

Women in charges of popular representation, factor in the quality of democracy. The case of the states of Chihuahua and Guanajuato, Mexico

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Mexico is one of the countries that has been slowest to fully recognize the right of women to vote and be voted to gain access to all positions of popular representation, despite having one of the advanced constitutions at the dawn of the century XX, whose text defined citizenship in the same terms as the Constitution of 1857 had:

Art. 34.- All those who, having the quality of Mexicans, also meet the following requirements are citizens of the Republic:

I.-- To have completed eighteen years, being married, or 21 if they are not, and

II.-- Have an honest way of living. (Official Gazette, Monday, February 5, 1917, p.152).

As can be observed in the writing of this article, the generic load is evident and clear expression of its time, in which, being absent the inclusive language, it was possible to deny the exercise of citizenship to Mexican women. With the reform of this article in 1953, the prevailing inequality is formally corrected:

"Article 34. The citizens of the Republic are men and women who, having the quality of Mexicans, also meet the following requirements:

I.- Having completed 18 years, being married, or 21 if they are not, and

II.- Have an honest way of living. "(Official Gazette, Saturday, October 17, 1953).

Later, in 1969, another reform was made, which eliminates the requirement that distinguished by civil status, the age at which a person was recognized as a citizen, this being the current text:

Article 34. The citizens of the Republic are men and women who, having the quality of Mexicans, also meet the following requirements:

I.- Having reached the age of 18, and

II.- Have an honest way of living. (Official Gazette, Monday, December 22, 1969).

However, these constitutional reforms, the substantive changes in the access of women to positions of popular representation, as in other areas of public life, have not materialized with the speed that is desired. For example, although the first federal deputy in Mexico, representative of the then Territory of Baja California Norte, Martha Aurora Jiménez de Palacios (Cervantes, 2009), was elected in 1954, representing, indicated the deputy Maricela Contreras Julián, president of the Commission of Equity and Gender in the LXII Legislature, "the beginning of a process for the recognition of the rights of women and the crystallization of the struggles that demanded the right to vote from the constituent congress of 1857." (Chamber of Deputies, Bulletin 3479, December 10, 2008).

Four other women are members, says (Cervantes, 2009) the first group of federal deputies: Marcelina Galindo Arce (Chiapas); María Guadalupe Urzúa (Jalisco); Remedios Albertina Ezeta (State of Mexico), and Margarita García Flores (Nuevo León)". The four are part of the XLIII Legislature in the period 1955-1958.

As is common, this achievement is preceded by various struggles developed by women from different entities. Among them, the one carried out by Hermila Galindo Acosta, who is recognized as the first candidate for a federal deputation, although she did not win, in the significant year of 1917 (Valles Ruiz and González Victoria, 2011). Her campaign was preceded by her efforts to reform the constitution in such a way as to grant women the right to participate, first, under the modality of restricted suffrage, so that women would exercise their political participation. She did not achieve this objective in her time, however: "Although it was not specified in the constitutional

article 34 that" citizens "were men and women, she took it for granted and submitted her candidacy for federal deputy for the V electoral district of the Mexico City. "(Valles Ruiz and González Victoria, 2011, p.959). On his acceptance of the defeat, says Eulalia Guzmán:

As you say, the act that has been carried out courageously, because it has defied with integrity the ravages of the concerns, serves not because of its immediate result in the present electoral struggles, but as a precedent that will open the way for those that come later. (As cited in Valles Ruiz and González Victoria, 2011, p.968).

At the subnational level, Elvia Carrillo Puerto, the first state deputy in the country, was elected in Yucatan in 1923, made possible by local legislation and recognition by her, among other activities, for her struggle in favor of women's suffrage. .

The first senators of the republic, María Lavallo Urbina and Alicia Arellano Tapia, were elected by the states of Campeche and Sonora, respectively, and held their positions from 1964 to 1970. As can be seen in Table 1, in the period between XL and LXIII legislatures, the average number of women who have held a seat in the Senate has gone from 1.7% to 15.9%, the latter corresponds to the current legislative period (September 1, 2012 - August 31, 2018).

Table 1

Composición del Senado de la República por Legislatura y sexo de sus integrantes

| Legislatura | Número de Senadoras | Total de Integrantes | % |
|-------------|---------------------|----------------------|------|
| 44-45 | 1 | 58 | 1.7 |
| 46-47 | 2 | 58 | 3.4 |
| 48-49 | 3 | 58 | 5.2 |
| 50-51 | 5 | 64 | 7.8 |
| 52-53 | 10 | 64 | 15.6 |
| 54 | 7 | 64 | 10.9 |
| 54-55 | 3 | 64 | 4.7 |
| 55 - 56 | 7 | 64 | 10.9 |
| 56-57 | 17 | 128 | 13.3 |
| 57 | 10 | 128 | 7.8 |
| 58-59 | 40 | 128 | 31.3 |
| 60-61 | 25 | 128 | 19.5 |
| 62-63 | 50 | 128 | 39.1 |
| Total | 180 | 1134 | 15.9 |

Fuente: Elaboración propia con datos del Senado de la República.

In the case of female governors, a longer period had to pass before a first female governor was elected in the country, who, elected in 1979, would have to assume executive power in the state of Colima, in this case, Griselda Álvarez Ponce de León. To date, only seven women have occupied the title in their respective states (Table 2).

Table 2

Women elected as governors in Mexico, by entity, political party and period.

| Gobernadora | Entidad | Partido | Periodo |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|---------|--------------|
| Griselda Álvarez Ponce de León | Colima | PRI | 1979-1985 |
| Beatriz Paredes Rangel | Tlaxcala | PRI | 1987-1992 |
| Dulce María Sauri Riancho | Yucatán | PRI | 1991-1993* |
| Rosario Robles Berlanga | D.F. | PRD | 1999-2000** |
| Amalia García Medina | Zacatecas | PRD | 2004-2010 |
| Ivonne Aracely Ortega Pacheco | Yucatán | PRI | 2007-2012 |
| Claudia Artemiza Pavlovich Arellano | Sonora | PRI | 2015-current |

* It replaces Víctor Manzanilla Schaffer.

** It replaces Víctor Manzanilla Schaffer.

Thus, in view of the ineffectiveness of the facts, of what the constitutional framework establishes and in order to face current practices in political parties, it was necessary to carry out a series of adjustments to the legislation on electoral procedures, in such a way that women could access positions of popular representation, in first less

disadvantageous conditions, and then more equitable. For this purpose, a series of affirmative actions have been established. To them, in the matter of promotion and exercise of the political rights of women, the following section refers.

Of the quotas for gender parity in Mexico

Among the various forms of discrimination and violence to which women have been exposed throughout history, the limitation in the exercise of their political rights is not only one more, but one that by its transcendence implies the whole of beings' humans. This is so, because the recognition of which they have been the object as the foundation and support of the family, is also the argument that has been sustained, sometimes underground, to limit their development both personally and socially. The denial or concealment of the achievements of women in various events and moments of history, is one of the evidences of their social and therefore political status. This is what has been called, its invisibility, as an expression of the cultural process that omits or minimizes, in this case, the presence of women (Bastidas, and Torrealba (2014). In this sense, given the evident under-representation of women and the persistence of antidemocratic practices in political parties, the need to establish affirmative actions that, while moderating and reducing discriminatory practices, favor processes that transcend representation, becomes evident. formal, that way in which people are homogenized, while denying or minimizing their differences. Hence the importance of affirmative actions:

... the promotion of state affirmative actions must be based on the recognition of discrimination. This recognition should allow the understanding that the starting point is not the same for all people. From this the importance of speaking of equality as an aspiration that leads to contemplating equity as a strategy to reach it is derived. Equity refers to the recognition of difference. (Pacheco, G. as quoted in Charaf Ahmimed and Sofia Quesada Montano, 2016, p.23)

In Mexico, after the convulsive years of 1968 and 1970, when the most important student movements of the country were manifested, until the emergence, in October 1986, of the University Student Council (CEU) at the National Autonomous University of Mexico (UNAM), there is an economic crisis, which is combined with the erosion of the hegemony that the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) had maintained in post-revolutionary Mexico and in effect institutionalized, until the decade of the 90s.

The complex political situation is evidenced by the loss of legitimacy manifested in the federal election of 1976, the year in which the PRI candidate José López Portillo y Pacheco is recognized as the only candidate, which he would face at the polls, symbolically, Valentín Campa Salazar, candidate without registration of the Mexican Communist Party (PCM).

Derived from this complex situation, a process of successive reforms to electoral regulations begins, reforms that in turn shape the process of democratic transition in the country. In 1977, for example, the Law of Political Organizations and Electoral Processes (LOPPE) was issued, whose main contribution was to favor and promote a greater and more plural political-party representation in the congress, by expanding the number of deputies and establishing the principle of proportional representation.

ARTICLE 3o. The Legislative Power is deposited in a General Congress, which will be divided into two Chambers, one of Deputies and one of Senators.

The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of 300 deputies elected according to the principle of relative majority voting, through the system of uninominal electoral districts and up to 100 deputies who will be elected according to the principle of proportional representation, through the system of regional lists, voted in multi-member electoral districts. (Official Gazette of the Federation, No. 44, December 30, 1977).

In 1987, this is replaced by the Federal Electoral Code, with which the Electoral Contentious Court is implemented and the number of deputies of proportional representation is extended, with which the lower chamber is composed of 500 deputies.

ARTICLE 14.- The Legislative Power of the United Mexican States is deposited in a General Congress, which will be divided into two chambers, one of deputies and the other of senators.

The Chamber of Deputies will be composed of 300 deputies elected according to the principle of relative majority voting, through the system of uninominal electoral districts, and 200 deputies who will be elected according to the principle of proportional representation and the system of regional lists, voted in plurinominal districts. The entire Chamber will be renewed every three years. (Official Gazette of the Federation, February 12, 1987).

On October 11, 1990, the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) was created, the highest electoral authority in the country and protagonist of both the citizen administration of the electoral processes that have led to a cycle of alternation in the federal executive. With the reform of 1996, the so-called Federal Electoral Court (TRIFE) is authorized to know not only federal disputes, but also local ones.

José Woldenberg, the former president of the Federal Electoral Institute (IFE) under whose direction the electoral process was held in 2000, in which the alternation in the federal executive was verified, indicates that "the great initial task" of the transition was to reverse "the old and justified distrust in the electoral process to give it credibility and install it as the only legitimate method of political dispute over the positions of government and the legislature ... "(FRIDE, 2002: 37)

We are then, in the Mexican version of the democratic transition, which, as expressed by Woldenberg:

... did not lead to an unprecedented, historically unexplored regime, nor to an original constitutional invention. It went from an authoritarian regime, which concentrated the central decisions of the policy, to another, sum of norms and renewed institutions. It was "simply" a democratic system, where the vote of the ordinary citizen decides what is fundamental in politics: who governs and how the legislative bodies are composed.

In this sense, it is noteworthy that, with the first alternation in the presidency of the republic, a series of institutional adjustments was carried out. Among them, the foundation of the National Institute of Women (INMUJERES) in 2001 and, in 2003, the creation of the National Council to Prevent Discrimination (CONAPRED). Both of interest and relevance to drive necessary changes in a regime not only authoritarian, but clearly masculinized.

It is true that some progress was made in the convulsive 1990s. For example, in 1990, the Federal Code of Electoral Institutions and Procedures (COFIPE), points out the responsibility that political parties have in women's access to representation offices proportional.

Article 4

1. Voting in elections constitutes a right and an obligation that is exercised to integrate organs of the State of popular election. It is also the right of citizens and the obligation for political parties to equal opportunities and equity between men and women to have access to popularly elected positions. (Official Gazette of the Federation, August 15, 1990).

Subsequently, as shown in Table 3, in 1993 the parties were mandated to promote the participation of women and in 1996, the first gender quota was established, both for deputies and senators, the same as political parties. mocked with various strategies, which forced new reforms, the first in 2002.

Table 3

Legislation of gender quotas

| Year | Commentary |
|------|--|
| 1993 | Fraction 3 of article 175 of the COPIFE is modified, establishing that: "The political parties will promote, in the terms that determine their internal documents, a greater participation of women in the political life of the country, through their application to positions of popular election". |
| 1996 | The addition to fraction XXII, transitory article 5 of the COPIFE is approved, which states: "The national political parties will consider in their statutes that the candidacies for deputies and senators do not exceed 70 percent for the same gender. They will also promote the greater political participation of women." |
| 2002 | Art. 175-A "Of the totality of requests for registration, both of deputies and senators that present political parties or coalitions before the IFE, in no case shall they include more than 70% of candidates who are owners of the same gender". |
| | Art. 175-B "The lists of proportional representation will be integrated by segments of three candidates. In each of the first three segments of each list there will be a different gender candidacy. The foregoing, without prejudice to the provisions of the internal regulations and the procedure of each political party." |
| | Art. 175-C Integrate what follows: 1.- Once the registration of candidatures has been closed, if a political party or coalition does not comply with the provisions of articles 175-A and 175-B, the General Council of the IFE will request it in the first instance so that within 48 hours, counted from the notification, rectify the application for registration of candidatures and will warn you that, in case of not doing so, you will make a public warning. 2.- Once the period referred to in the previous paragraph has elapsed, anyone who does not substitute candidates will be subject to a public reprimand. In case of recidivism, the registration of the corresponding candidatures will be penalized. |
| | 3.- The candidacies of relative majority that are the result of an election process by direct vote are excepted. |

Source: Reynoso y D'Angelo (2004, p.6) based on the COPIFE 1993, 1996 y 2002.

Women in the congresses

As already mentioned, it was at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century that the first women acceded as popular representatives in five state congresses. The experiences of the women of Chihuahua in the field of popular representation denote the prevalence of strategies that favor diverse forms of inequality in an institutional environment with evident masculine predominance.

This fact, recognized through the establishment of gender quotas, is included along with other social expressions of neglect to the problems posed by these women, among other sources, in interviews and forums¹ held during the year 2012, within the

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The forums were held in the municipalities of Nuevo Casas Grandes, Juarez, Parral, Chihuahua and Cuauhtémoc. The workshops were organized to reflect on the issues: 1) Women and political parties, 2) Women

framework of the the political participation of women towards their popular representation: advances and setbacks in the municipalities of the State of Chihuahua 1983-2010, in which the authors participated and which was directed by Jesús Alberto Rodríguez Alonso.

Paradoxically, the multiple lags and their magnitude are framed in the legal text and the governmental dependencies in which they are recognized. Hence, their meetings and disagreements are based on the recognition of progress and expectations that have not been achieved, such as the Chihuahuan Program for equality between women and men 2011 - 2016, which recognizes:

Participation and political representation are some of the aspects that present greater inequality between men and women. The progress has been very little significant in recent years. The under-representation of women in the political and decision-making spheres remains the norm at the national and state levels (2011: 11).

Thus, in 2002, the Chihuahuan Women's Institute (Icmmujer) was created by Decree No. 274-02 II P.O., which aims to:

... implement public policies that promote the integral development of women and their full participation in the economic, social, political, family and cultural life of the State, as well as consolidate the conditions for them to take an active part in the decisions, responsibilities and benefits of the development, on equal terms with men (Article 2).

On May 29, 2010, the Law on Equality between Women and Men in the state of Chihuahua was published (Decree 984/09), which

... is intended to regulate, protect and guarantee compliance with the obligations regarding equality between men and women, through the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women in the public and private spheres, as well as the establishment of actions affirmative in favor of women and institutional mechanisms that establish criteria and guide the competent authorities of the State of Chihuahua in compliance with this Law (Article 1).

For its part, the Chihuahuan Program for Equality between Women and Men 2011 - 2016, proposes "to establish actions to achieve equality between women and men and non-discrimination in the public policies of the State of Chihuahua, through institutional coordination "In the terms" established by the Agreement for Equality between Women and Men and to Prevent, Address, Punish and Eradicate Violence against Women in the State of Chihuahua, signed on March 8, 2011 "(Programa Chihuahuense, sf: 37). At the state level, the efforts of the Group Promoter of the Political Rights of Citizens (GPDPC), which, integrated by members of political parties and civil society organizations, have as their sole objective "to achieve that in the Electoral Law of the State of Chihuahua include provisions that guarantee the equal participation of women in the candidatures to positions of popular election and in the integration of the Congress of our entity "(<http://grupopromotormujeres.blogspot.mx/>). Presented formally in the state capital on February 8, 2008, on June 3, they propose "the Proposal for Electoral Legislation with Parity to the deputies of the Sixty-Second Legislature of the State Congress through the Equality and Gender Commission" (Gómez and Alonso, 2011: 260). Both authors, members of the GPDPC, say that it "is made up of women from non-governmental organizations, from different political parties, public servants, academics, students and independent women. Their way of operating is through commissions and under horizontal coordination and consultation "(Gómez and Alonso, 2011: 259).

Its incorporation into decision-making is a current demand, as well as the fact that it is effective and not only formal or under disadvantageous conditions, in such a way that conditions of inequality prevail.

For example, the Municipal Code for the State of Chihuahua establishes in article 28, Fraction XVI, the faculty and obligation of the City Councils to: Promote the creation of municipal entities that are in charge of implementing and monitoring policies, actions, plans and programs that incorporate the mainstreaming of the gender perspective, in accordance with the Law on Social and Human Development for the State of Chihuahua. [Fraction reformed by Decree No. 250-08 II P.O. published in P.O.E. No. 50 of June 21, 2008] However, in various municipalities this provision is not complied with, which led, for example, the deputy Inés Aurora Martínez Bernal to propose in Congress, the:

Initiative, with the character of a point of agreement (with the deputies of the parliamentary groups) through which they propose this sovereignty, incites in a respectful way the 67 municipalities that make up our federative entity, so that they can analyze the creation of instances Municipalities to support women and, if they have them, publicize their existence to the population and the services provided (09/11/2010 equity, g [gender] and family) (unanimous) date 08/11 / 2010 approval 11/11/2010 (Annual Activities Report, 2011).

This also explains that women like Diana Acosta, consider necessary

That we have to participate in public advocacy so that a department can be created, just as there is the Chihuahuan Women's Institute, that we have a municipal department for women. And what will that department do? We return to the same thing: attention ... for questions of psychological abuse, a medical unit Women are hard workers, we can not do a business, an industry, small but we can do it. That it would have a manager to support lost funds of credits so that we could be productive from our homes. (Interview)

From his perspective: "We must empower the women of Casas Grandes to be able to do things, who create who they are and who can carry them out." In this regard, it indicates:

... I am seeing in these last elections, I see more the participation of women, as there is more gender equity, and I am observing it not only in the Institutional Revolutionary Party, but also what I am observing in the PAN, in the Green Party and it gives me great pleasure because we have both the capacity of a woman and a man.

With a different emphasis, Representative Brenda Francisca Ríos Prieto said:

I think we have to start by expanding the percentage of gender quotas, have a parity percentage to visualize from the community, that this is a space for citizens, not men or women, but citizens committed to the progress of Chihuahua (Interview).

In the same sense other voices are expressed. Deputy Guadalupe Rodríguez: "right now it would be good to legislate so that in the electoral issue there is that equity, the same capacity has the man and the women and that there is that equality. 50-50 ". Deputy Inés Aurora Martínez Bernal summarizes in the exhibition of her work what is mentioned:

... it was an initiative that I presented, that the spaces, starting with the Congress, that the spaces of commissions, of the secretariats, the spaces of the consultancies, of the directive tables, are with the representation of 50% males, 50% women. In all the spaces, from the spaces of decision to the administrative spaces we are represented and reflected these two genres that we are and that we are subjects of rights and obligations (Interview).

The majority point of view points to what Deputy Maria de los Angeles Bailón proposes: "We will review the State Electoral Law to promote a reform that requires political parties to register formulas for candidates for Deputies by relative majority, both proprietor and substitute, without exception of those that come from an internal election ". For the fulfillment of these expectations, decisions of judicial bodies are valued, such as the Electoral Court of the Federal Judicial Branch (TEPJF), while: "The sentence will accelerate us a bit. But the challenge in political parties is the training of women, their preparation "(Martha, participant in the forum of the city of Chihuahua).

Table 4

Deputies by legislative period and political party in the state of Chihuahua, 1992-2018.

| Period | PAN | PRI | PARM | PRD | CDP | PT | PVEM | PNA | MC | MORENA | PES | Totals |
|----------------------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|----|------|-----|----|--------|-----|--------|
| 30-09-1992 a 29-09-1995 | 15 | 11 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 28 |
| 30-09-1995 a 29-09-1998 | 7 | 15 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 24 |
| 01-10-1998 a 30-09-2001 | 12 | 18 | | 3 | | | | | | | | 33 |
| 01-10-2001 a 30-10-2004 | 11 | 18 | | 2 | | 2 | | | | | | 33 |
| 01-10-2004 a 30-09-2007 | 12 | 21 | | 3 | | 3 | | | | | | 39 |
| 01-10-2007 a 30-09-2010 | 16 | 15 | | 1 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | | 37 |
| 01-10-2010 a 30-09-2013 | 7 | 28 | | 2 | | 1 | 2 | 4 | | | | 44 |
| 01-10-2013 a 30-09-2116 | 9 | 21 | | 3 | | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | | | 41 |
| 01-10-2016 a 31-08-2018 | 21 | 6 | | 1 | | 2 | 3 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 42 |
| Totals | 110 | 153 | 1 | 17 | 1 | 11 | 9 | 13 | 2 | 3 | 1 | 321 |

Source: Own preparation with data from the Chihuahua Congress.

Table 5

Percentage of deputies by legislative period and political party in the state of Chihuahua, 1992-2018.

| Period | PAN | PRI | PARM | PRD | CDP | PT | PVEM | PNA | MC | MORENA | PES | Totals |
|----------------------------|------|------|------|-----|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|--------|-----|--------|
| 30-09-1992 a 29-09-1995 | 53.6 | 39.3 | 3.6 | 3.6 | | | | | | | | 100 |
| 30-09-1995 a 29-09-1998 | 29.2 | 62.5 | | 4.2 | 4.2 | | | | | | | 100 |
| 01-10-1998 a 30-09-2001 | 36.4 | 54.5 | | 9.1 | | | | | | | | 100 |
| 01-10-2001 a 30-10-2004 | 33.3 | 54.5 | | 6.1 | | 6.1 | | | | | | 100 |
| 01-10-2004 a 30-09-2007 | 30.8 | 53.8 | | 7.7 | | 7.7 | | | | | | 100 |
| 01-10-2007 a 30-09-2010 | 43.2 | 40.5 | | 2.7 | | 2.7 | 2.7 | 8.1 | | | | 100 |
| 01-10-2010 a 30-09-2013 | 15.9 | 63.6 | | 4.5 | | 2.3 | 4.5 | 9.1 | | | | 100 |
| 01-10-2013 a 30-09-2116 | 22.0 | 51.2 | | 7.3 | | 4.9 | 7.3 | 4.9 | 2.4 | | | 100 |
| 01-10-2016 a 31-08-2018 | 50.0 | 14.3 | | 2.4 | | 4.8 | 7.1 | 9.5 | 2.4 | 7.1 | 2.4 | 100 |
| Totals | 34.3 | 47.7 | 0.3 | 5.3 | 0.3 | 3.4 | 2.8 | 4.0 | 0.6 | 0.9 | 0.3 | 100 |

Source: Own preparation with data from the Chihuahua Congress.

Table 6

Number of elected men deputized by legislative period and political party in the state of Chihuahua, 1992-2018.

| Period | PAN | PRI | PARM | PRD | CDP | PT | PVEM | PNA | MC | MORENA | PES | Totals |
|----------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|----|------|-----|----|--------|-----|--------|
| 1992 - 1995 | 14 | 10 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | 26 |
| 1995 - 1998 | 6 | 13 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | 21 |
| 1998 - 2001 | 9 | 15 | | 2 | | | | | | | | 26 |
| 2001 - 2004 | 10 | 16 | | 2 | | 2 | | | | | | 30 |
| 2004 - 2007 | 8 | 17 | | 2 | | 2 | | | | | | 29 |
| 2007 - 2010 | 11 | 13 | | 1 | | | | 1 | | | | 26 |
| 2010 - 2013 | 5 | 22 | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | 3 | | | | 34 |
| 2013 - 2116 | 5 | 12 | | 1 | | 1 | 2 | 2 | 1 | | | 24 |
| 2016 - 2018 | 10 | 0 | | 1 | | 2 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 21 |
| Totals | 78 | 118 | 1 | 13 | 1 | 8 | 6 | 8 | 2 | 1 | 1 | 237 |

Source: Own preparation with data from the Chihuahua Congress.

Table 7

Number of women elected deputies by legislative period and political party in the state of Chihuahua, 1992-2018.

| Period | PAN | PRI | PARM | PRD | CDP | PT | PVEM | PNA | MC | MORENA | PES | Totals |
|-------------|-----|-----|------|-----|-----|----|------|-----|----|--------|-----|--------|
| 1992 - 1995 | 1 | 1 | | | | | | | | | | 2 |
| 1995 - 1998 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 1998 - 2001 | 3 | 3 | | 1 | | | | | | | | 7 |
| 2001 - 2004 | 1 | 2 | | | | | | | | | | 3 |
| 2004 - 2007 | 4 | 4 | | 1 | | 1 | | | | | | 10 |
| 2007 - 2010 | 5 | 2 | | | | 1 | 1 | 2 | | | | 11 |
| 2010 - 2013 | 2 | 6 | | | | | 1 | 1 | | | | 10 |
| 2013 - 2116 | 4 | 9 | | 2 | | 1 | 1 | | | | | 17 |
| 2016 - 2018 | 11 | 6 | | | | | | 2 | | 2 | | 21 |
| Totales | 32 | 35 | 0 | 4 | 0 | 3 | 3 | 5 | 0 | 2 | 0 | 84 |

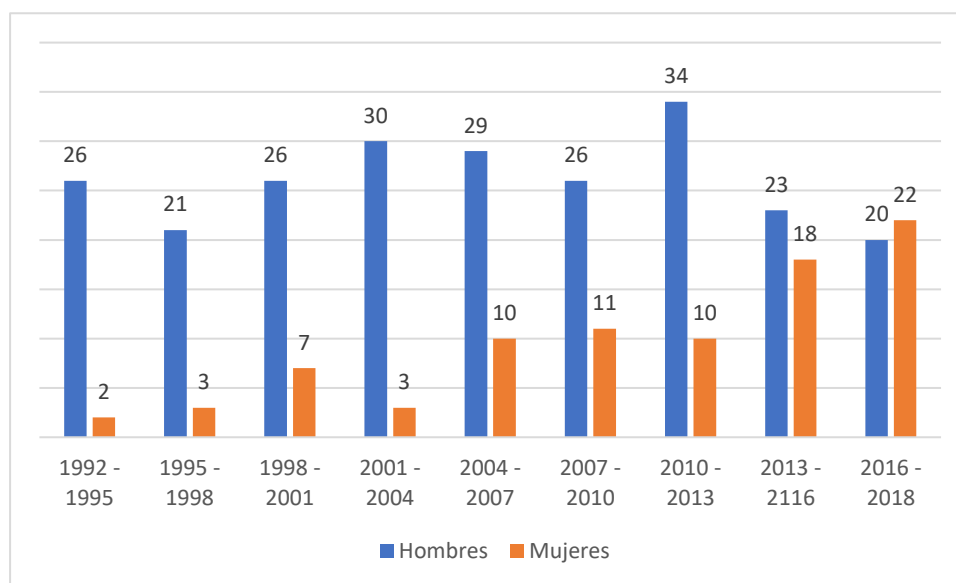


Figure 1. Deputies by legislative period and sex, in the state of Chihuahua, 1992-2018.

Source: Own preparation with data from the Chihuahua Congress.

Table 8

Women mayors of the state of Chihuahua in the period 1959 -2013.

| Municipio | Alcaldesa | Periodo |
|-----------|---|-----------|
| Allende | PROFRA. SILVIA ESTHER VILLANUEVA ROBLES | 1992-1995 |
| | C. ROSA PAULA MENDOZA VILLANUEVA | 1998-2001 |
| Ascensión | C. ARCELIA SÁENZ MIRANDA | 1984-1986 |
| Bachiniva | C. GUADALUPE MERAZ | 1974-1977 |

| | | |
|------------------|------------------------------------|-----------|
| Balleza | C. SILVIA FRANCISCA MORENO LEAL | 1998-2001 |
| | C. SILVIA FRANCISCA MORENO LEAL | 2007-2010 |
| Chinipas | C JOSEFINA LÓPEZ | 1968-1971 |
| Coronado | C SOCORRO A. MUÑOZ DEL. | 1983-1986 |
| | C JOSEFA GUADALUPE RENTERIA AMAYA | 1992-1995 |
| | C. RITA ONTIVEROS RAMOS | 2004-2007 |
| Coyame del Sotol | C. NIEVES CERVANTES | 1959-1962 |
| Cusihuirachi | C GUADALUPE ROMO V | 1962-1965 |
| Delicias | C. GLORIA CERVANTES | 1990-1992 |
| El Tule | C ELISA SANDOVAL MONTOYA | 1998-2001 |
| Gómez Farias | C INÉS MÁROUEZ MACÍAS | 1959-1962 |
| Gran Morelos | C. CARMEN CASTILLO | 1959-1962 |
| | C. LUZ E. MALDONADO | 1968-1971 |
| | C LUZ MARIA GARCIA VILLAGRAN | 1998-2001 |
| Guadalupe | C. APOLONIA AMAYA | 1983-1986 |
| Guerrero | C. AGUEDA TORRES VARELA | 2010-2013 |
| Huejotitán | C MATILDE GARCÍA CH . | 1959-1962 |
| | C. SOLEDAD GUTIERREZ MUÑIZ | 2007-2010 |
| Ignacio Zaragoza | C GUADALUPE RUIZ | 1974-1977 |
| Jiménez | C. CAROLINA PEREYRA DE ALVAREZ | 1989-1992 |
| Julimes | C GUADALUPE MUÑIZ DE C. | 1987-1989 |
| López | C. AMELIA CABALLERO DE M. | 1974-1977 |
| Madera | C. GUADALUPE BUSTILLOS | 1965-1968 |
| Maguanchi | C. EMA NÚÑEZ N. | 1971-1974 |
| Manuel Benavides | C. MARIA DE JESUS VILLANUEVA VILLA | 2001-2004 |
| Matachi | C. CONCEPCIÓN ARAGÓN B. | 1966-1968 |
| Matamoros | C. EL VIRA CENICEROS DE DGZ | 1980 |
| Meoqui | C SOCORRO LERMA CHAMARIA | 1953-1955 |
| Morelos | C CELIA OCHOA GUILLERMARD | 1968-1971 |
| Namiquipa | C GUADALUPE SOTELO | 1957-1959 |

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------|
| Nonoava | C. GUADALUPE GONZÁLEZ | 1953-1956 |
| Riva Palaio | C. MANUELA HERNANDEZ COLOMO | 2004-2007 |
| Rosales | C. GUADALUPE TORRES V | 1963-1964 |
| Rosario | C PAZ PACHECO | 1950-1952 |
| | C. GUADALUPE GARCÍA | 1955-1956 |
| | C SILVIA DOMINGA DOMÍNGUEZ | 1989-1992 |
| | C LORENA MUÑOZ SOTELO | 2004-2007 |
| | C. LUCRECIA GONZALEZ ALMANZA | 2010-2013 |
| San Francisco de Borja | C PAZ PARRA GALLEGOS | 1974-1977 |
| San Francisco de Conchos | C. XOCHITL HERMOSILLO VILLEGAS | 1992-1995 |
| Santa Bárbara | C. APOLONIA ÁV LA | 1963-1966 |
| | C. MARGARITA VILLEGAS | 1975 |
| Santa Isabel | C. OMELIA CHÁVEZ | 1989-1992 |
| Saucillo | C. YOLANDA BAEZA MARTINEZ | 1998-2001 |
| Temósachic | C. ISABEL LOYOLA | 1950-1953 |
| Urique | C ROSARIO LOZANÍA ROSAS | 1956 |
| Uruachi | C RAMONA R. DE RASCON | 1974-1977 |
| | C GUADALUPE GONZÁLEZ | 1983-1986 |

Elaboración propia con datos del Instituto Estatal Electoral del Estado de Chihuahua; <http://www.ieechihuahua.org.mx/> y del Centro de Estudios del Municipio Mexicano.

http://www.fenam.org.mx/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=53&Itemid=96
y el Sistema de Información Municipal

<http://www.e-local.gob.mx/wb/ELOCAUELOC SNIM>

It can be observed, in this case, as indicated by Reynoso and D'Angelo (2004, p.2):

It can be said that a minority group gains descriptive representation to the extent that the members of its group are elected, while it gains substantive representation to the extent that public policy favors its interests or perspectives, regardless of whether or not the process of elaboration of it.

In the case of Guanajuato, the following is observed.

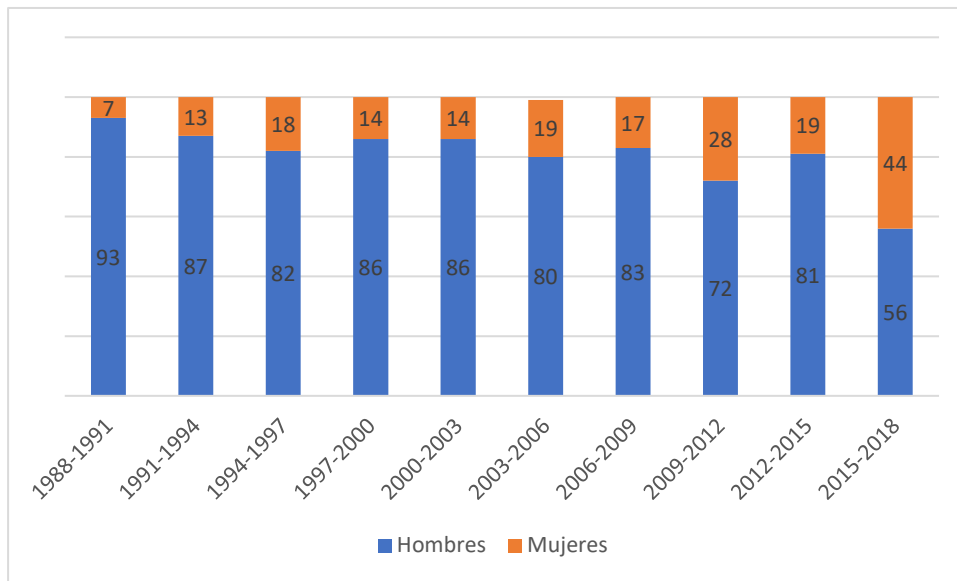


Figure 2. Historical composition of the Local Congress of the State of Guanajuato by percentage, 1988-2018.

Source: Hernández García, M. A. (2018, p.163).

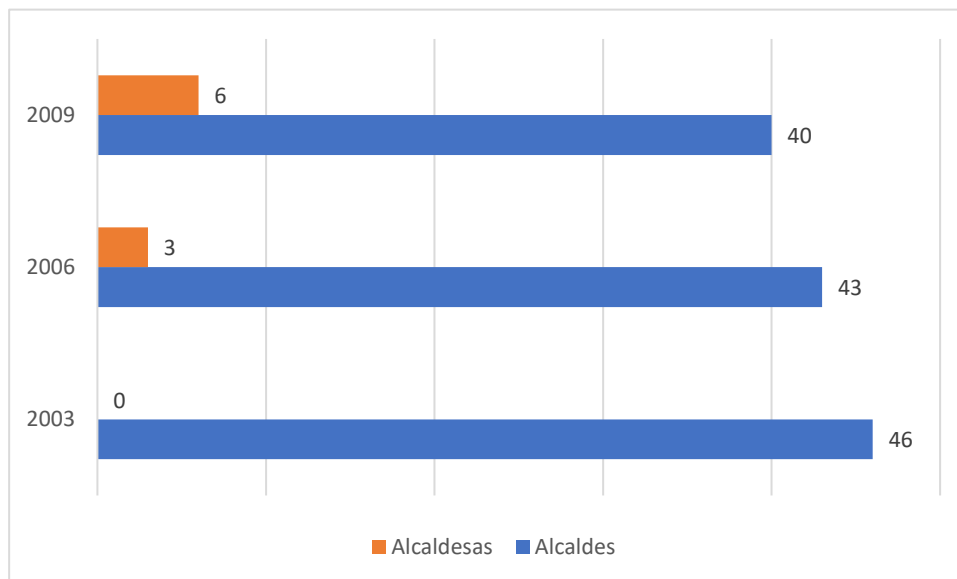


Figure 3. Number of male and female mayors in the state of Guanajuato, 1997-2012.

Source: Own elaboration with data of Hernández García, M. A. and Castañón García, G. Y. (2013, p.189).

Advances and setbacks

As we have documented, some legislative amendments have taken up aspects of interest to women, plus the available data seem to indicate that among its main effects is to visibilize and document more broadly family violence, inequality in access to charges of taking decisions and inequity in the exercise of rights. In this sense, the "women's agenda" is transcribed here, whose proposals were elaborated by the participants of the modules of the Women for Full Citizenship Program and the Political Participation of Women in the 2013 Electoral Process:

- Compliance with the Inter-institutional Program to prevent, address and punish violence against women, mandated by the State Law on the Right of Women to a Life Free of Violence.
 - Guarantee the continuity and strengthening of the intrafamily violence service units that has been implemented in police commanders since 2005.
 - Create a specialized police force to deal with gender crimes.
- Prevención de delitos de género, mejorando la seguridad de las mujeres en zonas de riesgo identificadas por ellas mismas.
- Ensure public places for peaceful coexistence with safe spaces.
 - Reactivate existing community centers and create new ones for the reconstruction of the social fabric.
 - Creation of community nurseries with minimum recovery quotas or with municipal subsidies, in addition to having adequate supervision.
 - Create campaigns to eradicate beliefs, behaviors and discriminatory customs towards women.
 - Implement free cultural and sports activities for women, children and youth, during at least two weekends each month in public spaces.
 - Strengthen existing cultural spaces with staff and budget.
 - Ensure specific spaces for women in the municipal cabinet with first level positions, in accordance with the law of equality between women and men of the State of Chihuahua.
 - Guarantee equitable and effective citizen participation.
 - Create a comprehensive preventive health promotion and dissemination program with a gender focus.
 - Conduct a diagnosis and prevention campaign regarding the pregnancy of adolescent and young women in the municipality of Chihuahua.
 - Create the Institute of Ecology and Environment, as well as the Council of Ecology for analysis, supervision and proposals regarding the differentiated impacts on access, use and control of the municipality's natural resources.

As Lourdes Arizpe indicates: "The cause of women is an old dream, whose secular waves have always been buried under the great political tides. It has, however, the gift of becoming visible from time to time "(1989: 17). In the present, the complex process of dismantling politics in a male key is subject not only to scrutiny but also to a slow and constant reconfiguration. As Foucault (1992: 157) observed at the time: "For the State to function as it works, it is necessary that there be from man to woman or from

adult to child very specific relations of domination that have their own configuration and relative autonomy". In the same sense, Connell expresses himself by referring to hegemonic masculinity, which is expressed as "the configuration of gender practices that embodies the currently accepted response to the problem of the legitimation of patriarchy that guarantees (or seeks to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women "(1995, p.12). This reconfiguration is generated precisely in the field of politics:

... because the political as a plane of analysis, recognizes as a basic core the conjugation between subject and project, which is expressed materially in the game of tactics and strategies that frame the dynamics of the subjects within the political structures (Zemelman, 2003, p.36)

In the women we have referred to, projects that have been implemented in different ways are outlined. They are, like many others, agents of change. They have achieved visibility, interlocution and goals, perhaps incomplete, with debatable benefits and subjected to constant criticism. Their position and positions show progress, but they are not necessarily shared with many other women, an argument to point out the limitations of the legal framework and the provisions that derive from it. There are multiple lags and their magnitude, paradoxically, is framed in the legal text and the governmental dependencies in which they are recognized.

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