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DEMOCRATIC THEORY AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS: THE CHILEAN CASE *

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

This paper explores the issue of women's participation in politics in post-1989 Chile through the lens of democratic theory. Democratic theory assumes a world of equal citizens who participate freely in competitive and fair elections to choose their political leaders. Women, like others in society, are assumed incorporated into the political process with full citizenship rights. Using Chile as a case study, this paper investigates the degree to which women have become full citizens and active political participants, and the ways in which their demands and needs are being dealt with by the political system. It also evaluates the utility of democratic theory for analyzing the question of women's representation in politics, criticizes deficiencies in democratic theory for studying the issue of gender and politics, and suggests other ways to think about citizenship and women's participation.

After a review and analysis of some key concepts in democratic theory, the paper examines the Chilean case, organized around a series of questions. First, who are the politically active women? What interests do they articulate? Do women have a specific set of gender interests? How do these get expressed in the corridors of power and in public policy acts? What impact have these women had on the political process? To what extent has the incorporation of women into the political process —into political parties, in elective offices and in appointive positions— affected the political agenda of the country? Are new issues and themes being debated? Are these reflected in public policy? What strategies have these women adopted in order to get their agenda(s) approved? Last, what conclusions can one draw about the nature of Chilean democracy and the utility of democratic theory for studying gender politics?

INTRODUCTION

Women's struggle to attain full citizenship rights has been long and arduous. Using Chile as a case study, this document examines the degree to which women have attained full citizenship rights and have become active participants in politics, and the ways in which their needs are being met by the political system. It also evaluates the utility of democratic theory for analyzing the question of women's representation in politics and criticizes deficiencies in democratic theory for studying the issue of gender and politics.

The study begins by reviewing democratic theory to see whether this body of literature provides insights and aids us in understanding why women have had to strive so long to achieve basic rights. After reviewing the concepts of democracy and citizenship, the paper finds that democratic theory, which focuses on procedural aspects of democracy, does not speak to the issue of women's participation in politics. Neither do theories of citizenship generally address the historic lack of full citizenship rights, such as the suffrage, to women. In order to write women into studies of democracy, the issues of the inclusivity and diversity of political representation as well as of achieving substantive as well as procedural democracy should be addressed.

The document also examines the issue of women as a coherent interest group by examining the conditions under which women have been able to mobilize as women in order to attain specific gender goals. It also examines the ways in which women have formulated and articulated their, sometimes, conflicting gender interests.

The paper then turns to consideration of the Chilean case, focusing on the post-1990 period, after the end of military rule. It does, however, take note of the long history of women's mobilization in Chile, concluding that women were successful in mobilizing to defend their interests when they could identify an issue, such as gaining the suffrage or an end to military rule, around which most women could rally. With regard to the post-1990 period, the document notes the transition within the women's movement with a return to electoral politics, especially a greater focus on the state and formal politics. It examines women's degree of success in attaining formal positions of power and in affecting changes in public policy.

The study concludes that women in Chile have had some degree of success in getting gender issues of concern placed on the political agenda and, in some cases, enshrined in law. Legislation to create the National Women's Service (SERNAM) was passed in 1991; since then, SERNAM has become an interlocutor for gender issues within the government. In addition, legislation of importance to women, such as curbing and punishing domestic violence, giving married women greater control over property and income, and eliminating the legal distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children has been passed.

With regard to gaining greater access to formal positions of power, women have had a more difficult time. Although the number of women serving in the legislature grew steadily from the congress

of 1989 to that of 1997, only about 10% of the legislature is female, and the number of women ministers remains small. The political culture still supports traditional gender roles and creates a series of obstacles for women's greater inclusion in politics. Political parties constitute one such barrier. Despite the fact that several political parties have enacted affirmative action plans for internal party posts, the policy does not extend to legislative slates; raising campaign funds also remains a significant challenge for women.

The relationship between the state, organized women within the state and the increasingly diffuse grassroots women's movement from the 1980s remains an area of potential for attaining full gender rights. For example, the activities of the post-Beijing conference Grupo Iniciativa mark one successful effort by non-governmental agencies acting not only to advance women's gender interests, but to support the pro-women's equity efforts by state agents, such as SERNAM.

I. DEMOCRATIC THEORY AND WOMEN'S PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS

A. DEFINITIONS OF DEMOCRACY

Although there are a multiplicity of definitions of democracy, it is possible to identify core characteristics of democracy that are used in democratic theory. Robert Dahl's classic definition of democracy, or polyarchy, often serves as the basis for determining the fundamental characteristics of democracy (Dahl, 1971). Dahl and others take as primary the fulfillment of certain basic procedural requisites, putting special emphasis on those that provide for competitive and honest elections.[1] Dahl himself sets forth seven basic characteristics of polyarchy; the first four characteristics focus on fair and free elections, while the latter three involve basic political and social rights which are necessary for elections to be fair.[2] His theory of democracy is also embedded within pluralist theory, which assumes, ideally, equal access to the political arena by all citizens. In essence, then, democratic theory focuses primarily on macro-level rights and procedures applicable to all individual citizens.

In practice, there has been more than one concept of liberal democracy applied to the study of Third World governments, especially during the recent democratization wave. As Larry Diamond has noted, the electoral component of democratic theory has often been emphasized almost to the exclusion of other criteria, leading to a kind of minimalist "electoral democracy." He contrasts this electoral democracy with liberal democracy, and goes beyond Dahl's criteria to list higher and more specific thresholds for civil liberties, guarantees of the rule of law, and political equality. For example, Diamond includes the ideas that real power must rest with elected officials and that the executive branch needs to be accountable to other governmental institutions, such as the courts, among his criteria of liberal democracy (Diamond, 1996). Although Diamond concludes that the threshold for liberal democracy has been difficult to sustain for many nations, he cites Chile as one of the Third World countries that has attained "free state," or liberal democratic status (Diamond, 1996).

Even this liberal democratic approach to conceptualizing democracy leaves out some important considerations, however. To begin with, rather than focusing on procedural issues, a conceptualization of democracy could include consideration of the scope of issues that get to be included in the political agenda, that is, substantive versus procedural democracy, as well as the diversity of the representation. I argue that these two factors, having a diverse cross-section of society reflected among political representatives and a broad scope of political issues, are of crucial importance for democracies and

should be integrated into democratic theory. For example, lack of diversity among political representatives may make a major difference in government's ability to respond to citizens' needs. Without a diversity of representation points of view are lost, and some issues never reach the political agenda. Differences of political styles are also lost.

It can also be argued that even in seemingly open liberal democracies, the perspectives of marginal groups face structural difficulties in being heard. First of all, despite the ideal of equal political access, which is part of pluralist theory, equality of access for women (as well as other minorities and the poor) —whatever the formal rules— usually does not exist in practice. Inequalities of wealth and social status also imply political inequality. It is harder for the issues of such groups to be included as part of the political agenda. Thirty years ago Bachrach and Baratz noted a related structural obstacle when they asserted that the dominant values of a society may act to effectively control and limit the political agenda by creating an atmosphere in which certain ideas are considered so illegitimate that they are simply unthinkable. As a result of this "mobilization of bias," these ideas or issues are relegated to the outer fringes of political discourse (McCoy, 1968).

If the paucity of women in the political process in the past has led to a marginalization of new ideas, issues, and political styles, then it follows that their inclusion should change the political agenda and discourse. In other words, if including women in politics does make a difference, it should be manifest by the appearance of new ideas and postures on public policy issues and perhaps even new ways of doing politics. This paper provides empirical support for the thesis that women's greater inclusion in formal politics has legitimated ideas and styles that were previously marginalized.

B. DEMOCRATIC THEORY, CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS AND WOMEN

Even a cursory look at women's representation in formal political institutions in liberal democracies leads to the conclusion that liberal democracies have historically not been very successful in attaining gender equity. Women in most liberal democracies, from the United States to Britain and Chile, have not achieved anything approaching equitable gender representation in politics. More light can be shed on this issue by exploring a bit further some of the ideas embedded in liberal democratic theory, especially the concept of citizenship.

In discussions about the nature of citizenship two versions are often articulated. The dominant view, in classical liberal democratic theory, sees citizens as individuals who have equal rights. The other recognizes the collective interests and rights of sub-groups in society. Let us look at the consequences for women of these two views of citizenship.

The first way to conceptualize citizenship is as a set of rights granted to all individuals who are considered equal. In effect, the concept of citizenship is assumed to be gender-neutral. No special treatment is accorded any sub-group in society. To do so might lead to a balkanization of society, that is, to the recognition of sets of groups who act more to achieve their parochial interests rather than seeing themselves as part of a society of individuals with a shared set of values. In this view, women, as individuals, should be granted and should take advantage of their citizenship rights.

However, women were historically not considered full citizens. They achieved suffrage, one of the fundamental rights of citizenship, much later than men, and only after great struggle. In Chile, women

were not legally entitled to exercise the suffrage until 1949. Even after gaining the vote, married women continued to lack full citizenship rights, including equal parental and property rights. In addition, women have faced difficulties in the work arena, getting lower salaries than their male counterparts and often being relegated to a limited category of jobs, especially domestic service. Last, women were, and continue to be, underrepresented in Chilean political institutions, in both elective and appointive positions. Democratic theory, as constituted, provides little in the way of concepts or strategies to help us understand why this is so.

In contrast, feminist criticism of liberal democratic theory includes a critique of its weakness with regard to the issues of citizenship and political equality (McCoy, 1968, pp. 93-111). Some feminist theorists have noted that the ways in which women and men gained full citizenship rights were gender-based. Carole Pateman has pointed out that the concept of citizenship was linked to defending one's country, a duty from which women were historically excluded (Pateman, 1985, p. 110). Instead, says Pateman, women won the right to vote based on their status as mothers, making for different notions of citizenship from the start and was a gender-based one.

A second way to conceptualize citizenship, and to deal with the problem of the historic denial of full citizenship rights to women, is to consider women as a discriminated group in society. This perspective is in contradiction with the classical liberal, individualist approach. If women as a collectivity have been denied full citizenship rights, then they have the collective right of redress. In other words, women as a collectivity are deserving of state policies designed to rectify the historic bias against them. These could include policies designed to create equal opportunity for women, so that they can effectively exercise their citizenship rights, and affirmative action programs, which, assuming a bias against them, create special opportunities for women to participate in politics. In Chile, both of these policies have been adopted by at least one political institution in the post-1990 period.

However, this view of citizenship raises the question of whether women, as a whole, constitute a special sub-group. Do they have special concerns and interests? Do they act consistently as though they have collective interests? Who articulates these interests, and what does it mean if different, conflicting sets of interests are articulated? Do women, as a group, bring something special or unique to politics? Is it essential in the political realm that women represent women? Although it can be argued that women should be considered a discriminated group, given the state actions historically taken to limit their citizenship rights, it is not so easy to demonstrate that women see themselves as a coherent group and act consistently as if they had collective interests.

C. WOMEN AS AN "INTEREST GROUP" AND MULTIPLE ARTICULATIONS OF GENDER INTERESTS

The issue of whether women constitute an interest group with clearly understood and articulated interests and whether or not they act in accord with their interests is a continuing topic of debate. Clearly, women are not like other "discriminated minorities" in society, since they make up a little over half of the total society and live in close proximity and intimacy with those who, assumedly, discriminate against them, men.[3]

Women do not always act by putting "women's interests" first. It is only under particular circumstances that men and women, products of complex and concrete historical, social, economic and political environments, act as gendered individuals, that is, as groups whose experiences are filtered through their gender perspectives and who have clearly identified gender interests. In other words, men and women act not solely as gendered individuals. They also act as members of specific class, race, ethnic, and religious groups. Moreover, because gender roles themselves are socially constructed, they vary from one society and time period to another, Thus, the particularities of one woman's gendered experience in a specific time and place may differ from that of women in other social realities. As Bookman and Morgen put it, women act not "...as generic mothers but as women from historically constituted race and class groups" (Bookman and Morgen, 1988, p. 23). In sum, gender, while a powerful filter through which men and women experience their lives, is not the only filter, nor is it a uniform filter.

How, then, can we understand why and when individuals act in defense of gender interests, especially with regard to the state? From where do these distinct articulations of gender interest emerge? Maxine Molyneux attempts to give us part of the answer by delineating two categories of gender interests, namely, practical gender interests, those coming out of women's concrete daily experiences, such as the struggle to preserve one's family, and strategic gender interests, what we would call a feminist agenda (Molyneux, 1986). While useful in some ways, Molyneux's formulation is in many ways a reflection of the class differences out of which these different gender formulations tend to emerge. As such, it imposes an artificial hierarchy of gender interests.

Class is a powerful mediator of gender interests. While working class women are more likely to mobilize around what Molyneux calls practical gender interests, their actions may function either to support traditional gender roles or to undermine them. Middle class women tend to be more open to "feminist consciousness," and are therefore more likely to mobilize around what Molyneux calls strategic gender interests. We need to examine carefully the ways in which class and the articulation of gender interests intersect, and whether or not these articulations support, challenge, or subvert traditional gender formulations. This becomes even clearer when we look at the interaction of women's articulations of their gender interests with the state.

The relationship between women, acting to advance their gender interests, and the state is a complex dynamic of resistance and appropriation, like two cultures, one dominant (and male), and the other, subordinate (female). Women may at times express their gender interests in the language of the dominant culture, that is, by using the traditional social construction of gender, even while taking actions that belie and ever undermine it. For example, women may use their traditional status as wives and/or mothers to confront the state and advance their cause, as did many Chilean grassroots women's groups that formed for economic survival and human rights. As Temma Kaplan stated in a seminal article on working class women and collective action is Barcelona at the turn of the century, "...women's disruptive

behavior in the public arena appears incompatible with stereotypes of women as docile victims. The common social thread is their consistent defense of their right to feed and protect their communities...to fulfill women's obligations, they rebelled against the state" (Kaplan, 1982).

Although some women may challenge traditional gender constructions, even as they verbally cover themselves in the mantle of motherhood, other women may mobilize in defense of traditional gender roles.[4] As Deniz Kandiyoti has noted, over time women developed strategies in order to survive specific historical forms of patriarchy. They may, in situations where their options are few, adopt the language of the dominant group and strike a "patriarchal bargain". That is, in the absence of other empowering options, they accept patriarchy because it provides them benefits, such as material security (Kandiyoti, 1988, pp. 217-290). In cases where this patriarchal bargain is threatened, women may mobilize to defend it. These women are not acting against their perceived interests, despite what social science observers might wish.[5] Thus, in situations where women have no real empowering alternative to the patriarchal bargain, they may strike a bargain and even mobilize to defend traditional gender interests, even while other women are mobilizing around a different set of gender interests. In other words, women in distinct social and economic situations may arrive at different conclusions about what their gender interests are. In sum, there is a variety of gender interest articulations, even of traditional gender values. There are articulations of traditional gender interests that openly reinforces patriarchy, (the patriarchal bargain), and others, which, at their core, challenge it by taking actions which subvert these traditional values even while using traditional gender images and language.

There are also multiple articulations of gender interests that oppose traditional gender roles. One, which we could call a "women's rights" perspective, emphasizes equality of opportunity and the importance of women gaining legal equality in order, they believe, to attain full citizenship rights. Other, more critical feminist articulations of gender interests tend to explain women's current status by referring to patriarchy. They are also more likely to stress gender differences and the positive contributions that women, as such, bring to politics, sometimes using essentialist arguments.

These multiple articulations of gender interests raise further questions about the ability of women to work collectively in order to advance a set of shared gender interests. Under what circumstances will individuals come together on the basis of their gender identity? That is, when does gender transcend other loyalties, and under what circumstances are their "gendered experiences" mediated or canceled by other loyalties? There must be some easily understood goal that can reach all women by appealing to some fundamental values which women share, or by the violation of very basic citizenship rights which women come to believe they ought to have.

II. THE CHILEAN CASE

A. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND: WOMEN'S MOBILIZATION

Women's mobilization has a long history in Chile, and this history provides some critical insights into the issue of gender politics in Chile. To begin with, the history of women's mobilization in Chile provides some answers to the question of the circumstances under which women come together as gendered individuals and take collective action. Two historical periods when gender interests overcame class and other differences can be identified. These are the 1940s struggle for the suffrage and the 1980s efforts to end the military dictatorship and re-institute democracy. In both periods women worked together in non-partisan, non-sectarian ways, forging a large coalition out of different grassroots organizations. In each case the unity of the women's movement was attained because of agreement on a central goal, the right to vote in the 1940s and respect for basic civil liberties, especially freedom from physical harm, arbitrary detention, and torture, in the 1980s. These desired goals fit any standard notion of citizenship rights.

In each case the movement declined after gaining its principal goal. In the 1940s, Cold War politics intervened in Chilean politics almost simultaneously with the winning of the vote in the form of a law to outlaw the Communist Party. Partisan differences emerged and split the movement when non-communist suffragists did not stand up for their communist colleagues. In the second case, partisan differences also fractured the movement after the 1988 plebiscite that voted down Pinochet's continued rule. Once a return to civilian politics was a realistic possibility after years of military rule, political parties regrouped and, looking toward parliamentary elections in December 1989, laid claim to the loyalty of all party militants, including women. This created fissures in the women's movement.

Even this brief review of these two periods demonstrates that women were able to mobilize as women when they felt themselves denied basic citizenship rights (the vote; basic civil liberties), and also when fundamental values they held dear were violated, such as maintaining the family or social peace. Once these issues were resolved, and in the absence of another overarching goal that could appeal to women of different classes, ideological or partisan perspectives, it was very difficult to maintain the unity of women's voices.

Second, the woman's movement, even in periods when it articulated a clear gender goal, was affected by larger societal political conflicts. In the 1940s, for example, despite the high degree of unity which women had achieved in their struggle to win the right to vote, the movement was drawn in to the larger political, and partisan, battle against communism. In the 1980s, the non-partisan nature of the woman's movement was undercut by political parties eager to re-establish themselves on the political map after more than a decade of military rule.

Third, the extraordinary unity of the woman's movement in the 1940s and 1980s does not mean that women in other historical moments were not mobilized. Even in the "quiet years" after gaining the vote, women did organize. Women also took collective action during the politicized years of Presidents Frei (1964-1970) and Allende (1970-1973), in *Juntas de Vecinos* (Neighborhood Associations) and *Centros de Madres* (Mothers' Centers) during Frei and the anti-Popular Unity *Poder Femenino* (Female Power) during Allende. Overall, the decades of struggle by women to attain the suffrage, coupled with other collective activities demonstrated a willingness to utilize grassroots collective action as a political

tool. Women's efforts to organize under military rule in the 1970s and 1980s were in this sense a logical outcome of earlier mobilizations. Nevertheless, they were highly significant acts because this resurgence of a visible woman's movement took place during a dangerous time of great repression. It is worth examining this period in some greater detail, as it also provides a backdrop to the activities of women with the return of democratic politics in the 1990s.

B. THE WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN THE 1980s

Women were able to organize during the period of military rule in part because the persecution of other groups, such as unions and political parties, which were male-dominated, left a political vacuum. Women, who felt propelled to leave the private space of the home for the public arena, did so mainly in order to protect and maintain their families. They began to fill the political space with their own forms of organization. The highly visible nature of their organization, coupled with their non-partisan and non-sectarian behavior, provided a model for men during this period.

Table I depicts the types of organizations which emerged during the 1980s. Women organized at all levels of society, from grassroots to elite. They came together for a variety of reasons, including economic survival, defense of human rights, and political action in favor of democracy. The women's organizations also had diverse types of relationships with political parties, including attempts to remain autonomous or semi autonomous, while others saw no problem in maintaining clear partisan links.

Table I
TYPES OF WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS IN THE 1980s

Level and Social Class	Purpose	Example
Elite well-known women, mostly middle-class and intelligentsia;	convokers of public acts; negotiators with political parties	Mujeres por la Vida; Concertación Democrática de las Mujeres
Mid-Level Middle class and working class women	coordinators for feminist agenda and women's organizations	MEMCH-83; Movimiento Feminista/La Morada
Grassroots working class women	economic survival	soup kitchens; handicraft work-shops; communal bakeries
middle and working class women	human rights	Agrupación de Familiares de Desaparecidos; Women's Department, Chilean Commission on Human Rights

Although women initially organized for reasons other than feminist consciousness-raising, over time, as they left the home and ventured out into the public space, filling the political vacuum left by men, they began to gain confidence. Some began to reevaluate who they were as women, and they sometimes adopted feminist consciousness-raising as a goal. The movement was also affected by the return from exile of women who had been exposed to European feminist thought. It was out of the 1980s struggles that the women's movement, quiescent during the 1950s through 1970s, emerged in a revitalized form and played a leading role in the anti-dictatorship struggles of the 1980s.

What also becomes clear from examining this period is that even though women created a vibrant social movement and were leading actors in the anti-dictatorship struggles, they did not speak with one voice. At its height, the women's social movement consisted of a mosaic of organizations that functioned at different levels, formed for different reasons, appealed to different social classes and, sometimes, partisan loyalties. Although these groups were able to work together, they also maintained their individuality and their differences.

In addition, although Chilean women did leave the private realm of home for the public realm, they often did so by utilizing traditional stereotypes of women. Women in search of their disappeared spouses and children presented themselves publicly as mothers and wives. Another group of women called themselves Women for Life, reinforcing the positive association between women, who through the procreation process are life-creators, and human life. At one point in the popular struggles, women protesting military repression and the use of torture devised an anti-military campaign slogan of "*manos limpias*" ("clean hands"). This formulation can be understood in several ways; one interpretation juxtaposes the purity of women against the dirty deeds of (male) soldiers and police. Thus, women in Chile successfully used traditional images of women as wives and mothers, as life-givers and sustainers, as innocent and pure, even while their public street actions contradicted the image of woman as a submissive wife relegated to the privacy of the home.

C. THE POLITICAL RIGHT AND WOMEN'S ISSUES

What I have called the women's movement in Chile of the 1980s is associated politically with the opposition to military rule and, in partisan terms, with the center-left political parties that make up the Concertación coalition. However, the military government and the political groups that supported it advocated a different interpretation of women's gender interests, based on a more traditional view of women's role in society. As María Elena Valenzuela explains, the Pinochet regime encouraged the traditional view of woman as homemaker and mother (Valenzuela, 1987), and it tried to support this traditional stance through public policy.[6] For example, in the waning months of the military dictatorship, the ruling junta outlawed therapeutic abortion. Women were to be encouraged to be mothers, under all circumstances.[7] In addition, the Pinochet government continued to build public housing under the vivienda básica, or basic housing, program. This program to provide subsidies for purchasing modest houses was directed toward poor women, thereby reinforcing the image of all women as homemakers. General Pinochet's wife took a leading role in the articulation of the traditional role of women through the activities of the governmental program of Mothers' Centers. Although Pinochet did appoint women to a number of mayoralties as well as to his Cabinet, these women voiced the same traditional view of the role of women in society. Thus, even in the period generally considered to be one when women were quite unified, there were still conflicting articulations of gender interests. Conflicts over these

contradictory views of women's interests and the appropriate role for women in Chilean society have continued to be fought during the 1990s.

D. THE TRANSITION TO FORMAL DEMOCRACY AND THE ARTICULATION OF A WOMAN'S AGENDA

In the late 1980s, the transition in Chile from military dictatorship to civilian democratic rule and concomitant efforts to consolidate democracy forced the grassroots women's movement to change. It galvanized activist women to direct their search for equal citizenship rights toward the state. Many women who had been active in grassroots groups, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and private women's academic centers turned their attention to the re-emerging political institutions. These activists identified two areas in which women could gain greater rights. The first was by changing the law to attain legal equality as well as to protect women against abuse and discrimination, which made the full exercise of their political rights difficult. The second strategy was to achieve political equity through gaining greater representation in political institutions, in political parties, elective office, and appointed governmental posts. This would not only mean a more equal political representation of women, but would help ensure that issues of concern to women would at least be taken seriously, if not acted upon, in the corridors of power.

Other women activists remained leery of formal politics. They remained largely outside of the re-established channels of political representation and worked on other kinds of gender issues, such as woman's sexuality. Some of these groups were very small and found it increasingly more difficult to be seen or heard. Overall, the women's movement became more diffused in the 1990s, as it used a variety of strategies to work for women's equity.

The woman's agenda that emerged with the political transition to civilian rule at the end of the 1980s aimed to change many features of Chilean law and practice that discriminated against women. Chilean civil code placed women, especially married women, in a subordinate position to the male. For example, married women did not have control over their personal estate, and fathers exercised sole parental authority over the children. In addition, the law did not recognize consensual unions and distinguished between legitimate and illegitimate children.

By 1989 an elite group of women who had worked with the Concertación coalition parties that were opposed to military rule decided to pressure the Concertación to include women's issues in its program. The Concertación women formed their own group to parallel the large Concertación coalition of opposition parties, the Concertación democrática de las mujeres, or Democratic Women's Concertation. They attempted to include a variety of issues of concern to women in the first Concertación program of 1989, by using their collective leverage to negotiate directly with Concertación representatives. The issues they were interested in included changes in the law to recognize the rights of married women over their children and property; the need for family planning and contraception; the feminization of poverty; wide-spread rape, including marital rape, and domestic violence against women; and discrimination in the work place. Although abortion, even therapeutic abortion, was illegal, and civil divorce did not exist, these were initially considered too controversial. The Concertación democrática de las mujeres was successful in their efforts to get many of these, and other policies, included in the first Concertación program.

Activist political women also pushed for two proposals that they believed would facilitate the enactment of the specific policies and changes in the law they advocated. These were, first, to create a special Cabinet-level agency that would work for women's rights and equity in all governmental policy. The second was to obtain a pledge from the Concertación's presidential candidate, Patricio Aylwin, that, once elected, the civilian government would ratify the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women, thereby giving women a stronger basis on which to agitate for legal changes. Women were successful in both of these initiatives.

The framing and articulation of a woman's agenda within the Concertación coalition was successful in large part because of the existence of a strong woman's movement in the 1980s. Women believed that they would reap the political benefits of their anti-dictatorship activities, that is, it would give them a better chance of obtaining political positions in the civilian government and of improving women's legal and socioeconomic status. Although the actions of the movement in the 1980s did help to legitimate women as political actors as well as legitimate, at least at the rhetorical level, much of the agenda that these women pushed, their battle for political equality and full citizenship rights continued to be arduous.

III. WOMEN IN 1990s POLITICS

A. THE POLITICAL ARENA: A GENDERED ARENA

It is important to consider the nature of the political arena that Chilean women were about to enter in 1990. Critiques of liberal democracy have noted that not only is the concept of citizenship gendered, so, too, is the political arena. Just what is the political environment within which women operate? Feminist theory asserts that when women, acting as gendered individuals, enter the political sphere, they encounter a playing field that is not level. The political arena, peopled by males for centuries, is not gender-neutral. Kathleen Jones' conceptualization of citizenship in the West can be read to describe politics: "...[It] is derived from a set of values, experiences, modes of discourse, rituals, and practices that both explicitly and implicitly privileges men and the "masculine" and excludes women and the "female" (Jones, 1990, p. 78). In other words, politics, which lies at the heart of the public domain, is a male-constructed arena. Since women and the issues they care most about have historically been marginalized from the political arena, what emerged was a male style of politics. This male mode of doing politics is taken as "normal," and has become the standard against which others are measured. If this is so, then women who enter politics must come to terms with this environment.

B. THE ELECTION PROCESS AND WOMEN[8]

The first major point of entry for women wishing to incorporate themselves into the formal political arena in 1989 were the elections for congress, an institution which had been closed since the September 1973 military coup. There were several aspects to women's efforts, beginning with their experiences within their political parties, in terms of being named to the party slate, second, surviving inter-party negotiations over the larger electoral coalitions' slate, and, last, the election process itself. Let us look at each of these.

The 1989 congressional elections held special importance because they constituted the first competitive elections in sixteen years. They were, in essence, the first objective measure of the political parties' electoral strength after years of dictatorship. For women, the election was also a test of their ability to compete for office after a decade of grassroots activism.

The results were both an individual and a collective shock for women. In interviews during that time, women expressed to me their lack of preparation for the way in which the nomination process unfolded. They were shocked and, in many cases, disillusioned by what had happened. In discussing the political process, many women talked about the double-dealing, the unkept promises, and the political games played by the men. They initially believed that the political work that they had done in the 1980s and their network of relationships would guarantee them adequate representation on the election slate. In other words, these women believed that they were working within a political community. Instead, they found the nomination and election processes fiercely competitive, an intense struggle, where there were many contestants for a few select positions. In addition to aspiring politicians who had stayed in Chile during the long years of the dictatorship, the jockeying for positions of power also included quite a number of politicians who had returned to Chile after years in exile. Even though the returning exiles had in some cases lived outside of Chile for over a decade, they believed that their (former) status as high-level politicians entitled them to a place on the ballot. Women as well as young people who had worked hard at the grassroots level tended to be frozen out of the political spoils. Many women stated that they had learned a lot from the process and had come to realize that, if they were going to be more successful in the future, they would have to act differently.

This reaction was not confined to the 1989 experience. There have been three sets of national elections in Chile since re-democratization, those of 1989, 1993, and 1997. In all three elections, women have struggled to gain a foothold in the congress. Over the course of the 1990s, women from different political parties and perspectives stated that they found the political arena to be inherently competitive, and that women are in general ill prepared for this. Several women politicians noted that women have to be willing to take risks, to "dare" to enter politics. One noted that a primary obstacle to women's greater participation is internal, that is, women's own hesitancy to put themselves in the public light. Others volunteered that they had not put themselves forward, but had been asked by the party to run for office.[9] All of these statements are indications of a discord between women's "way" of understanding politics and the real, more aggressive, and male-constructed, political world. The men in the political arena played by a set of rules that were different than the ones women were used to. In the long run, women will either have to adapt to this different world by appropriating its practices, rituals, and discourse, or try to challenge and transform it, either directly or indirectly.

Since political parties in Chile control the electoral slate, women's first work was within their own political parties. They soon discovered that the political parties seemed to have their own strategies with regard to running women for office. First, women have often been placed in districts where the party has little chance of winning. Second, they have often been placed in situations where women are running against other women, either within their binomial list, or against the opposing coalition's list. In 1993 Concertación women tried to avoid this problem by making a pact that they would not challenge each other in the same district during the slate selection process. In practice, that turned out to be impossible, and, in 1993, there were several nasty cases of women competing against each other for their party's nomination in the same district, or of having to change districts at the last moment. In the 1997 congressional elections, the women Concertación candidates went further and put together a common election support group, *Mujeres de Palabra*, Women of their Word. Although the initiative was under funded, it represented a new strategy by one coalition's women candidates. They ran as women

candidates, forged the beginnings of a common woman's platform by signing a common program of ten points, and held a large collective campaign event.[10]

After overcoming the gauntlet of party and coalition politics to attain a spot on the election slate, women then confronted the problem of financing their campaigns. This was especially difficult for women in the Concertación coalition. In general, the political parties of the Concertación have not had much in the way of financial resources to help their candidates. These parties, which had been repressed during the seventeen years of military dictatorship, were still owed recompense for the property and goods confiscated by the military in the 1970s. Additionally, the likelihood of raising large sums of money privately was small, since their members did not have the same kind of relationship with the business sector as did the parties on the right, the Renovación Nacional, National Renovation or RN, and Unión Democrática Independiente, Independent Democratic Union or UDI. Candidates from those two parties, including some women, were able to get campaign donations from private sector entrepreneurs. As a result of their larger campaign coffers, they were able to pay campaign workers, rather than rely on volunteers. One of the Concertación parties, the Partido por la Democracia, Party for Democracy or PPD, was able, in 1997, to give all its candidates an equal amount of campaign support, including posters and some money. The money would have to be repaid only if the candidate won the election. Other women candidates complained that their parties did little in the way of assisting them and favored men.

Women candidates of the Concertación were in especially disadvantaged positions with regard to financing campaigns because they tended not to have their own independent sources of capital, nor networks that would help raise large sums. In some cases, Concertación women were able to take out private loans, sometimes from friends and sometimes from a bank. Concertación women did devise some creative ways to raise funds. In 1993, supporters of one woman candidate who had been active in the women's movement sent letters asking for donations to international supporters of the women's movement. In 1997, as part of the coordinated efforts of the Mujeres de Palabra support group, campaign "bonds" were sold to supporters as a way of raising funds for women Concertación candidates. In general, however, women's campaigns tended to be under financed.

Despite all of the difficulties that women interested in running for congress have encountered, a growing number has been elected to that body. Together, the three sets of congressional elections provide enough data to permit one to draw some conclusions about women in the electoral process in Chile. Table II, below, outlines the degree of success women have had in the three electoral contests.

Table II

**WOMEN'S ELECTORAL SUCCESS IN THE CHILEAN CONGRESSIONAL
ELECTIONS OF 1989, 1993 AND 1997**
(Women from the two major electoral coalitions only)

Women Candidates	Senate (38 seats)					Chamber of Deputies(120 seats)					
	Nominated		Elected			Nominated			Elected		
	1989	1993	1989	1993	1997	1989	1993	1997	1989	1993	1997
Concertación Candidates+	4	1	2	0	1	16	10	15	4	6	7
Unión por Chile Candidates*	5	0	0	0	1	31	7	9	3	3	5
Independent Woman cand.						1			1		
Total women elected	9	1	2	0	2	47	17	25	7	9	13
Percent of women elected			5	0					6	7.5	11

+center-left
*right wing coalition

As Table II demonstrates, although the number of women nominated by the two major coalitions to run for office[11] has not increased measurably during the period 1989-1997, the number of women elected to office has. In 1989 seven women were elected to the Cámara de Diputados, comprising 5.8% of the body. In 1993, the figure rose to nine (7.5%), and, in 1997, thirteen (10.8%). Of the thirteen, seven are from the Concertación (as opposed to six in 1993), five are from the Union por Chile (versus three in 1993), and one is independent. Although the overall numbers are increasing very slowly, women have, for the first time in Chilean history, broken into the double digits in at least one house.[12] However, this overall growth includes an increase of women on the Right, some of whom will most likely not support a women's rights stance on gender issues. Instead, women representatives will voice different sets of gender interests.

The increased number of women elected to office in 1997 is an interesting phenomenon, worth some examination. This was an election in which the electorate showed a rejection of politics as usual, with high levels of abstention from voting, from registering to vote, and through spoiled ballots. In this atmosphere, women may have benefited by their image of outsiders to the world of politics, as "above" dirty every-day politics, that is, as more credible and trustworthy than male politicians. Thus, traditional gender role differences may have helped women running for office in 1997.

C. PROFILES OF WOMEN ELECTED TO OFFICE

Who are the women who are elected to office at the national level? What characteristics do they share, and are there different patterns for success between male and female legislators? In this section I draw conclusions based on data compiled about the Chambers of Deputies of 1990 and 1994. What emerges is a clear profile of female legislators which contrasts with that of male legislators.[13]

As opposed to male legislators, more women legislators represent districts in greater Santiago, almost all have a professional degree, and most of the women studied in the most prestigious universities of their region. In addition, the women's professional degrees are concentrated in the areas of pedagogy, sociology and engineering, whereas men are more much likely to be lawyers (over half of male legislators have degrees in law). Women legislators are strikingly different from their male counterparts in terms of their employment pattern; none, for example, has worked for private enterprise, opting, instead, for public, political party, or academic posts. In addition, fewer women legislators were student leaders, and fewer joined political parties during their student years. A majority, however, unlike their male counterparts, currently hold national level positions in their political parties. The latter may largely be a consequence of the small number of women in politics.

The differences in gender profile denote to a large extent the gender differences within Chilean society, especially the different educational and career paths of men and women to date. In addition, it seems apparent that women have had greater difficulty in breaking into politics in the regions, which tend to be more conservative.

Interviews with women legislators reinforce some of these patterns. Many of the women are relatively new to politics, and do not have a clear plan for political advancement. Some became interested in politics through previous substantive work in some field, such as human rights (e.g., Martita Worner), or public safety and security (e.g., María Pía Guzmán).

In addition, based on interviews, it appears that a number of the women saw themselves as unusual. For example, some came from families in which, they said, their fathers took them seriously. Many of their fathers were interested in politics, even if they were not politicians themselves, and they took them to political events. A number of the women have strong personalities, and it appears that they would have no problems dealing with men.

There is another characteristic of some of the women that is important to point out. A disproportionate number of women elected to the congress are connected to highly visible politicians or political families. These have included two of the women deputies, who are daughters of former presidents, and the two women senators, who are daughters of a former president and a former member of the military junta.[14] The disproportionate number of "daughters of" is, perhaps, an expression of the limited resources available to women in the political sphere, and, therefore, of the special boost which being the daughter of a leading public figure may give. This family tie, however, does not guarantee victory; one of these "daughters of" lost her 1997 bid for re-election.[15]

D. WOMEN IN THE LEGISLATURE: GENDERED RULES AND PRACTICES

Once women entered the legislature, what were their experiences? Do their experiences provide support for the hypothesis that the political arena is a gendered one? The Chilean case provides an especially interesting case to examine, because there was a break of seventeen years in democratic rule, so that when congress re-opened it had to re-create itself. The question is, when rules and procedures were formulated, on what kinds of assumptions about political behavior were they based?

The concept of the political arena as a gendered arena seems apt in the Chilean case. Many women legislators in the first congress of 1990 found it to be an inhospitable place.[16] They felt they had to prove themselves to their male colleagues, who, often, did not take them seriously, especially when they ventured outside of the substantive areas that were considered to be of traditional interest to women. It is important to point out here that the legislature, although re-opened in 1990 after a seventeen-year lapse, has a long institutional history and culture. For a very long time, it felt like a "gentlemen's club," and maintained certain rules, both formal and informal, in keeping with this idea. For example, there is the tradition of *pareo*, or pairing, in which a legislative member will pair him/herself up with an opposing member for a certain issue. In case of the unavoidable absence of one of the pair, the other will not vote, thus maintaining the partisan balance in the chamber. Solely a Senate tradition in pre-1973 Chile, in 1990 the Chamber of Deputies included the *pareo* in its rules, thereby extending this "gentleman's agreement" style of politics to this house. In addition, certain norms of "gentlemanly decorum" were expected of all members; shouting and, worse, physical fighting were not part of the culture. This began to change after 1970, during the highly politicized and polarized years of the Allende government.[17] It was into this "gentleman's club" that women ventured.

A number of the women I interviewed believe that there is a "male logic" in the Congress. For example, the structure of the legislative schedule creates difficulties for women. The National Congress is situated in Valparaíso, a coastal city two hour's drive from Santiago. Since most of the representatives do not live in Valparaíso, they have to juggle family life with weekly trips to the Congress. Legislators typically spend Tuesday through Thursday in Valparaíso and return to Santiago on Friday to meet with representatives of the executive branch and with their political parties. Those who live in Santiago are able to stay for the week-end and spend time with their family. Those women whose home district is not in Santiago fly home over the week-end in order to see constituents and their families. This arrangement creates logistical difficulties for all members of Congress, but it is particularly acute for women, especially married women with children. For example, one woman legislator with children who lives in Santiago would drive home every day from Valparaíso because she wanted to spend evenings with her family. Every Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday she got up early to drive the two hours to the Congress; she tried to leave Valparaíso by 7 p.m. each day so that she could spend some evening time with her family. In doing so, she sacrificed her attendance at (informal as well as formal) evening meetings.

Many of the women legislators could not survive the legislative routine were it not for reliable household help. One woman representative told me that, while other candidates might thank their political consultants first, her major thanks went to her children's nanny. Male politicians, especially older, more traditional males, do not have these kinds of worries.

As a result, the women legislators tend either to be older, with grown children, single, or divorced. Women from the ages of 25 to 45, who are most likely to be married and have dependent

children, are very conflicted about becoming involved in electoral politics. In fact, of the three women legislators elected to the 1994 Congress who are married with children, one did not run for reelection because of family reasons.

Over the course of seven years, however, the atmosphere within the legislature has changed. In 1997 two women were elected to be vice presidents of the Chamber of Deputies. Their election was a first in Chilean history. It was a clear indication of significant changes in the culture of the institution. Women deputies may be able to build on their experience in the third congress (1998-2002). While the turnover among women legislators was high from 1990 to 1994), there is much greater continuity from 1994 to 1998. This situation was particularly acute for Concertación candidates, because although all three of the women from parties on the right were reelected in 1994, none of the 1990 Concertación deputies returned to Congress in 1994. Of the nine women who served in the 1994 Chamber of Deputies, six were re-elected. Moreover, of the new deputies, three of those elected to the 1998 chamber had served in the first legislature, while four are new. However, 6 of the 13 women deputies are from parties on the right. Even though some have taken a woman's rights position on some specific issues, there are others who believe in traditional gender interests. The largest number of women of any one party in the 1998 congress is from the "center-right" National Renovation party.

Although there are differing views of how much women in the legislature have really worked together, there was more collective work and crossing of Left-Right partisan lines in the 1994 congress than in the 1990 one. The two women vice presidents of the lower chamber in 1997, María Antonieta Saá (PPD) and Marina Prochelle (RN) developed a relationship of trust which allowed them, along with other women deputies, to work on a number of projects jointly, including one for infants. Prochelle's positions on a series of issues affecting women, such as civil divorce and filiation, are similar to those of Concertación deputies. Given the high degree of continuity of women deputies from the 1994 to 1998 legislatures, there is a base of gender support on which to build.

It is worth pointing out here, as well, that some women have consciously chosen to work in areas that are "non-traditional" for women. Whether consciously or not, they are following the view that women must break out of a partially semi-imposed issue ghetto and demonstrate that they are effective politicians in traditionally male areas. Former Deputy Romy Rebolledo, for example, served on the Commissions of Finance and Work in the 1994 congress, and saw herself as a politician who happened to be a women, not as a woman politician.[18] Likewise, former deputy and now Senator Evelyn Matthei made clear that she would not be relegated to "traditional women's areas" in her legislative work. Moreover, to the extent that women's public activities remain in the social realms of health and education, these activities may continue to be seen as extensions of women's traditional gender role.

Another significant change wrought by women in the legislature is structural: the creation of a Commission of the Family in the Chamber of Deputies. The Commission's membership contains a substantial number of women deputies, as well as a woman president. It has played a crucial role in a number of legislative initiatives of significance to women. It is viewed as an important mechanism whereby issues of concern to woman have a channel for discussion and debate.

Overall, given the small percentage of women in the legislature, those advocating a woman's rights perspective have achieved quite a lot. A significant number of issues are now on the political plate which would never have arrived there without the support of women legislators. The women legislators have proven themselves to be good legislators and good campaigners, who are able to win elections and

to work effectively within the legislative body. And they have won positions of authority within the Chamber of Deputies. This has been accomplished while accounting for less than 10% of the body.

E. GENDER INTERESTS AND WOMEN IN GOVERNMENT

How has the election of women to the legislature affected the legislative agenda? Since 1990, a small, but growing group of women politicians, mostly in the Chamber of Deputies, has articulated women's rights positions and pushed for legislative and other policy changes. The women in the legislature were assisted by a small number of women who had gained high posts in the executive branch ministries. These two groups formulated a set of issues that forms the basis of the government's woman's rights agenda. Another key player in the formulation of a woman's rights agenda has been SERNAM, the Cabinet-level office for women designed to coordinate government policy to advance women's rights. A law creating this organ was passed in 1991, during the first year of the new civilian government. In addition, the actions of a few NGOs who are dedicated to women's rights have, at times, been key.

The interaction of all these groups has resulted in some significant strides for those advancing a woman's rights perspective of gender interests. These include bills, some of which have become law while others are making their way through congress, as well as policy initiatives through SERNAM. Last, the government gave commitments designed to achieve greater political parity to the Grupo Initiativa, a societal group which formed in Chile to follow up on the proposals made at the Beijing United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. The group includes a number of leading NGOs in Chile that supports equity for women. The list of issues of concern to these women include the following:

1) legal changes regarding property rights of married women
2) intra-family violence
3) changes in the definition of rape and the elimination of anti-sodomy laws for adults
4) changes in civil matrimony law to allow for civil divorce
5) legal changes to eliminate legal distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children
6) anti-poverty programs directed towards women heads of household
7) sexual harassment
8) greater rights for domestic employees
9) affirmative action for governmental posts.

At the same time as these groups have been working to advance women's equality, there has also been mobilization by groups in favor of maintaining women's traditional place in society. These views have been advanced by a major right-wing think tank and ardently supported by several women from right-wing parties, both in the legislature and in local government. This traditionalist gender view has conflicted openly with women's rights and feminist postures in a number of arenas, including in the legislature and in the press. These women express their disagreement through explanations that emphasize woman's fundamental role as mother and sustainer of the family. The most ardent supporters of this point of view are found in the UDI. Their postures support the "patriarchal bargain," in which women remain within the home in exchange for material security provided by their spouses.

F. EXPANDING WOMEN'S VOICE IN GOVERNMENT: THE CREATION OF SERNAM

Once presidential and congressional elections had take place in December 1989, attention focused on the policy-making institutions of the state. With the change in focus to state institutions, the issue of the creation and purpose of SERNAM became highly significant and hotly contested. Legislative approval for the creation of the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (National Service for Women), or SERNAM, was the fulfillment of a 1990 campaign promise made by then Concertación candidate Patricio Aylwin to the organized woman's movement. The highly controversial issue also brought out into the open, in public debate, two conflicting interpretations of gender interests.

SERNAM, as proposed by the government, was to be transformed into a Cabinet-level agency to advocate and coordinate governmental programs for woman's rights. Its purpose was to act as an advocate for women within the executive branch, principally by coordinating programs for women's equality among the different governmental ministries.

Newly inaugurated President Aylwin named a woman to head the proposed SERNAM and sent a bill establishing it to the legislature. The period leading up to the congressional vote establishing SERNAM was tense. Even though Aylwin named Soledad Alvear, a woman who had not been prominent in the woman's movement and who was not considered a feminist to head the agency, the struggle to win legislative approval of SERNAM was not easy. A Conservative think tank, the Instituto de Desarrollo y Libertad, mounted a major campaign against the creation of SERNAM. They claimed it would destroy women as mother and wife and that the so-called equality of men and women was unnatural. In general, there was virulent criticism of the proposal from the Right, which claimed that SERNAM would try to inject radical feminist ideas in Chile. Critics argued stridently that women could not be treated the same as men, that women achieved their greatest satisfaction in their natural roles of mother and homemaker, that is, within the family. This view was pressed not only by the right-wing parties, but also by a woman deputy on the Right. The opposition to SERNAM's formation was a clear attempt by men to maintain traditional gender roles, supported by women on the Right who believed that it was in their best interests to maintain their traditional role.

As a result of the acrid public debate, the bill to establish SERNAM took months to pass. In order to ensure its approval, SERNAM's proponents, including women legislators and women working in SERNAM, decided on a low-profile strategy. Women legislators, for example, who were determined not to scare the men, decided neither to form a woman's caucus nor to work together in a woman's commission.[19] They also agreed to modifications in the bill. The fact that women themselves were publicly divided on the SERNAM issue, along with the tone of the discourse about SERNAM's purpose, illustrates the significant penetration and persistence in Chilean society of the traditionalist view of woman, among women as well as men. Moreover, it was an early sign that gender issues would be a point of conflict between the Center-Left government and the Right.

What about the work which SERNAM carries out? How does this affect the situation of women? SERNAM focused many of its programs during the Aylwin government on the issue of the feminization of poverty. There were several reasons for this. When Aylwin took office in March of 1990, poverty levels in Chile were high. The Concertación coalition promised that it would begin to deal with the large "social debt" created during seventeen years of military dictatorship. A significant percentage of the families living in extreme poverty were female-headed households. In addition to anti-poverty programs, SERNAM set as a priority changing Chilean law so that it would be in compliance with the United

Nation's Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination against Women. This was the second demand of the women's movement to which candidate Aylwin had agreed.

Under President Frei, SERNAM began to work on its Plan de Igualdad de Oportunidades para las Mujeres, 1994-1999 (Equal Opportunities Plan for Chilean Women, 1994-1999). The Plan, which had been drawn up by SERNAM staff in 1993, during the last year of Minister Alvear's administration, places the issue of women's rights within the larger context of the Concertacion's three goals of strengthening democracy, national economic development, and modernization. The nine substantive chapters of the Plan deal with women's legal rights, family, education, culture, work, health, participation and the strengthening of public institutions (SERNAM, 1994). Among other things, the Plan promises to put Chilean constitutional and statutory law in conformity with the United Nation's Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (SERNAM, 1994). In reality, it will prove difficult for SERNAM to carry out all the objectives listed in the Plan. For now, the agency has chosen three areas as its top priorities: education, work, and political participation. The focus with all three continues to be women in extreme poverty.

The Right has attacked the Equal Opportunities Plan with strong rhetoric. For example, the Institute of Liberty and Development attacked the Equality Plan in a publication entitled "De la lucha de clases a la lucha de géneros" (From class struggle to gender struggle), in which it tried to link gender issues to the Marxist concept of class struggle (Instituto Libertad y Desarrollo, 1995). In the Chilean political context, such an analogy is intended to stigmatize those using gender analysis as dangerous extremists. In addition, fifteen Senators, including three Christian democratic Senators, signed a statement that attacked the Equality Plan as being influenced by "a radical feminism that tends to ignore the existence of innate differences between men and women and the complementarity between the two sexes".[20]

SERNAM itself has not been free of political conflict. Even as the agency began to tackle issues relating to women's second-class position in Chilean society during the Aylwin administration, political differences within it emerged. There were programmatic differences between Socialist and PPD women who were more clearly feminist in belief, and Christian Democratic women, who maintained more traditionalist views of women's place in society. These differences led to internal conflicts, culminating in the dismissal of the Socialist sub-director of the agency. During Frei's administration, there were also differences between Minister Bilbao and sub-director Paulina Veloso, ending in the latter's replacement.

Today, although many women support the work of SERNAM and believe that the fact of its existence is a major step forward for women, they also feel very disappointed by the cautiousness of the state agency. Despite SERNAM's efforts to advance women's issues, it is seen by some women activists as unwilling to take on controversial issues. They wish that it would take more assertive postures on certain issues, and they believe that it is important for an independent grass-roots women's movement to keep pressuring it from the outside.[21] This assessment of SERNAM demonstrates the cooptive capacity of the state, to appropriate, to tone down and even to change the discourse of grassroots women. The potential of the institution has been weakened by internal political and philosophical differences, as well as by the natural proclivities of state bureaucracies to moderate social demands that come from society. At the same time, the vehemence of the traditionalist politicians against SERNAM's agenda demonstrates that, at least for some segments of the population, SERNAM's positions are not seen as cautious or weak.

Despite all the difficulties, since its legislative approval SERNAM has served as a focal point for the articulation and expansion of women's rights. Its Equal Opportunities Plan has made clear the need to

achieve a level playing field in order for women to have the possibility of attaining effective full citizenship and political participation. In addition, SERNAM has worked with women in the legislature to shape new public policies that advance women's citizenship rights.

G. POLICY ISSUES

Does having women in formal positions of power and authority make a difference in terms of public policy? In the policy area it is possible to see indications of progress. Since 1990 the Chilean government has taken up the issue of women's rights. Its conceptualization fits within that of redressing the historic bias against women, by taking certain policy actions which affect the entire sub-group of women. These include the creation of SERNAM, discussed above, and the adoption of the Equal Opportunities Plan. Given the legislative efforts to date, it also appears that having women in political institutions, such as in the legislature and serving as Ministers of State, does make a difference in terms of the kinds of issues raised, legislation sponsored and approved, and public policies adopted. Although the number of women in Chilean political institutions is still quite small,[22] they have articulated the need for equality of women's rights. They have also achieved visibility for a set of gender issues which hitherto either had not been on the political agenda, or, as in the case of civil divorce, had not be considered seriously. The legislative initiatives, as noted earlier, include improving legal rights for married women, intra-family violence, civil divorce, sexual harassment, child-care facilities, and the filiation bill, which would eliminate legal distinctions between legitimate and illegitimate children. This list includes issues that could be characterized as falling within the area of women's "traditional family" concerns, as well as ones that could be understood from the vantage point of attaining full citizenship rights, such as property rights in marriage.

The fate of the legislative efforts has been mixed to date. In part, this is due to the control of the Senate by the Right, which has held up many governmental initiatives. Among those bills still in the Senate are civil divorce, changes in rape and anti-sodomy laws (the latter, for adults), and additional changes in the legal status of married women.

Among the legislative successes is a legal change, approved during Aylwin's term of office, which permits married women to administer their property under the regime of separate, as opposed to conjugal, property. Another major legislative victory under Aylwin was the approval of a law that criminalizes family violence, which is a very serious problem in Chile. During the second Concertación government of Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle, the bill to end the legal distinction between legitimate and illegitimate children was, after a five-year struggle, approved by the Congress in September 1998. In addition, the bill to permit civil divorce made real progress. Not only was it debated by congress for the first time in its history (hitherto it had been bottled up in commission), but the bill was approved by the lower chamber in September 1997. Last, a proposal to institute an affirmative action program to ensure better political representation of women was included in a Concertación constitutional reform package. Although the latter has scant likelihood of success, the idea was taken seriously and incorporated into the bill.

The congressional debates about many of these policy issues, as well as discussions about the 1990 law to create SERNAM and define its mandate, the 1995 Beijing Conference Report and the Equal Opportunities Plan were often very acerbic in nature. They revealed strongly held anti-feminist, and sometimes, anti-women's rights attitudes, including by some women. The issue of intra-family violence,

however, raised much less conflict than other issues, and was approved by both houses unanimously. Other issues, such as civil divorce, crossed party lines; for example, Ivan Moreira, an UDI party member who is quite conservative on other issues, spoke out passionately in favor of civil divorce. While some women from parties on the right, such as María Angélica Cristi, opposed civil divorce, another, Marina Prochelle, voted in favor of it.[23]

Although women in the legislature wish that more could be done, it is clear from this review of public policy issues that many of these issues would never have seen the light of day had there not been women in government pushing them.

H. POLITICAL PARTIES: OBSTACLES TO WOMEN'S GREATER POLITICAL PARTICIPATION?

Given their control over local as well as national electoral slates, Chilean political parties are important sites for either advancing or holding back women's political participation. Not only do parties control the electoral slates at the both local and national levels; they also recommend potential political appointees to the government, which usually listens to the party's preferences and is mindful of maintaining inter-party balances in government posts. Women, especially in the Concertación, have complained that the parties have not been open to women's participation, and that they constitute a major bottleneck for women's participation.

There are, however, important distinctions to be made among the major political parties, which demonstrate differing degrees of receptivity to women. First of all, three of the major political parties have instituted some form of affirmative action for internal party posts; two of them, the PS and PPD, have had this policy for a number of years. The third, the PDC, more recently adopted a form of affirmative action, which it gave the name affirmative action, or *Medidas de acción positiva*. This was done because PDC women felt that the party would never accept a policy called *discriminación positiva*, or positive discrimination. The policy was adopted by the National Council in 1996 and implemented in 1997.[24]

Although there has been some advancement, most informants still cite the parties as a principal barrier to women's greater political participation. Despite the fact that the three major parties within the Concertación, the Christian Democrats or PDC, the Socialists or PS, and the Party for Democracy or PPD, have all instituted some form of affirmative action programs for internal party posts, they have not extended this policy to electoral party slates. When the parties achieve that, they will demonstrate a real commitment to equal opportunity for women, as well as a clear willingness to share power. No kind of affirmative action program exists within either the RN or the UDI.

The PPD has been the party within the Concertación that appears most open to women's participation.[25] The party has one of the highest numbers of women deputies —three in both the 1994 and 1998 congresses, and the last six party nominations to government posts, at least as of January 1998, were all women. In addition, In 1994, the party heeded newly elected President Frei's call to the Concertación parties to nominate women for ministerial posts; one of its women nominees, Adriana Delpiano, serves as a Minister of State (Bienes Nacionales). What accounts for the party's increasing willingness to share power with its women members? It may be due partly to the fact that the PPD is a new party, without the ideological and cultural baggage of older ones. In addition, according to at least

one PPD women, the party has created an internal culture that is more accepting of women. In addition, the role of its leaders is important; several PPD women noted that the party has been much more open to women's participation under its current president, Sergio Bitar, than the preceding one. Last, PPD women include a number of women's rights advocates and feminists, such as María Antonieta Saá, Adriana Delpiano, Sofía Prats, and, most recently, Adriana Muñoz, who have been willing to work within party structures to advance the cause of women's equity.

Although the Socialist Party has been criticized for being less receptive to women's equal participation, its lack of a coherent internal structure, and the strength of informal groupings within it are all factors which militate against women advancing.[26] Two of the most successful PS women, both of whom attained the position of vice presidents, are women with their own power base.[27] There have also been signs of a more positive nature, for example, when socialist women began to regroup and reorganize in late 1997.

The PDC, the third large party within the Concertación, has a somewhat mixed history with regard to women's rights. There has long been an internal conflict within the party between those who hold a more traditional gender view of women's roles, and those who take a woman's rights stance. This split, which exists among PDC women as well as men, and has its origins in large part the party's Catholicism, has been expressed institutionally in the existence of both a Women's Department and a Technical Political Women's Committee. The former supports a more traditional stance for party women, while the latter, formed only about six years ago, professes a more progressive gender stance. The more progressive wing finally won the battle for greater political representation within the party with the approval of an affirmation action program in 1996, which was supported by its party president then, Alejandro Foxley.[28] The formation of the Technical Political Women's Committee and the approval of an affirmative action program within the party attest to the coming of age of a new generation of younger, professional women within the party who hold more liberal views on divorce, reproductive issues, and women's rights in general. As in the case of the PPD, however, the support of a key (male) party player —in this case Foxley— made a tremendous difference in party policy. Despite this victory, there remain clear differences within the party regarding the issue of gender roles of women in Chilean society, and these are reflected in policy discussions of issues such as civil divorce.

On the right, there are striking differences between the two major parties, Renovación Nacional and UDI. UDI takes a traditional gender stance regarding women in politics; although there are UDI women at the local level, there are no UDI women in congress.[29] Moreover, the party ideology, even as articulated by some of its younger women and men, holds to the traditional viewpoint that the proper place for women is in the home. They may participate at the local level, which they see as an extension of the home and family issues, but there is still resistance to their participation at the national level, which is still considered a male preserve.[30]

The RN party, on the other hand, has been open to women's participation, although it has not instituted any form of affirmation action program within the party. Both wings of the party, the "hard-line" right and the "liberal" wing, have supported women. Deputy Lily Pérez' initial entrance into party politics, for example, was supported by leading party member at the time, Sergio Onofre Jarpa.[31] The more "liberal" wing of the party, headed, until 1998, by Andrés Allamand, appeals to the younger elements of the party. It has pushed the concept of a modern, center-right party, including a more socially progressive posture with regard to women's rights.[32] Although the party has the largest women's delegation in the 1998 Chamber of Deputies, these women do not take a unified stance on issues such as divorce and filiation. However, none of the party's women take a feminist posture. This may mean that

the party has not felt threatened by the presence of women high in its ranks. In addition, the fact that the party has two distinct ideological wings within it may also facilitate the existence of women with somewhat diverse views about women's rights. In interviews with RN women deputies, none felt that the party constituted a barrier to women's political advancement.[33]

Given this overview of the political parties, it is clear that the situation for women within the major political parties is not uniform. Some parties constitute more of a barrier to women's advancement than others do. The party's official ideology regarding the role of women in society serves as only a partial indicator of its openness to women. Other factors, including the nature of the party culture and the role of party leaders, are significant. Clearly, parties with gender philosophies that tend towards the traditional, and which believe that woman's "natural place" is in the home, will not be hospitable environments for women. In addition, all political parties will continue to be highly competitive places —for both men and women— in the struggle for a place on the electoral slate. The role of political parties as political gatekeepers remains a key issue for women. Continued efforts to extend affirmative action policies to the electoral slates, as well as internal party posts, are important.

I. STRATEGIES FOR WOMEN'S POLITICAL EMPOWERMENT

Although women interested in advancing the cause of women's political empowerment have made some inroads in politics, the gain has been slow. In this section I ask what strategies are available to women as a collectivity for advancing these gender interests and I discuss several possible strategies.

One strategy is that women act as role models and facilitators for other women. The strategy of women helping others ascend the political ladder is not clearly borne out in the Chilean case. At the lower levels, women's organizations have supported women in politics, for example, women who publicly supported María Antonieta Saá's 1993 attempt to get on her party's electoral slate for congress, and various courses to train women leaders run by women's institutes, such as the Instituto de la Mujer. In addition, when the comuna or township of Huechuraba was created, Conchalí mayor María Antonieta Saá, recommended to then President Aylwin that he name Sofía Prats, who she had asked to work with her, to the Huechuraba post. He did, and Prats is still mayor, having won the two succeeding elections in 1992 and 1996.[34]

However, at the highest levels, there does not appear to be as much mentoring. Among women ministers, for example, only one, Adriana Delpiano, explicitly works to foster women leaders in her ministry. She has named many women to posts within the ministry and instituted an equal opportunity plan. In addition, one of her regional staff member, Jacqueline Scafiarelli, won a congressional seat in that district in the December 1997 congressional elections.[35] SERNAM's first minister, Soledad Alvear, was able to use her SERNAM post to advance to the Justice ministry in the second Concertación government, but it is less clear that she herself has acted as a mentor. Her successor at SERNAM has a very different personality and trajectory; to all appearances, she is not especially interested in advancing her political career beyond SERNAM. However, both these women had difficulties with the first sub-director during their tenure as head of SERNAM; in each case, the individual was replaced. SERNAM itself, as an institution, has been criticized for having an internal culture of conflict and pettiness among women functionaries, rather than a culture that fosters women leaders. This lack of women as mentors for other women may be a result of the paucity of women in high posts and of the competitive nature of

politics, which makes it difficult for women to foster both their own career and that of other women, at the same time.

In addition, women in the political arena have not, as a rule, been able to work together as much as they might. For example, one informant noted that women in the PPD, which, as a party has been more open to women's participation than others, come to meetings without any prior agreement on issues, although their male colleagues tend to do this.[36] Again, this behavior may be a consequence of the small number of women in the party, coupled with women's lack of political experience.

In the congress, there has been a change over the course of seven years of congressional activity. During the first congress of 1990 to 1994, the women deputies decided not to form any kind of women's group, and they tended to work individually, especially after the death of Laura Rodriguez. In the second congress, 1994 to1998, women have worked more collectively on a series of issues, crossing both party and coalition lines.[37] However, there is still some difference of opinion about how much women have cooperated, and how much more they could.

A second possible strategy is to use the local arena as a training ground for women to advance to national politics. The data, to date, do not demonstrate much use of such a strategy among Chilean women in politics, although there are several interesting cases. Of the women in the national legislature, two, María Angélica Cristi and María Antonieta Saá, built political bases as mayors prior to becoming deputies. A third, Lily Pérez successfully used her position as city council member or concejala, to jump to the national level as deputy, beating a woman incumbent in the process. There are reasons to believe that the local level might serve as a port of entry into politics for women, for example, as a training ground for politics, and as a geographic area which is close to home and therefore easier to participate in for women with small children. However, the utility of using the local level as a port of entry is disputed. Many women in Chile do not see this as viable. They claim that because party slates for city council are controlled by national parties women at the local level are subject to the same party barriers as at the national level. Second, the local level is seen by many as more an extension of the traditional role of women as homemakers, rather than women as policy-makers. There is also skepticism that women can make the jump from the local to the national levels. Despite these criticisms, it has been possible for some women to use the local level to build a base of support, as the three above cases denote. In addition, several male mayors have tried to use these posts to launch them to the presidency.[38] One could argue that the local arena might be a more important avenue for women than for men, given that men have other means of advancement which are not necessarily as open to women.

Yet another strategy to advance women in politics is for those groups who advocate a woman's rights position to work together in a more coordinated way, including grassroots organizations, party workers, and women in the legislative and the executive branches. This strategy has been undercut somewhat in Chile by the state of the women's social movement, which many see as debilitated and diffuse. However, there are some examples of such efforts. One is the formation of the group Mujeres de Palabra, to support women candidates for congress in 1997. Another is the and cross-fertilization that takes place when women in grassroots groups and NGOs take on governmental posts or do governmental consulting. The woman who was named as sub-director of SERNAM in 1997, for example, came from a private woman's think tank, Instituto de la Mujer, the Woman's Institute. Given the small population of Chile, especially of its elite, such permeability is inevitable. It may also be beneficial, since having ties with government officials gives one a better chance of influencing policy. Another example of the successful influence of governmental policy is one by NGOs articulating women's gender interests at the societal level in the Grupo Initiativa, or Initiative Group. This group, which formed after the Beijing

Woman's Conference, has negotiated directly with government officials to foster women's equality. One concrete example of their success was the signing, in September 1997, of a commitment to carry out a series of governmental actions to further gender equity in politics. This group, despite its public face, is not really a grassroots group, since it consists of representatives of non-governmental organizations, some of which have close relationships with government officials. In this case, their ties, in the end, may have facilitated the attainment of their goals.

IV. CONCLUSIONS: WOMEN'S CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS, POLITICAL REPRESENTATION, AND DEMOCRATIC THEORY

In Chile the existence of a woman's movement, the articulation of a woman's rights agenda, and collective efforts in the 1990s to implement this agenda have met with some success. Not only has an agenda emerged, but women have also begun to gain greater voice in formal political institutions. The presence of women in diverse political institutions has made a difference. True, not all the women in politics have spoken with one voice or articulated the same set of gender interests. Not all have acted differently than men, in style or content, reflecting, instead, long-time differences among women in their understanding of what constitutes women's "real gender interests" and what strategies to use when one is a minority in order to get ahead in politics. But significant advances have been made. The political discourse has been broadened to include issue that used to be marginal or unmentionable, such as civil divorce, domestic violence, and affirmative action. Public policies have been enacted as well. Despite these advances, a series of obstacles —cultural, economic and political— to woman's full exercise of her citizenship rights still exists.

Although the strategy of gaining collective citizenship rights for women as a sub-group in society has been used with some degree of success in Chile, questions remain. Political quotas for women in elective and appointive office constitute one area in which there is no consensus in Chile. Although a bill has been presented to the Congress that would institute quotas, it is part of a larger electoral reform that is not likely to prosper. Moreover, when differences about what women's interests emerge, they can be used to deny all women these rights. Who really speaks for women? Which gender interests should be represented? Is there any way to get around this dilemma?

It is also clear that women in formal positions of power who attempt to challenge traditional beliefs about women's role in society have more leverage when they have an independent power base, apart from what may at times be problematic party support. A strong social movement could provide important support for women politicians, as it has on occasion. However, as the woman's social movement becomes more diffuse and even debilitated, the possibility for coordinated action diminishes. The struggle today in Chile is clear: to increase not only the number of women in political posts, but to advance the agenda of women's rights and equality of opportunity so that women will be able to achieve full and effective citizenship.

What light has democratic theory shed on the Chilean woman's struggle for equal citizenship rights? Mainstream democratic theory is basically silent on the issue of women's meager visibility in politics. Definitions of democracy should be adjusted to include representation of marginal groups so that the scope of representation and the breadth of issues in the political domain are considered. Evaluations of liberal democracy should be based on the responsiveness of its institutions to the needs of all of its citizens.

Notes

[1] See, for example, O'Donnell (1996), which discusses current Latin American democracies using Dahl's concept as the take-off point.

[2] See Dahl (1989, p. 221) for this definition of polyarchy. Dahl's seven requisites are elected officials; free and fair elections; inclusive suffrage; right to run for office; freedom of expression; alternative information; and associational autonomy. Dahl's elucidation of the characteristics of polyarchy has not changed much over time. The explanation of polyarchy in his 1971 book and his discussion of it eighteen years later has changed little.

[3] Some feminists deal with this issue by asserting that women, because of societal socialization, do not always recognize their "real interests." I find this assertion troubling because it presupposes that someone else should articulate the "correct" interests of women, even if other women disagree. Others argue that there is a difference between "women's interests" and gender interests.

[4] I wish to acknowledge Georgina Waylen for making the connection of Kandiyoti's concept of a patriarchal bargain, to women's mobilization in Latin America (see Political Studies Association of the United Kingdom, 1992).

[5] Molyneux (1986), acknowledges a similar behavior when she notes that when women mobilize around practical and strategic gender interests, practical gender interest mobilization may at times conflict with what she calls their long-term strategic gender interests. She states that "....changes realized in a piecemeal fashion could threaten the short-term practical interests of some women, or entail a cost in the loss of forms of protection that are not then compensated for in some way".

[6] The roots of such a traditional view are found in a set of mutually reinforcing beliefs. There are Catholic religious beliefs of woman as helpmeet, that is, as innately subordinate to the male, which reinforced the strict separation of public and private spheres practiced in Latin American life. Last, there is the cult of "marianismo," which refers to the Virgin Mary, the mother of God. This cult lends further support to the view of woman as primarily mother and as a pure being to be protected from the evil and nasty side of life.

[7] The junta justified its position by stating that science had arrived at the point where a mother's life could never be in jeopardy because of pregnancy. Therefore, there were no longer any circumstances under which abortion could be considered acceptable.

[8] The conclusions in this section are derived from interviews with women candidates and party activists, both those who were and were not successful in getting on the electoral slates and in being elected. These individuals were interviewed, some several times, in the period 1989 through 1997. From the major political parties, the interviewees include Mariana Aylwin, Carolina Rosetti, María Antonieta Saá, Marina Prochelle, María Pía Guzmán, Marta Woerner, Adriana Muñoz, Romy Rebolledo, Isabel Allende, Fanny Pollarolo, Jacqueline Saintard, Laura Gómez, and Lily Pérez (the latter, while she was still concejala). In addition, I have interviewed numerous party activists, and women in government posts, at both the local and national levels.

[9] These conclusions come from interviews with women parliamentarians and candidates for office carried out over the period 1989 through 1997, as listed in endnote 20; the latter statement is derived from interviews in the period November 1997 through January 1998.

[10] This collective effort was a rally at the Caupolicán theater, where all the women candidates of the Concertación were to publicly profess their allegiance to their ten points program. The choice of locale was highly significant: the Caupolicán theater is a historic building, the site of many political

rallies, including the first massive event held by women in the early 1980s. Although the 1997 event did not nearly fill the theater, as the 1982 event had, it was a clear invocation of the spirit of this earlier mobilization and a demonstration of the candidates' desire to create a high visibility campaign profile as women candidates.

[11] There were also a number of leftist slates that nominated a substantial number of women. In the 1993 elections these smaller parties ran 26 women, none of whom won office. I do not count these slates in the tabulations because, given the electoral rules as well as the limited electoral appeal of the parties, these candidates stood virtually no chance of winning. Including them would give a false impression of women's electoral status. In only one case was a woman from a small party elected to congress, and this was when her party was within the Concertación coalition. This was the case of Laura Rodrígez. In 1989 the Partido Humanista nominated Rodríguez, the party president, to the lower house of congress, and she won a place on the Concertación slate, and in the Congress. However, in 1993 the Partido Humanista left the Concertación coalition over ideological differences, and after Rodríguez' untimely death. Another case is that of a woman who ran as an independent. In 1997 a woman entrepreneur won a seat in the lower house as well. Her case is also very special, because she ran on an issue particular to her district, where she was very well known.

[12] The highest percentage in the pre-1973 period was 9.3% in the Cámara, achieved in the March 1973 elections (Valdés and Gomariz, 1992, p. 103).

[13] The conclusions are drawn from a computer database which was compiled from biographical data contained in *Los Congresos de 1990 y 1994*, Santiago, Biblioteca del Congreso. I thank Silvia la Madrid, a Master's degree student in Sociology at the University of Chile, for putting together the database from the printed material, as well as for her own analysis of this data. Some of my conclusions in the discussion that follows are drawn from her work.

[14] In the Chamber of Deputies, these are Isabel Allende, daughter of former president Salvador Allende, and Mariana Aylwin, daughter of former president Patricio Aylwin. The two senators are Carmen Frei, who is not only the daughter of former president Eduardo Frei Montalva (1964-1970), but also the sister of President Eduardo Frei Ruiz-Tagle (1994-2000), and Evelyn Matthei, who is the daughter of former junta member Fernando Matthei. Before her election to the Senate, Matthei had served two terms in the Chamber of Deputies.

[15] This was Mariana Aylwin, who lost in a hotly contested election against Lily Pérez of the National Renovation Party.

[16] Both Adriana Muñoz, Socialist Party and Party for Democracy (1990; 1994; 1998) and Marina Prochelle, National Renovation Party (January 15,1998) were very open about this feeling in their interviews with me.

[17] From conversation with long-time congressional functionary, Valparaíso, January 15, 1998.

[18] Interview with Romy Rebolledo, Valparaíso, January 1996.

[19] Interview with Adriana Muñoz, August 1990.

[20] Quote from the text of Proyecto de Acuerdo, Boletín Legislativo, N. S. 214-221.

[21] Interviews with women activists, Santiago, 1994; 1996; 1997.

[22] There are, for example, only three women ministers in the second Concertación government, one of whom is the director of SERNAM.

[23] From the author's review of some of the legislative debate, as recorded in the congressional records.

[24] The PDC's policy calls for all posts to have no more than 80% membership by any one sex. Interview with Silvia Musalem, October 1997.

[25] The paragraph is based, in part, on interview material from Sofía Prats, María Antonieta Saá Adriana Delpiano, and Adriana Muñoz.

[26] Several socialist women have withdrawn from party work, having felt burned by the party's lack of support at a critical moment.

[27] Isabel Allende, is the daughter of former president and martyred socialist, Salvador Allende. The other one, Fanny Pollarolo, has an independent power base which stems from her long-time political work in the Communist Party and as an anti-dictatorship, human rights, and women's rights activist.

[28] Interviews with Graciela Bórquez and Silvia Musalem, October 1997.

[29] I do not count here Evelyn Matthei, who ran on the UDI slate, but as an independent.

[30] Supported by interviews with two UDI concejals, one male and one female, carried out by a Masters' student in sociology, University of Chile, Jaime Barrentos in December 1997.

[31] Interview with Lily Pérez, 1992.

[32] In the 1997 legislative race, for example, Senate candidate Allamand published photos as part of his newspaper ads which showed himself standing between two of the parties' women candidates.

[33] Interviews with María Pía Guzmán and Marina Prochelle, January 1998 and Lily Pérez, 1992.

[34] Interview with Sofía Prats, January 19, 1998.

[35] Interview with Adriana Delpiano, December 18, 1997.

[36] Interview with Sofía Prats, January 19, 1998.

[37] Interview with Marina Prochelle, January 15, 1998.

[38] These are Joaquín Lavín (UDI mayor of Las Condes) and Jaime Ravinet (DC mayor of Santiago). Ravinet lost out to Senator Zaldívar for his party's nomination, but, as of late 1998, Lavín was still in the race.

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