"Democracy" game: recall elections in a context of structural gender inequality in Peru

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List of Acronyms

FEPOMUVES	Federación Popular de Mujeres de Villa el Salvador
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
JNE	Jurado Nacional de Elecciones
LGBTQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer
MINTRA	Ministerio de Trabajo
MRTA	Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru
MUDE	Mujeres por la Democracia
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
ONPE	Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales
PRONAA	Programa Nacional de Asistencia Alimentaria
RENAMA	Red Nacional de Mujeres Autoridades

Abstract

Democracy is a very broad concept and can be classified or manifested in diverse ways as representative, direct and participatory democracy, or even radical, organic or totalitarian democracy, and so on. Are elections a synonym of democracy? It is widely understood that even though elections are an instrument of representative democracy, they do not define a country as democratic. In the same way, even though the goal of the democratic mechanism of recall election is to remove authorities when citizens are not satisfied with their management, it can also be applied in an anti-democratic way, or be contradictory to the spirit of representative democracy, as the wish of the majority can be overthrown by a minority. Several studies of different currents of thought reveal that democracy has several limitations that affect governance, relations between society and State, and among diverse actors of society.

Feminist theory gives us a different perspective to analyse democracy and citizenship. For instance, a society that is not equitable in its gender structure, transfers certain conditions to democracy -and democratic mechanisms- that not only will reinforce and maintain that inequality, but also will establish a complex application of those tools. This paper attempts to analyse -with feminist lenses- the recall process against Susana Villarán, the first woman elected as mayor of Lima, framed within Peru's democratization in the last two decades.

Relevance to Development Studies

This paper analyses the recall election as a democratic mechanism from two different approaches. First, having in consideration a gender perspective through feminist theories, this research contributes to understanding how a society with a structure that lacks gender equality will produce policies, laws and rules, that even though -in some cases- are aimed to promote women's empowerment and participation in society, they do not succeed in its objective. In other cases, those public and legal instruments are designed based on the premise that men and women have the same opportunities, ignoring gender inequalities, and having as a consequence "gender blind" mechanisms that have different impacts on women and men. Secondly, the recall election is analysed in the context of the process of democratization, and participation of the citizens in politics, not only choosing and being chosen as representatives through elections, but also deciding if an authority must remain or be removed in their public position, in governance processes at the local level. Therefore, this research has a relevance to development studies because it is aimed to contribute to the academic debate regarding the feminist views of democracy, and the contrast between theory and practice.

Keywords

Chapter 1: Introduction

Reading the feminist critique about citizenship and democracy, in my mind I illustrated democracy as a board game, with the citizens as players with pre-established rules (rights). Afterwards, the perfect image came to me: "Monopoly", a game I "played" during the eighties. If I did not misunderstand the game- all the players started with a capital of 200 "monopoly money" and the goal was to buy the largest quantity of properties and try to force the opponents into bankruptcy to kick them out of the game. In my image of the "Democracy" game, things start differently. Citizens receive a different number of "rights" and of course money, and with these a different possibility to exercise those rights. For instance, in this game if you are a man, white, with work, therefore you will have more rights and opportunities to exercise your rights than if you are woman, indigenous and unemployed. Another characteristic of this game is that even though both "players" have the card stating "you can be elected as mayor of the city", a woman may not have the same opportunities, resources and support a man has.

In Peru, oppression towards women has a long history. The Incas[1] were a patriarchal society in which some women could stay in their households working the land and having the opportunity to raise a family, while others were chosen to be the Incas' wives, be servants of the governing casts or even killed in sacrifices (Paredes 2012: 98). However recorded history shows that political and religious female leaders integrated into the Inca's societal structure as well.

Spanish colonization broke and transformed that structure, imposing not only a hierarchical, dichotomous distinction between human (colonizers) and non-human (indigenous men and women), but also other dichotomous distinctions between men and women (Lugones 2010: 743). They also established a male dominant system in which the Andean women were placed in a position of vulnerability and disadvantage. For that reason, it is important to understand that current structural gender inequality is not as an isolated and contemporary problem but is consequence of historical events that were aggravated in the colonization process.

With the starting point of historical gender inequality in Peru, this research analyzes how gender inequality influences democracy and democratization in complex ways, by focusing on the application of the recall elections as an instrument of direct democracy aimed to decide the continuity of publicly elected authorities, as a mechanism to control their performance.. As an illustration, the case of the recall initiative towards the first female mayor elected in Lima, Peru's capital city will be analyzed from a feminist perspective.

On October 2010, Susana Villarán former minister of the Ministry of the Women Promotion and Human Development, Human Rights specialist, and president of the center-left political party "Fuerza Social" (Social Force) was

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[1] Between 1438 and 1533 the city of Cusco, located in the southeastern Peru was the administrative, political and military center of the Inca Empire, the largest empire in pre-Columbian America

elected as Lima's mayor with 40.992%[2] of the valid votes. Since the political campaign and Villarán's victory, the conservative sectors criticized her progressive ideology and consequent public declarations. For instance, she supported lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) collectives in issues such as same sex-marriage, created municipal rules rejecting gender discrimination. She also raised issues regarding sex workers and the creation of a special area aimed to establish businesses related to those activities. Despite that *Fuerza Social* claiming to be center-left, together with Villarán it were linked with extreme left and communist political parties, even with terrorist and former terrorist groups. These affirmations were publicly denied.

Almost one year later, on December 2011, Marco Tulio Gutiérrez Martínez, a militant lawyer for several political parties[3], announced that he was promoting a recall towards Villarán and the totality of the municipal Councilors. Ten months later, in October 2012 the recall file was presented indicating as the reason to recall Villarán her inefficiency to perform her duties and this was presented to the National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE). After two months, the National Jury of Elections (JNE) accepted the requirement and ordered the recall elections on March 17, 2013. As a result of an intense political campaign from both parts, 47.9% of the voters supported Villarán, 45.7% voted to recall her and 6.4% were marked blank and were invalid votes. However, even though the majority supported Villarán, the thirty nine Councilors that belonged to diverse political parties were removed from their positions and new elections for their replacement will occur on November 24, 2013.

Villarán is the first woman elected as mayor of Peru's capital city which on the surface means an important achievement in the process of women empowerment as representative leaders in the country. However, this improvement is reflected only under specific conditions such as geographical location and sources of power (elected or designed authorities) as will be detailed further. Otherwise gender inequality prevails to the extent that it produces harassment, noncompliance of the quotas law, low percentage of women in local government positions, among others. An illustration of a consequence of the gender inequality in the political arena is the harassment suffered by Villarán, being a woman -among other social conditions- as will be detailed further. This came from her political opponents, media and citizens, claiming the disapproval of her municipal management as their main reason. This harassment materialized through verbal and written aggressions mainly related to her gender, political position, class, age and civil status which means that the hostility towards Villarán is not just regarding her status as a woman, but for an intersection of other social conditions, which gives a complex characteristic to the situation.

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[2]

http://www.web.onpe.gob.pe/modElecciones/elecciones/elecciones2010/resultados_erm/index.php

[3] Gutiérrez formally postulated to different political positions: congressman (1980 and 1990), councillor (1980) and mayor (1998) through four different political parties of diverse ideologies. He occupied the councillor position representing the United Left (Izquierda Unida) political party. Informally he had been linked to other political associations.

This research paper mobilizes a feminist critique regarding citizenship and democracy to understand the Peruvian democratization process. Additionally, it presents and analyzes the role of women's consolidation in two areas: as a collective of popular leaders and public authorities in the last decades, in order to understand some characteristics of gender inequality that frame women's participation as public authorities, as in Villarán's case.

1.1 Reseach question and sub research questions

The question that will guide my research is: Into what extent the multiple axis of oppression against women are reflected on Peruvian local politics and the case of the recall election against Susana Villarán? And the following sub research questions: i) how traditional concepts of citizenship and democracy framed the current scenarios of women constraints? ii) how the position of women changed along contemporary democratization in Peru? iii) how does the election of Susana Villarán as Lima's Mayor was condemned by gender inequity of Peruvian politics ? iv) what formal and informal features of structural gender inequality are portrayed in the positions of Mayor and Councilor ?

1.2 Methodology

Gilgun (2010: 1-2) invokes reflexivity as an important topic on qualitative research. Researchers should be aware of the multiple influences they have on the research process, and become reflexive in three areas: the topic they wish to investigate, the perspective and experiences of the people participating on the research, and the audiences to whom the research findings will be directed. For that reason, a personal reflection about my research process will be developed in the following lines.

In 2010 I voted for Villarán. As a woman born in Lima and belonging to a middle class family, with a professional career related to public policy and management, and ten years as volunteer in a NGO which allowed me to discover empathy for the reality of the most oppressed and excluded in my country. I wanted her to be the mayor of my city. For that reason, I followed the elections process and celebrated her victory. However, a couple of years later a recall initiative was promoted and approved.

Following the recall campaign I noticed the limitations of the recall election as a democratic mechanism and in this way my research topic came to me. I let go of my initial ideas of public management reforms and embraced this learning process about democracy. Afterwards, during the first official meeting with Rosalba Icaza, my research supervisor, the possibility to analyze the recall elections from a feminist perspective -without it mattering if Villarán was a feminist or not- appeared and I embraced it, as the perfect lenses to investigate democracy and the recall elections process.

With the starting point of gender inequality in Peru, this research started to have a strong focus on the low participation of women in politics, as the right to be proposed and elected for a public position: in Peru there are 1834 municipalities and only in 72 of them (3.93%) the mayor is a woman, however that focus moved me away from the recall elections and Villarán's case. After-

wards, new ideas came up in the research seminars, for instance the phenomena of Latin American wives, of daughters of presidents, or of former presidents that turned into presidential candidates, the high rotation in public positions at the local or national level, among others. But again I felt that those ideas were moving me away from the initial idea to review the recall process not from the legal structure and difficulties of implementation, but with a gender perspective, understanding how structures of gender inequality can only reproduce a gender unequal environment even though the creation of formal mechanisms to avoid it.

The resources that helped me to know and comprehend this large amount of new information in the research process were four: literature review, open interviews, historical revision of Peru's women movements and the consolidation of women as public authorities, and quantitative data collection. The literature review was useful to learn and understand the feminist theory as the frame to observe, analyze and figure out how feminism interprets citizenship, democracy in general, and the democratization process in Peru. Regarding the open interviews, the interviewee profile was women with knowledge about feminism, and the democratization (in Peru) and recall processes (in Lima), for that reason I decided to interview two feminists from different organizations. However, I also interviewed two professionals (man and woman) with gender academic or professional background but not feminist activists, in order to complement the theoretical and institutional feminist perspective. Appendix 1 shows the interviewee list. Then, the review of the political history of the country obliged me to go through the last decades, from the military coup of 1968 and locate women at different moments that even though this meant -in general- the consolidation of their presence in public spaces, it happened in heterogeneous ways. For example, the role that women of popular areas played in the political dynamics had different characteristics than the role played by the professional ones. Finally, when I visited the library of ONPE looking for recall elections data, I found quantitative data that was collected as complementary information that reflects gender inequality in Peru.

With this research paper, I would like to present the situation of gender inequality regarding this research topic, the feminist point of view about democracy, democratization and recall elections, and the analysis that will appear in the process. My expectation is not only that audiences -without gender distinction- not familiarized with the feminist theory can discover -as I did- this fascinating area of studies, but also to contribute with the public debate in the issues on political participation of women.

1.3 Limitations

The main limitation I found during the research process was my almost non-existent knowledge about feminist theory. During the literature review, interesting concepts appeared and made me want to include them in the theoretical framework but afterwards I realized that they did not belong to the same current of thought. The same happened with feminist jargon that I needed to read in Spanish and English to understand them in an integral way.

Another limitation was the way in which gender issues are raised, analyzed and published in official publications. Even though the person in charge of the library of ONPE was very helpful and kind, computer-processed information about the gender of the elected and recall authorities at the local level was briefly shown in printed reports and was available only for the results of the elections of 2010. If I wanted to have the same information for the previous electoral process of 2006, I would have needed to review the printed reports where the results of each municipality are printed in one page, and considering that Peru has 1834 municipalities and the gender of the mayors is not indicated, it would be a tedious task. The same situation happened with the official publications regarding quotas laws and gender inequality, where the information is briefly presented and little improvements in numbers are considered in the results of gender equity.

Chapter 2: Understanding citizenship and democracy from a feminist perspective

This theoretical section begins with a brief introduction to feminist theory and main concepts that frame this research, followed by the concept of citizenship from a feminist perspective, ending with the traditional concept of democracy and feminist critique.

2.1 Feminism: some basics

> "Men will often admit other women are oppressed but not you" (Sheila Rowbotham)

Feminism, as a frame of thought with its origins in the "West[4]", has permanently looked to take the cover off the relationship between social, economic and political gender inequalities, and the ways in which Western democracies permanently and systematically treat women as inferior to men, violating the first principle of democracy that asserts equal rights to all citizens (Pateman: 1989). For that reason, feminism's primary goal was the emancipation of "women" as a collective and homogeneous entity through the removal of legal, economical, domestic and socially constructed constraints. It was not only a matter of acquiring rights but also a goal to be fought for and a process of economic individualization. However, years later, a generalized economic collapse exacerbated social inequality, which brought new forms of gender inequality (Molyneaux 2001: 11-12).

A concept that is often debated in feminist theory (Pateman 1989, Molyneux 2001, Vargas 2008, Rowbotham 1986, among others) is the duality of the public and private spheres. In mainstream political theory, the private sphere is referred to as: the private sexual relations and domestic life, totally independent from the public sphere that could be understood as the one "outside the house" in which the working and political life between men happens (Pateman 1989: 3). This public space is not an open space but a disputed one that can be very aggressive for women because it is a sphere historically dominated by men, and nowadays women intervene in a position of low decision making, visibility and audibility (Vargas 2008: 338). However, in the past it was assumed that, women were subjects that belonged to the private sphere and men to the public. Men also had the power to solve domestic issues and relations between sexes in the private -non-political- sphere. In this patriarchal construction women lack the capacities necessary for political life as not able to sublimate their passion, therefore they must be excluded from the public world (Pateman 1989: 4). Even though women spend more time in the "neighbourhood" or the "city", at the same time they occupy less "public space" than men, and this difference in the access to the city or community reflects the

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[4] Understood as the conqueror and colonizing countries of Europe and United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

same difference in access that they have to exercise their citizenship (Vargas 2008: 338).

Another way of viewing this is that the private and public are interdependent, and neither of these can be comprehended in an isolated way. Molyneux (2001: 166) states that female activism and state analysed from a gender perspective found the connection between the public and private spheres. As women entered into the public sphere through participation in politics and modern forms of employment, the classical opposition between the places that women and men should occupy was destabilised. However, even though women had reached the "ultimate bastion" of male exclusivity, this conquest does not solve gender differences, moreover in the extent that this entrance was in different terms than it was for men. One of the consequences of this initial divorce between both spheres is that when the public sphere is analysed in isolation, the theorists assume sexual neutrality, meaning that everyone is included and nobody excluded in terms of gender, without considering for instance if gender equality exists to the extent of having the same opportunity to exercise a specific right as being nominated as candidate and elected as a local authority.

There are two other concepts that even though they can be comprehended as the same or similar, are different from a feminist perspective. Pateman (1989: 2-4) certainly states that "women's issues" is not the same, does not necessarily contribute nor engages with "feminist theory". One the one hand, feminism have concerns regarding "democracy and citizenship, with freedom, justice, equality and consent" and is interested in power and how government can be legitimate. On the other hand, women's issues can be related to any matter related to women but not with an awareness of feminist concerns.

Feminist theory found a problem, which is in the core of political theory "the problem of patriarchal power or the government of women by men". Traditional political theorists have discussed the legitimacy and justification of power, not only in binomial as slaves/servants and masters, poor and rich, citizens and governments, masses and elites, but also of the power exercised by men over women. Nonetheless, contemporary political theory does not recognize the power on the binomial women and men, not considering the feminist theorists that tackle the legitimacy of patriarchal government, understanding patriarchy or patriarchism as a system of complete unidirectional male domination and female subjugation (Pellikaan 1992: 150).

The concepts of private and public spheres were presented in order to understand the origin of the struggles of women in the political arena originally understood as public sphere. Furthermore, it is important of acknowledge the difference between "women issues" and the women issues regarding the interests of feminist theory, in order to have a better comprehension of the process described in section 3.2.

2.2 Intersectionality

"Feminism is not just for white women. In fact, feminism without intersectionality and transnationality is merely white American female supremacy… Feminism without intersectionality is bullshit" (Takeallah Russell)

Since critics alleged that feminists affirmed to speak globally for all women, intersectionality surged as one of the most important theoretical contributions of women's studies that analyze the limitation of gender as a single, homogeneous and isolated analytical category. Whereas inequalities are rooted in relationships that are defined by race, class, sexuality and gender among others, intersectionality is referred to as the relationship of those multiple dimensions and modalities of social relations as a central category of analysis (Mc Call 2005: 1771-1777).

In addition, Patricia Hill Collins (1990) asserts that each individual stands at a unique matrix of cross-cutting interests that motivates responses according to social positions as race, class, gender, sexual identity, religion, nationality, and so on. To illustrate this she uses her own experience as a black woman situated in a point where two exceptionally powerful systems of oppression come together: race and gender. This position is what she calls intersectionality and open up the possibility to see and understand a social location in terms of crisscrossed systems of oppression. In the book Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment, Collins (2000: 299) defines intersectionality as an "analysis claiming that systems of race, social class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, and age form mutually constructing features of social organization" that are not bounded or static. Along the same lines as Leslie Mc. Call, she reflects about intersectionality as a challenge for a view of gender stratification as homogeneous and that affects all women in the same way, therefore social positions as race, class and sexual identity should be also considered when gender is analyzed.

A Peruvian feminist that contributed to my understanding of feminist theory and feminism in Peru is Virgina -Gina- Vargas. In her book "Feminisms in Latin America[5]" (2008: 26, 226, 287) she mentions that as consequence of globalization, the feminist social movements in Latin America struggled for an alternative globalization bringing new reflection standpoints from a perspective of intersectionality and from the recovery of a highly political category as it is the body evolved into a space provided of citizenship and therefore of rights. In this globalized context, gender operates on several levels of intersection as "class, race, ethnic groups, nationality and geographical space, acting over social and sexual relations" and these dimensions should outline the citizenship contents of women and men. In the same line, Cecilia Blondet (2002: 303-304), also brings up the issue about heterogeneity within the "woman half" of humanity. Women that cannot be representable as an homogeneous group, because this category "does not supersede ethnic, social, political and economic differences." For that reason, is not possible to declare in the name of all women because they have many faces: "black or indigenous; illiterates and professionals; those from Quispilllacta in Ayacucho, or from Prague and Cairo; Quechuas, gypsies, or Maoris; democrats, authoritarians, or indifferent, and the list goes on". Women can be as diverse as the interests that bring them together and inspire them to articulate diverse demands and elect representatives. However, these different interests are marginalized from the political agenda that should reflect women's struggles: domestic violence, regarding their sexuality and participation in labour market, discrimination, and poverty.

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[5] Feminismos en Latino América

Within this research the concept of intersectionality will be found referring to the multiple social conditions that can be intersected with "being a woman", in order to observe in a deeper way the multiple angles in which women can be discriminated, excluded or her rights can be limited, according to variables such as race, age, political, economic and social tendencies or ideologies, sexual preferences, among others. Moreover, the dynamic relations among those social conditions will be crucial to understanding that gender inequality and oppression is not only generated because of women's social condition (being a woman) but also because the relationship produced by the intersection with more than one personal characteristics that can be chosen (political ideology) or not (sexual preference).

2.3 Citizenship

"Citizenship is divorced from daily life and becomes what Marx called a 'political lyon skin', worn only occasionally and somewhat reluctantly" Pateman (1989: 6)

After the transformation of the meaning of citizenship, passing from the graeco-roman, political liberalism, liberalism and Marxism, the concept linked to the welfare state arrived. In 1949 Tomas Humphrey Marshal conceptualized citizenship as a way to ensure all the members of a society are treated as a full and equal being, and that would be achieved through the "possession" of citizenship rights. For Marshal (1983: 30) citizenship would be fully manifested through a democratic welfare state that ensures civil, political and social rights to all of the members of the society. Furthermore, within that logic the expansion of these citizenship rights also meant an expansion of the "class" of citizens because they would be gradually extended for instance to women, jews, blacks and other excluded groups. Citizenship was supposed to be constructed on the basis of "possession" of rights, and here I find an important starting point to ask myself if a person has the possession of a right, is it because another one decided to give that right? Therefore the final result is a matter of the will to give rather than to recognize a right that already exists.

Converserly, Vargas (2008: 283-286) mentions that "rights" can be delivered from top to bottom, as charity, in the frame of modernization of the State, as a mechanism to neutralize or to coopt for instance a woman's vote. But "having the rights" as the freedom to speak, thought and faith, of property and right to justice -just to mention some citizenship rights- does not mean that everyone will be treated as "full and equal beings".

Schmitter and Karl (1991: 78) state that governments need to have rulers and public realm, and only when they are democratic ones can be said that they have citizens, for that reason the citizens are the most distinctive element in democracies. Additionally, they infer that through severe time limitations were imposed on the citizens of emerging or partial democracies, those restrictions were in response to criteria such as "age, gender, class, race, literacy, property, ownership, tax-paying status, and so on". However after a long history of struggles, most of these restrictions have disappeared.

In contrast, Vargas (2008: 328) states that the city is a space of coexistence, where public issues happen and citizenships are fully or partially exercised. It is not a neutral space because it implies expressions of exclusion and subordination regarding "class, race, ethnicity, sex, gender and sexual orientation". Precisely in this arena in the processes of discovery and appropriation of rights is where the women of urban popular social movements discovered their "citizen" condition, and fought for their inclusion in the dynamics and decisions on building their cities as the place where women and men are negotiating their recognition and renegotiate power relations. In fact, feminist theories critique the universality of the political thought and citizen construction because this universality turns women and other groups that are excluded from the hegemonic model of "masculine, white and worker" citizen invisible. Even though some conceptions on citizen and citizenship tend to recognize diversity, they do not assume the condition of inequality that diversity entails in societies (ibid: 288). Contrary to Marshal, Vargas (ibid) concludes that the political dimension of citizenship marginalizes all that is different: "indigenous, black, women, illiterate" and the social dimension of citizenship devalues "women and the poor" when a right is assumed as charity.

According to Molyneux (2001: 4-6) citizenship is a concept constantly refuted and in constant evolution. For that reason along time, the acknowledgement of citizenship variations in terms of the rights that are conferred and the meaning for those enrolled in it, is bigger. Citizenship is understood as a fundament of "social belonging", a system of rights that defines the ownership and responsibilities of the citizens within a legal tradition and a particular social context. A "static" citizenship cannot be considered because the diversity that exist between the different regions of the world, and even within each country.

Regarding the formality of the rights, it must be noted that there is a difference between the formal citizenship and its exercise in practice. Gendering citizenship, analyzing from a feminist perspective will require a review of "how both women's agency has been involved in defining that goal (citizenship), and the rights with which it is associated, have changed" (Molyneux 2001: 166). As mentioned before, there was little involvement of women in the construction of the traditional concepts of citizenship and the rights it creates. Citizenship rights can often be just rights written on paper, rights that cannot be exercised because of one or more axis of domination intersecting and limiting how citizenship is lived every day.

Being aware of how feminist theory discusses and analyses women's citizenship will be useful in understanding how women can manage their citizenship rights within the rules of the public sphere. Democracy can be seen as the board game in which women need to frame the exercise of their citizenship rights, or the mechanisms that they need to survive in the democratic game. In that regard, the concept of citizenship -as a dynamic concept that implies expressions of exclusion and subordination- presented by Molyneux and Vargas will guide this research.

2.4 Democracy

> "Rousseau's 'democracy' is a masculine preserve in which the political right of self-government is exercised only by men" (Pateman 1989: 6)

Aristotle thought that governments could be classified answering two questions: "who rules?" and "who benefits from rules?", moreover he held that governments could be placed in charge of a single individual, a small group or a larger one, and on each the government could be ruled by personal selfish interests above the interests of the whole community. Therefore, Aristotle believed that democracy was a perverted form of rule in which the ones that rule govern in their own interests and therefore at the expense of others (Heywood 2002: 27). Zakaria (1997: 25) with a contemporary approach inferred that democracy is about guarantee a "comprehensive catalog of social, political, economic and religious rights" and that achievement should be understood as an award rather than a descriptive category that also includes elections. Another way to define democracy is distinguishing it as a particular system of organizing relations between the rulers and the ruled, however democracy does not mean a single unique set of institutions as there are many models and their diverse practices produce also many effects (Schmitter and Karl 1991: 76). Finally, Grugel (2002: 7) defines democracy as a political system that contains and solves power struggles, and the fundamental -and indispensable- elements for a democracy - are popular consent, popular participation, accountability and practice of rights, tolerance and pluralism; which are also sources through which citizenship can be real, guaranteed and reproduced.

In the 1980's, mainstream political theory flourished together with a revival in democratic theory. However the feminist theory with its different understanding of power and government, concerned with democracy and citizenship, with freedom, justice and equality, was excluded from mainstream political theory as consequence of the patriarchal construction on the difference between masculinity and femininity, where women lack the capacities necessary for political life. Therefore, the feminist challenge came to address the gap in democratic theory which argues and calls for the active participation of all citizens -men and women- "but has barely begun to acknowledge the problem of women's standing in a political order in which citizenship has been made in male image" (Pateman 1989: 1-4, 14).

Section 2.1 presented the duality of the private and public spheres and how women have been fighting to open spaces in the public one, historically dominated by men. Regarding this issue, Rowbotham (1986: 78-79) notes that earlier social movements called for extended meanings of democracy that can be associated with feminism, as the idea/slogan "the personal is political" that challenges the limits of concepts of politics for instance the assumption that democratic control has to be extended from the workplace to the scope of the day-to-day life. "The personal is the political" contributed to understand non observed characteristics of public politics and political argument about democracy in the domestic and sexual life (ibid: 88). In the same line, Vargas (2008: 305, 308) mentions that in Chile "Democracy in the country and in the house" as the expression of affirmation facing the dictatorial and patriarchal power during Augusto Pinochet's dictatorial government (1973-1990).

Democracy is supposed to be about the guarantee of equal rights and the right to exercise them in egalitarian conditions as part of the organization of

the relations among citizens. This status of citizenship should accompany women and men 24 hours of the day, in private and public spheres. However Blondet (2002: 305) asks "why does the number of women suffering extreme poverty continue to be so high despite legislative changes and targeted policies?" Immediately she reflects on how -especially in Latin America- the dichotomy between formal democracy and substantive democracy[6] can be defeated.

In the following lines a feminist debate regarding democracy will be presented. The critique of democratic imperfections is the common element however their proposals to address that issue are different. On the one hand, Rowbotham (1986: 78-79) relates how historically a constant theme has existed in political belief that "women and democracy do not go together" as women have been outside of the creation of the democratic formula. However, in the process of the declaration of women's rights, the conception of democracy has been "extended", for instance the right of voting was claimed within the concept of free and independent individuals. But, even though that conquest of rights, women's freedom was subsumed on the man and male political theorists were divided among those that thought that women could be equal and those who believed that the rights of men included women. For that reason, she argues that public spheres have little probabilities to be democratic because of the sexual division of labour that limits women's participation in social, economic and political activities. However, democracy can be improved through the "transformation" of gender inequalities in households and workplaces. According to Pateman (1989: 14), nowadays women have more space in the public sphere and patriarchal institutions are less solid than they once were, and it could be understood that an improvement of democracy can be achieved.

On the other hand, Dagnino (242-245) states that democracy and citizenship are systems that allow different expressions and dimensions of equality. For that reason, she opens the space to discuss an alternative conception of democracy through the construction of a new citizenship. In addition, according to Vargas (2008: 253, 262) local and global feminism does not renounce the idea of reassessing democracy from multiple levels and approaches towards a democracy "in the country and the global, in the house and the bed, in the private and in the intimate, and in the economic, politic and cultural". She invites us to think about this reassessed democracy, which she calls "another democracy" using the formula that worked for the feminists in the dispute in democratization processes not only "in the global, in the countries, in the house and in the bed" but also in the ways to organise the local and global spaces: with personal and subjective revolutions, of women and men, with an active recognition of our diversity, looking towards intersectionality as a collective challenge.

Regarding the patriarchal construction of citizenship, Pateman (1989: 14) reflects on what she calls "The Wollstonecraft's dilemma" that presents two contradictory and irreconcilable statements. The first is the permanent fight of

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[6] Kaldor and Vejvoda (1997: 62) define substantive democracy as "a process to be continually reproduced, a way of regulating power relations in such a way as to maximize the opportunities for individuals to influence the conditions in which they live, to participate in and influence debates about the key decisions which affect society".

women for the equality with men citizenship rights[7], as the fight for equality. By contrast, as the fight of difference, women also struggle for the recognition of their abilities, interests and needs that demand a different citizenship than men[8]. Women are integrated in the civil order as subordinated or lesser men; the dilemma remains as no alternative has been developed by the democratic theorists. A radical transformation of democratic theory and practice must be done in order to have women become citizens with autonomy, as equal and sexually different beings from men.

Carmen Lora, feminist member of the Peruvian women's organization MUDE and current advisor in the Municipality of Lima[9] (2012: personal interview) recognized that democracy is imperfect but it cannot be rejected or thrown away, but constructed. Moreover, she remembered an emblematic MUDE's phrase: "what is not good for democracy is not good for women[10]".

It is clear that the traditional patriarchal ideology in which democracy was constructed does not acknowledge women -with their diverse social conditions- as equal than men. For that reason, the feminist authors suggest either improving democracy or constructing a new political system. In the light of what is going to be presented and analysed in the following chapter, I would support Rowbotham's suggestion, to "improve" democracy through the "transformation" of gender inequalities in households and workplaces, rather than constructing a new political system.

Direct and representative democracy

Direct even though they are classified as different democratic mechanisms, democracy and representative democracy are intimately linked. On the one hand, representative democracy refers to the politicians who are selected from the citizens through elections. This could be defined by mentioning three basic elements i) citizens that can participate in elections as candidates, ii) citizens that vote; and, iii) policy choices of the elected representatives (Besley and Coate 1997:85). On the other hand, direct democracy involves a variety of decision processes such as "town meetings, recall elections[11], initiatives, and various forms of referendums" in which citizens decide in policy through elections (Lupia and Matsusaka 2004: 465). However, according to Mendelsohn and Parkin (2001: 4) some mechanisms of direct democracy, for instance recall elections, are not an alternative to representative democracy since those electoral processes are integrated into the representative democracy institutions.

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[7] Assumed that for turning into active full citizens women must become (like) men

[8] Nevertheless this demand cannot be attended because those feminine qualities and tasks placed women in opposition to "men" citizenship.

[9] Mujeres por la Democracia (Women for Democracy)

[10] According to Vargas (2008: 113) in past decades feminists affirmed that "what is not good for women is not good for democracy" as consequence of painful experiences of exclusion not only from States but also civil societies.

[11] Citizen sovereignty should be understood as a temporary delegation of the exercise of power and not the ownership of the tittle or position. For that reason, through recall elections the citizens exercise their capacity to question the authorities and if it is the case, to revoke their mandate (Zárate 2005: 19).

In regard to citizen participation through elections, Brooke Ackerly's (2000: 34), feminist analysis identifies the following limitations: tyrannical majority usurps the individual rights of the minority, as the minority must accept the will of the majority. A process of democratic decision making within a small group that define their concerns, agenda, and decision rule, is qualitatively more democratic than regular elections of a large population with the one-person-one-vote modality.

In addition to this, Ackerly also identifies key obstacles to participation in democratic decision making, mentioning the visible history of exploitative inequalities, violence and coercion, as well as the invisible history of violence, coercion and exploitative inequalities against women among other communities (ibid). In short, as a result of the tension between democracy and rights or between participation and equality, the challenge would be to create "principles and institutions for greater quality and equality of participation". Again, feminist thinking brings up inequality and the proposal to re-elaborate democracy.

Summary of main issues raised

The different theoretical perspectives explained have presented the basic and primary goal of feminism as the emancipation of women as collective entities through the removal of legal, economical, domestic and social constructed constraints. Secondly, citizen as a patriarchal construction, where the hegemonic model is constituted by white men that work, excluding citizens with other characteristics was explained. All those citizens -hegemonic model and the rest of citizens- interact in a city as a non-neutral space, because an intersectionality of conditions as class, race, ethnicity, gender, sexual orientation, among others are present among citizens relations. Thirdly, the chapter briefly discusses how societies construct their democracies on the base of gender inequality having as an effect the dichotomy between formal democracy and subjective democracy. Finally, some limitations of democracy – both direct and representative- are identified from a feminist perspective as well as the feminist search for theoretical alternatives to mainstream democratic and citizenship approaches.

Chapter 3: Women role in Peruvian contemporary democratization process

Having the basic concepts about feminism, citizenship and democracy, this chapter presents some of the main milestones of democratization in Peru, with emphasis on women's role in that process. Jean Grugel (2002: 3), in her book "Democratization: a critical introduction" mentions that in the seventies and eighties democratization was about the "transformation of the political system from non-democracy towards accountable and representative government". However, as time passed, democratization evolved and had different results, and in some countries worked, while in others it failed, and or became problematic democracy, resulting in the development of different ways to understand democratization within academic literature. Therefore the concept has been conceptualized as "a discourse, a demand, a set of institutional changes, a form of elite domination, a political system dependent on popular control, an exercise in power politics and a demand for social solidarity".

This chapter will be developed by considering a broader concept on democratization favoured by Grugel (ibid: 5) that describes it as "the introduction and extension of citizenship rights and the creation of a democratic state". This view can be understood in contrast to formal democratization and rights-based or substantive democratization. A complete democratization should include a socio-economic reform, cultural and social change, and a transformation of gender relations. The following sections will present the main milestones of women's participation in Peru's democratization process from the eighties and the conditions regarding the recall elections towards Villarán.

3.1 Background and starting point: the eighties and women's social movements

From 1968 and 1980, Peru had two presidents that reached power through military coups. The first, Juan Velasco as President of the Armed Forces of the country occupied the presidency between 1968 and 1975 in the self-designated Armed Forces Revolution and his policy was left-oriented and recognized the central role of the state. Velasco implemented a policy of protectionism and interventionism through the privatization of the key sectors of the economy, and had an ideological discourse that promoted popular participation. The economic reforms did not succeed and in 1973 the economic crisis was evident; in 1974 the government expropriated the totality of the communication media and in the following months, manifestations of the citizens and the police finally weakened his government.

At the time that Velasco was president, women celebrated 10 years since the first election in which they were able to vote, and a military government coming from a conservative patriarchal institution, was maybe not the best panorama for reducing the inequity towards women. According to Vargas (2008: 33, 58) even though Velasco did not recognize women's rights to the benefits of the broader rural panorama with new possibilities and vindications,

he strengthened the weak Peruvian civil society, facing the "oligarchic hegemony" that was maintained in the past. Since the end of Velasco's government, into this frame of politics, participation and social protest emerged, allowing women's social movement to burst into the scene (Barrig, Blondet as cited in Blondet 1995: 106).

In August of 1975, Francisco Morales Bermudez, the President of the Ministers Council of Velasco's government, announced a coup manifesto in Tacna, at the south of the country, and Velasco Alvarado peacefully left the Palace of Government in Lima. Morales self-designated his government as the Armed Forces Revolutionary Government and decided to get rid of the left-wing ideology and its representatives, trying to recover the trust of the foreign investments. In 1980, following the plan to recover democracy, the government called for elections, and the winner was Fernando Belaúnde, the former president that was overthrown by Velasco twelve years ago. At the end of the 1970s, active groups of women's organizations started to integrate themselves in the history of the country, in parallel to the economic crisis, the persistence of the left-wing and the blooming of the feminist discourse: "poverty, politics and feminism converged in Peru, producing a complex women's movement" (Blondet 1995: 106).

Maruja Barrig, a feminist activist, wrote in 1979 one of the first books about the situation of mid-class women in the country, feminist literature started to flourish as consequence of the activism of women's social movements. According to Barrig (1991: 67-68), in 1979 Peruvian government began to receive food donations from the United States government that were channeled by organizations that distributed the food through the "mothers clubs[12]" this welfare approach appeared as the only way to solve poverty. In the following years, women continued organizing themselves to address their local necessities, and in 1989 -in Lima alone- there were an estimated 3,000 communal kitchens[13], each with an average of 50 female members; a further 100,000 women were organized into 7,000 'glass of milk[14]' committees". These programs originated new roles of women within their communities as they had the exclusive control of spaces that were highly apart from political parties and struggles. Additionally, as the role of these women began to acquire importance and the number of organizations has grown rapidly. NGOs started to incorporate activities to support the different women's organizations "through support to communal kitchens, promoting the formation of health committees, and offering workshops on legal matters and women's leadership training". In 1986, seventy NGOs were identified to be working in Lima. However, even though this was an important new role for women in the communal space (public space) was also seen as an extension of their reproductive role. During

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[12] The "Clubes de Madres" were popular organizations conformed by women, mothers that organized themselves in the communal life.

[13] Through the "Comedores Populares" women prepared collective meals at low cost and time, due to their organized participation.

[14] The "Vaso de Leche" was initiated in 1984 by the Municipality of Lima to distribute a glass of milk to children of low income. The program was organized and operated by mothers, grandmothers and older sisters of the beneficiaries, who collected, prepared and distributed the milk.

their interventions NGO activists had to deal with expressions of gender inequality as domestic violence, sexual division of labor and limited self-determination over biological distribution, among others.

In Peru, women's movement represent a heterogeneous process conformed by a combination of processes that shows the complex and diverse shades of women realities in the country. Villavicencio (1990: 15) asserts that in the last century the new spaces of reflection for Peruvian women were related to official primary and secondary education, industrial training, social assistance, health, work, unions and politics. From these different spaces and dynamics emerged different currents: the "rebellious" writers and feminists, the politicians and the women from popular and working classes. These three sources of motivations are not exclusive, meaning that women can belong to one or more, according to their interests. For instance, some women of political parties or popular neighborhoods recognize themselves also as feminists, or feminists were involved mainly with left-wing political parties. One way to understand the heterogeneity of women's social movements and how their motivation and interests came together and intersect is Chantal Mouffe's (1992: 236) affirmation that each individual has diverse subjective positions that respond to "a multiplicity of social relations, of production, race, sex, nationality, ethnicity, etc." and each one of those relations determines different positions, as consequence each individual has diverse subjective positions that correspond those different categories. These diverse and subjective categories that are part of each woman, of each women's movement does not allow a unique understanding, definition and conception about the aims and objectives of these movements in the country.

Feminist women especially of the mid-class joined mainly left-wing political parties as a way to rise up and reject gender stereotypes that they were supposed to accomplish. Unfortunately, the patriarchal left-wing political party gave little importance to the feminist cause, did not change their approach towards women's issues and had no commitment to fight against gender inequity. The experience was useful for feminist women[15] in order to develop their capacities to negotiate and dialogue, and to learn not only about the limitations of the politics, but also of themselves. Female leaders that belonged to the popular women's movement, also started to participate in diverse positions on left-wing political parties, with María Elena Moyano as one of the most representative cases. Moyano was the President of the "Popular Federation of Villa el Salvador-FEPOMUVES[16]" and was elected as Deputy Mayor of Villa el Salvador in the "Izquierda Unida" (United Left) political party. Unfortunately she was brutally murdered in 1992 by Shining Path, a terrorist organization that she challenged more than once (Vargas 2008: 50-53, 84-85). The eighties also meant the starting point of a violent armed conflict in the country that involved the terrorist organizations Shining Path[17] and MRTA[18], and the military forces of the country.

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[15] One of them was Virginia Vargas, see reference list.
[16] District that started with squads and known for the struggle towards the recognising of their citizen rights and their participative management scheme.
[17] Sendero Luminoso
[18] Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru

The eighties meant the return of democracy after two dictatorial military governments. The process was threatened by the consolidation of Shining Path and MRTA throughout the country. Parallel to this, the economic crisis in Peru signified a low GDP and per capita income, and high inflation, among other things.

In this decade women became empowered and organized themselves through women's organizations with different motivations and aims: the feminist thinkers, the organized women of popular districts and the ones with interest in politics. However, even though these three types of dynamics involved women of different classes, ethnicities and lives, considering the intersectionality of the diverse conditions of their social relations, those women found meeting points among their differences, and joined one or more of these organizations. Women did not have a unique and common interest but their multiple personal interests had common intersections with other women's interests.

3.2 Fujimori's seducing qualities and the optical illusion of women's vindication

Alberto Fujimori was elected as president through democratic elections in 1990. He received a country submerged in a deep crisis, with hyper-inflation of approximately 3 398.6%, collapsed political parties, lacking of state and government authority, terrorism, fear and social insecurity, disorder and poverty. Fujimori's project to recover state control received high popular support and in combination with other factors –such as the support of the United States government- lead to an extremely powerful executive branch that left the country with a "weak and fragile democracy under threat" (Molyneux and Razavi 2003: 22). The cost of the economic stabilization, the restoration of the state authority and almost vanquishing terrorism was high, resulting in concentration of power on the president, corruption, blackmail and threats aimed to control media, societal and political spheres, poverty, lack of independent government institutions and the vanish of the rule of law in the country (Blondet 2002: 280). In this context, a high number of women of different classes, occupations and levels of education, unconditionally supported Fujimori. Because of limited space, I will briefly address two types of relationships that he established: the charming and seductive role with women from popular sectors, and the co-optation of professional women.

As mentioned before, Fujimori exercised government's power in a centralistic way and according to Blondet (ibid: 287-288) one of his personal decisions was to bring together specific groups of powerful and lower income women 'from above' can be interpreted in several ways: i) as a mechanism to manipulate women's vote, ii) as an intelligent way to show international institutions that were interested in promoting a gender agenda, or iii) because he trusted in honesty and loyalty of women and based on political calculations, he thought they could become unconditional allies.

Diana Miloslavich, Coordinator of the Program of Political Participation and Decentralization of the feminist organization Flora Tristán reflected about the strategic nature of the feminine vote and how in 1993 Fujimori realized

that before the referendum to approve the new Constitution. The surveys reflected the differentiated intention of votes showing that more women were against the Constitution proposed by the government and he started to work with women in a clientelistic way. However Fujimori's government "gave a bigger space" to women: "I think that the Fujimorismo[19] saw the potentiality of women…" (Miloslavich 2013, personal interview[20]) In fact, one of the main strategies of Fujimori was the implementation of targeted welfare assistance programs that were not a result of negotiations or dialogues with the beneficiaries of their representatives, but of decisions handed down from above that were presented as solutions based on the claims of collective organizations. However, the benefits -nutrition, family planning, water and drainage systems, health centers schools, etc.- were always directed to persons and not to groups or social organizations, and the new economic programs were aimed to promote individual entrepreneurships, rejecting models based on social solidarity and collective action. Regarding this, one question arises: can welfare assistance and promotion of economic development be sufficient factors to ensure the loyalty of these women?

Carmen Lora shared an interesting phenomenon that she perceived in the decades of the eighties and nineties. When she worked in one of the NGOs that implemented activities to support women's organizations, Lora (2013, personal interview[21]) witnessed how "Fujimorismo" and PRONAA[22] recruited women on the basis of women's organizations and empowered them to face the leaders that were trained by the NGOs during the 1980s. Fujimori established a relationship of seduction with these women; when the representatives of PRONAA delivered the foodstuff the discourse was the following: "I come because Alberto Fujimori cannot be here because he has so much work, but his heart is here because he has you in his heart, and each one of you are important for him". In the same direction, as consequence of the weakened women's organizations, according to Blondet (2002: 290-291) the municipal elections of 1998, female leaders of the 'subsistence organizations' fought among themselves and negotiated individually with the political parties their postulation for positions in the local government. They lost the capacity to represent their movements as well as the support of their own social constituencies, and later on, even though the most skillful of them negotiated better positions but found themselves alone within the municipal structures. Women's social movements that were consolidated in the eighties conquering respect, autonomy and rights, were destabilized by the irresistible offers, welfare assistance, oppression and psychological manipulation exercised by the government. Although the president was "democratically" elected, his style of

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[19] Current of policy directed and based on mainly in Alberto Fujimori and his daughter Keiko.

[20] Personal interview with Diana Miloslavich on feminism, political participation of women in Peru, and the recall election promoted towards Susana Villarán at Lima-Peru on August 13, 2013

[21] Personal interview with Carmen Lora on feminism, political participation of women in Peru, and the recall election promoted towards Susana Villarán at Lima-Peru on August 16, 2013

[22] Welfare social program aimed to deliver food to the most vulnerable population, mainly children.

management aimed to modernize the country, lacked of the basic democratic features.

Another group of women that were also attracted by Fujimori was one that entered seriously into the public sphere, having as the most representative sub categories the technocrats without political affiliation, and the ones that were active militants of the Fujimorismo. On the one hand, the former group was constituted by a large number of professionals mainly of upper class families but also of mid-class families, without political affiliation, that were employed in public positions as officials, advisers, or consultants to the chief executive. Their legitimacy was based in a discourse of modernization, their connections with international organisms and their capacity to articulate actions with -and recruit- women of different interests as feminist intellectuals, specialists in women's issues, leaders of social movements, among others. This group did not have a close relationship with Fujimori, for that reason many of them were disappointed and some joined social movements promoting democracy or continued in politics away from Fujimorismo. On the other hand, the second group was constituted also by professional women that were elected as congresswomen or designated as ministers and vice-ministers that managed power in a servile and authoritarian way (Blondet 2002: 294-295).

In the third time that Fujimori was elected as president through anti-democratic means, he exercised his individual and centralized power against the hierarchies and constitutional protocol. Interestingly for the first time in the history of the country he named four women as the directive positions of the congress. Blondet affirms that the image that the government wanted to project was that the country had "a modern, forward-looking government that recognized the value of women" (ibid: 298). According to Vargas (2008: 106-108) and Blondet (2002: 299) in this context the feminist statement "it is better four authoritarian women than four authoritarian men" became a common statement, because in that way, the "social eye" get used to the presence of women despite their political ideology, and that positions women in political spaces.

As mentioned in Section 2.1 one component of Pateman's feminist critique towards citizenship and democracy states that women's issues do not always contribute or engage with feminism. One illustration of this affirmation is Fujimori's government functioning as a platform aimed to approve laws to recognize women's citizenship rights and managed to incorporate women in political-public spaces. Unfortunately those women in power positions were authoritarian and unconditionally loyal to the president. Chapter 2, feminist literature critiques to democracy are presented as based on gender-unequal rights and conditions to exercise them. This new fact lead some feminists to think and fight for a new type of democracy that considered the different shades of human condition, the intersectionality of characteristics that are inherent to each human being. Interestingly, the Peruvian feminist Carmen Lora (personal interview, 2013) described how in 1996 or 1997 during Fujimori's government, she and other Peruvian feminists "predominantly of a left-wing orientation but opened to all women" created the social movement Women for

Democracy-MUDE[23] "as a collective that is organized for the non-reelection of Fujimori, we were against the dictatorial regime… because if we do not have democracy, this affects women in diverse ways". MUDE member were angry with the shameless manipulation of gender-based discourse by the government (Blondet 2002: 299) and fought against Fujimori's government who gave rights to women but at the same time asphyxiated democracy. When I asked Lora about the feminist critique of democracy her answer was categorical and she responded with a MUDE's phrase: "what is not good for democracy is not good for women[24]".

Fujimori's decade was intense. As Peruvian citizens we were witness to a series of events -and its consequences- that are going to be recorded in our minds: reduction of hyperinflation, self-coup, recovery of the sensation of security, anti-democracy, capture of the leader of Shining Path, violation of human rights by the government, privatizations, corruption, bribed media, politicians and judges, among others. The cost of the pacification and economic stabilization was high in terms of respect for rights and liberties.

Regarding women's issues, Fujimori's government weakened the formerly consolidated, active and autonomous women organizations in popular areas with welfare -dependent- assistance. However in the public arena his government triggered women's participation in political and important public positions, for the first time women were designed as Premier[25], President of the Congress, Ombudsman, Prosecutor, National Audit Officer (Comptroller), Ambassador of an International Organization; women presence as vice ministers, ministers, congresswomen and technocrats was also common. Interestingly, a Ministry of Women and Social Development was created as consequence of Fujimori's participation in the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing[26] in 1995. He was the only male president that attended the meeting where the representative of 189 governments adopted the Declaration and Platform of Beijing aimed to eliminate the obstacles of women's participation in all the spheres of public and private life.

3.3 Women situation in current times

In the words of the Constitution of the Republic of Peru (Congreso del Peru 1993) the country is democratic, social, sovereign and independent, and every person has the right to equality under the law, therefore nobody can be discriminated against because of their origin, race, sex, idiom, religion, opinion, economic condition or any other reason. Unfortunately this goal was not accomplished and discrimination has been the research subject of more than one

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[23] Mujeres por la democracia (MUDE)

[24] According to Vargas (2008: 113) in past decades feminists affirmed that "what is not good for women is not good for democracy" as consequence of painful experiences of exclusion not only from States but also civil societies.

[25] President of the Minister's Council

[26] In 1995 where the representative of 189 governments adopted the Declaration and Platform of Beijing aimed to eliminate the obstacles of women participation in all the spheres of public and private life.

scholar. Acknowledging this reality, the web page of Peru's government mentions that human rights are defended "especially of those sectors that have serious obstacles in the exercise of its liberties, as women, native communities, prisoners, victims of political violence, handicapped persons, among others" (Portal del Estado Peruano, n.d.). Interestingly, this site states that women have obstacles in the exercise of their liberties and rights, and includes them in the same group with the native communities and handicapped or even prisoners and victims of political violence, even though women represent approximately 50% of the population in the country.

During his political campaign, Ollanta Humala current President of the country, promised to promote gender equality. However regarding this issue there is still work to be done. For instance, Peru has uneven levels of illiteracy among men and women, from the total number of illiterate people in the country, 4.27% are women and 1.20% men (Ipsos Apoyo Opinión y Mercado 2011:7). Another difference is in the "integration to employment" among the population economically active. Men are employed more than women, even though the number of women of legal working age is relatively higher than the number of men (MINTRA[27] 2008: 18). Regarding the employment in the third trimester of 2012, the average monthly salary of men was S/.1,536 and S/.1,016 for women registering an increase of 4.3% and 3.5% respectively in comparison with the previous year (Gestión 2012). According to the Constitution, laws and policies, women and men have the same rights but having the same rights is not enough to have the same opportunities to access or exercise them. Nevertheless, gender is not the only condition that makes things difficult for women, as mentioned in Chapter 2, there are other conditions that intersect women life that improves or worsens the exercise of their citizenship and the way they live their lives.

Regarding the role of women in the democratization process of the country, there is a favorable scenario for women that participate in politics and high public positions at the national level. In the last decade women held important positions for instance in ministries of traditional masculine leadership as ministers of Economy and Finance, Foreign Affairs, Foreign Trade, Health, Work and Employment, Production, Culture, Justice and even Interior[28].

In the three last presidential elections (years 2001, 2006 and 2011) there were female candidates and some of them achieved important results. For instance in the last elections Keiko Fujimori, daughter of Alberto Fujimori, went to the second round of elections reaching 48,551% of the valid votes[29] and in the previous elections of 2006, Lourdes Flores reached 23.814% of the votes losing the opportunity to go for a second round against Alan García Pérez who obtained a 24.324% of the votes.

Humala won the presidential elections of 2011 in alliance with the left-wing political parties of the country. In those elections twenty seven Congresswomen that represent 22% of one hundred thirty seats were also elected.

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[27] Ministerio de Trabajo y Promoción del Empleo (Ministry of Work and Employment Promotion)

[28] In charge of the internal security in the country

[29] Ollanta Humala won with the 51,449%

As mentioned, Humala promised to promote gender equality, and in that regard women have notable presence among his personnel of confidence. In July 2013 for the first time in the country the minister's cabinet is gender equal[30] reaching fifth place among the countries with higher percentages of women in minister's cabinets worldwide (Ellos&Ellas 2013). Despite the improvements at the national level established in the capital city -that has a woman as Mayor- in the provinces and districts along the country the situation changes for women as it turns difficult for them to be elected as Mayor. Peru has 1,834 municipalities and only in 72 of them (3.93%) the Mayor is a woman. The provinces and districts of the sierra or mountains has 21 (1.15%) and the amazon 13 (0.71%); the coastal provinces and districts, that have more than the half of the population of the country and are more developed in economic terms, has 38 women Mayors, that represent the 2.07% of the Mayors of Peru (Association of Municipalities of Peru: n.d.).

In sum, despite all progress at national level for equality, there is still a situation of gender inequality in the Peruvian society. In section 2.3 it was mentioned how for Blondet the dichotomy between formal democracy and substantive democracy is a recurrent problem in Latin America countries. Meanwhile, Vargas (2008: 290) has stated that an approximation to citizenship studies form a feminist perspective displays pre given conditions of inequality for women that despite the formal rights that exist for everybody, the access to the State and policies remains differentiated. Chapter 4 will present an example about how a formal rule aimed to achieve gender equality and to therefore strengthen democracy does not achieve the expected results. But before that the remaining section will describe the process leading the recall election of Villarán.

3.4 Susana Villarán, the first woman Mayor of Lima, the capital city of Peru

In Peru, the Mayor is the higher administrative position within a district and their designations is through elections every four years. In October 2010 Susana Villarán was the first women that reached the position of Lima's[31] Mayor through democratic elections. According to Fernando Tuesta (Tuesta 2010), even though Villarán represented a center-left political ideology, but her victory was a personal triumph because she knew how to take advantage of the retirement of one of the candidates that was projected to obtain approximately a 24% of the votes. She eventually won by a narrow difference over her political opponent Lourdes Flores representing a center-right political party based on a social Christian doctrine[32]. Thus, Lima's mayoral position during the period 2011-2014 in any case was going to be occupied by a middle-aged woman, but with different political positions: a social and progressive ideology or a conservative one.

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[30] Nine women and nine man, excluding the President of the Minister's Council.
[31] Peru's capital city
[32] Flores has been congresswoman in two periods, councillor of the Municipality of Lima, and President of the "Popular Christian Party".

Villarán started her municipal management in January 2011 with the permanent critique and low support of the conservative sectors not only in religious aspect but also in political and economic ones. For example, parallel to this an active campaign led by the candidates that did not win the elections, started since Villarán won the elections. These campaigns and the critiques formulated against Villarán were marked by harsh tones, something that any Mayor in Lima had ever experienced before (Tuesta 2010). One of the strategies of the campaign focused on comparing her management of the former Mayor Luis Castañeda Lossio (2003-2010). Castañeda's two periods of mandate were based on public investment: the construction of hospitals, stairs in hills of popular areas, communal parks, and a bus system that goes across 26 kilometers in 16 districts. Villarán continued executing public works but also gave priority to social, environmental and cultural activities.

On July 2011 with just six months of mandate, the surveys showed a 60%[33] of disapproval, and after one year of mandate Villarán reached the highest level reaching 85%[34] of disapproval. Lima's citizens were not only demanding results without recognition of the projects that the municipality implemented by that time, but were also implacable with the management's mistakes, such as delay in bureaucratic procedures or lack of fluid communication of the municipal achievements. Afterwards, on December 2011, Marco Tulio Gutiérrez Martínez announced that he was promoting a recall towards Villarán and the totality of the municipal Councilors. One year later, in October 2012 the recall file was presented to the National Office of Electoral Processes - ONPE[35] indicating that the reason to promote the recall was "Inefficiency in performing duties[36]" without presenting any other explanation or attaching any evidence to prove the inefficiency. However, Gutiérrez was allowed to uphold the process because of several gaps and failures on the recall Law such as i) in big cities, the number of signatures required to start the recall procedure are not proportional to the number of citizens, ii) partisan use of the mechanism as it is not mandatory to present evidence of the alleged reasons to recall, iii) lack of public accountability of the funding sources for the political campaigns, among others.

An important actor in this recall process is the former Mayor Castañeda that renounced this position on 2010 in order to postulate for the presidency of the country without success. A few months before his renounce, serious accusations of corruption and illegal enrichment were formulated against him. In March 2011 the new Mayor Villarán presented to the public opinion an audit report of Castañeda's period, showing that administrative processes for investments in public works were made incorrectly, cases in which the real cost of the infrastructure projects was duplicated or even triplicated, and constructions that started to collapse due to deficient work. From this point in time the

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[33] http://elcomercio.pe/actualidad/1044100/noticia-nivel-desaprobacion-villaran-se-mantiene-60

[34] http://gestion.pe/noticia/1360141/desaprobacion-susana-villaran-alcanza-maximo-85

[35] Oficina Nacional de Procesos Electorales

[36] "Ineficiencia en el desempeño de sus funciones" (indicated in the second page of the file)

popularity of Castañeda began to decrease passing from the first and second place in the initial surveys to the fifth position in the presidential elections. Evidence about the connection between Castañeda and Gutiérrez -the recall promoter- was revealed during the political campaign to recall Villarán, and proved that Castañeda was the intellectual author and leader of the recall initiative, and that Gutierrez was a high rate consultant during Castañeda's management.

The concept of harassment appeared few times during Villarán's recall campaign. Perhaps Peruvian society -excepting feminist collectives - is not aware that harassment can be identified within a broad range of behaviors with an offensive nature, and that there were facts during the recall political campaign that can be qualified as an "excess" or a verbal aggression.

As it will be shown on section 4.2, evidence of verbal and written aggressions have been found during and after the recall election. Overall, the feminist collective had been advocating for the figure of political harassment towards women and Villarán. However, Peruvian society is not yet familiarized with this terminology and its characteristics. As will be presented in the following Chapter, section 4.1, a large number of the registered cases happened inside the country and those Councilors and mayors have little opportunities and incentives to denounce these issues. Unfortunately, without a formal law is not possible to establish the limits of any behavior that can be categorized as harassment, which constitutes a disincentive to face this problem.

The recall elections were held on March 17, 2013 and as result of an intense political campaign from both parts, 47.9% of the voters supported Villarán, 45.7% voted to recall her and 6.4% marked in blank or were invalid votes. However, even though the majority supported Villarán, the thirty nine Councilors that belonged to diverse political parties were removed from their position and new elections for their replacement will occur on November 24, 2013.

It is possible that more than one reason motivated the recall process started towards Villarán, maybe not only because she was a woman but also for the intersection of different social conditions regarding her gender, age, class, professional background, political ideology, social approach, among others, that also determined the approach of the political campaign aimed to recall her.

However, Villarán is not the only one maltreated, her opponent Lourdes Flores was also target of verbal abuses, in both cases their female condition was combined with other factors to attack them, in the case of Villarán because of her age (64 years), ethnicity (white), civil status (divorced), class (middle with high-class predecessors), political orientation (left-wing), social ideology (LGBTQ and abortion support); and in the case of Flores because of her age (54), civil status (divorced), maternity status (without children), social ideology (conservative). Actually Villarán was not only maltreated but also harassed. This will be analyzed in section 4.1 in order to include Villarán's harassment in the section that shows how harassment constitutes one of the tangible conditions of gender inequality that women who want to be public authorities have to confront.

Summary of main issues raised

The decade of the seventies meant the empowerment of women. They organized themselves through women's organizations, and even though each one of them had different interests and motivations, their diverse conditions of their social relations were intersected and found meeting points among their differences, joining one or more of these organizations.

In the nineties Fujimori's government realized the strategic role of women and approached them in diverse ways. For instance, he weakened those formerly consolidated women organizations in popular areas with a welfare approach, receiving loyalty from them. Another example is how his government triggered women participation in politics that for the first time they occupied important public positions. However, this progress of positioning women as public authorities at national level is only an illusion of gender equality, as women in the local level are still in evident disadvantage in comparison to men.

Finally, this chapter presented the case of the recall elections towards Villarán and how her mandate is being developed within a society with an unequal gender structure. She reached the mayoral position of Lima as an unexpected electoral result and since the beginning of the mandate she had to face several critiques, harsh discredit campaigns and implacable judgments towards the mistakes that were committed in the municipal management.

Chapter 4: Warning for women who want to be public authorities through elections

Chapter 3 briefly presented how the participation and role of women as citizens in democracy and as authorities on positions of trust evolved in the last three decades. Nowadays, women have important presence in national politics particularly as ministers were the country is located in the fifth position worldwide; in the Congress, there are twenty seven congresswomen of a total of one hundred thirty positions. However, in the local level, when women are willing to be elected as public authorities of their districts the situation changes, for instance less than 5% of the municipality mayors are women.

This chapter will present three features of gender inequity that characterise the Peruvian political scene and limits women's participation in that arena. For instance, the gap between the formal laws aimed to reduce gender inequality and how these are accomplished or implemented, the high probability to be politically harassed, reduced opportunities that women has to be elected in comparison with men but high rate of women recalled in comparison with men. Section 4.2 will include a sub section regarding the political harassment suffered by Villarán in order to illustrate how gender inequality shapes and constrain women participation in politics.

4.1 Formal regulations versus Reality

The Fourth World Conference on Women held on September 1995 in Beijing had as one of the main outcomes the subscription of the Declaration and Platform of Beijing aimed to eliminate the obstacles of women participation in all the spheres of public and private life.

In Peru some legal instruments approved in Beijing's frame were the following: Quotas Law-26859 (1997) for congresswomen that was modified by Laws[37] aimed to increase the percentage and extend the quotas to the local level for mayor and regional and district Councilors and to directive positions in political parties, TUO[38] of the Law for Protection towards Domestic Violence-26260 (1997), Law of Equality of Opportunities for Men and Women-29893 (2007), the National Plan against Violence towards Women 2009-2015 (2009), and so on. According to Vargas (2008: 192-194) the agreements of Beijing were confronted with the real democracies of the countries or almost unexistent democracies as in the case of Peru. Therefore the text of the laws were aimed to achieve the objective of "eliminating the obstacles of women participation in all the spheres of public and private life", predominating over the "strategies towards cultural, symbolic and political transformations to impact

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[37] 26864 (October 1997), 27387 (December 2000), 27680 (March 2002), 27683 (March 2002) and 28094 (October 2003)

[38] Of the initials Texto Unico Ordenado (Unique Ordered Text) that orders and update in one only text legal diverse regulations about the same issue.

the exclusive logics of the civil societies, towards broadening the interlocutors and allies, beyond the policy oriented to the public" having as result actions to widen some dimensions of women's citizenship but neglecting the extension of the democratic and autonomous floor for women.

One illustration of the disconnection between the results planned to be achieved through a formal instrument and the outcomes of the implementation is the approval and implementation of the Quotas Laws, designed to reach a more equitable gender level in the distribution of the political positions of representation reached through elections. Vargas (2008: 107-110) present a feminist critique towards this legal instrument mentioning that the quotes constitute a mechanism designed to shorten the huge citizenship gaps between women and men in the exercise of public power. However, the quotes are framed in the limits of weak democracies as in the Peruvian case, for that reason its effects are not transformative strategies in the long term, and the dispute to strengthen democracy into the extent of the access to elect and be elected correspond to a basic way of democracy. In addition, the quotes bring the risk to drop an anchor in the "politics of presence" without any improvement in the "politics of ideas" that is oriented to a politic of emancipation, "of other ways to articulate with another dimensions, ideas and democratic fights" (ibid).

Regarding this critique, it would be interesting to discuss to what extent moving forward in gender equity is necessary to promote the increase of the participation of women in politics even though as politicians of presence; in a pessimistic scenario and having in consideration that maybe the only way to achieve gender equity should be done from the current base of democracy, it may be better to have women present in the political sphere with the possibility of evolving to critical politicians, rather than stop fighting to increase the opportunities of women to become political authorities. Nevertheless, it seems to be that the Quotas Laws for the congress (Congresswomen), regional governments (President and Councilors) and municipalities (Mayors and Councilors) are not even going to contribute to a politics of presence according to the findings of the research carried out by the Ombudsman's Office ten years after the approval of the first law about gender quotes in the congress[39].

Massolo (1999: 99-100) researched women participation in politics at the local level in Latin America, and reflects on how the current system of Quotas Law is configured in a way that supports a significant inferiority in feminine presence than masculine because in the electoral lists women are situated in positions of difficult or improbable success; these laws may help to increase the number of women in power but do not necessarily fix the gender structure that legitimizes the feminine subordination. Latin American experience shows that the law can be accomplished in the formal way, but not in depth, for instance in the countries where quotas are regulated, the real levels of women's participation are low with an average of 15.8%.

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[39] The Law decreed that at least 25% of the candidates of a list for municipal elections should be women or men afterwards it increased to 30%.

The document presented by the Ombudsman's Office[40] (2007: 181-185) "The Gender Quote in Peru: Supervision of the Regional and Municipal Elections 2006" concludes that a permanent situation of exclusion exists that impedes women's ability to receive opportunities equal to men's in terms of their right of participate in politics, to exercise their recognized political rights; and the only legislative declaration of equality is not enough to trigger a significant equality in the access to positions achieved through popular elections. The supervision covered the regional and municipal elections of 2006 and confirmed that even though several lists did not reach the gender quota established by the law their candidates participated in the elections. In the regional elections, candidates of twelve lists that did not obey the law reached the positions of President, Vice-President or Regional Councilors, and in the municipal elections candidates of twenty-two lists reached the position of mayor or Councilor. It is important to note that the noncompliance of the gender quota appears in two moments, first in the application for the registration of the list if it does not accomplish the minimum percentage established by the law, or afterwards when the female candidates are excluded or present their resignation. Finally, the Ombudsman's Office states that the gender quota by itself does not guarantee the increase of women's participation; it is necessary to articulate the law with other components of the electoral system.

Quotas law has pros and cons; on the one hand it allow to increase -even though in little quantities- the presence of women as public authorities allowing people to get use to see feminine presence and reinforcing the right of women to participate in public life. On the other hand in some way perpetuates the subordination of women for instance as it requires percentages that do not correspond to reality since at least in Peru women represents approximately a 50% of the population. Finally, there are not active governmental surveillance agents to ensure that the quotas are fulfilled, or are not accompanied with strategies of collective awareness.

4.2 (Political) harassment

Law students are taught that any crime can be denounced unless it is legally recognized and characterized, the latin phrase "Nulla poena sine (práevia) lege y núllum crimen sine (praevia) lege" which means that there is no -criminal- sentence and no crime, without a previous law, is the ancient basis of a current teaching.

So, if in Peru a woman is victim of some kind of aggression as consequence of her political participation, she can make a public denouncement in the media, but legally that denouncement will have no effect, except she can make that action "fit" into some legal figure previously recognized, for example an injury against her body, but it will be recognized just as an injury, without considering other elements that aggravate that situation.

According to Miloslavich (2012: 3-5) a hidden reality exists: hundreds of women desist participation in each new election as consequence of a series of

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[40] Defensoría del Pueblo

facts that limit their right to participate in politics and to exercise a public function. Regarding that, she inferred: "The 'macho' and patriarchal system are still finding ways to diminish the political will of women to participate in the decision making process of our country" and related an example of political harassment against female Councilors, as male Mayors and Councilors convened council sessions in dangerous places outside of the municipality offices, or late at night. In addition, Lora (2013, personal interview) comments that indeed, there is aggressiveness against women participating in politics, and that even more, women are attacked more than men, and the attacks towards women are done in a different way than the ways in which men would be attacked.

Peruvian feminist organizations have been working in a legal proposal to face political harassment towards women. On 2011, the National Network of Women Authorities (RENAMA) presented a first initiative about political harassment to three congresswomen and the Ministry of the Women. A year later, the document was review and improved. In that framework, the lawyer Tamy Quintanilla was hired to develop a consultancy aimed to identify the ways of discrimination, exclusion and political harassment in the last years to women members of RENAMA, and present a legal proposal to protect women authorities from political harassment.

Before presenting any result, it is important to mention the definition of political harassment that frames Quintanilla's work. Regarding to that, the third article of the law proposal (Congreso de la Reública 2012: 2) defines political harassment as "one or more actions executed with the purpose or result of limit, nullify, attempt, restrict, counteract, or diminish the exercise of the political rights of the women authorities, elected, candidates or representatives, included in the scope of the law".

Quintanilla's (2012:8) research was based in a sample of 187[41] women authorities in regional and local governments, concluding that 41% of them are affected by political harassment, which means that "two of each five women authorities in regional or local governments, and one of each four mayor are offended by political harassment under different modalities, levels and convergences". Political harassment was manifested against the women authorities through psychological abuse (57%), coercion trough administrative mechanisms (48%), patrimonial defamation (24%), intellectual defamation (19%), sexual defamation (14%), economic control (14%), sexual harassment (10%), menace with a legal appeal (10%) and physical aggressions (5%). Furthermore, the political harassment can have as active agent the hierarchical superior of the woman authority, as regional president or mayor (71%), the peers of women Councilors at the regional or local level (48%), personal of the regional government or municipality (14%), some group or sector of the population (14%) and the family (4%). In other words; political harassment cover a wide spectrum not only of agents that are in the public and private sphere, but also of actions or behaviors that sometimes are not easy to identify as an aggression or political harassment fact; by contrast, the recipient of those actions will always be a woman that decides to participate in politics, and "fortunately" got elected

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[41] 72 regional Councilors, 8 province mayors, 54 district mayors, 27 province Councilors and 24 district Councilors.

Quintanilla (ibid: 7-9). As shown before, harassment can be manifested in different ways. However, I have chosen three expressions of harassment against elected female authorities that are embedded in Peru's political system and reflect evident distain towards their feminine condition: verbal, physical and normative, understanding that all has also psychological consequences.

Verbal harassment

Quintanilla (2012: 9-15) on her field work collected some testimonies and evidence of verbal harassment, against four Councilors elected on municipalities located in the "sierra" (mountains). Coincidently, both are classified into the five poorest Departments of the country, Apurímac in the first place and Huancavelica in the fourth.

> In Apurímac, a province Councilor denounced the case of physical aggression committed by the mayor during a formal act convened by the municipality. Additionally, he perpetrated verbal aggressions with sexual content, and then damaged her reputation with her husband.

> In Huancavelica, a district Councilor was threatened by the mayor with requesting her vacancy because she informed that she had an invitation in a RENAMA workshop. The mayor brought up this issue (to give her permission) and they denied it, convening Councilor's session for the same dates.

> "…nothing can be achieved with those (gender) themes, they said, and they wanted me to organize lunch" (district Councilor of Apurímac)

> "…the mayor said: 'she is an illiterate', do not know anything (…) but the mayor and I studied in the same place until finishing secondary school (…) since I am Councilor, my husband stopped giving me money (…) I am afraid, for complaining…" (Councilor on Huancavelica)

Physical harassment

In 2012 the media denounced another case of political harassment. Ruth Paz Coricasa is municipal Councilor of the province of Cotabambas in Apurímac, the poorest region in Peru. Even though she belongs to the same political party than the mayor Guido Ayerbe Quispe, on February 18th 2012, Ayerbe attacked Paz with an intensity that took her to the hospital where the doctor attended to her because of the contusions and hematomas resulting from several kicks and punches that Ayerbe inflicted on her. The reason of his anger was that the Councilor questioned the dismissal and maltreatment towards some women whom where municipal workers, and she also criticized his moral behavior. Paz mentions that his answer was to hit and insult her. The next day the municipal workers and Councilors reproached the victim, defending the mayor and "I got indignant by the reaction of the local authorities who supported the mayor and not me as the victim … being dedicated to politics in Peru is almost a curse for women" (La República 2012a)

Normative harassment (harassment by omission)

Harassment is so normalized on Peruvian society that any governmental instance has approved a formal regulation to address it. The efforts displayed by the Peruvian feminist collective were embraced by the Congresswoman Veronika Mendoza. As consequence, on February 2013, the Law Project 1903-2012-CR was presented and in April 2013 entered to the commission "Women and Family" of the Congress. Unfortunately, the discretional nature of the process to approve laws in the Congress does not allows to make any calculation of the time that it will take its approval, in the case that the initiative obtains the necessary political support. Meanwhile, women authorities will continue exercising their public functions without any protection over the current and real facts of political harassment.

Harrassment against Susana Villarán

As was presented in section 3.4, the concept of harassment was not highlighted or publicly debated regarding Villarán's recall process. However, two of my interviewees agreed that she was politically harassed as part of the campaign for her recall. As it will be presented, the most common means to attack the Mayor was through the use of offensive language (verbal and written) mainly regarding her feminine condition, age, class, and political and social ideology. In addition, another manner to damage her in a passive way was by the omission of the governmental institutions to punish these actions.

Miloslavich (2013, personal interview) affirms that Villarán was politically harassed, and part of the campaign of the recall election expressed the misogyny of the city: "(Villarán)…brought together two stereotypes that media and the ones that have the power do not want, being left-wing, being woman and being Lima's mayor, this is too much…". In addition, Lora (2013, personal interview) commented that Villarán was attacked not only because she was a women but also for the intersection of other factors. She also mentioned that women in politics are treated in the public debate from a gender perspective, and the interests that are behind are not only economical but also of hegemony, of relation with the media.

Lora also commented that, it is true that being a woman is an argument to attack as the phrases that are used to attack women are not used against men, for instance Villarán was told she was "lazy and that she was watching soap operas… generally the objective is to do the stereotype of the negative elements that can be founded in a feminine condition, and these stereotypes are emphasized in the attack, more than the ideological position". Regarding the political aspect, Lora also stated that it is a possibility that one hidden reason to be attacked is her left-wing political position, but the public arguments were never related to that aspect but for inefficient, because she lacks of knowledge.

One of the most aggressive expressions against Villarán was on March 6th, during a press conference convened by Gutiérrez in order to discuss some issues regarding a public debate between the recall promoters and the team of the municipal government. In the conference, a journalist reminded Gutiérrez that Villarán announced that she was not going to participate in the debate, he

answered: "Ladies always says no and finish saying yes, that is the charm of ladies[42]" (La República 2013b and El Comercio 2013). Immediately, the media and social media rejected this comment, invoking respect for Peruvian women. The day after the declaration, the phrase "#NOesNO" (No means No) turned into trending topic of the Lima's users on Twitter (Tv Peru Noticias 2013). Regarding to this, Miloslavich (2013, personal interview) commented that this was a very unfortunate comment, even more becaushe it was done in the interim of the recall campaign. On March 8ᵗʰ during a parade celebrating Women's Day, women of mid-low class approached to Villarán telling her "When women say no is no"; there was a reaction of the feminine voters, the ones that were thinking to vote "yes[43]" in the recall election but they felt mocked by Gutiérrez declarations.

Social media users played an active role during the recall campaign and in the elections day. For Shirky (2011: 28-29, 40) social media became a fact of life for civil society worldwide, involving many actors as regular citizens, activists, NGOS's, governments, etc. can benefit citizens of a democracy and constrain the rulers; and as the communications landscape gets denser, more complex and more participatory, the networked population is gaining better access to information, to engage to public speech, and an enhanced ability to undertake collective action. However the use of media tools does not have a single preordained outcome.

During Villarán recall process Twitter and Facebook users were very active. On Twitter, during the recall campaign the following "hashtags[44]" turned into "trending topics[45]": #revocatoria[46] #SusanaVillarán, #NOesNO, #M17[47], #Revocatoria2013[48], #Castañeda[49], #ONPE. Facebook users from Lima also debated about the reasons to recall or confirm Villaran as mayor; facebook groups were also created with the same purpose, to support or disagree with the recall process. The two main groups that wanted to remove Villarán of the mayorship were: "I support the recall[50]" with 43,739 "likes[51]" and "Yes to Susana Villarán's recall[52]" with 8,268 likes[53]. Several evidence of textual aggressions, were found on the "I support the recall" group, some of them are trans-

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[42] "Las damas siempre dicen que no y terminan diciendo que sí, ese es el encanto de las damas"

[43] The "yes" was to remove Villarán and the "no" to maintain her as Lima's mayor.

[44] According to the support center of Twitter "the # symbol, called a hashtag, is used to mark keywords or topics in a Tweet. It was created organically by Twitter users as a way to categorize messages" https://support.twitter.com/articles/49309#

[45] Trending topic is word or phrase that is tagged (hashtag) in a greater number than others worldwide.

[46] recall

[47] March 17ᵗʰ, day of the elections.

[48] Recall 2013

[49] Luis Castañeda was the former mayor of Lima. Days before the recall elections, an audio revealed that he was one of the informal promoters of the recall process.

[50] Yo apoyo la revocatoria.

[51] Number of people following the posts on this group

[52] Si a la revocatoria de Susana Villarán.

[53] Number of likes is until September 20th. Even though the process is over, the group is still receiving likes due to the current activity.

lated below to illustrate how the target of those expressions are to insult her dignity, related to her age, grandmother condition, or even lying about her political or social ideology.

> "Get out old inept woman, be more humble… old inept and lazy woman" (M.Z.F., female) February 14, 2013

> "That her place is with the family loving her grandnieces and knitting little gloves because winter is coming…" (Y.C.P, female) February 14, 2013

> "Prostitute" (F.R, male) February 14, 2013

> "… the communists want to give the sensation that they act with civility, meaning a behavior transversaly different to their conduct of classes fight and terrorism…" (J.L.M, male) March 17, 2013

> "You are a shame for women, cynical, lazy, good-for-nothing" (C.R.L.S, female) June 25, 2013

The figure of harassment is real and is one of the expressions of gender inequality in Peruvian society. Meanwhile, the male dominated structure assumes a passive position without a legal recognition towards women authorities that are attacked in their bodies, minds, patrimony, in their lives because those actions do not have isolated consequences but affects the whole women integrity. Susana Villarán is the Mayor of Lima, the person with the higher authority of the capital city of Peru, elected by the majority of the citizens of the jurisdiction. However an important number of people cannot accept her designation as authority, the question is why? Because she is a woman? Because she belongs to a left-wing political party? As mentioned on section 3.4, it is possible that it was not because of one only personal condition but the intersection of two or more as her age (64 years), ethnicity (white), civil status (divorced), class (middle with high-class predecessors), political orientation (left-wing), social ideology (LGBTQ and abortion support), and so on.

4.3 Bonus track: some numbers

As has been shown in this document, this research is based in qualitative research methods as literature review, interviews and historical revision of Peruvian history through different sources. However, on my visit to the library of the National Office of Electoral Processes (ONPE) I had access to several physical reports that showed information that reflected unequal access for women in the exercise of citizenship rights, specifically to be elected as Mayor and Councilor. A brief analysis of those numbers will be presented in the following lines. The complete quantitative data including percentages will be found in Appendix 2.

The number of women registered as candidates to be Mayor in 2010 was significantly less than men representing 6.62% of the total of candidates. In the case of the Councilors the numbers change in a positive way, as the gap between men and women is reduced and women represent 42.95% of the total candidates. Regarding the number of women elected as Mayor, the situation gets even worse, reflecting in its maximum expression the unequal access of

women to reach this political position as they only represent 3.83% of the 1,800[54] Mayors elected in 2010.

Table 1

Candidates for Mayor and Councilor registered and elected (2010)

	Total	Mayor	Councilor
Registered for elections	89,861	12,980	76,881
Female	33,879	859	33,020
Male	55,981	12,121	43,860
Elected	11,988	1,800	10,188
Female	2,852	69	2,783
Male	9,136	1,731	7,405
% of total elected/registered	13.34	13.87	13.25
Female	8.42	8.03	8.43
Male	16.32	14.28	16.88

Source: Organismo Narcional de Procesos Electorales-ONPE (2011: 127), Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (2011: 39).

In the case of authorities that faced a recall process, in absolute terms the number of men facing a process is larger than women. However, it must be highlighted that if the number of women elected as Mayors was sixty nine and fourteen of them faced a recall process, 20.28% of the women elected as Mayor faced a recall process in comparison to 14.44% of the total elected men. Regarding the number of women Councilor removed as consequence of a recall process, a higher percent of women (41.30%) were removed in comparison to men (37.19%).

Table 2

Authorities that faced a recall process and removed (2012)

	Total	Mayor	Councilor
Authorities that faced a recall process	1,304	264	1,040
Female	336	14	322
Male	968	250	718
Authorities removed by recall	469	69	400
Female	136	3	133
Male	333	66	267

Source: Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (2012: 24, 66-67)

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[54] Peru has 1834 municipalities but on 2010 only the Mayor and Councillors of 1800 were elected.

Comparing the initial numbers of authorities elected and the ones removed as consequence of a recall process, we can observe that women have more probabilities to be removed from their positions than men. Even though in absolute terms there is not big difference between percentages of removed over elected authorities, the gap is evident when the numbers are compared in relative terms.

Table 3

Authorities elected (2010) and removed through a recall process (2012)

	Total	Mayor	Councilor
Elected	11,988	1,800	10,188
Female	2,852	69	2,783
Male	9,136	1,731	7,405
Authorities removed by recall	469	69	400
Female	136	3	133
Male	333	66	267
% of total removed/elected	3.91	3.83	3.93
Female	4.77	4.35	4.78
Male	3.64	3.81	3.61

Source: Organismo Narcional de Procesos Electorales-ONPE (2011: 127), Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (2011: 39), Jurado Nacional de Elecciones (2012: 24, 66-67)

The analysis of the data collected in ONPE intends to present with "objective numbers" some of the facts shown in this document. Firstly, how presence of women in the public sphere is in a position of low decision making, visibility and audibility, as presented in the section 2.1. Secondly, the difference between the number of woman authorities in the local and national level shown on section 3.3, shows that women situation cannot be analyzed as a homogeneous group, as mentioned in section 2.3 about intersectionality. Thirdly, how a formal regulation as the quotas law is hardly contributing to the presence of women authorities at the local level, as mentioned on section 4.1. Finally, the numbers show how the low percentage of women that after a harsh competition reach positions of local authorities, find difficulties as recall elections (Table 2), and verbal and physical violence, as presented on section 4.2.

Chapter 5: Conclusions

I introduced my research with a reflection on how the "Democracy" game is played in my imaginary. Citizens, men and women start the game with the same "cards" or recognized rights but they cannot use their cards as there are "levels" to exercise or use those rights. Writing this Chapter I can add a new element to the game: intersectionality. This new element can be reproduced in a group of cards that are given to the players indicating some characteristics such as gender, age, civil status, class, race, ethnicity, political ideology, social ideology, sexual preferences, and so on. Precisely these cards are the ones that determine in which way the "rights" cards will be used during the game.

This research started presenting a brief introduction about feminist theory and exposing the main issues regarding the dichotomy of public and private sphere, intersectionality, citizenship and democracy, as understood in the feminist literature. This literature allowed me to "wear" the feminist lenses. To acquire a new "tool" to analyse the diverse political and social phenomena that characterized the role of women during the democratization process in my country. Women positioned as members of a popular current that was consolidated and was seduced by a patriarchal welfare state, or as professionals that covered several important public positions of authority during Fujimori's government.

The recall elections against Susana Villarán showed how gender inequality can be reproduced in daily situations that are not easily perceived (feminist lenses help to identify them). Villarán was attacked in several ways during her political campaign, and almost all of those actions responded to a structure that despises and undervalues women. However, the State is a silent witness of this situation not only against Villarán but also against all female authorities that are constantly exposed to harassment. Why? Is it blind? Does "he" not want to see what is happening? Moreover, in the cases that the State approved some formal law with the aim to "fix" gender inequality, those regulations have little impact, are not accompanied by a strategy to address cultural and social resistances, and there is also a lack of mechanisms to ensure success of these laws.

Regarding the conditions of gender inequality that frames the political participation of women, I presented three main findings. The first one was the contradiction between formal democracy and subjective democracy, to the extent of how formal regulations with the purpose to improve democracy knowing gender inequality, have not had the expected impact in the implementation, or have had unexpected and damaging results for women. The second is harassment, a permanent and real situation that threatens female authorities. Harassment can be active through written, verbal and physical aggressions and passive through the "inaction" of the State and society. Harassment is naturalized in Peru, as the figure of political harassment is not legal and therefore legal protection is unthinkable. Finally, some numbers were presented in order to show the few opportunities that women at the local level have to reach a political position through elections, and if they managed to win the elections, it is probable that they might face a recall election.

I hope that this paper will contribute to the academic debate of gender inequality regarding women's participation in politics through elections. However, I also want to generate awareness outside the academic world presenting some expressions of gender inequality that is sometimes invisible to the human eye. I want to believe that inequality can move steadily toward equality if we "practice" looking at daily situations from another angle and fight to change the status quo.

This research document is concluded but I will continue to wear the feminist lenses. There is a lot of work to do to in order to fight against gender inequality. In the academic arena, some themes that could constitute a future research agenda. For instance, focus on the national level or local level and search the obstacles facing female politicians trying to be elected or to stay in their positions. Additionally, analysing the public sphere and looking for the hidden reasons that motivated the recall process against Villarán, including what were the personal characteristics that helped her to be the first Mayor of Lima, while also triggering the furious opposition of an important sector of the population. Finally, I think that it would be vital to develop recommendations that can be actually implemented through public policies in order to achieve gender equality in our societies.

Appendix 1

Interviewee list

Name	Relevance	Date of interview
Diana Miloslavich	Feminist, Coordinator of the Program of Political Participation and Decentralization of the feminist organization Flora Tristán	August 13, 2013
Carmen Lora	Feminist (MUDE), Councilor in the Municipality of Lima	August 16, 2013
Arturo Sulca	Feminist, University professor	August 30, 2013
Karen Suárez	Feminist, UN Women	August 30, 2013

Appendix 2

Table of candidates for Mayor and Councilor registered and elected in 2010, and authorities facing a recall election and removed in 2012

	Total	Mayor	Councilor
Registerd for elections	89,861	12,980	76,881
Female	33,879	859	33,020
% Female	37.70	6.62	42.95
Male	55,981	12,121	43,860
% Male	62.30	93.38	57.05
Elected	11,988	1,800	10,188
Female	2,852	69	2,783
% Female	23.79	3.83	27.32
Male	9,136	1,731	7,405
% Male	76.21	96.17	72.68
% of total elected/registered	13.34	13.87	13.25
Female	8.42	8.03	8.43
Male	16.32	14.28	16.88
Authorities that faced a recall process	1,304	264	1,040
Female	336	14	322
% Female	25.77	5.30	30.96
Male	968	250	718
% Male	74.23	94.70	69.04
Authorities removed by recall	469	69	400
Female	136	3	133
% Female	40.48	21.43	41.30
Male	333	66	267
% Male	34.40	26.40	37.19
% of total removed/elected	3.91	3.83	3.93
Female	4.77	4.35	4.78
Male	3.64	3.81	3.61

Source: Elecciones Regionales y Municipales y Referéndum Nacional 2010 (ONPE) and Consulta popular de revocatoria de autoridades regionales y municipales 2012-Estadísticas (JNE).

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