the mobilization of people on the periphery of political activism who were now convinced it was time to take action. The coalition that supported Cárdenas evolved into the PRD party, and the right-leaning PAN gained strength in a number of states.

For women in and close to the parties the political shift in power that forced the PRI to give up its monopoly on power allowed them to gain new spaces and access to political positions (Stevenson, 1995) (see Table 2). This advance is evident in the electoral outcome for women in the Congress. In the Chamber of Deputies, 61 women were elected or 12.2 percent, and 12 were elected to the Senate, or 18.8 percent. As can be observed in Graph 1, over the course of the last four elections since 1988, female political representation gradually increased in the Congress and party leadership, with the exception of 1991 (Martínez, 1993; Fernández, 1995a., 1995b; Federal Electoral Institute, 1997). At the same time, the proportion of women elected has not yet reached the critical mass threshold of 30 percent. These figures thus provide proponents of women's representation in the Congress with one more reason for promoting a quota of 30 percent.

As the female deputies and senators in the LV legislative period (1988-1991) worked to pass legislation specific to the demands that feminists and women's groups demanded for years, it was evident that their presence in these positions is essential for the furthering of gender equality and women's issues through the politics of congressional legislation. Although few politically-active groups viewed or used the congressional arena in this way at this time, proponents of women's rights did, at once for the cause of women, and at the same time to attempt to shift the balance of power between the executive branch, and the legislative, by making the Congress a more credible political institution. The problem of the lack of female representation in the Congress crystallized when all could see the difference in women's legislative success between the periods before 1988 and then during the 1988-1991 legislative period, relative to the corresponding numbers of women in the chambers.

Thus, the women of the PRD set to work to try to insure their presence in the leadership of their party, the left-leaning ideology of which they thought would support equal rights for women (Garcia, 1995; Robles, 1995). In 1990, the issue of quotas favoring women achieved agenda status at the PRD's national convention. After much debate, a 20 percent quota passed, mandating that 20 percent of the persons on the uninominal and plurinominal lists be women. The following year, the PRD women kept pushing the issue, and a 30 percent quota passed. This time the mandate applied not only to the electoral lists, but also to the National Executive Council (CEN) of the party, the highest level of leadership in the party. For the women of the PRD, inside their party at least, the streams of problems, politics, and proposals came together. But not for long. Despite these efforts within the PRD, the results of the 1991 election were a disaster for female party members — in the PRD, as well as the PRI and the PAN. As noted in Graph 1, the numbers of women elected declined sharply: only 40 women won in the Chamber of Deputies (8.0 percent), and 2 in the Senate (3.1 percent).

The main reason for this decline is that after the near loss of power in 1988, the PRI pulled out all the stops to regain power in the 1991 elections. One of those measures may have been to run the most certain candidates possible, and apparently from the perspective of the PRI leadership, very few female candidates qualified. At the same time, Accetolla (1995) shows that a decline in the number of women elected in mid-term elections is part of a larger pattern, known as the *"flor del sexenio"*. Over time, more women (the metaphor is of women as *"flores"*) won in the six-year term elections, the presidential elections, than in the mid-term elections. The reasons for this pattern are yet unclear, as a comprehensive study of all the factors that may be at play is yet to be done.

More critical perspectives point out that accusations of fraud again arose after the 1991 elections, as the PRI won overwhelmingly in so many areas. From the feminist perspective, some believe that the exclusion of women from winning positions was a form of punishment for exposing the role of the state<sup>15</sup> (the judicial police) in the rapes of the 19 women in Mexico City (Lovera, 1997). At the same time, the feminist demands on politicians at this point in time may have been too radical. Most politicians — male or female — were not ready to accept issues like the decriminalization of abortion, the right to free exercise and respect of one's sexual preference, and the legalization of prostitution that were at the top of the feminist agenda (Mercado and Tapia, 1991). Lastly, the coalition between diverse groups of women during this period, the *Convención Nacional de Mujeres por la Democracia* (CNMD), formed only a few months before the election. Members of the group needed more time to resolve internal differences, in order to clarify strategies and determine how to implement them. Regardless of the electoral loss in 1991, the formation of the CNMD did set a precedent for the creation of feminists and politically-active women's groups thereafter, serving as a part of their collective political learning.

During the three-year period from 1991 to 1994, the focal point of the struggle for affirmative action for women moved from the PRD and the Congress to civil society, especially women's non-governmental organizations, and women's and feminists' movements. The idea of partisan affiliation lost strength, in fact the PRD coalition nearly fell apart (Bruhn, 1997), and

---

<sup>15</sup> As the PRI was the only party in government for over sixty years, it is important to note that in Mexico's political culture, until recently, the boundaries between the PRI, government, and the state were quite blurred, if perceivable, at all. Thus the expectation was that if the state was being criticized or threatened, the PRI could and would defend it through electoral or policy punishment or concessions.

the concept of *ciudadania*, citizenship, took its place. Groups such as *Alianza Cívica* and the *Movimiento Ciudadano por la Democracia* (MCD) arose with great numbers of adherents from working and middle classes, and support from an ideologically broad range of political elites. They organized around issues which would eliminate electoral fraud — such as the renewal of the *padrón electoral* (electoral registry), and other electoral reforms in 1993.

In 1994, the year of the presidential elections, the greatest task was to try to convince the Mexican citizenry that their votes mattered, and more importantly would be respected (Rosales, 1995; *Alianza Cívica*, 1994). The uprising of the Zapatista Army for National Liberation (EZLN) in January of 1994, followed by the assassination of the PRI's presidential candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio in March, made the demand for respect of citizen's rights more urgent. As a result, for the first time in Mexico's history, national and international observers (officially known as "international visitors") were permitted to watch the electoral proceedings, in support of efforts to ensure fair and free elections (Carothers, 1997; Nevitte and Canton, 1997).

The results of the 1994 elections exhibit a recovery in the number of female deputies and senators elected from 1991, although the percentages did not reach those of 1988. In the Chamber of Deputies, 69 women were victorious, (13.8 percent), and 17 in the Senate, (13.3 percent). Key factors that affected this recovery from the 1991 decline include: influence of the PRD's quota law (although the 30 percent mandate was not reached), a significant degree of mobilization of women in the citizen's movements, the positive effects of the "*flor del sexenio*" factor, and growing public discussion and notice of female candidates and their impressive

political skills, such as Cecilia Soto of the *Partido de Trabajo* (PT), (Hansen, 1995).<sup>16</sup>

Although those in the opposition were disappointed by the PRI victory of the presidency in 1994, few could argue that the elections had been stolen, as in the previous two elections. The 1994 elections manifested that the mass mobilization of "citizens" could have an important impact on making progress towards democracy, in the classic terms of achieving free and fair elections. But for many in these movements the achievement of a free and fair "electocracy" was not sufficient. Demands continued for electoral reforms, and among those was the call for increased attention to the political participation of women -- some sought this in the form of national quotas favoring women, while others continued to oppose the idea.

In 1995, there was a flurry of governmental and non-governmental activity around women's issues in preparation for Mexico's representation in the United Nations Fourth International Conference of Women in Beijing, China, in September. As denoted in Table 2, a National Council of Legislative Advisors was formed in the Congress. The Executive branch established a new agency called the National Program for Women (PRONAM), which was to collect data and serve as a governmental support for information on women's issues, from 1995 - 2000.

Although there were multiple consultations amidst the non-governmental organizations and movements leading up to the conference, the "Legislative Consultation" in the Congress did not take place until late August. With regard to the promotion of quotas, this grouping of

---

<sup>16</sup> Hansen discusses the symbolic importance of female candidates in the U.S. for female voters, in part because it gives female voters individuals with whom they can identify, as women, and therefore more reason to "talk politics" and perhaps to vote or participate politically.

women's groups did not support the concept (Comisión de Población y Desarrollo, 1995).

Nevertheless, the debate raged on when the Platform for Action (United Nations, 1995) from the international conference came back with the Mexican representatives — with a strong recommendation to promote quotas for women's representation in their respective legislative bodies.

With the weight of the international recommendation and increasing numbers of women pressuring for quotas, the PRI began to reconsider its position (Chapa, 1996; Moreno, 1996). The stream of politics shifted, and PRI women were ready with a proposal. At the party's 1996 convention, the proposal was made and accepted to include no more than 70 percent of the candidates of the same sex, similar to the policy in the PRD. Shortly thereafter, the same issue was accepted as a recommendation in the October 1996 electoral reforms to the *Código Federal de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales* (COFIPE). While the PRI and PRD, as well as some of the smaller parties, had already passed internal party mandates of the like, the PAN continued to refuse to pass such a mandate (Jusidman, 1997).<sup>17</sup>

After attaining approval of quotas in two of the three major parties on the national level, action on similar proposals has since moved out to the state governments. In the state of Sonora, a 20 percent quota was passed in the state legislature in June of 1996. In Chihuahua, a 30 percent quota was approved in July of 1997, and most recently, a 30 percent quota was passed with a slim margin in the state of Oaxaca (del Valle, 1997).

In the elections that took place July 6, 1997, the number of women elected reached

---

<sup>17</sup> However increased attention has been given to promoting women in the PAN leadership (Romero, 1995; Alvarez de Bernal, 1995).

beyond the 1994 numbers, but still did not match the 1988 peak. As is shown in Table 3, the number of women elected in the Chamber of Deputies was 86 of 500, or 17.2 percent, and in the Senate, of the 32 elected, 7 were women, or 21.9 percent of the total elected. As only a quarter of all the Senate seats were up for election in 1997, I added Table 4 to show the numbers and percentages of the total Senate for the new legislative period. In total, 20 of the 128 seats are occupied by female Senators, or 15.7 percent.

From the viewpoint of the feminist political group *Diversa*, and other women's coalitions,<sup>18</sup> the results of the 1997 elections were quite positive. Having 17.2 percent of the female deputies and 15.7 percent female senators for this legislative period from 1997 to 2000 is a deviation from the mid-term election decreases that have occurred historically, and a great boon for the women's groups. In addition, the hopes and expectations of those promoting equity for women have increased with the election of Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas to the mayoral position of Mexico City, as support for initiatives for women's issues increased significantly with the formation and resurgence of the PRD (Stevenson, 1995). Many believe that when the PRD's leftist ideology becomes incarnate in the numerous positions appointed by Cárdenas in December of 1997, feminist and women's issues will have possibilities of legislation and implementation previously unattainable (or unthinkable) in Mexico.

---

<sup>18</sup> The *Asamblea Nacional de las Mujeres*, which was formed in October of 1996 to try to work by consensus on the follow-up of the recommendations that came back from the Beijing conference, also is a key player in promotion of gender and equity issues in Mexican politics, at many levels. This group also has a special focus on support for gendered legislation and public policy in the Congress (*Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres*, 1997).

### **Future Issues for Sex Crimes Reforms and Affirmative Action Quotas**

The three “streams” of problems, politics, and proposals ran together at several moments after 1988, permitting gendered policies on sex crimes to become law.<sup>19</sup> The Attorney General’s office and Ministry of the Interior also are producing some impressive statistics on how many victims have been served by the agencies, which minimally show that they are doing their job (PGJDF, 1997). However, the bureaucratization of a political issue, especially in Mexico, can be more problematic than positive, as is discussed by Sloan in his early work on policy analysis in Latin America (1984). Historical precedents of corruption, patronage, and frequent rotation of personnel inhibiting acquired wisdom and serious evaluations of previous policies in the bureaucracies (Grindle, 1977 in Sloan, 1984), little real progress is made when the issue is bureaucratized.

Sloan’s summary of the Mexican bureaucracy provides useful criteria for assessing how the legislative response to the sex crimes policies will fare in the newly formed agencies. He states that without 1) a strong public service tradition; 2) a free press, and 3) a strong independent judiciary, the strategy of bureaucratic development may be easily corrupted, and hence its political purpose defeated (Sloan, 1984: 148). Translated into Kingdon’s terms, bureaucratization of the politics and policy outcome may very well block the flow of the streams, but in the implementation process. Until I gather more data on this part of the policy process -- implementation — the following assessment of the application of these three criteria to the sex crimes policies is speculative.

---

<sup>19</sup> To Kingdon’s metaphor of “streams” I would add the image of the policy entrepreneurs working to try to block or dam up certain flows of the streams in order to make the three streams run together. Policymaking does not occur “naturally.”

Although Mexico is not known for its strong public service tradition, the new proposed plans, complete with specific training guides (Lima, 1995) may aid in developing bureaucracies closer to the Weberian (and in this case feminist) ideal. However, more varied methods of evaluation will need to be employed to observe how the agencies are working.<sup>20</sup> Secondly, although the printed press in Mexico is quite free, radio and television communication from which most people get their news (Gamboa, 1996) was a major issue in the 1997 elections, and is under consideration for further reforms, especially in relation to electoral campaigns (Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación, 1997).<sup>21</sup> In addition to the watchful eye of the press, the role that non-governmental organizations has been essential and generally positive in serving as watchdogs over their respective issues, and pressing for reforms in their governmental counterparts if the agencies are not being effective (Tarrés, 1996). The data gathered and support provided by NGOs was fundamental to the efforts of the penal code reforms. Hence, although the press is not completely free, it is improving.

Nonetheless, aside from some advances made with regard to the first two necessary conditions for a bureaucracy to carry out its functions effectively, the third condition, that of a strong independent judiciary, continues to be absent from Mexican politics. Not only for the victims of sex crimes, but for the general population, the lack of a strong judiciary greatly limits Mexico's democratization process. As long as perpetrators of sex crimes, be they relatives of

---

<sup>20</sup> I plan to carry out interviews of people in the agencies, those they serve, and the proponents of the plans in order to deepen an evaluation of the implementation of the reforms in these agencies.

<sup>21</sup> Equity of campaign coverage in the television media for the different political parties in the 1997 election campaign was a major focus of citizens' movements and human rights groups in 1997 (*Alianza Cívica*, 1997).

feminists), officially called the Commission on Issues of Equity Between the Genders.<sup>22</sup> , Promotion of gendered issues will be greatly facilitated with the congressional budget and legal capacity of this commission. However, at the same time, the number of women appointed to the presidencies of the other 61 commissions was very low, with only three appointed. According to the statutes of the PRD and PRI parties, this is a violation of their mandate to include 30 percent of women in their positions of leadership (*Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres*, 1997).

## Conclusions

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the understanding of the intersection of gender politics and democratization. I present data in support of the argument that there is a positive association between women's advances in institutional politics and the democratization process, as observed in the case of Mexico from 1988 to 1997. Moreover, I examine a new angle of this intersection by utilizing concepts and methods from other areas of Political Science, to document and analyze the significance of the correlation between the varying percentages of women in the Mexican Congress and gendered policy initiatives and successes during this period.

The thesis of the study has two parts: first, if there are more women in a given legislative body, and especially if the percentage of women reaches a critical mass (or 30 percent of the given body), then the female representatives will better represent the demands and interests of the feminine half of the nation's population; and therefore, if this sector of the population's

---

<sup>22</sup> The women promoting the commission called it the "Commission on Equity and Gender," which they conceded in the official realm, but claimed that they will continue to call it as they help to carry out its functions (*Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres*, 1997).

interests and demands are better represented in the Congress, then the polity overall is more genuinely democratic.

Borrowing a form of analysis more common in studies of advanced democracies, I utilize Kingdon's framework of the streams of problems, politics, and policy proposals to examine the significance of the gender breakdown of the results of the last four elections in relation to the policy initiatives and successes of reform to the penal code on sex crimes and affirmative action quotas. Although the collection of data is still not complete, the ebbs and flows of gendered policy proposals and passage does appear to be correlated with the presence of higher percentages of women in the Congress. As can be seen in Tables 1 and 2, proponents of policies on sex crimes made the most progress during the legislative period from 1988 to 1991, when the percentages of women were the highest ever in the Congress. Then when the percentages of female legislators dropped between 1991 and 1994, there was a severe decline in the number of initiatives proposed. The locus of women's organizing efforts moved back to civil society. After the 1994 elections, when the percentages rose up to the 13 percent mark (in both Chambers), some initiatives were presented early in the legislative period. But it was not until after female legislators gained strength from the recommendations of the Beijing International Women's Conference in 1995 for quotas favoring women that they were able to make concerted efforts to promote and pass quotas with success in 1996 and 1997.

Relative to the result from the last legislative period, it is evident that at this point with the percentages of female legislators still being far from 30 percent, other external factors are important to make up for the lack of a female legislative critical mass. My continuing research will more precisely determine what these factors are, but several key factors emerged from the

policy analysis. First, in the stages of issue or problem definition and the politics of the moment, these factors were important: 1) the presence of a strong feminist movement, 2) the presence of other civil society movements (such as the urban popular, human rights, and citizens' movements) with which the feminists were willing to build alliances, 3) problems, either internally or externally in the dominant party, and 4) the existence of a viable left-leaning political party. Then in the proposal stage of the policy process, key factors include: 5) consensus on the exact policy proposal within the community of policy entrepreneurs (inside and outside of the Chambers), 6) international pressure or a demonstration effect from other countries on the same policy issue,<sup>23</sup> 7) at least 10 -13 percent female legislators in the Congress. Thus my study adds several key factors to Kingdon's analysis, which are due to the different context (Latin American as opposed to U.S. American), and time period (Kingdon's initial work was published in 1984).

In addition to more precisely defining these factors or conditions that are intertwined with female legislators potential for policy success, the question of the degree of adequate implementation of these policies remains. Without implementation, policy successes become merely symbolic, and thus, democracy for the given underrepresented sector of the population remains superficial. In my ongoing research on these policies I plan to gather data to enable evaluation of these policies' implementation.

Finally, it is my hope that this study can serve as a model of how to apply different forms of analysis, in this case electoral and public policy analysis, to the research agenda of those concerned with the rights of women and other groups underrepresented in institutional politics in

---

<sup>23</sup> Argentina passed a national-level affirmative action quota law in 1991 (Jones, 1995).

other countries. Especially in the cases of countries moving into a stage of consolidating their democratic processes, analysis of the potential for success of less powerful sectors of the population via legislative forms of politics are of particular importance. As can be observed with the case of women in the Mexican Congress, despite the rhetoric of Mexico being in a democratic transition, advances for women were not constant. But in order to democracy's roots to deepen, to then be able to nourish the society and all of its citizens, not only a powerful few, advances for less powerful groups in the legislative arena need to be consistent and deep enough so that the legitimacy and credibility of political institutions is recovered and maintained.

## REFERENCES

- Accettola, Jennifer R. 1995. "La Flor de un Sexenio: Women in Contemporary Politics." Unpublished Master's Thesis, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA.
- Aguilera, Gabriela. 1997. "A cada diputada le tocan cinco diputados." Nacional: La Cronica de Hoy. September 21: 5.
- Alianza Cívica. 1997. Interview in Mexico City, July 3.
- Alvarez de Bernal, Dip. Lic. MariaElena. 1995. National Action Party (PAN). Interview in Mexico City, July 13, 1995.
- Americas Watch. 1990. Human Rights in Mexico: A Policy of Impunity. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Americas Watch. 1991. Unceasing Abuses: Human Rights in Mexico One Year After the Introduction of Reform. New York: Human Rights Watch.
- Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres para la Transición Democrática. 1996. "Agenda de Mujeres para las Elecciones de 1997, Poder Feminino: Diferentes, numerosas, y unidas." Mexico DF: Propaganda y diseño, S.A. de C.V.
- Asamblea Nacional de Mujeres. 1997. Meeting of Asamblea members with Female Deputies. October 1, in the Fonda Santa Anita, Mexico DF.
- Asociación Mexicana Contra la Violencia Hacia las Mujeres, A.C. 1995. "Violencia en la familia." Este País: Tendencias y Opiniones. No. 64. Julio.
- Barranco, Isabel. 1989. "Diez años de tesón feminista, uno gubernamental: Respuestas organizativas ante la violencia." Doble Jornada, 6 November: 8-9.
- Barrera Bassols, Dalia and Lilia Venegas Aguilera. 1992. Testimonios de participación popular femenina en la defensa del voto, Ciudad Juárez, Chihuahua, 1982-1986. México DF: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.
- Bennett, Vivienne. 1992. "The Evolution of Urban Popular Movements in Mexico Between 1968 and 1988," In Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds. The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press.
- Bonder, Gloria and Marcela Nari. 1995. "The 30 Percent Quota Law: A Turning Point for Women's Political Participation in Argentina." In Alida Brill, ed. A Rising Public Voice: Women in Politics Worldwide. New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New

York.

Brill, Alida, ed. 1995. A Rising Public Voice: Women in Politics Worldwide. New York: The Feminist Press at The City University of New York.

Bruhn, Kathleen. 1997. Taking on Goliath: The Emergence of A New Left Party and the Struggle for Democracy in Mexico. University Park, PA: The Penn State University Press.

Cámara de Diputados del "LIV" Congreso de la Unión. 1988. "Penal Para El Distrito Federal en Materia de Fuero Comun y Para Toda La Republica en Materia de Fuero Federal. Iniciativa para reformar el Título Décimoquinto 'Delitos Sexuales,' Capítulo I, Artículo 260 Bis, presentada por la C. Dip. Hilda Anderson Nevares de Rojas, a nombre de las Diputadas integrantes de la "LIV" Legislatura." Primer Año, Sección Primera, Número 315, Comisión de Justicia. 28 de diciembre. Registrado a Fojas 118-11 del Libro Respectivo.

Camp, Roderic Ai. 1993. Politics in Mexico. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cantú, María Luisa. 1991. "¿Qué tanto inciden las mujeres en los puestos políticos?" Doble Jornada, 8 August: 10.

Carothers, Thomas. 1997. "The Observers Observed." Journal of Democracy 8(3) July: 17-31.

Casas Ch., Yoloxóchitl. 1990. "1989: un año de incidencia femenina." Doble Jornada, 5 March: 15.

Chapa, María Elena. 1996. "Partido Revolucionario Institucional, Congreso de Mujeres por el Cambio: Propuesta de Trabajo para 1996." Mimeograph.

Chull Shin, Don. 1994. "Review Article: On the Third Wave of Democratization: A Synthesis and Evaluation of Recent Theory and Research." World Politics (October): 135-170.

Comision de Población y Desarrollo. "Resumen de Conclusiones de la Consulta Legislativa, 'Una Perspectiva Sobre el Desarrollo de la Mujer' en Relación con la Posición del Pueblo de Mexico Frente a la Cuarta Conferencia Mundial de la Mujer en Beijing, China."

Conde, Elsa. 1995. Acción Popular de Integración Social, A.C. (APIS). Interview in Mexico City, June 26.

Cook, Elizabeth Adell, Sue Thomas, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. 1994. The Year of the Woman: Myths and Realities. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Cornelius, Wayne and Ann Craig. 1991. The Mexican Political System in Transition. La Jolla, CA: Center for U.S.-Mexican Studies, University of California, San Diego.

Dahlerup, Drude and Elina Haavio-Mannila. 1985. "Summary." In Haavio-Mannila, Elina, ed. Unfinished Democracy: Women in Nordic Politics. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

del Valle, Sonia. 1997. "Las Mujeres, Pujantes Protagonistas de Cambios Políticos Fundamentales." Comunicación e Información de la Mujer, A.C. Parte II. ago-sep.: 1-4.

del Valle, Sonia. 1997. "En el norte se modifica la Constitución y en el sur el código electoral estatal: En Oaxaca y Chihuahua Aprueban el Sistema de Cuotas de Representación para no Exceder el 70% de un Solo Sexo." Servicio Informativo de CIMAC, October: 3-4.

Diamond, Larry. 1996. "Is the Third Wave Over?" Journal of Democracy ??: 20-37.

Diario Oficial. 1997. August 29. "Senadores por el Principio de Representación Proporcional Asignados a los Partidos Políticos." Segunda Sección: 92-93.

Duerst-Lahti, Georgia and Rita Mae Kelly, eds. 1996. Gender Power, Leadership, and Governance. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds. 1992. The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press.

Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). 1997. "Votación por Distritos (300)." Mimeograph.

Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). 1997. "Candidatos Por Circunscripción: Diputados de Representación Proporcional." Mimeograph.

Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). 1997. "Conformación de la Camara de Senadores: LVI-LVII Legislaturas." Mimeograph.

Federal Electoral Institute (IFE). 1997. "Senadores Que Permanecen de la LVI Legislature an le LVII." Mimeograph.

Fernandez, Anna Poncela. 1995a. Participación Política: Las Mujeres en México al Final del Milenio. México DF: Colegio de México.

Fernandez, Anna Poncela. 1995b. "Las Mexicanas en el Congreso de la Unión y en el ejecutivo hoy." FEM año 19, n. 147, June.

Foweraker, Joe and Ann L. Craig, eds.. 1990. Popular Movements and Political Change in Mexico. Boulder, Co.: Lynne Reiner Publishers.

Garrido, Lucy, Natacha Molina, and Marcela Ortiz, eds. 1996. Plataforma Beijing 1995: Un Instrumento de Acción Para Las Mujeres. Santiago, Chile: Isis Internacional.

García, Amalia, Ifigenia Martínez y Nuria Fernández. 1991. "Las cuotas de mujeres en el PRD." Debate Feminista Año 2, vol. 3, marzo.

García Medina, Dip. Lic. Amalia D. 1995. National Executive Committee, Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD). Interview in Mexico City, July 19, 1995.

Grindle, Merilee S. 1977. Bureaucrats, Politicians, and Peasants in Mexico: A Case Study in Public Policy. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Guadarrama Olivera, María Eugenia. 1994. "Mujeres del Movimiento Urbano Popular: actuaciones y discurso de género." In Alejandra Massolo, ed. Los Medios y Los Modos: Participación política y acción colectiva de las mujeres. México DF: Colegio de México.

Guinier, Lani. 1994. The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy. New York: The Free Press.

Gutmann, Matthew C. 1996. The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Inclán, María Isabel. 1990. "Propuesta de reformas legales al Código Penal." Doble Jornada, 5 March: 23.

Hansen, Susan B. 1995. "Discourse..." Paper presented at the conference of the American Political Science Association, Washington D.C., August 27-30.

Hellman, Judith Adler. 1994. Mexican Lives. New York: The New Press.

Hellman, Judith Adler. 1983. Mexico in Crisis. 2nd ed. New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers.

Higley, John and Richard Gunther, eds. 1992. Elites and Democratic Consolidation in Latin America and Southern Europe. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía, e Informática (INEGI). 1997. Mujeres y Hombres en México. México DF: Programa Nacional de la Mujer.

Jaquette, Jane S. ed.. 1994. The Women's Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy. Boulder: Westview Press.

Jones, Mark P. forthcoming. "Gender Quotas, Electoral Laws, and the Election of Women: Lessons From the Argentine Provinces." Comparative Political Studies June, 1998.

Jusidman de B., Clara. 1997. "Las Mujeres: una mayoría tratada como minoría." Este País,

September: 16-19.

Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of democratization in Latin America." Comparative Politics, Oct., v23n1: 1-21.

Kingdon, John W. 1995. Agendas, Alternatives, and Public Policies, Second Ed. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.

Lagunes Huerta, Lucía. 1991. "Día Internacional de la Lucha contra la Violencia: Sólo habrá democracia cuando la mujer ocupe su lugar en la sociedad: Brassdefer." Doble Jornada, 2 December: 11.

Lamas, Marta, Alicia Martínez, María Lúis Tarrés, and Esperanza Tuñón. 1995. "Building Bridges: The Growth of Popular Feminism in Mexico." In Amrita Basu, ed., The Challenge of Local Feminisms: Women's Movements in Global Perspective. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

Lima Malvido, Dra. María de la Luz. 1995. Modelo de Atención a Víctimas en México. Mexico DF: Imagen Impresa, S.A.

Lima Malvido, Dra. María de la Luz. 1990. "Nota para tu Archivo." Letter from Dra. María de la Luz Lima de Rodríguez, Asesora Jurídica del C. Procurador General de Justicia del Distrito Federal, to the Procuraduría General de Justicia del Distrito Federal. May 17.

Lima Maldivo, Dip. Lic. Maria de la Luz. 1995. President of the Commission of Citizens Participation, Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Interview in Mexico City, July 10, 1995.

Lovera, Sara. 1990. "El movimiento feminista debe replantear estrategias: El coraje organizado, invaluable lección de jóvenes violadas." Doble Jornada 6 February: 8-9.

Lovera, Sara. 1991. "Luna decreciente en el panorama político: Magro futuro para las candidatas de la Convención Nacional." Doble Jornada 1 July: 3-4.

Lovera, Sara. 1997. Personal conversation. October 10.

Mainwaring, Scott, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds. 1992. Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Malloy, James M., ed. 1977. Authoritarianism and Corporatism in Latin America. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Malloy, James M. and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds. 1987. Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Markoff, John. 1996. Waves of Democracy: Social Movements and Political Change. Thousand Oaks, CA: Pine Forge Press.

Martínez, Alicia. 1993. Mujeres Latinoamericanas en Cifras: Mexico. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales de España y FLACSO.

Massolo, Alejandra, ed.. 1994. Mujeres y Ciudades: Participación social, vivienda y vida cotidiana. Mexico DF: Colegio de Mexico.

Massolo, Alejandra, ed. 1994. Los Medios y Los Modos: Participación política y acción colectiva de las mujeres. México DF: Colegio de México.

Mazur, Amy G. 1995. Gender Bias and the State: Symbolic Reform at Work in Fifth Republic France. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

McCann, James A. 1996. "The Mexican Electorate in the Context of North America: An Evaluation of Patterns of Political Commitment." In Roderic Ai Camp, ed. Polling for Democracy: Public Opinion and Political Liberalization in Mexico. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.

Mercado, Patricia and Elena Tapia. 1991. "Primeras reflexiones de dos candidatas de la Coordinadora Feminista: La participación en las elecciones de agosto de 1991." Doble Jornada 2 September: 3.

Monsiváis, Carlos, Beatriz Paredes, Luis F. Aguilar Villanueva, Marta Lamas. 1991. "¿De quién es la política? Crisis de representación: los intereses de las mujeres en la contienda electoral." Debate Feminista Año 2, vol. 4, septiembre.

Moreno, María de los Angeles. 1996. Former President of the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Comments in "An Agenda for the Future of Women in Mexican Political Life." Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics II: Participation and Affirmative Action. April 12-13, 1996. The Mexican Center of ILAS, The University of Texas at Austin.

Morton, Ward. 1962. Woman Suffrage in Mexico. Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press.

Muller, Edward and Mitchell A. Seligson. 1987. "Inequality and Insurgency." American Political Science Review 81: 425-450.

Nelson, Barbara J. and Najma Chowdhury, eds. 1994. Women and Politics Worldwide. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Nelson, Barbara. 1984. Making an Issue of Child Abuse: Political Agenda Setting for Social Problems. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Nevitte, Neil and Santiago A. Canton. 1997. "The Role of Domestic Observers." Journal of Democracy 8(3) July: 47-61.

Nevitte, Neil H. 1996. "New Trading Partners: What the Polls Reveal about Mexicans and Canadians." In Roderic Ai Camp, ed. Polling for Democracy: Public Opinion and Political Liberalization in Mexico. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources.

Obregon R., María Concepción. 1997. "La rebelión zapatista en Chiapas: Antecedentes, causas y desarrollo de su primera fase." Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos 13(1) Winter: 149-200.

O'Donnell, Guillermo. 1992. "Democracy and Social Life?" In Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds. Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

O'Donnell, Guillermo, Philippe C. Schmitter, and Laurence Whitehead, eds.. 1986. Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Latin America. Baltimore: The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

O'Farrill Tapia, Dip. Lic. Carolina. Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI). Interview in Mexico City, July 4, 1995.

Procuraduría General de Justicia en el Distrito Federal. 1997. "Acciones." Subprocuraduría de Atención a Víctimas y Servicios a la Comunidad. Dirección General de Atención a Víctimas de Delito: Mayo.

Programa Nacional de la Mujer. 1997. 6 de Julio de 1997: Las mujeres en el proceso electoral. Mexico DF: Consejo Consultivo, Contraloría Social, Coordinación del Programa de la Mujer.

Propuesta del Gobernador. 1996. "Iniciativa de Ley Electoral del Estado de Sonora." Mimeograph.

Przeworski, Adam. 1992. "Toward Self-Sustaining Democracy." In Scott Mainwaring, Guillermo O'Donnell, and J. Samuel Valenzuela, eds. Issues in Democratic Consolidation: The New South American Democracies in Comparative Perspective. Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Ramos Escandón, Carmen. 1994. "Women's Movements, Feminism, and Mexican Politics." In Jane S. Jaquette, ed. The Women's Movement in Latin America: Participation and Democracy. Boulder: Westview Press.

Rivera, Amalia. 1990. "Las reformas a la ley sobre delitos sexuales: Significado y perspectivas." Doble Jornada 6 August: 12.

Robles Berlanga, Dip. Lic. María del Rosario. President of the Social Development Commission, Democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD). Interview in Mexico City, July 10, 1995.

Rodríguez, Rosa María. 1991. "Las elecciones de las mujeres de cara a las periodistas." Doble Jornada 1 July: 16.

Rodríguez, Rosa María. 1991. "El Grupo Plural Pro-Víctimas, A.C." Doble Jornada, 2 December: 12.

Romero, Dip. Lic. Cecilia. 1995. National Action Party (PAN). Interview in Mexico City, July 13, 1995.

Rosales, Lic. Luz. 1995. Movimiento Ciudadana por la Democracia (MCD). Interview in Mexico City, July 13.

Saenz Herrera, Lic. Rosa Ma. and Lic. María del Carmen García Rascon. 1996. "Diagnostico de la Participación de la Mujer den las Candidatruas de los Partidos Políticos, en el Estado de Chihuahua. (Campañas 1992-1995, 1995-1998). Hacia Una Propuesta Legislativa de Cuotas de Participación de Mujeres en las Candidaturas de los Partidos Políticos." Mimeograph.

Salinas de Gortari, Lic. Carlos. 1988. Executive Proposal for Reform to Penal Code. December.

Scholtys, Britta. 1997. "Aprueba El Congreso Peruano El Sistema de Cuotas para Mujeres." fempress/CIMAC, agosto/septiembre.

Seligson, Mitchell A. 1987. "Democratization in Latin America: The Current Cycle." In James M. Malloy and Mitchell A. Seligson, eds. Authoritarians and Democrats: Regime Transition in Latin America. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Sloan, John W. 1984. Public Policy in Latin America: A Comparative Survey. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press.

Staudt, Kathleen. 1995. "Women in Politics: Global Perspectives." Paper presented at the "Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics" conference at the University of Texas at Austin, April, 7-8, 1995.

Sternbach, Nancy Saporta, Marysa Navarro-Aranguren, Patricia Chuchryk, and Sonia E. Alvarez. 1992. "Feminisms in Latin America: From Bogota to San Bernando." In Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds. The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy. Boulder, Co.: Westview Press.

Stevenson, Linda S. 1995. "Women's Political Linkages and the Left in Mexico: Claiming New Political Space for Women in Formal Politics?" Paper presented at the International Conference

of the Latin American Studies Association, Washington DC, September 28-30.

Stimson, James. 1992. The Public Mood: Swings and Cycles.

Tarrés, María Luisa. 1996. "Espacios privados para la participación pública. Algunas rasgos de las ONGs dedicadas a la mujer." Estudios Sociológicos. El Colegio de México, vol. XIV, n. 40, enero-abril: 7-32.

Tribunal Electoral del Poder Judicial de la Federación. 1997. "Instructivo de Medios de Impugnación Jurisdiccionales." Mexico City: Gama Sucesores, S.A.

Thomas, Sue. 1991. "The Impact of Women on State Legislative Policies." The Journal of Politics v53, n4, November.

Thomas, Sue. 1994. How Women Legislate. New York: Oxford University Press.

Tuñón Pablos, Esperanza. 1994. "Redes de mujeres de los sectores populares: entre la crisis y la posibilidad democrática." In Alejandra Massolo, ed. Los Medios y Los Modos: Participación política y acción colectiva de las mujeres. México DF: Colegio de México.

United Nations. 1995. Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. Adopted by the Fourth World Conference on Women: Action for Equality, Development and Peace. Beijing, 15 September.

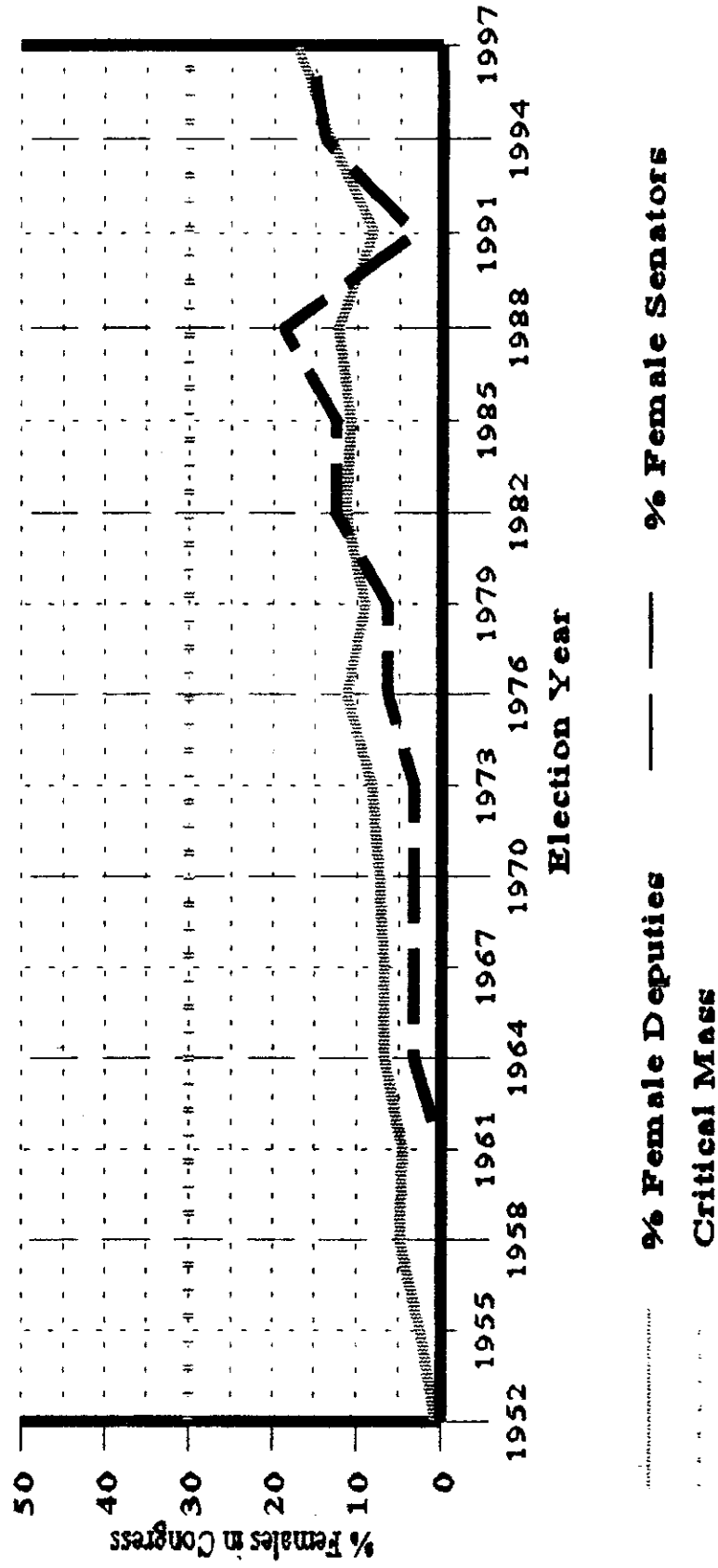
Valdes, Enchenique, Teresa, Enrique Gomariz Moraga, Alicia Martínez Fernández, eds. 1993. Mujeres Latinoamericanas en Cifras. Santiago, Chile: Instituto de la Mujer, Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales de España y FLACSO.

Vásquez S., and J. Sánchez. "...de la Mujeres..." El Financiero. 17 May:

"Women in Contemporary Mexican Politics Conferences." 1995, 1996. Held April 7-9, 1995, and April 11-13, 1996. Sponsored by the Mexican Center, Institute for Latin American Studies, University of Texas, Austin, TX.

Yáñez Santamaría, Araceli. 1997. "Avancemos un Trecho: Por Un Compromiso de Los Partidos Políticos a Favor de las Mujeres. Memorias del Foro." Mexico DF: Fundación Friedrich Ebert.

**APPENDICES:**  
**GRAPH 1:**  
**Percentages of Female Deputies and Senators in the Mexican Congress: 1952-1997**



Sources: Fernández, 1995a., 1995b.; Martínez, 1993; INEGI, 1997; Federal Electoral Institute, 1997.

**Table 1**  
**Problems, Politics, and Proposals: Sex Crimes**

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
1981	Sex Crimes not sentences not enforced; increasing violence against women	Chamber of Deputies	Reform to the Penal Code	none	Network Against Violence Towards Women Deputy Amalia García (Partido Mexicano Socialista (PMS))
1984	Inadequate attention to victims of sex crimes	Federal District	Reform to the penal code	Punishment for sex crimes raised from 6 to 8 years, in the Federal District	Amalia García, in Assembly of Representatives in Federal District
6 September 1985	Inadequate attention to victims of sex crimes	7 <sup>th</sup> Congress of United Nations, Milán, Italy	Declaration on Fundamental Principles of Justice for Victims of Crimes and Abuses of Power	approved by U.N.; disseminated internationally	Dra. Maria de la Luz Lima (for Mexico)

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
29 November 1985	same as above	Chamber of Deputies	Resolution 40/34 — recognition by General Assembly and commitment to implement principles of United Nations Declaration	approved by National Assembly	Member of National Assembly
28 December 1988	Discrimination against women, lack of enforcement of Article 4 of Constitution; Sex crimes; Sexual harassment in the workplace	Chamber of Deputies	Reform to the Penal Code, Article 260	discussion, debate	Network Against Violence Towards Women Deputy Hilda Anderson Nevaros (PRI)
27 December 1988	Sex Crimes	Chamber of Deputies	Reform to the Penal Code: increasing penalties from 8 to 14 years of imprisonment	Passed by both Chambers	President Carlos Salinas de Gortari

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
27 February - 3 March 1989	Sex Crimes committed by Judicial Police with impunity	Chamber of Deputies: Public Forum and Consultation on Sex Crimes	Reform to Penal Code	102 presentations on diverse aspects of sex crimes and necessary reforms to penal code	Network Against Violence Towards Women Deputy Amalia Garcia (PRD) Deputy Patricia Olamendi (PRD)
8 March 1989	Tabasco	Villahermos a, Tabasco	Create Center to treat victims of sex crimes	Inauguration of first agency specialized in sex crimes	
17 April 1989	Inadequate attention to victims of sex crimes	Attorney General's Office, DF (PGJDF)	Create 2 agents of the Public Ministries Specialized in Sex Crimes in Federal District (DF)	agreement published in <i>Diario Oficial</i>	Attorney General
April 1989		Delegación Miguel Hidalgo, Federal District	Inauguration of first DF agency specialized in sex crimes		Attorney General; Dr. María de la Luz Lima

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
9 September 1989	same as above	Delegación Venustiano Carranza, Federal District	Inauguration of 2 <sup>nd</sup> Agency in DF Specialized in Attention to Victims of Sex Crimes	agreement published in Diario Oficial	Attorney General; Dr. Maria de la Luz Lima
November 1989	same as above	Querétaro	Creation of agency specialized in sex crimes		
14 February 1990	same as above	Meeting with Attorney General, Ignacio Morales Lechuga	Proposal of concrete actions for Penal Code Reform to be presented to Chamber of Deputies on March 8, 1990	3 commissions formed on Justice, Strategies, and Collaboration with Agencies specializing on sex crimes	Assembly reps. and deputie of the PAN, PRD, PRI; representatives of the Council on the Integration of Women; feminists of the National Network of Violence Against Women; academics from Colegio de Mexico, lawyers, unionists

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
17 May 1990	Sexual Harassment; weak penal code on sex crimes	Auditorium of the Chamber of Deputies	Reform to Penal Code on Sex Crimes and Sexual Harassment in the workplace	Presented to the entire Congress	Deputy Hilda Anderson and other deputies; Multiple reps. from NGOs, feminist and women's movements
12 July 1990	same as above	Chamber of Deputies	Modifications to the Penal Code and Penal Procedures Code of the Federal District	Passed in the Chamber of Deputies with 377 votes in favor and 0 against	Deputy Amalia García, and 61 female deputies
3 October 1990	Inadequate attention to missing persons	Federal District	Agreement with the Attorney General of Justice of the DF, A/025/90, published en el D.O.F.	Creation of Center for Lost or Missing Persons (CAPEA)	Attorney General's office
5 October 1990	Inadequate attention to victims of sex crimes	Federal District	Agreement with the Attorney General of Justice of the DF, A/026/90, published en el D.O.F.	Creation of Center for Attention to Intrafamilial Violence (CAVI)	Attorney General's office

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
9-11 November, 1990	Sex Crimes	Justice Commission, Chamber of Deputies II Public Forum on Sex Crimes	Reform to the Penal Code	presentations on all aspects of sex crimes and need for legal reform	
20 December 1990	Sex Crimes	National Congress	Reform to Penal Code	Passed both Chambers; Decree 263: Articles 9, 109, 123	Deputies Hilda Anderson, Amalia García
27 March 1991	Sex Crimes	Federal District	Agreement with Attorney General of DF A/09/91, published in the D.O.F.	Creation of Center for Therapy and Support to Victims of Sex Crimes Sexuales (CTA)	Attorney General's Office

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
10 February 1994	Sex Crimes	Federal District	Agreement with Attorney General of DF A/09/94, published in the D.O.F.	Creation of Specialized Unit for Legal Attention for Victims of Sex (ADEVI)	Attorney General's office, Public Ministry
24 April 1995	Improve protection of rights of victims of sex crimes	Legislative Palace	Initiative of the Law of Justice for Victims of Sex Crimes in the Federal District	Signed by 13 female senators, 41 female deputies, 148 male deputies, 9 DF Assembly reps.	
6-8 July 1995	Implementation of Sex Crimes reforms	Attorney General's office	Modify penal code reforms, in particular with a focus on domestic violence	II National Meeting on Sex Crimes; over 100 presentations	Attorney General's Office; Plural Pro- Victims Group, A.C.

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
23 June 1997	1) Discrimination against women, 2) Lack of paternal support/definition in laws, 3) Working women lacking time/ adequate facilities for their children, 4) Discrimination against pregnant women 5) Intrafamilial violence	NGO-sponsored Conference, Public signing of commitment to legislate on the 5 issues if elected	"Avancemos un trecho: Por un compromiso de todos los partidos políticos a favor de las mujeres." ("Advancing a long way: For a commitment of all political parties favoring women.")	Signing of 5 points of agreed upon proposals by reps. of 8 political parties	Diversa, agrupación política feminista
8 October 1997	same as above	Chamber of Deputies	"Avancemos un trecho..." II Formal presentation of 5 issues in published <i>Memoria</i> of June meeting		Diversa Feminist Political NGO; Female Deputies

**Table 2:**  
**Problems, Politics, and Proposals: Affirmative Action**

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY/ ELECTORAL* ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
6 July 1988 * = elections bolded	lack of female representation in government	Congress	Increase number of female candidates in each party	Highest percentages of women ever voted into Congress: 12.2% Deputies, 18.8% Senate	Parties, voters
1990	lack of female representation on PRD electoral lists	PRD National Convention	20% quota for women on candidate lists	Passed in Convention	Amalia M. Garcia Rosario Robles
April 1991	lack of female representation in Congress	Civil Society	Create a group of women of all parties, ideologies, and a number of non-governmental groups to promote women's election, and women's issues in the Congress	Creation of the National Convention of Women for Democracy (CNNMD)	Patricia Mercado Elena Tapia

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY/ ELECTORAL ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
4-6 July 1991	Need and strategies for getting women elected in August elections	Civil Society	Importance and effectiveness of women's representation being carried out by women	Conference on Women in Elections	Organized by: Comunicación e Información de la Mujer, A.C. (CIMAC) y Fundación Friedrich Ebert
1991	lack of female representation on PRD electoral lists and on National Executive Council	PRD National Convention	30% quota for women be placed on electoral lists (every third position on the plurinominal lists)	Passed	Amalia M. Garcia Ifigenia Martínez Rosario Robles
18 August 1991	female representation	National Congressional Elections	Increased numbers of female candidates on party lists	Sharp decline in numbers of women elected: Deputies 8.0%, Senate 3.1%	Parties, voters
1992	decline in proportion of women in the Congress	Civil Society	Build groups of women focusing the same campaign of gaining access to positions of decisionmaking power in the government	Creation of coalition group <i>Ganando Espacios</i>	
21 August 1994	female representation; fulfillment of quota mandates	National Presidential and Congressional Elections	Increased numbers of women on electoral lists, in part due to quotas in the PRD	Increases in numbers of women elected: Deputies 13.8% Senate 13.3%	Parties, voters

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY/ ELECTORAL ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
3 February 1995	training and advice on how to promote gender issues in legislatures	Chamber of Deputies	Formation of a National Council of Legislative Advisors (Consejo de Asesoras Legislativas)		
1995	lack of governmental support for women's issues	Executive branch,	Creation of a National Program for Women (PRONAM) to collect data and provide support to women's programs	Established by the National Development Plan, 1995-2000	Public Administration
28 August 1995	general concern for gender equality, women's issues	Chamber of Deputies, "Consulta Legislativa"	A number of proposals for Mexican women to take to the Fourth World Conference of Women, in Beijing, China	rejection of the use of quotas to promote female political participation	Executive branch
15 September 1995	Women's equality and development	United Nations Fourth International Conference of Women, Beijing, China	Among the 12 general recommendations, the promotion of women's political participation by use of quotas in respective political systems	Recommendatio ns disseminated worldwide	Women leaders convened in Beijing
January 1996	general concern for women's issues	PRI Party Convention, Congress of Women for Change (CMC)	Proposal of work for the year, 1996, in relation to women's issues; proposal to review the idea of a quota system	Presented in the PRI convention	Maria Elena Chapa, Senator for the PRI, President of the CMC

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY/ ELECTORAL ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
21 June 1996	same	Sonora State Legislature	Reform to Article 89 of State Electoral Code: requirement that every political parties' candidate list not have more than 80% candidates of the same sex	Passed in State legislature.	
1996	lack of female representation on the PRI's electoral lists	PRI Party Convention	30% of persons named to electoral lists be female, and placed in every third position on the lists	Passed.	Maria Elena Chapa, Maria de los Angeles Moreno
October 1996	lack of female representation on electoral lists	Chamber of Deputies; Federal Electoral Institute (IFE)	Electoral Reform to Código Federal de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales (COFIPE): recommendation to not include more than 70% of persons of the same gender on candidate lists	Passed Chamber of Deputies, Senate	
6 July 1997	female representation; fulfillment of quota mandates	National Congressional Elections; First ever Election for Mayor of the Federal District	Increased numbers of women on candidate lists	Increase in number of women elected from 1994 elections: Deputies 17.2% Senate 21.9% (15.7% total Senate)	Parties, voters

DATE	PROBLEM Issue	POLITICS Political Arena	POLICY PROPOSAL	POLICY/ ELECTORAL ACTION	PRINCIPAL ACTORS
25 July 1997	same	Chihuahua	Reform to the State Constitution that no more than 70% of candidates of the same sex be candidates to positions of popular election	Passed in State legislature	
1 October 1997	same	Oaxaca	Reform to the State Constitution that no more than 70% of candidates of the same sex be candidates to positions of popular election	Passed in the State legislature	

**Table 3**  
**Gendered Results of July 1997 Mexican Congressional Elections**

	Deputies		Senators *		Substitute for Senator	
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>86 of 500</b>	<b>17.2%</b>	<b>7 of 32</b>	<b>21.9%</b>	<b>12 of 32</b>	<b>37.5%</b>
<b>Political Party</b>	<b># of Females Elected</b>	<b>% of Females Elected</b>	<b># of Females Elected</b>	<b>% of Females Elected</b>	<b># of Females Elected</b>	<b>% of Females Elected</b>
PRI	36 of 239	15.1%	3 of 13	23.1%	6 of 13	46.1%
PRD	30 of 125	24.0%	2 of 8	25%	3 of 8	37.5%
PAN	15 of 121	12.4%	2 of 9	22.2%	2 of 9	22.2%
PT	1 of 7	14.3%	0 of 1	0%	0 of 1	0%
PVEM	3 of 6	50%	0 of 1	0%	1 of 1	50%
Indepnt.	1 of 2	50%	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.	N.A.

\*= In this election only 32 of the 128 Senate positions were up for election. A gender breakdown of the total Senate for the next legislative period is shown in Table 2.

Source: Federal Electoral Institute, 1997.

**Table 4**  
**Gendered Statistics for LVII Senate (1997-2000)**

<b>TOTAL Senate</b>	<b>20 of 127*</b>	<b>15.7%</b>
<b>Political Party</b>	<b># of Females</b>	<b>% of Females</b>
PRI	12 of 76	15.8%
PRD	3 of 15	26.6%
PAN	4 of 32	12.5%
PT	0 of 2	0%
PVEM	0 of 1	0%
Independent	1 of 2	50%

\* Propietario Enrique Hernández Quinto and his Suplente Raúl Durán Reveles died, so at this point there are only 127 senators instead of 128.

Source: Federal Electoral Institute, 1997.