

International
Institute of
Social Studies



Women's Political Representation in Ecuador
Perspectives of five women legislators

A Research Paper presented by:

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Ecuador

in partial fulfillment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**Governance and Development Policy
(GDP)**

Specialisation:

Public Policy and Management

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The Hague, The Netherlands
December 2018

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List of Acronyms

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AP	Alianza País
CEDWA	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
CNE	Consejo Nacional Electoral
CREO	Creando Oportunidades
GII	Gender Inequality Index
INEC	Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Censos
ISS	Institute of Social Studies
LA	Latin America
NA	National Assembly
SIISE	Sistema Integrado de Indicadores Sociales del Ecuador
SISPAE	Sistema de Indicadores Sociales del Pueblo Afroecuatoriano
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

Acknowledgment

To all the women of the world:

This research and my personal experience through the Master's programme made me feel everyday, women's solidarity. We are together in this capitalist, unjust and patriarchal world and together we are stronger.

To my country:

Ecuador, a small but diverse and hopeful country. Thanks to the government of Ecuador 2008-2017 led by Rafael Correa and René Ramírez. Without the scholarship programme of SENESCYT, this dream could not have been possible. All my knowledge will be in working towards of a more equal country.

To my lovely family: Fernando, Anita, Lore y Stephy.

To my friends who made this present research possible:

Erik Mozo, Pamela Žáková and Pablo Valdivieso

I want to especially thank the women leaders and their assessors who gave the interviews and shared with me their experiences.

Gabriela Rivadeneira, Lourdes Tibán, Mae Montaña, Gabriela Díaz y Cristina Reyes.

To my professors:

Rosalba Icaza and Arla Gruda

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Abstract

In the past women were excluded from politics, it was unimaginable that one day women could rule a country. Nevertheless, today in 2018, through the quota policy, the presence of women in the parliaments of several countries has increased significantly. But it is a moment to think one step further than numbers. In a representative democracy not only the number is a victory, the diversity of women matters, as the personal background of representatives. This research explores how the identity and personal experiences of representatives have direct implications on how women represent. Thus, it is necessary to re-think beyond quotas for women.

This investigation focuses on the case of the National Assembly of Ecuador in the period 2013-2017. The political representation of women is analysed through the perspectives of five different Assemblywomen. Women's political representation is explored from three different angles: formal, descriptive and substantive, complemented by an intersectional approach regarding race, age, feminist identity, origin, and personal experiences. This will be used as the frame for the debate in order to challenge current notions of women's political representation on a paradigmatic context.

Relevance to Development Studies

Women and girls are vulnerable in so many ways due to unjust social and cultural environments across the globe. Often, there is a significant disparity between genders in decision-making at all levels. In fact, women being excluded from positions of power like in the parliaments, is the norm. However, democratic representation requires that all citizens can access and influence political institutions. Thus, today, we can no longer think about development without including women in politics and in decision-making.

Due to this, the empowerment of women has been extensively reviewed in the field of development. The Index of Gender Inequality uses the number of seats occupied by women in parliament as one of its indicators (UNDP 2018). In recent years, Ecuador has increased the participation of women in the legislature. However, there are still challenges to include women and connect their democratic representation to an agenda that responds to the diversity of women in the country.

Keywords

Women, Ecuador, Quotas, Parliament, Intersectionality, Political, Representation

Introduction

Political leaders take our money, lead us to war, and write the laws that govern our lives. Must their ranks include men and women, rich and poor, masters and slaves? For most of world history, the answer was no. Men ruled; women worked at home. Female interests were represented by husbands and fathers. The same was true for members of subordinate ethnic groups: conquerors would care for colonial subjects, the rich for the poor, whites for browns, and so on. Mala Htun (2004: 439)

In the past, democracy was governed only by patriarchal institutions; there was no women's representation since men were the only ones taking decisions. It was just a society for men. It was impossible to believe that one-day women could rule a government.

By 1861, John Stuart Mill a British liberal philosopher who wrote the classic *Representative Governments* introduced the debate around the exclusion of women in their political rights such as suffrage. He mentioned that women were excluded from political rights like suffrage just because they were women (Stuart 1861: 118).

Recently in 1893 for first time in the history women voted in New Zealand, although until 1916 they will not obtain the right to be elected and in 1929 Ecuador becomes the first country in Latin America (LA) to put women's suffrage into practice in elections (National Geographic 2018). As observed, less than a century ago women started to participate in elections in LA, though women still occupy less political seats compared to male politicians. Currently, there are no women occupying a Presidency in LA and in 2017 there was only one country, Bolivia, where women occupied 50% of the seats in parliament. Nevertheless, currently LA is leading in terms of women's participation in the legislature with 28,8% (UNDP 2018). However this is still a marginal number, which demonstrates that, "men from majority racial, ethnic, and religious groups continue to dominate electoral politics in most countries" (Hughes 2013:23). This shows that male dominance remains in state politics.

Due to this unequal situation, the political representation of women has received particular attention among different governments around the world, especially in relation to the political representation of women in parliaments. To this end, women quotas were created, which is a formal rule that regulates the inclusion of women in parliaments. This has been the policy most used by different governments to increase women's political participation in elections. Mona Lena Krook, author of *Quotas for Women in Politics* states that quota laws appeared for the first time in Western Europe around the 1970s-1980s and that most of them were voluntarily initiatives by political parties. She mentions that, "It appears as a strategy for incorporating women in politics and public life and by extension, for promoting feminist aims to improve women's overall social, economic, and political status" (Krook 2008: 346).

In contrast, Mala Htun (2005) indicates that the first country to adopt women's quotas was Argentina in 1991 and before it, Taiwan who reserved 10% for women in the Yuan Legislature. Htun explains the adoption of quota policies as being a result of international law related to gender equality and democracy like the Convention on the Elimination of All

Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDWA) or the Beijing Declaration¹ (Htun 2005). After the Beijing Declaration, quotas for women were introduced as positive actions. Today they can be found in almost all regions of the world. In Latin America, between 1991 and 2013, fifteen governments approved national laws requiring political parties to nominate a minimum number of women as candidates in popular elections (Htun 2016). This mechanism has brought about positive changes; with women having gained unprecedented access to political office in Latin America (Schwindt-Bayer 2010).

Ecuador has also had a successful experience with quotas of women. In 1997 Ecuador became the first country in the Andean Region to establish a quota election for women (Vega 2005) and nowadays it's current norms established the parity between men and women in electoral lists. In 2013 the Parliament reached 38% of women occupying seats in the legislative, constituting one of the highest of the region (UNDP 2018) What is more, on 24 May 2013, for the first time in history, three women were positioned as the new heads of the National Assembly of Ecuador. Even though representation has not yet reached 50% in Parliament, the period of 2013- 2017 showed unprecedented outcomes for women's political representation. However the question remains whether this represents an indisputable victory for women?

Women legislators could not necessarily respond to a feminist agenda, one of the reasons could be the lack of feminist identity (Dolan and Ford 1995) or that they exclusively represent the interests of women of the same race, region, ideology or political party. Thus, it is important to query their representation from their diversity. For example, could self-identifying as feminists have effects on their political decisions?

The increase of women in Parliament could be seen as a victory in terms of quantity, but not necessarily for a pro-women agenda. For example Felipe Burbano a Professor at Flaco University in Ecuador mentioned that women politicians in Ecuador do not dispute gender struggles: "Women enter a scenario of elite disputes and in that dispute, their loyalty is played more with their political party and the caudillismo than with their own gender condition" (Burbano de Lara: 2004:92).

As a solution, legislatures should be more diverse (Hughes 2013) in order to represent women from minorities too. It is important to understand that women are not a homogeneous group (Celis et al 2008) and representation should be understood through their diversity by thinking with intersectional lenses. Gender, race, ethnicity have become significant criteria to evaluate the degree of representativeness of the elected officials. According to Htun about fifty countries (see Appendix I) promote access to political power, like in the parliament, through the inclusion of some strategies that have as criteria gender, ethnicity, or both (Htun 2005). Some countries in Latin America, like Peru and Colombia, include both criteria: gender and ethnicity in their electoral norms whilst others like Ecuador only include woman quota, which is the most common mechanism.

Thus, the present debate turns around how women representatives are questioned about who they claim to represent, the relationship between being a woman and their di-

¹ In 1995 the Beijing Declaration of Action was proclaimed in the frame of The United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women. It encouraged women participation in decision-making and in power seats. The Strategic objective G.1.stated: *"Take measures to ensure women's equal access to and full participation in power structures and decision-making* (UN 2018). For this the action recommended was to take positive actions in the electoral system and parties.

versity, and why and how women's participation in politics matters. Schwindt-Bayer mentions that women's representation may vary across legislative settings (2010). Hence, the purpose of this study is to explore how women legislators were represented in Ecuador in the period 2013-2017 - a period led by women, with the highest number of women in congress.

By analysing women legislators from their diverse cultural backgrounds, five stories of assemblywomen will be used to explore the political representation of women. For instance how rules, institutions like quotas, identity of legislators and their actions will be reviewed. The hypothesis is that the presence of a diversity of women in the parliament of Ecuador in the period 2013-2017 matters, since women legislators act in accordance to different self-identifications like gender, race, ideology, regions, beliefs and/or personal experiences. This research focuses on analysing how context, formal rules and personal identities and personal experiences substance and are translated into political actions.

To that end, women's political representation frame will be used. It is incomplete to understand political representation without looking through different dimensions, that this word "representation" includes: formal, descriptive and substantive (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:24). The formal dimension is based on rules that guide elections for example, the parity between women and men in the electoral lists established in the Code of Democracy of Ecuador. Also, the descriptive representation depends on the representative characteristics of the legislators' identity, for example observing one gender: women. Finally substantive representation sees what representatives do, for example what laws were sponsored by an indigenous woman legislator in the period 2013-2017 in Ecuador. This will allow us to have the complete picture of women's political representation.

The present research will contribute to the debate around the relationship between descriptive representation and substantive representation of women and will suggest the different measures which may encourage the selection of a variety of legislators, thus enabling a shift from 'single-axis' women to 'multiple-axis', implying that diversity matters in representation.

1.1. Research Questions

The research question is "**How were women legislators represented in the National Assembly of Ecuador 2013-2017**". However, for answering this main question it is necessary to observe women's political representation from all their standpoints thus the following sub questions will be answered:

1. How did political contexts and political institutions affect women's representation in Parliament between 2013-2017?
2. What were the electoral norms for women's representation in the National Assembly? Did quotas matter?
3. Who were the five women elected? What are their self-identities and personal experiences?

4. How did these five women representatives act as legislators?
5. What was the relationship between the five women's descriptive representation and their substantive representation?

1.2. Methodology

1.2.1. Data Selection

The case study is the National Assembly of Ecuador since there are few investigations related to women's participation in the period 2013-2017. Qualitative interviews and secondary data are used to analyze the representation of the five women legislators. Qualitative data allows us to capture respondent's own understanding, in their own words, based on their social context (Richards, 2015). Thus, it helps to understand the feelings, values, and perceptions that underlie and influence the legislators' behaviour. For the interviews, five women legislators were selected. The selection was based on the diversity of women in Ecuador. All of them came from different political parties, ideologies (left to right wing), different races, different class backgrounds and from different provinces that represent all the regions of Ecuador (Coast, Amazon and Highlands). Secondary data, including laws that were initiated during the period 2013-2017 are used to reinforce the interviews. The limitation of the present selection was sexual orientation; however none of the legislators were willing to publicly state his or her sexual orientation in this period.

Table 1: Five Assemblywomen Description

Name	Political Party	Region	Race	Date Of Interview
Gabriela Rivadeneira President of the National Assembly 2013-2017	Alianza País (Left)	Highlands Otavalo- Quito	Mestiza	5 of September of 2018
Mae Montaña	CREO (Right)	Coast Esmeraldas	Afro- Ecuadorian	13 of September 2018
Lourdes Tibán	Pachacutik (Left)	Highlands Cotopaxi	Indigenous	3 of September 2018
Cristina Reyes	Social Cristino (Right)	Coast Guayaquil	Mestiza	13 of September 2018
Gabriela Díaz	Avanza (Center)	Amazon Pastaza	Mestiza	18 of September 2018

(Source: the author)

Due to their high level status, access proved challenging - three of the interviews were obtained through contacts and two of them by contacting them via Facebook and Instagram. The interviews were transcribed and can be found in the Appendix IV.

Four of the five interviews were conducted by video call. Technology has improved communication, for example, a video call solves distance problems. Thus an advantage is that it cuts costs, don't pollute environment and is more efficient, whilst the disadvantage is that the full working environment of the legislators could not be observed. Additionally, one of the interviews was conducted by a third person that knew the subject and was well prepared.

The interviews were done using intersectional methodology in the data collection. These types of interviews helped to examine how gender, race, class, personal experiences, self-identification, geographical origin and other elements influenced the answers. All the questions were open-ended with the intention of providing more freedom to the respondents. A limitation of this study, is thus that the interviews could not be conducted in person.

To date all transcripts have been shared with the respondents and since some respondents will not be able to read the research due to language barriers, a resume with the conclusions will be provided to them in Spanish.

1.2.2. Methodology for Analysis of Data

The analysis of the qualitative interviews was done through thematic analysis and discourse analysis. Thematic analysis is a method used for finding, exploring and reporting themes within data (Attride – Stirling 2001). In thematic analysis the meaning of a topic to a person/group can be broken down into a set of themes. This method helps to classify the obtained data through a consistent coding strategy, and to produce a thematic network that synthesises and interprets the information. For example, themes like 'political context', 'women's quota', 'feminism', 'self-identity' and 'initiatives of laws' emerged from the data. The second part of the analysis examines the initiatives of laws that the five different assemblywomen presented between 2013-2017. For the present analysis of policy-making, the motives behind these law initiatives are analysed, in order to to understand their political intention.

Thus, all the laws they presented will be observed, and a chart of all of their law initiatives and their motives will be presented. All the motivations for law initiatives per assemblywomen will be analysed through the discourse analysis method. More specifically, with a "What's the problem" approach, using the framework provided by Carol Bacchi (1999). She considers that policy is strategic and that the political process is important thus it shapes the relevant issues to be considered. "Policy making is a struggle over meanings and significances" (Bacchi 1999:19). For this, the author presents the following questions that directly target policy proposals:

1. What is the problem?
2. What are the assumptions underlying this representation?
3. What are the effects produced? How are subjects constituted within it?
4. Who is likely to benefit from this representation?

5. What is left unproblematic in this representation?

6. How would responses differ if the problem or represented differently?

With these questions, Bacchi seeks to illustrate the range of issues, the kinds of insights, the silences that a policy provides (Bacchi 1999:12-13). The answers of these questions allow the present research to understand the intentions of the legislators with regards to their law initiatives.

Finally, I will analyse the transcription of their motivations (secondary data obtained through Observatorio Legislativo 2018) plus the information obtained through interviews, where some questions about their motivation of certain laws were asked. This will be achieved using intersectionality as a tool and a descriptive analysis will be presented comparing their claims of whom they claim to represent, what laws they presented and with whom they related.

1.3. Scope and Limitation

As the purpose of this research is analysing the representation of women legislators in Ecuador between 2013-2017, this research will focus only on one gender: women, however I recognize that gender is a social construction that has a specific relationship to bodies. Gender is not a code word for women. I recommend for future studies, the diversity of genders in the analysis of political representation since gendered power relations permeate political institutions, gender is always present.

There are two principal limitations of the present research. The first one relates to the framework. I excluded one dimension of the frame used for women's political representation provided by Schwint-Bayer due to time constraints and also since the present research focuses on the perspective of representatives. The second limitation relates to the time period of the motives of initiatives laws which were analysed. There is important data on initiatives of laws before and after the period 2013-2017 that can also be relevant for looking into the relationship between legislators and their policies.

1.4. Positionality and Personal Interest

The personal interest in a research always influences the content since the researcher is responsible for taking decisions. With regards to my positionality, I am a feminist interested in the field of women, minorities, politics and democracy. It is important to mention that the personal is political and political is personal. My personal story, presented below, influenced my interest in this research and situates me in a particular position.

I attended one of the best private universities, that had two important moments in her life: the first was when I became the first woman President of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Ecuador, representing more than 10,000 students. The oldest private university in Ecuador, founded in 1946, chose for the first time a woman as head of the student representation and it was me! In that moment I understood what a difference it was to have a woman instead of the historically entrenched man occupying a seat of representation.

The second was when I met the women from Porvenir. "Porvenir" is a rural community situated in the poorest province of Ecuador, where people live in extreme poverty (SIISE and SISPAE 2004). This community that has no running- water and not enough economic resources but instead it has rivers, nature, incredible Afro-Ecuadorian people and

solidarity values. Here I had the opportunity to become a friend of the community, especially of the women of Porvenir. I learned about the Afro Ecuadorian women's struggles.

Through my personal experiences, an interest in this research was born: the participation of women in the formal institutions of popular election as the Parliament and the challenges of representation of women in their diversity, especially minorities like the Afro-Ecuadorian women I have worked with. In particular I am concerned with representing a feminist approach to dealing with the social problems faced by women as a minority, and in particular by Afro-descendant and indigenous women.

1.5. Structure of the Research

This paper is divided into the following seven chapters. The present chapter is an introduction which presents the research questions, limitations of the study and explains my positionality. The second chapter presents the literature of political representation and focuses on the framework that guides the present research: women's political representation (Shchwindt-Bayer 2010) and intersectionality (Hill and Bilge 2016). The third chapter describes the political context of Ecuador and the National Assembly 2013-2017 and how the political context of Ecuador affects women's political representation. Then the fourth chapter explains the electoral norms related to the elections with regards to women's representation and responds to the question of the importance of quotas. The fifth describes how the legislature of 2013-2017 was formed; allowing us to understand how formal rules affected the formation of the Parliament. Also in that section the identity and the personal experiences of the legislators is examined. The sixth chapter reviews how these five legislators acted, their motivations for presenting their initiative of laws, and the relation with their constituencies. At the end of this chapter, a reflection about who these five assemblywomen are and what they did will be interrelated; answering the question of what was the relationship between the five women's descriptive representation and their substantive representation? Finally the last chapter gives conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 2. Women's Political Representation

The primary objective of the present chapter is to open the doors of the theoretical debate on women's political representation. For that, the theory of Pitkin(1967) and the framework of Schwindt-Bayer (2010) will be discussed based on three dimensions that allow seeing the whole picture of political representation. However, observing its limitations, an intersectional approach will be added.

2.1. Political Representation

“Representation”: The word's etymological origins: re-presentation, a making the present again. (Pitkin 1967). What then is women's political representation? Almost all the contemporary studies (like Kurebwa 2015; Schwindt-Bayer 2010; Childs 2004; Celis et al 2008) about women's representation are based on Pitkin's (1967) concept presented in her book *The Concept of Representation*. This theory is relevant as it provides a complete concept of what political representation implies.

For Pitkin the word representation has been linked to the idea of democracy. Pitkin mentions several definitions of different political theorists of the world representation; however she concludes that there is no single definition and that the most vital element to know what the word means is to know that the word “representation” is used. For that, it has to be imagined as a flash-bulb photograph of the structure taken from different angles (Pitkin 1967). These different angles are for her four dimensions, namely “political representation” through formalistic view of representation, “standing for” as descriptive representation, “standing for” as symbolic representation and “acting for” or substantive representation (Pitkin 1967).

Nevertheless, Pitkin as others political science academics based in an extended part of her debate around the statements that Thomas Hobbes (1909) presented in his famous book *Leviathan*. Thomas Hobbes was an English political philosopher, who attended private schools and had a privileged life. *The Leviathan* which, was published in 1651, comes from the social contract theory; it describes the social structure of society and government.

The social contract theory differs from the divine right theory or the force theory since it believes that the state originated by the consent of free people through a voluntary act. The social contract is identified as a modern political idea that roots the modern principles of popular sovereignty and governmental accountability to the people. The presence of the government is a citizen's need and the political authority is based on the consent between them (Baumgold 2010). However, *The Leviathan* excludes women in politics. It refers exclusively to men representation. For Hobbes the only person who could achieve the position of being the representative of a government were men. The word “women” was not even mentioned, and at that time it was unthinkable that a woman could make decisions and govern a nation. This famous book is a clear example of the exclusion of women in political science (Hobbes, 1909).

In the same manner, Pitkin does not incorporate women's representation in her concept. She ignored women in representation. Conversely today several kinds of research pre-

sent a frame of women's representation based on her concept of representation but they studied representation from women's struggles and women's perspectives. The majority of research on women's representation, have focused on industrialised democracies of the West (Childs 2008; Celis and Childs 2012; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Dolan and Ford 1995; Krook 2008). Nonetheless, Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, a Professor of Political Science did research about women's representation in Latin America using Hanna Pitkin's concept of political representation as its base.

Thus, in this research that studies women's political representation in Ecuador, the book *Political Power and Women's Representation in Latin America* of Leslie Schwindt-Bayer (2010) will be a guide. Her book gives a frame of what is a formal, substantive, descriptive and symbolic dimension and how to examine them. It compares women's political representation of some parliaments of Latin America, but not in the Ecuadorian context. Thus, this research is relevant for filling this gap.

2.2. Women's Representation

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer's book (2010) tries to generate more interest in women's issues and political science. The objective of the book is to answer the following questions: why has women's access to politics increased in Latin America, and why does it vary so widely across countries? How does having women in office affect politics? And what are the consequences of women's representation in politics for representative democracy?

She presents a theoretical framework that she called a "complete framework". In it, she links all of these questions and tests it with an extensive set of original data on Latin American legislatures. The framework introduces four dimensions as the basis of the analysis. However, this research will observe only the following three:

a. Formal Representation

The "Authorization view" is the most common version of a view of representation. Pitkin mentions that for the theorist of representative democracy the most important criteria are elections. Elections are the act of vesting authority. "The definitive election is the one which puts a man into office, for it is that election which gives him authority and makes him a representative" (Pitkin 1967:43). For example, the democratic elections of legislators in 2013 in Ecuador constitute the act that gave authority to 55 women to be called representatives. The study of formal representation refers to the procedures that regulate the selection and removal of representatives. For example quotas of women is established in the Code of Democracy of Ecuador.

Schwindt-Bayer (2010) argues that formal representation affects the descriptive representation. Specifically, she mentions the case of how formal rules affect women in legislatures through two types of electoral institutions: proportional electoral rules and women-specific electoral institutions. The latter refers to women quotas. "Electoral institutions are the rules that define how the election process works, and these rules can help or hurt the election of women" (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6-46). If the electoral rules don't promote proportional representation, women's presence could be diminished (Schwindt-Bayer 2010).

2.2.1. Women Quota

Women quota policy is a formal rule that some countries have in their national laws to regulate the inclusion of women in politics. It is a requirement that political parties, the government or political institutions have “to include a minimum percentage of women on party ballots (or a maximum percentage for any one gender). Quotas are designed specifically to increase the presence of women in politics” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:9).

It is important to mention that most of the academics like Mona Lee Krook (Krook 2008), Schwindt-Bayer and Miki Kaul Kittilson (Kittilson 2005) that study women quota policy refers to “gender quotas” but they focus just on women presence instead of the different genders that this social construction: “gender” includes. It is a common mistake to refer to women as gender.

Leslie Schwindt- Bayer hypothesised that, women quotas lead to the election of more women to Latin American legislatures (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:11). She presented a cross-national statistical analysis that exposed electoral rules and quotas as essentially explanations for women’s descriptive representation in Latin America (Schwindt-Bayer 2010). “The implementation of candidate gender quotas is often followed by a dramatic increase in women’s parliamentary participation (...) Gender quotas are a mechanism for enriching democratic inclusion” (Kittilson 2005:638).

Jane Mansbridge emphasises that significant representation by women cannot be achieved in any existing polity without some form of women quota. She states that it is a necessary rule that promotes women’s participation in politics (Mansbridge 2005).

However, women’s quota promotes the inclusion of women in politics but not all different women. I wonder: does women quota policy encourage the inclusion of a diversity of women, the excluded ones? Are quotas misrepresenting members of society? “Many feminists explicitly recognise women’s heterogeneity as a group, observing that there is ‘no empirical nor theoretical plausibility’ to the idea that women share all or even particular experiences” (Celis et al 2008: 102). Thus, for inclusion it is vital to take into account that women are not a homogeneous group.

Mala Htun states that women quotas could not represent all women. She mentions that Afro-descendant women are more underrepresented in Latin America. For example, she cites that Afro-descendant women occupied in 2012 only 1% of the seats in Brazil even if they constitute 25% of the population and no seat in the House of Representatives of Colombia, although they represent 6% (Htun 2012). In Ecuador, there are not enough studies about Afro-descendant women in the legislature.

b. Descriptive Representation

What should a representative legislature be like? It should resemble the represented, reflecting them without distortion. The legislature might be selected that its composition corresponds accurately to that of the whole nation (Pitkin 1967). Pitkin mentions that some proportionalists agree that the assembly should maintain the most exact possible image of the country (Pitkin 1967: 61-62).

The main point is the presence of different groups of people, what matters is being present. “When this view of representation is applied to the political realm, the implications is that in politics, too, the function of representative institutions is to supply information, in this case of the people or the nation” (Pitkin 1967:81). In this case, representation refers to

be like you (referring to the citizens), not acting for you (Pitkin 1967:89). “Descriptive representation focuses on the composition of the legislature and the extent to which its diversity mirrors the diversity in society” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6).

In other words, it refers to the representativeness of the system. Legislatures can be descriptive representative based on territorial correspondence (Marsh and Wessels 1997). They can also be represented in terms of social characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, class, and gender (Norris and Franklin 1997). Thus, I hypothesize that the identity of representatives is important, in other words who they are.

Jane Mansbridge states that descriptive representation by women improves substantive outcomes for women in every polity (Mansbridge 2005:622). The relation between descriptive and substantive is one of the most-researched areas of the women’s representation literature examined by academics and as a subtopic how women represent other concerns, such as social issues or men’s issues (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:15). Does identity matter in the acts of representatives?

Indeed descriptive representation as formal representation doesn’t involve actions (except to provide information). It depends on the characteristics of the representatives. Pitkin argues that these two representations shouldn’t be viewed by itself, that they should be combined with the whole story about representation (Pitkin 1967:91).

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer mentions that formal representation is the determining factor in the extent to which legislatures reflect diversity in the electorate (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:40). She suggests that formal institutions that emphasize proportionality and representativeness produce legislatures that are more representative of the diversity in society (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:60). For example in Ecuador, women quotas in the electoral lists promote more presence of women in the parliament (Vega 2005). Nevertheless, with it, the diversity of women might not be reflected since the legal system of Ecuador does not connect with an intersectional perspective. Descriptive is related to identity, self-identity matters in order to represent.

c. Substantive Representation

Substantive Representation is “The activity of representing as acting for others must be defined regarding what the representative does and how he does it, or in some combination of these two considerations” (Pitkin 1967:143). For Leslie Schwindt-Bayer “Substantive representation deals with the way those elected “act for” their constituents through the activities of representing and their responsiveness to the political concerns of their constituents” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6). The main actions that the legislatures perform in their regular days might respond to what they were elected for. For example, Rosa Elvira Muñoz, an indigenous legislator of the National Assembly 2013-2017 of Ecuador was chosen for the province of Chimborazo thus she presented initiatives of laws related with the struggles that the indigenous population affront every day in Chimborazo.

Schwindt-Bayer uses three elements to explore the substantive dimension of women’s representation in Latin America: Making Policy, Taking Charge and Working in the District (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6-32). Making policy: refers explicitly to the work of debating and creation of laws (bill sponsorship) since it is the main action of this first element. Taking charge focuses on the analysis of the positions that women occupied in the legislature and committee leadership positions. Finally, the working district looks at the relation between the representatives and whom they claim to represent. It observes how representatives have been meeting or activities for specific regions, a group of people (Schwindt-Bayer

2010). Schwindt-Bayer in studying substantive representation looks at the women legislator's role-playing in policymaking. "Women's policymaking is an important measure of substantive representation" (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:103).

Empirical researchers investigate, then, what difference women representatives make 'for women'. The substantive representation of women needs to take women's diversity into account. "Some studies confirm the hypothesis that women's presence furthers the substantive representation of women, others suggest that the relationship between women representatives and better/more feminist substantive representation is very much dependent on (gendered) institutional contexts" (Celis and Childs 2012). In this study, this will be applied to the Ecuadorian context and analysed.

For example, in the institutional context of Ecuador political participation present several obstacles for women: how the schedule is designed in a political institution, the short time available for the political work and to attend at the same time the primary responsibilities of their homes; the little support of their families and the fear of being the object of insults and abuse for being a woman (Vega 2005).

2.2.2. Women Representing Women

Some academics argue that electing women to legislative office is different than electing male legislators since women will bring women's equality concerns, sponsor legislation equality bills, sitting on women's issue committees, bring women's perspective to legislative debates (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:16). Nevertheless, other scholars doubt that representation of an underrepresented group (for example women) will mean a substantive representation of that group's interests, "The presence of women in parliaments and legislatures-at whatever proportion, tipping point or critical mass-does not simply or automatically translate into substantive action on behalf of the unstable category 'women' and their contestable 'interests'" (Mackay 2008: 135).

However, women may be more interested in representing women since they have faced the same common historical discrimination in society and participation in politics. Women legislators are more likely to serve women because they have more common experiences of subordination that women face and feel the responsibility to represent them (Mansbridge 2005). In the same manner, academics note that women who have feminist attitudes may serve other women than women who don't have a feminist identity.

The studies by Dolan and Ford (1995) and Tremblay and Pelletier (2000) sustain that feminist women promote a pro-women agenda. Dolan and Ford investigate the degree to which possessing a feminist identity influences the legislative acts of female legislators; they concluded that the majority of women maintained a feminist identity and that these feminist women did indeed have a different hierarchy of legislative priorities in favour of women (Dolan and Ford 1995). For them, a feminist identity is an expressed recognition. In their research, they identified the feminist identity of women that served as legislators asking them how often (never, sometimes, or frequently) they identified themselves as feminists, rejecting indicators like education or underlying beliefs. Being feminist is considered themselves as it (Dolan and Ford 1995). The present research supports that having a feminist identity influences their legislative work. For example in Ecuador not all the women representatives identify themselves as feminists, and that has consequences in the content of the initiative of laws that they sponsor. It could be stated that a feminist women presence matters since this identity is translated in their actions (Childs 2008).

This debate between the descriptive and substantive representation of women is present in several researches (Dolan and Ford 1995; Mansbridge 2005; Tremblay and Pelletier 2000; Dovi 2002; Childs 2008; Childs and Krook 2006; Celis et al. 2008; Mackay 2008). All of them stand different positions in relation with substantive and descriptive representation however many of them focuses on the whole picture with the four dimensions proposed.

2.3. Analytical Framework

2.3.1. Women's Political Representation by Leslie A. Schwindt-

This research uses the concept of women's political representation of Leslie A. Schwindt-Bayer (2010). "Women's representation is not just about explaining how women get elected or what kinds of policies they produce once there. Instead, it is a multifaceted and integrated concept comprised of the nature of electoral institutions (formal representation), the presence of women in legislatures (descriptive representation), the way in which women represent (substantive representation), and citizen perceptions of that representation (symbolic representation). To fully understand women's representation, it is necessary to examine all of these dimensions of representation and how they influence one another" (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6-32).

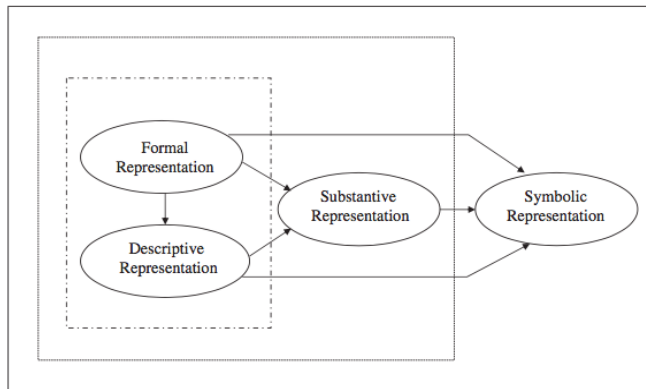
The benefit of the present framework of representation is that it explains representation from different dimensions, instead of other theories that took representation from just one point of view. Schwindt-Bayer mentioned three main reasons why this frame of representation should be used, which I agree: first, she maintains that it generates more accurate conclusions about women's representation. For example, she said that focusing in just one dimension like in the descriptive dimension the outcome could be that women's representation is improving in some countries just because of the number of women in the parliament but focusing on substantive representation can be concluded that women do not play an influential role in some legislatures. Thus, a different conclusion could be drawn depending on the dimension. In the same manner if women's representation focuses on formal dimension, it could conclude that women quota policies have a positive effect on women's representation but focusing on substantive representation quota policies can marginalise some women.

Second, she mentions that an integrated theory can explain the possibility of an unequal representation inside the legislature. It describes the effects on the way women "act for" the represented in a political setting. It mentions why women's intentions are not always reflected in the legislative behaviour.

Third, the theory that Schwindt-Bayer raises can help to resolve the following questions: what causes women's growing presence in politics and what are the consequences of having more women in politics (Schwindt-Bayer 2010: 32-33).

The main issue that I find relevant is the connection between one to the other, and the formal representation had implications on the descriptive representation and the descriptive with the substantive representation. In Ecuador the formal representation influences who sits in the National Assembly and who, the identity of representatives, is relevant in their actions.

Figure 1: An Integrated Model of Representation by Schwindt-Bayer

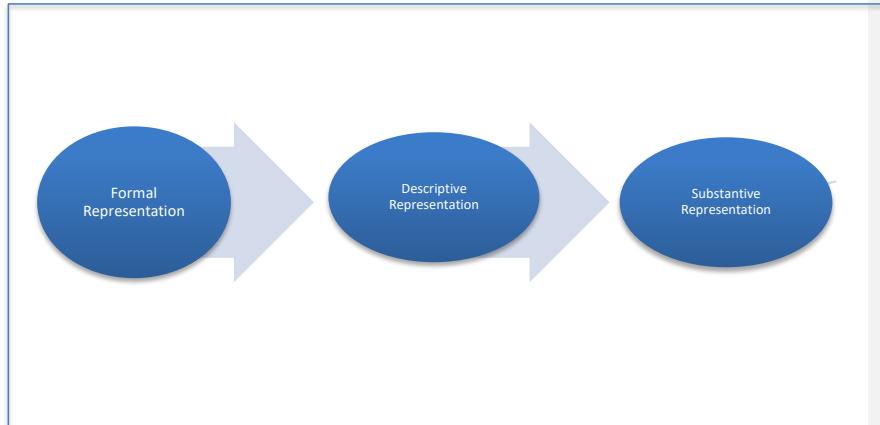


Source: (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:8)

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer affirms that the four dimensions proposed by Pitkin can't be separated. Nevertheless, Schwindt-Bayer also mentioned as relevant that several political science studies use this theory without all the aspects together (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6-7). For example, several political science researchers studied the relationship between the descriptive and substantive dimension in "women quotas" like Mansbridge (2005) since descriptive and substantive are the main discussion in political science.

Thus, for the present research just three dimensions should be studied: formal, descriptive and substantive. Since they can't be examined separately the research will focus in three stages and since symbolic representation reflects the citizen's perception. It could affirm that symbolic has a different nature as the others and for that it could be excluded. I hypothesis as Schwindt-Bayer (2010) that one dimension has consequences for the other. The framework will be the following:

Figure 2: Model of Political Representation by the author



(Source: the author)

It is also important to mention some limitations that the framework of Leslie Swindt-Bayer presents. One of them is the common mistake to limit gender with women. For example, she refers to “gender quota” but what she studied was only women quota in the parliament. Second her analysis of descriptive representation refers to women, assuming that women are a unique category without diversity. For that reason, the present research will also use “intersectionality” as a way to understand their complexity.

2.3.2. Intersectionality

The representation of women should be viewed from its level of diversity, as women are not a homogenous group. An intersectional framework shows what political science academics constantly ignore representation. The first feminist who introduced the term “intersectionality” was Kimberlé Crenshaw. She showed her theory in “Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color” where she highlights how society has hidden the vulnerability of women especially of black women (Crenshaw 1991). Crenshaw draws links between individual identity and collective identity.

Intersectionality can have different and contradictory definitions (Hill and Bilge 2016:1). However Patricia Hill and Sirma Bilge state that almost everyone accepts the following answer of what is intersectionality:

“Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analysing the complexity in the world, in the people, in the human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diversity and mutually influencing ways. When it comes to social equality, people’s lives and the organization of power in a given society are better understood as being shaped not by a single axis of social division, be it race, gender or class, but by many axes that work together and influence each other. Intersectionality as analytic tool gives people better access to the complexity of the world and of themselves” (Hill and Bilge 2016:2).

The importance for using intersectionality as a framework is based on the most important strands of contemporary feminist thought that have been concerned with the issue of difference. The first strand has been devoted to understanding the effects of race, class, and gender on women's identities, experiences, and struggles for empowerment.

Intersectionality can take many forms; one of them is as an analytic tool. It shows how a specific case study can be understood by many factors that work together in diverse and mutually influencing ways and not only one element (Hill and Bilge 2016). For example, how women represent women in politics depends on different factors.

Using intersectionality as an analytic tool highlights how gender, race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, ability, and citizenship influence the result. Intersectionality can be used in different ways, but the important thing is not what intersectionality is rather what intersectionality does (Hill and Bilge 2016). In the present case the intersection between race, age, place of origin, feminist identity, personal experiences and being a woman affects in a particular way their representation.

Hill and Bilge in the chapter "Intersectionality and Identity" presents contemporary debates concerning the connection between identity and intersectionality. On modern thoughts there is a distinction made between the mind versus the body and between the interiority of the self versus its exterior (Alcoff 2006). For example, in our society today, race and gender operate as visible identities (Alcoff 2006). However identity is not that, it is how each individual recognize itself and the concepts that involve identity like for example the concept "women" is a social construction that must be deconstructed and de-essentialized in all of its aspects (Alcoff 2006). Intersectionality proposes to be combined, to recognize the diversity of identity (Hill and Bilge 2016).

Identity can also influence politics in a way of resistance. Politics of identity can be conceived as an essential tool for resistance of historical oppression, identity as a political location but not an essence. On the other hand, politics of identity has been criticized for being radical separatist and that can affect democracy. For the classical liberal political theory, the initial state of the self is conceptualized as an abstract individual without a group (Alcoff 2006:15), like if women will radicalize and will represent just women forgetting the common good between citizens. This theory support to don't separate citizens into groups.

Conversely, I sustain that identities in intersectionality do not separate people, instead it connects them. Intersectionality as an analytic tool creates more expansive understandings of individual and collective identities (Hill and Bilge 2016: 114); identities that can build a collective "we" (Hill and Bilge 2016: 135).

Understanding the limitations of Women's Representation framework of Leslie Swindt-Bayer, the present research tries to include the diversity of women, from different identities and personal experiences by using an intersectional perspective. This research presents intersectionality as a way of framing the various interactions of identities and personal experiences in the context of women's representation.

Hill and Bilge mention that the social context is important (Hill and Bilge 2016: 115) with which Leslie Swindt-Bayer agrees, the context should be reviewed first, so the following chapter will describe the political context between 2013 and 2017.

Chapter 3. Political Context

Leslie Schwindt-Bayer stated that context matters in political representation (Schwindt-Bayer 2010). Thus the present chapter has as objective to analyse the context of the National Assembly in the period 2013-2017. Firstly, social and political contexts of Ecuador will be provided. Second, the political context will be examined by the perception of five women legislators. The primary objective of this chapter is answering how do political contexts and political institutions affect women's representation in the Parliament 2013-2017?

3.1. Political and Social Context

Since Ecuador is a Republic, the system of government is a Presidential one of Representative Democracy. Nowadays, there are five different functions of the State: legislative, executive, judicial, electoral and citizen participation. The legislature is named National Assembly since the approval of the actual Constitution of the Country in 2008. The name previously used to be "Congress" but the Constituent Assembly members decided to change the name to exalt that is an Assembly that joins different members of Ecuadorian society. The legislators and the President of the country are elected for four years and both run elections in the same electoral process.

The population of Ecuador is around 14.483.499 of habitants. There are five major ethnic groups: mestizos, white, Afro Ecuadorian, montubio, and indigenous peoples (SIISE, 2015). Ecuadorian society is indeed unequal: dominant groups of white and mestizos have better opportunities than minorities who continue to be marginalised. 50.44% of the total of the population of Ecuador are women (INEC 2018a). Ecuadorian women suffer from several social problems. 6 of 10 women have experienced a different type of violence, for example, 2 of 5 have suffered from physical abuse and 1 of 4 sexual violence (INEC 2018b). Poverty is also prevalent, especially for women, for example, in the Afro Ecuadorian majority town of San Lorenzo, one of the poorest provinces of Ecuador, women poverty is exceptionally high at 94%. This percentage could be compared with the 6,1 % of white urban women's poverty or with the 18,7% of urban white women's poverty from Quito, the capital of Ecuador, where the unequal gap is even more significant (INEC 2018a).

Thus, women governed in an unequal country where women suffer discrimination and violence, in a country that in 2013 intended to be more plural and attend all the sectors in the National Assembly.

3.1.1. National Political Context of the National Assembly 2013-2017

After three governments that couldn't finish the period for which they were chosen, on the 26th of November 2006, Rafael Correa won the presidential elections of Ecuador with a new political party called Alianza Pais (AP). He promoted the Citizen Revolution, an alternative project that promised change and hope under the principles of the socialism of the twenty-first century. In the first years of the government of Correa, a new Constitution was approved by a Constituent Assembly.

In 2013, Correa was re-elected with 57,17% of the votes. In the same elections, 137 legislators of the National Assembly were elected (CNE 2013). From 137, 60% (82) of legislators corresponded from his same political party: AP.

Historically, this Parliament of Ecuador had more women than in all its previous years as a Republic. 52 women were elected; it constituted 38,5% of the total legislators. In the same manner was the first time that three women occupied the three most important seats of the legislature.

Gabriela Rivadeneira, a member of the same political party of Rafael Correa, headed the list, running for elections for the National Assembly. She won as the most voted assemblywoman, becoming the first female President of the Ecuadorian Parliament. In the same manner, two other women, Rosana Alvarado and Marcela Aguiñaga, of AP occupied the two vice presidencies of this legislative institution (El Tiempo 2013). However, these three women, as with the other legislators of AP were accused of not representing women instead just responding to the requests of Correa. For Rocío Rosero, an important feminist activist and member of Coalición Nacional de Mujeres said that the National Assembly 2013 had a regression in the protection of women's rights (González 2016).

For example, Correa claimed in 2013 to not legalise abortion in case of violation, and all the Assemblywomen of the National Assembly of 2013 followed his request. What is more, he promoted a sanction against Paola Pabon who in her functions as assemblywoman motioned the legalisation of abortion (El Universo 2013). Also, his language was commonly criticised for being machismo; the aggression range from morbid compliments to insults and threats (Larraz 2017). On the other hand, Correa prohibited beauty contests for women, and historically implemented a transcendental change in domestic work. He made visible female work in households and regulated it as paid work and promoted the participation of women in the legislature and his cabinet.

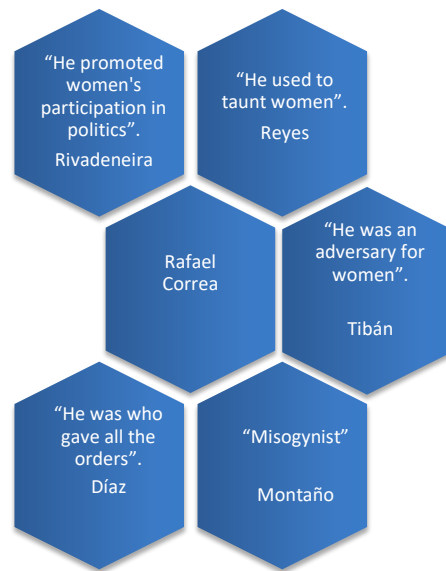
Thus the government of Correa was paradoxical concerning women. His strong personality, his high popularity and his leadership inside the AP were without a doubt essential elements in the context of the National Assembly.

3.1.2. Women's Legislators Perception of Political Context

The five women legislators that were interviewed repetitively showed their importance to the context, referring in two political aspects: the presence of President Correa and the difficulties they found in the institution of the Parliament (Based on Appendice IV). Below are two graphs that summarise the main ideas of the different legislators responses about the political context.²

Figure 3: Perception of Rafael Correa

² Free translation from Spanish to English and direct quotations were done by the author.



(Source: the author)

The presence of Correa was relevant for all the women legislators. Correa was the President of the political party AP, and his decisions influenced the legislator's behaviours. Correa's government was sharply criticised by the majority of women legislators (that were not from his political party) as a politician against women, especially in a symbolic representation. On the one hand, he promoted the participation of women in politics, but on the other hand, he attacked women opponents with a patriarchal discourse. All the women through all the interviews mentioned him several times by his name.

Figure 4: Obstacles for women in the Legislative



(Source: the author)

In the case of Ecuador, women mentioned that they faced discrimination where legislators preferred to resolve problems between men. Also, some of them said that there was envy among women. Gabriela Rivadeneira and Cristina Reyes mentioned that they were discriminated against due to their physical appearance. Mae Montañó stated that the problem is how the system is designed by the strong presence of the President in the Parliament and how the system forgets that women can also be mothers and have to attend to both tasks.

Thus, women legislators governed in a complex environment, the strong presence of the former President in the legislative and structural problems of women's discrimination based on a patriarchal political culture where men tried to resolve the political issues of the country only by them. In support of Leslie Schwindt-Bayer's statement that "marginalisation of women will be greater where political institutions give political parties and party leaders significant influence over the behaviour of legislators" (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:24). Based on the case of Ecuador, I argue that the marginalisation of women was caused by the strong presence of the leader of AP, Rafael Correa. Thus, it is needed to rethink how to prevent political institutions like the National Assembly from being controlled by a one-person leadership.

Nevertheless, this period counted with more legal incentives to women's participation in electoral lists that will be analysed in the next chapter. The electoral rule played an essential role in how the Parliament is composed.

Chapter 4. Formal Dimension: Electoral Rules

Why is an essential dimension the formal one in women's political representation? It is relevant since formal representation might influence descriptive representation. For that first, the electoral system of Ecuador will be reviewed. The perspective of the five Assemblywomen about quotas and how this policy can be improved will be exposed. Thus, this section will answer what are the electoral norms of women's representation in the National Assembly? This section will demonstrate that quotas are essential in women's participation.

4.1. Electoral System in Ecuador

"Electoral institutions are the rules that define how the election process works, and these rules can help or hurt the election of women" (Schwindt-Bayer 2010: 46). So how did these rules work in Ecuador and did they help or hurt the elections of women?

In Ecuador, citizens vote for President and legislators. For the latter, the electoral system is regional and majoritarian. The regional system means that candidates need to be selected by different regions of the country. Legislators are elected as national legislators or as provincial legislators. For the former, all the citizens vote and for the latter only the citizens of the particular province.

The Constitution of Ecuador and the Code of Democracy establishes the requirements for being a candidate for Assemblywomen/men. To participate as the provincial candidate, the conditions are: a joy of political rights; have been born or lived in the respective jurisdiction for at least two years without interruption, and not to be in any of the disabilities or prohibitions (Código de la Democracia 2009: art. 95)

4.1.1. Quotas in Ecuador

The academic, Silvia Vega Ugalde describes in her article "The electoral quota in Ecuador: Swimming against the stream in a hopeful horizon" the history of women's quota in Ecuador. She mentions that in a country where the masculine mainstream permeates the political system of Ecuadorian election, the women's quota has been seen as a hopeful horizon for a democratisation of the political spaces (Vega 2005).

Since 1997, Ecuador counts with laws that promote inclusion of women through quota policy in positions of popular elections (Vega 2005). The first electoral quota for women was established in the Ley de Amparo Laboral (Labour Law). The implementation of this quota was made by the assumption that "women have already the same grade of preparation for assuming productive activities" (Vega 2005:171). Therefore, it established as mandatory the hiring of a certain percentage of women in companies and 20% of the candidates in the electoral lists. In Appendix II you can find a summary of the history of quotas (Vega 2005).

The Electoral Organic Law or Democracy Code is the law that regulates elections since the 27th of April 2009. This norm establishes as one of its objectives the promotion of equal representation of women and men in the nomination or designation positions of the

public function, in its instances of direction and decision, and in political parties and movements (article 3). The following article states that parity is compulsory (Código de la Democracia: art. 99).

Art. 99. States that the multi-person candidacies will be presented in complete lists with main candidates and their respective alternates. The lists will be formed in parity with a sequence of woman - man or man - woman until completing the total of principal and alternate candidacies.

The most significant improvement of the present Code of Democracy that regulates the Ecuadorian Elections is the increase of the percentage of women's participation. Today mandates have to be 50% women and 50% men, promoting in this manner the same participation.

It also establishes that the representatives for the National Assembly have to maintain a strict format of equity, parity, alternation and sequentiality between women and men. In contrast to the other electoral laws, this norm clearly expressed the sequence of woman-man-woman.

Another critical issue about quotas is that it does not specify something for minorities. There is nothing about quotas for Afro-descendent nor indigenous people. Thus, as a consequence indigenous women or Afro-descendents participate less than other women in the electoral lists. Conversely of the case of Ecuador, Colombia, Venezuela and Bolivia count with reserved seats for indigenous or Afro-descendant but not for gender (Htun 2012).

Thus, three things can be concluded: first, that parity is guaranteed by the rules of the country. Second, the electoral norms in Ecuador are designed to promote the participation of women of different locations. Third, Ecuador has not engaged with encouraging the involvement of different races or ethnicities.

4.2. Perspective of Women about quotas

Based on the interviews, the five women legislators give their opinion about women quotas and parity in the Constitution and the Electoral laws (based on IV). Below, Table 2, synthesises the perception about quotas and how they consider it could be improved.

Table 2: Quotas in the Legislative

Name	Perspective about quotas	How can be improved
Gabriela Rivadeneira	"I believe that the obligation to have absolute parity in spaces for collective representation is already a great step for a new gender debate".	"Mandatory process of formation with a feminist approach in all the political organizations"
Lourdes Tibán	"It is a positive tool in favour of women".	1. "The political culture should promote the importance of the collective not only of women. You do not have rights because you are a woman but for being part of a collective" 2. "Because of historical discrimination there should be a differentiation

		for indigenous. For example, in a tie between an indigenous and an indigenous woman, an indigenous woman must enter.” 3. “In the elections should be the parity not only in the lists”
Mae Montaña	“Some people differ because women have an issue of quotas that have to do with capacity, but those of us who have experienced a historical process of discrimination and struggle in defense of women's rights feel that it is fair that groups like indigenous people, Afro-Ecuadorians, that groups that have suffered historical discrimination and historical inequalities need affirmative actions that help to repair this process, these historical inequalities.”	“(…) responsibility of women, social organizations, women's organizations and political organizations to train their female activists”.
Cristina Reyes	“I consider that a person does not deserve something because is a woman, because is a man, because of his geographical belongings, nor his racial, political, or religious theme, or anything like that. (...) Nevertheless quotas have been necessary against violence, discrimination and insolation of women in the politics. ”	“(…) They are demonstrating the capacity and so that later it is no longer necessary”.
Gabriela Díaz	“I think that there should be no law that requires the participation of women, it should be a voluntary thing, a thing that comes from society, from political parties (...) however for the timely question quotas does help (women's participation)”	Quotas for youth.

(Source: the author)

As it could be seen, all the women agreed on the importance of women quota to increase women's participation in the legislature; Mae Montaña added that quotas help to include people who have suffered historical discrimination in politics.

Besides, all of them agree that electoral quotas can be improved, but they have different perspectives. Three of them repeated that it is important to enforce schooling and training in a gender approach. On the other hand, the indigenous assemblywomen,

Lourdes Tibán, proposed three possible innovative reforms. She suggested linking women with collectives through a kind of collective quota, to have affirmative actions in favour of the indigenous and to change the parity (or women quota of 50%) in the results of elections not only in the lists. Díaz, one of the youngest legislators of the National Assembly proposed quotas for young. In addition, the electoral system is designed in a way that it endorses the participation of women from different geographical regions, but it excludes women from different races or ethnicities and ages.

Thus, in accordance with Leslie Schwindt-Bayer study these findings of the perspectives of women and the increasing number of women in legislative seats supports the statement that quotas have positive effects on women's representation (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:186). So, the type of quota is also important to be observed and discussed. The formal representation of women in Ecuador should include a new type of quota that perceives an intersectional perspective in order to include women from underrepresented groups i.e. Afro-Ecuadorians (Htun 2012).

In the next chapter, descriptive representation will be analysed concerning formal representation. The relation between the electoral rules and the women that are the candidates and those elected. Formal rules as norms could affect the result of who can occupy a seat in the National Assembly of Ecuador.

Chapter 5. Who are these women legislators?

Who are the women who govern Ecuadorian politics? Descriptive dimension refers to the presence of women in legislatures (Schwindt-Bayer 2010). The present chapter will first describe the National Assembly is composed in relation with the electoral norms. The second part describes five women legislators using intersectionality as an analytic tool. Intersectionality will allow us to counter: who were these five women elected? What are their self-identities and personal experiences?

5.1. National Assembly 2013-2017

The National Assembly is supposed to incorporate all Ecuadorian citizens, and should thus reflect its diversity. The parliament can be descriptively representative based on geographic or territorial correspondence and also can be represented concerning characteristics, such as race, ethnicity, class or gender. The composition of the legislature is easily visible and reflects the relationship with the formal dimension (Schwindt-Bayer 2010). What follows is a description of the composition of the National Assembly in 2013.

a. Number of Women

Based on a report about women participation provided by the National Electoral Council on the elections of 2013, 1434 citizens participated as candidates. From that number 665 were women representing 46,4% in total. From the 143 candidates that were elected as legislators of the National Assembly for the period 2013-2017, only 55 were women; i.e. 38,5% of the total was chosen as assemblywomen. This percentage has been the highest that Ecuador has obtained for women in the Parliament (CNE 2015). The Table 3 below represents the number of women over the years:

Table 3: Historical Number of women in the Parliament

Electoral norms	Year	Number of Women
Before women quota	1996	5
After women quota	1997	7
After women quota 20%	1998	16
Parity between women and men	2013	55

(Source: the author)

It can be concluded that there is a huge difference between before the implementation of quota, after quota before the 50% and after parity. From 5 women in the Parliament in 1996 to 16 in 1998; immediately after the implementation of the women's quota of 20% (Vega 2005) and then a jump to 55 women elected in 2013 (CNE 2015) after parity was

established. It may not appear to be a unique factor, but the quota policy contributed to the increase of numbers of women in the parliament of Ecuador. Taking into account this finding, I support Caul Kittilson’s statement that quotas are a good mechanism for improving women’s numerical representation (Kittilson 2005:638).

b. Age

The following Table 4 indicates the number of women elected by age, based on information of CNE (2015) on the 2013 Elections of the National Assembly:

Table 4: Electoral Results by Age

Age	Number women elected
18-30	6
30-45	29
45-65	20
<65	0

c. Political Party

In the graphic below, it can be observed how many assemblywomen conformed the Parliament and from which political party.

Figure 5: Conformation of legislators in the National Assembly



(Source: Observatorio Legislativo 2018)

The colour green on legislators represents the assemblywomen who came from AP; being a vast majority. In respect of the political forces, this political party had an absolute majority. Also AP had more candidate women than men converse was true for other political parties. Only one assemblywoman entered in the representation of CREO and three from Partido Social Cristiano. Both of them are political organisations from the right.

On the other hand, the indigenous political party got two seats for women. Finally, one woman entered by a new political party called Avanza. Appendix III provides a chart that classifies all women into their political party.

d. Geography

Women legislators come from 24 different provinces. Appendix III shows the share of women per each province where they came from. Only in a few provinces women didn't gain a seat. However some provinces had more quantity of women than others. The province with most women in the National Assembly was Guayaquil; there were nine women from this province. The second one was Pichincha. Both of these provinces are the most populace that cover the two principal cities: Quito and Guayaquil. Thus there is a strong presence of women from the main cities.

e. Sexual diversity

There is no information in relation sexual diversity. For example, in the registration of news, there were no declared women lesbian in the National Assembly 2013-2017. Nevertheless, Diane Rodriguez a transgender woman, defender of human rights focused on the rights of the LGBT community, participated as assemblywomen candidate of the movement AP. Nevertheless, she didn't win the elections of 2013. Her campaign promoted more inclusión of the LGBTQI.

f. Race

There are more than one million indigenous people in Ecuador, which represents about 7% of the Ecuadorian population (United Nations, 2015). Nevertheless, less than 7% of the total number of assemblywomen or men elected were indigenous, only two women from the indigenous political party gained seats (CNE 2013). On the other hand, Ecuador doesn't count with a national political party that integrates Afro-Ecuadorians. Nevertheless, the quantity of population of Afro-Ecuadorians is similar to indigenous. An important finding is that there is little information related with the presence of Afro-descendants and indigenous people in the National Assembly of 2013-2017.

Conclusions about how the National Assembly was composed: first, women didn't occupy the 50% of the candidatures in the electoral lists. Second, women who participated more and obtained a legislative seat were predominant over the 30 years and less than 65. Third, sexual preferences between women in the legislature are not an element discussed. Fourth, the majority of women legislators came from the central provinces that have the two capital cities. Fifth, Alianza País was the political party that had more women candidates and more elected women. Finally, indigenous and Afro-Ecuadorian population are not well reflected in quantity in the 2013-2017 legislature.

5.1.1. Analysis Formal and Descriptive Dimension

Accordingly, with Leslie Schwindt-Bayer, we can find different results if we observe just one dimension (Schwindt-Bayer 2010). For example, If we follow the formal representation of Ecuador in 2013, it could be stated that it is a country with a positive representation of women since norms established the parity in electoral lists. However, if we connect the formal with the descriptive dimension, other results can be observed.

In 2013, women didn't obtain the 50% of the charges in the electoral lists even though the Code of Democracy established that it was compulsory. Women candidates only occupied 46,4% and the results were even worse, with women just occupying 38,5%. However, since women quota and parity in the Ecuadorian electoral norms, the number of women has increased.

Thus, I conclude that women quotas have been one crucial explanation for the presence of more women in the Ecuadorian Parliament; the increase in the number is notorious. However, the quota policy was not enough to guarantee 50% of women participation in Ecuador. In addition, the electoral norms don't include the diversity of women except for their different regions. The descriptive representative is based on one gender: women and on a territorial correspondence. This shows how some women could be underrepresented. As Mala Htun mentioned women quotas could not represent all women like for example Afro-descendant women that are underrepresented in Latin America (Htun 2012) since in Ecuador there is no quota for ethnicities or for ages.

5.2. Self-identity

Taking into account that women are not a homogenous group since there is no empirical or theoretical acceptability that women share their personal experiences (Celis et al. 2008). It is relevant to know who are the women that governed in 2013-2017 from their own stories. Therefore this section will describe the identity of five assemblywomen through intersectionality. Intersectionality is used as an analytic tool to create a more expansive understanding of individual identity (Hill and Bilge 2016).

The answers came from an open question: How do you describe yourself?" The following Table 5 represents all the characteristics they mentioned about themselves during the interviews(Appendice IV):

Table 5: Self- Identity of Legislators

Name	Race	Gender	Self description of their character	Place	Age	Other
Gabriela Rivadeneira	-----	Women	Passionate Stubborn Convinced	Otavaleña	Young	Feminist Socialist
Lourdes Tibán	Indigenous	Women	Multifactic	-----	-----	Mother Public functionary
Cristina Reyes	-----	Women	Passionate with causes	Ecuadorian	Young	In construction.

			With character brave	Guayaqui leña		I like to pre- pare myself
Mae Monta- ño	Black Afro Descendant	Women	Simple Rebel,	----- -	-----	Social Activ- ist
Gabriela Díaz	-----	Women	Decisions, that face Fighter	Amazon- ic	Young	Against Ra- fael Correa

(Source: the author)

All of them replied saying they consider themselves women. None of them mentioned another gender. Regarding race: mestizas didn't mention as a characteristic the race, but they mentioned where they come from, the different regions or cities. The indigenous Assembly-women and the black Assemblywomen referred to as essential characteristics their race and also enforced their answer identifying themselves with the indigenous and Afro-descendant people.

Also, the three youngest Assemblywomen mentioned the characteristic of being "Young", characterised as under 30. Being a mother is referred to by Lourdes Tiban as well as multifaceted³.

The silences are also meaningful, what they did not talk about. They didn't refer to their social class, however, through the interviews, almost all of them indirectly identified themselves as middle, low class. Nevertheless, all these women are middle-upper class since they are bureaucrats of the government. The reason for this silence could be that none of them want to identify themselves as rich, as they are politicians.

Therefore, it could be concluded that all these Assemblywomen identified themselves with different characteristics. They are not just women; they are black, indigenous, mestizas, adults, young, otavaleñas, guayaquileñas, amazonicas, etc.

5.3. Feminist Identity

Dolan and Ford mention that a feminist identity depends on a self-identity and that this identity has consequences on their actions as politicians (1995). The present research asked the respondents if they identified or not themselves as feminist and why yes or no. The results are presented in Table 6 and Figure 6 below:

³ Multifaceted refers to someone who has many ways of presenting herself or who knows how to do many things. One who has several facets.

Table 6: Feminist Identity

Name	Feminism
Gabriela Rivadeneira	Feminist
Lourdes Tibán	Feminist
Cristina Reyes	Feminist
Mae Montaña	Feminist of heart
Gabriela Díaz	Not a feminist

(Source: the author)

Figure 6: Perspective about Feminism



(Source: the author)

Not all the women consider themselves as feminists, it is not the case that if you are a woman that that implies you are a feminist; however, the probabilities are higher that women legislators consider themselves feminist as Dolan and Ford (1995). Gabriela Díaz, who doesn't consider herself a feminist and Cristina Reyes, who stated she is a feminist strictly in defense of women's rights, mentioned the word "radicalism", showing a cultural discourse of how feminism is interpreted in Ecuador.

Additionally, it could be noticed that women have different conceptions and origin of being a feminist. Mae Montaña considered herself as a feminist of heart since she had not been "trained" at becoming a feminist. She narrated that she was the daughter of a single mother who suffered psychological and physical abuse by her partner and that this particular experience motivated her to be a feminist. On the other hand, Lourdes Tiban mentioned that she is a feminist in her way, she believes in the complementarity between women and men.

Dovi mentioned that to posses a relation with constituencies, women must recognize each other as belonging to a historically disadvantaged group (Dovi 2002). All the four Assemblywomen who self-identified as feminists, recognized they came from a disadvantage group for being women in different moments.

5.4. Who they claim to represent

Thus, the question how they represented women was done in order to understand who they claim to represent. Their answers are presented below in Table 7:

Table 7: Relation Representatives and represented

Name	Which group did you represent?	How did you represented women?
Mae Montaña	All the ecuadorians	"I didn't, I represented all citizens".
Gabriela Rivadeneira	A sector. The ecuadorians who bet for a political renovation	"First, being the first women in the Parliament so that change different the political debate. Second with different laws in benefit of women"
Lourdes Tiban	All the ecuadorians	"I represented women, representing all the ecuadorians"
Gabriela Díaz	Youth	"In international events"
Cristina Reyes	All the ecuadorians	"Giving the example of being a women that raises one's voice"

(Source: the author)

It is not surprising that politicians mentioned that they represent all the citizens. Schwindt-Bayer cited as one of her conclusions that female representatives also appear to recognise the need to represent all constituents, not just women (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:80),

in the present case is evidence that all women have a strong discourse of being representatives that took care of all Ecuadorians without distinction.

None of them replied that they represented women explicitly. Mae Montaña and Lourdes Tibán, responded expressly that they served women, representing all the Ecuadorians. On the contrary, the other three legislators claimed to represent in different manners women. Only one them, Rivadeneira, mentioned that she supported women through policies in favour of women.

Below is Figure 7, which collects and displays the information of who these five women are, through their self-identification, where they come from and their personal experiences they referred to in the interviews:

Figure 7: Women legislators



(Source: images Asamblea Nacional 2018, the author)

To conclude I have three principal conclusions: first formal representation affects the descriptive representation in women's political representation in Ecuador between 2013-2017. The case of Ecuador shows how quota policy helped to increase the number of

women in the legislative. In the same manner all women who were interviewed agree with the importance of women quotas in women's political representation. The perspective of the five women legislators corresponds with Jane Mansbridge (2005), Caul Kittilson (2005) and Leslie Schwindt-Bayer (2010) positions that quotas are an effective mechanism for improving women's presence in political seats. Also, the electoral norms in Ecuador promote the participation of women of different regions of Ecuador and as a result there are women from almost all the provinces of Ecuador.

Second, in the National Assembly of Ecuador 2013-2017 all assemblywomen state the importance of being a woman, but in the same manner, they indicate as important other personal characteristics like where they come from, their age, their race, their own experiences. Their identity refers to the intersection of different identities (Hill and Bige 2016). Their identity is a complex entanglement between their interpersonal experiences, gender, race, age, geographic origin, and knowledge. For example, some assemblywomen experience the world simultaneously as a woman, as a legislator, as an indigenous and as mothers or other as a woman, as a legislator, as a young and a person of a particular place. There is no hierarchy between them, their identities are together.

Third, Assemblywomen conceive being a feminist in different manners, and also they had different motivations to consider themselves as feminists. All the feminist Assemblywomen recognize themselves as a disadvantaged group who have suffered discrimination or who feel unequal treatment in different ways and in different moments. As Dovi mentioned this recognition of belonging to a historically disadvantaged group is one element to represent constituencies (Dovi 2002: 736).

But does their identity influence their activity as a legislator? The following chapter will describe their labour as legislators and the relation between the descriptive and substantive representation of women of the National Assembly 2013-2017.

Chapter 6. Substantive Representation by Women Legislators

The primary objective of the present chapter is to observe how five women legislators represented in the substantive dimension in the National Assembly 2013-2017. The substantive representation as it was mentioned before is the “acting for” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010); it is about what they did i.e. actions. This section will explore the substantive representation of the five Assemblywomen. This chapter will use three elements that Schwindt-Bayer provides in her framework: making policy, taking charge and working in the district (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:6-32).

Making policy refers to the work of debating and the creation of laws, for the present research *making policy* will be seen by the initiatives of law that these five women presented. *Taking charge* focuses on the analysis of the positions that women occupied in the legislature debating the argument of Schwindt-Bayer that the positions matter. Finally, working district observes the work outside the office, for the present work outside the office in territory and meeting. It will be seen how representatives have meeting or activities for specific regions, territories or groups of people (Schwindt-Bayer 2010).

The assumption is that descriptive dimension affects the substantive dimension will be debated. I will argue that in the National Assembly 2013-2017, identity has implications in the substantive work and that not only being a woman is a determinant in their substantive representation.

6.1. Making policy: Initiatives of Laws

In this section, doing politics will observe the motivations of women in the Assembly to present bills based on their experiences and identity. In the following Table 8, all the initiatives of laws of the different five assemblywomen will be provided. Following their motives for presenting these initiatives of law will be summarised based on discourse analysis (Appendix V). The main point is to answer why certain assemblywomen present certain norms and what were their intentions with them.

Table 8: Lourdes Tibán's Initiatives of Laws

Lourdes Tibán		
Initiative of Laws	Main Issue	Date
Reform Law of the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization	Decentralization Planning	18 of April 2015
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function Tr. 192293	Legislative Procedure	29 of September 2014
Reform Law on the Labour Code and the Social Security Law for the Stability	Labour	13 of November 2014

and Defence of the Rights of Workers of Ecuador		
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of Land Transport, Traffic and Road Safety	Transport Indigenous Rural Communities	7 of April 2016
Law of Intercultural Practice for Humanized Labor in the National Health System	Health Reproductive Rights	14 of march 2016

Lourdes Tíban presented in her motives for introducing some initiatives of law, struggles and topics related with indigenous. For example in the “Organic Law of Land Transport, Traffic and Road Safety” she explained that indigenous communities have problems with transport, so she presented that law to try to resolve the legal situation of vans that operate illegally to transport people to indigenous communities. In the period 2009-2013 also Lourdes presented the “Organic Law of Coordination and Cooperation between the Indigenous Jurisdiction and the Ordinary Jurisdiction”, she mentioned that this initiative of law was motivated by her personal experience, seeing the differences between indigenous justice and the ordinary one.

Also, she presented norms related with reproductive health like the “Law of Intercultural Practice for Humanized Labor in the National Health System”, in the motivation of this law it could be observed how labor or childbirth is a joint activity between men and women, community and family. She said that she presented this law based on her personal experience. “I gave birth to two of my children in a clinic, and it was a delivery where the whole family was included. Instead, I gave birth to another of my children in the general hospital and the family was part of it”. Also, in the period 2009 and 2013, she presented the Organic Law against Discrimination, Harassment and Political Violence due to Gender⁴.

Table 9: Gabriela Rivadeneira’s Initiatives of Laws

Initiative of Law	Date	Topic
Reform Law to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	21 of April 2014	Structure of Procedures of the Parliament
Organic Law for the use of Cannabis for Medical and Therapeutic Purposes	24 of March 2016	Health Youth

⁴ Commonly the five Assemblywomen confused the term women with gender.

Organic Law for the Strengthening of the Popular Consultation and Political Participation	25 of January 2016	Participation Referendum Decentralization
Organic Law of Humanized Labor	14 of January 2016	Health and Reproductive rights Women
Organic Law Reform of the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization	25 of January 2016	Decentralization, Infrastructure, Health and Education
Organic Law on the Protection of the Rights to Privacy and Privacy of Personal Data	12 July 2016	Information

Gabriela Rivadeneira proposed initiatives of laws related to youth, women's health and procedures of the legislative institution. The "Organic Law for the use of Cannabis for Medical and Therapeutic Purposes" searched to resolve a problem of health. However, she explained that a youth group requested her to present this initiative of law. On the other hand, she presented the "Reform Law to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function", trying to resolve legal procedures.

She also presented the "Organic Law of Humanised Labor". She explained that her motivation was based on promoting women's rights. She said: "There is obstetric violence in our health system and it must be combative because obstetric violence affects a great many and violates many of women's rights". She also mentioned examples of how in Ota-
valo she learned the humanised labour.

Table 10: Mae Montaña's Initiatives of Laws

Initiative of Law	Date	Topic
Organic Law for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship	10 of October 2013	Small and Medium Entrepreneurship Informal sector
Organic Law for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship (Reformed)	25 of November of 2013	Entrepreneurship Informal sector
Organic Law for the Defense of Urban Entrepreneurs	15 of January 2014	Informal sector Informal Workers

Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	29 of September of 2014	Legislative Procedure
Organic Law of Defense of Urban Entrepreneurs	16 of March 2014	Informal Sector
Organic Law of Promotion of Entrepreneurship	24 of March 2014	Provisional Permit of Operation Entrepreneurship
Reform Law on the Communication Law	8 of December 2015	Communication
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	24 of March 2016	Institution Legislative

Mae Montaña repetitively sponsored laws about entrepreneurship. For Mae Montaña “The Organic Law for the Defense of Urban Entrepreneurs” had the objective to protect the informal sector, the urban entrepreneurs or informal workers who are harassed by the policy. She said that she presented it based on personal experience. She narrated how her mother was a single mother who had to go to the streets to sell food or all that she can to find resources that allow her to feed her family.

The motivation to present the other laws of entrepreneurship was to attend social problems like unemployment. She said “I believe that one of the rights that have not been worked, above all, was born of the interest that groups like Afro Ecuadorians, the indigenous population, the Montubia population and the same women, especially single mothers, mothers who are heads of household, have not had clear and precise support for the enjoyment of their economic rights. We always talk about all rights except economic rights” She referred about women, mothers, Afro Ecuadorians, indigenous and Montubia population.

Table 11: Cristina Reyes' s initiatives of Laws

Initiative of Law	Date	Topic
Law for the Promotion of Young Entrepreneurs and Entrepreneurs	23 of september of 2013	Entrepreneurship Youth
Law for the Promotion of Young Entrepreneurs	18 of July 2013	Entrepreneurship Youth
Reform Law to the Organic Law of the Council of Citizen Participation and Social Control, which includes the volunteer as a condition of the affirm-	15 of December 2014	Volunteering

ative measure		
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	29 of September 2014	Legislative Procedure
Organic Law Reform to the Seventh Transitory Disposition of the Organic Law of the Public Electric Power Service	6 of October 2015	Firefighters Budget
Reform Law to the Labor Code	15 of November 2015	Social protection Retirement
Organic Law Reform to the Integral Organic Code Penal-Coip	30 of August 2016	Corruption
Reform Law to the Social Security Law and Law of the Bank of the Ecuadorian Institute of Social Security		Social Security Labour

Cristina Reyes had two main topics in the laws that she supported, entrepreneurship and labour. These laws were done to favour young people and retirees. She wanted to promote young people as productive engines. In the description of why she presented the “Reform Law to the Social Security Law and Law of the Bank of the Ecuadorian Institute of Social Security” she said that was to protect against the abuse of governments that use the budget of the Social Security, especially by the government of Rafael Correa. The motive to present the Reform Law to the Labor Code was to increase the jubilee pensions. Also, she presented the “Organic Law Reform to the Seventh Transitory Disposition of the Law of the Public Electric Power Service” based on a meeting with the firefighters of Guayaquil.

Table 12: Gabriela Díaz’s Initiatives of Laws

Initiative of Law	Date	Topic
Reform Law on the Tourism Law and the Codification of the Civil Aviation Law	7 May 2015	Transport Passengers especially from Galapagos, Santa Rosa
Reform Law to the Organic Law of Higher Education - LOES-	31 of march 2016	Education Students
Student Technological Innovation Law	5 of December 2013	Education, Technology Students

(Source: the author)

Gabriela Díaz presented initiatives of law related to education and transport. The most common motivation for the three initiatives of bills that she sponsored was young people and the province of Pastaza. She mentioned several times the province where she comes from in her explanation to justify the necessity to present laws.

As conclusions we can see that almost all women have different motivations to present laws even if they talk about the same topic, they look at the problems and solutions by lenses of their personal experiences or identities. For example, Gabriela Rivadeneira and Lourdes Tibán presented two different laws related to the same topic: “Humanized Labor” but with different content in their motivations.

Their motivations for presenting laws were diverse. However, three of them mentioned “young” as the group for who these laws were also addressed three of them referred to “women” for some laws and finally some provinces were mentioned in their motivations.

6.2. Taking Charge: Commissions, Positions and Preferences.

Table 13: Commission's and themes

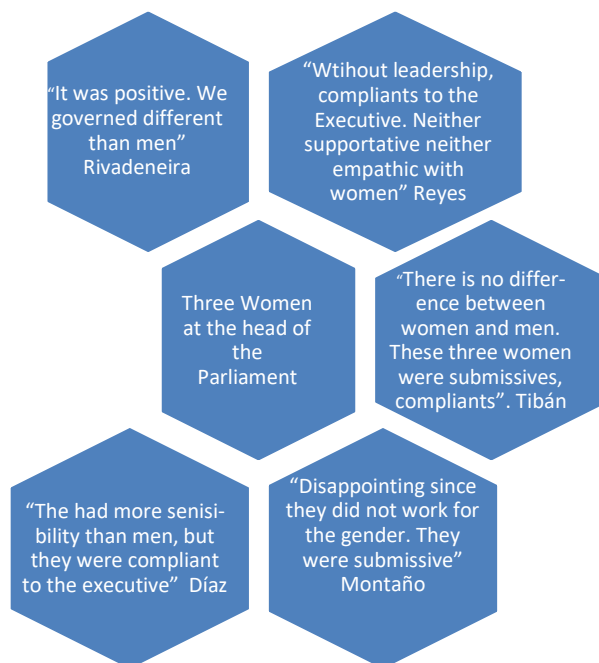
Name	Commission	Position	Themes preferred
Gabriela Díaz	Collective, Community and Intercultural Rights	Member	Themes related with the Amazon region
Lourdes Tibán	Food Sovereignty and Development of the Agricultural and Fishing Sector	Member	I didn't have a partparticul theme specific preference.
Cristina Reyes	Workers' Rights and Social Security	Member	Retirement
Mae Montaña	Commission of Citizen Participation and Social Control	Member	Employee
Gabriela Rivadeneira	President	President of the National Assembly	Rurality

(Source: the author)

In the interviews, women answer what topics or work area they related more to in their job as legislators. All of them replied with different interests, though none of them responded with the word “women”. Leslie Schwindt-Bayer mentioned as one of her findings that was evident in the survey results the importance of no women-specific political issues (Schwindt-Bayer 2010: 78).

“Despite increased numbers of women in the chamber in recent years, little evidence suggests that women are making their way into positions of power within the legislature” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010: 128) however the case of Ecuador is different since they counted with three women in the chief seats. It is important to mention that not all women reached an essential position in the legislative. The political party was a vital factor in the National Assembly 2013-2017; all women that entered the central charges were from AP. On the other hand, the other four interviewed in this case study didn’t reach even the Presidency or Vice Presidency of any commission. The five women mentioned that was a positive thing that women occupied the main seats however four of them criticised the specific case how the three women in the Presidency and vice-presidencies acted. Following is figure 8 that summarises their opinions:

Figure 8: Perspectives about Women Leading the N.A.



(Source: the author)

The submission of the three women overshadowed the presence of them in the three leading positions of the legislative to the President. However, it is also a common discourse to diminish women in politics: that they are behind a man. Leslie Schwindt-Bayer mentioned as one of her most important findings of women’s political representation in Latin America that women are “winning seats but not gaining political power in all legislatures. They have not held important chamber or committee leadership positions with any regularity and, in some countries, are marginalised in the type of legislative work that they do” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:197).

Nevertheless, the case of Ecuador shows the opposite, women occupied the central leadership positions, but still, they had limitations to gain political power. Thus, I state that the debate should not be only around the charges women occupied, but other factors too like in this case the political context of a powerful leader covert the historical charges of women.

6.3. Working District and Meetings

“Although policymaking is widely considered to be the most important part of a legislator's job, representatives also build relationships with constituents in their electoral districts. It is through their interaction with constituents that they learn what issues and problems are most important to citizens” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010: 153). In consequence, questions related with the work outside office like meetings and in local visits were questioned to the five Assemblywomen.

Table 14: Meetings and Working District

Assemblywomen	More meetings with:	Place that they visited more:
Cristina Reyes	Retirees Women	All the provinces She refered especially to Guayaquil
Gabriela Rivadeneira	All the citizens Social Organizations	All the country
Lourdes Tibán	All the citizens	All the provinces
Mae Montaña	All the citizens	All the country She mentioned Esmeraldas as example.
Gabriela Díaz	All the citizens Young people, LGBTQI Animalists	She visited all the provinces but she referred Pastaza as the main province.

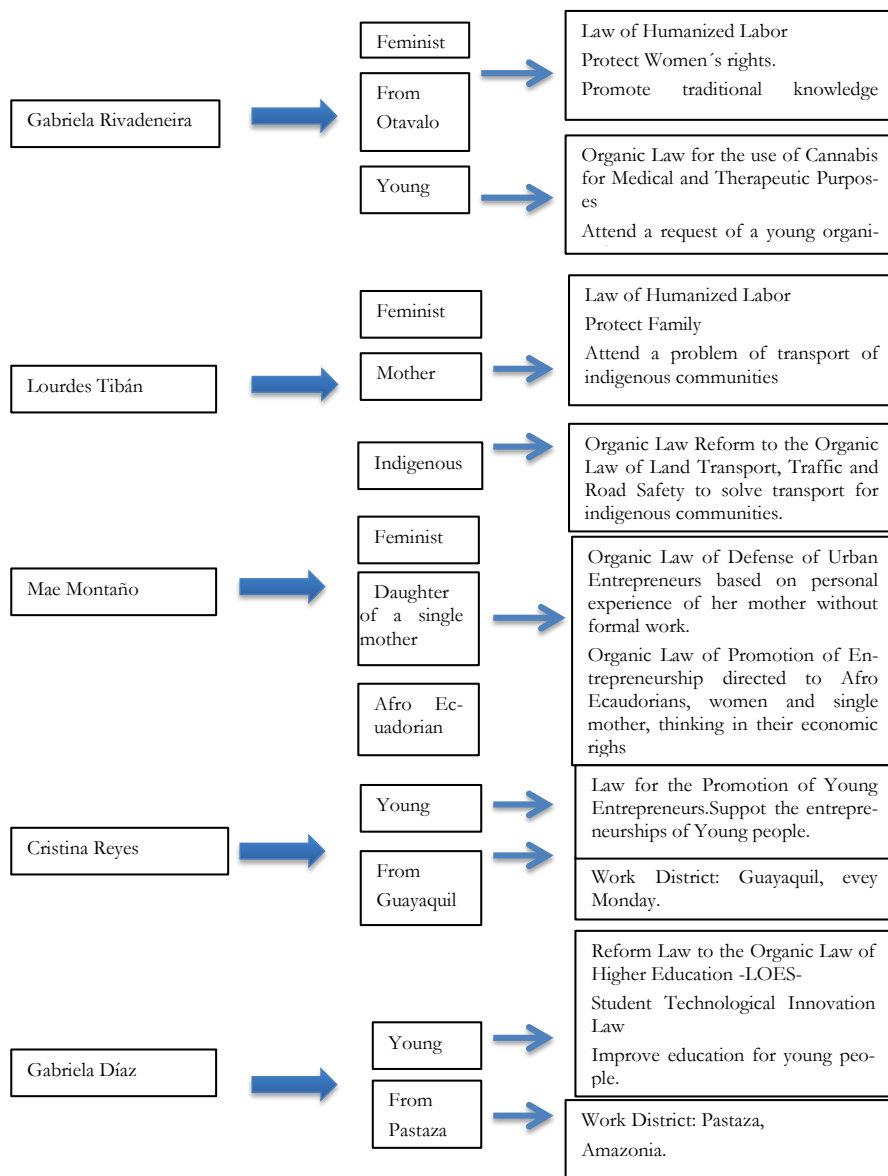
(Source: the author)

Mae Montaña and Lourdes Tibán expressly mentioned that they had met with all kind of citizens. Tibán in the interview said that the Parliament is to represent all the Ecuadorians not only the indigenous. In the same way, the five of them mentioned at the beginning that they used to travel to all the provinces of the country however in the second instance they showed preferences. For example, Cristina Reyes mentioned that she has an office in Guayaquil. In the same manner, Gabriela Díaz said that she used to have meetings with young people and she showed her preference for the working district to Pastaza. Mae Montaña, also mentioned a couple of times her province Esmeraldas.

6.4. Analysis of Descriptive and Substantive Representation

The present section has the objective to answer: What was the relationship between the five women's descriptive representation and their substantive representation? As we can see in Figure 9 below, there is a strong connection between descriptive and substantive representation in the Parliament of Ecuador 2013-2017.

Figure 9. Descriptive and Substantive representation of five women



(Source: the author)

As it could be seen in Figure 8 the five women acted in accordance with their different identities. The case shows that there are consequences between one dimension of representation and the other.

The present case support the statement that Dolan and Ford (1995) or Tremblay and Pelletier (2000) that feminist women promote a pro-women agenda and on the contrary the

ones who don't act without observing women. This case shows, that assemblywomen who had a feminist identity presented in her motivation for presenting laws, women and on the contrary women legislator who had't a feminist identity didn't present any related with women. Conversely, the other three Assemblywomen who consider themselves feminists, mentioned "women" several times in their motives of laws. For example, Gabriela Rivadeneira who emphasized her strong feminist identity presented a particular law to attend to women's rights.

However, having a feminist identity or not did not make think or act in the same way. For example Lourdes Tibán and Gabriela Rivadeneira presented the same topic of law about "Humanized Labor" however there are evident differences in their motivations. The latter saw women as the primary beneficiary of the law while Tibán saw women, family and community as the beneficiaries. Labor as a communal act in the complementarity between men and someone. On the other hand, Rivadeneira defined labor as a decision of women. Their perspective of feminism differ, Tibán believes in the complementarity and Rivadeneira focuses on women's rights. Tibán referred to indigenous practices, Rivadeneira referred to practices that she learned in Otavalo where she is from. Both of them related their motivation to attend to women in their different identities could reflect how they motivated for this particular law.

Also that members of marginalised groups like Afro-descendants and indigenous women make their difference in the legislative by attending to minorities. Melanie M. Hughes stated that "members of marginalised groups in visible positions of power might have broad societal effects" (Hugues 2010: 24). Mae Montañó who considers herself a feminist at heart and who felt motivated to be a feminist by her mother's story also presented motivations of law based on her personal experiences. The reason why she wanted to protect urban or informal entrepreneurs was that her mother as a single mother used to sell goods on the streets. In the same manner, Lourdes Tibán made visible her work to indigenous struggles, but not exclusively.

The age is also relevant, three of the legislators who were young presented laws to attend to "young people" like the law for young entrepreneurs, the laws related with education and the laws concerned with the legalisation of Cannabis. Gabriela Díaz emphasises several times young people as the main group she tried to attend to, she was the youngest women in the National Assembly.

Also the place where they come from was also taken into account on how they acted. Cristina Reyes mentioned in her motivation and even in her district work "Guayaquil" where she was born. The clearest example is Gabriela Díaz her district work and in her motivations for presenting her laws mentioned several times the Amazon region and especially Pastaza, the province where she is from.

I argue that the identities of the five women legislators and their personal experiences influence how they worked in the legislature of 2013-2017. Their labour was based on an intersection of being a woman, their race, age, geographic origin, feminist identity and personal experiences.

Leslie Schwind-Bayer posed the question whether female legislators represent women and if not, who (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:62) Through the present case it could be observed that none of the women claimed nor acted only to represent women. On the contrary they claimed to represent all the citizens and not a particular group. As contrary of the critique of essentialism on identity explained by Hill and Bilge (2010), these particular cases of five women show how Assemblywomen didn't overemphasise on their gender: women. They see their identity as an intersection of being women, indigenous, Afro Ecuadorians, youngs,

mothers, daughters of a single mother, feminists, from a particular provinces. From there they acted and responded to their different identities that interact between them.

For example, Lourdes Tibán considers herself as woman, mother, indigenous, public functionary, feminist and multifacetic. She presented laws motivated by her personal experiences and her identity. For example, she is a mother, and she explained in her motives of laws her experience of labor of her children, she had a motivation learned by her body. Also, she presented a proposal to resolve the problem of transport of indigenous. The “Law of Humanized Labor” is based on her identity of being indigenous since she cited their practices; being a mother since she cited her experience of labor; being a woman since she mentioned women’s rights. Intersectionality shows how everything is united; she couldn’t separate her race or her gender or her maternity.

In the same way, Mae Montaña acted according to several identities. Her personal experience of being a daughter of a single mother incentivised her to sponsor a law that defended urban informal workers as her mother used to be one. Her motivation for presenting other laws for entrepreneurship was based on her interest to defend economic rights for women, single mothers, Afro Ecuadorians and other minorities.

For Cristina Reyes and Gabriela Diaz not only did their age influence their policies but also where they come from. Both identities were connected. For example Gabriela Díaz wanted to solve problems of higher education of Pastaza with the Reform of Law of Higher Education in order to attend to the young but also her province.

The present case shows that the personal identity of each Assemblywoman empowered them to common causes, common causes that can be seen reflected in their labour as legislators. “Focusing on the self, on its wholeness, provides a major impetus for individual and collective empowerment” (Hill and Bilge 2016: 135). Identities have been a space of empowerment.

The principal conclusion of the present chapter is that women legislator’s identities and personal experiences influence their actions in the legislature of 2013-2017. Not only based on being women but also together with other identities like considering feminist identity, race, age, place where they come from and personal experiences. “Descriptive representation of women in national legislatures in Latin America does have an impact on policy making” (Schwindt-Bayer 2010:102). But thinking with intersectional lenses, the identity of women legislators is not only about being women.

Conclusions

Women legislators of the National Assembly 2013-2017 represented based on who they are and how they conceive the world. There were several factors that influenced their representation. These factors included context, rules, institutions, their identity and personal experiences.

The strong presence of the President in women's political representation affected women's political representation including the fact of having three women for the first time at the head of the National Assembly. In the same way all Assemblywomen who were interviewed mentioned several challenges in how they represented from being a mother and a legislator at the same time to physical discrimination. As observed the victory of having three women at the head of the Parliament could not be the only factor in attaining real political power.

With respect to electoral rules, Ecuador guarantees women's political participation. The women quota had positive effects on the presence of women in the parliament of Ecuador. All Assemblywomen agree with the statement that women quotas matter in women's political representation. In addition, electoral rules promote the inclusion of a variety of women of different provinces of Ecuador and as a result women from different provinces composed the National Assembly between 2013-2017. However, as limitations, there were only two elements for their inclusion, their gender as woman and the province they came from.

The five Assemblywomen interviewed identified themselves as women, however it was not the only or the most important personal description. Their identity is a complex entanglement between their gender, race, age, geographic origin feminist identity and personal experiences. They cannot separate being a woman, from at the same time, being an indigenous person or being young, whilst also being the President of the National Assembly. There is no hierarchy between them; they possessed different identities that operate together in being a person or in this case of being a women legislator. Almost all of them consider themselves feminists, however one did not. In the same manner the conception and the reasons for being a feminist are different between the women. The conception of problems, solutions and women's struggles are seen differently between women because they are not a homogenous group. This research shows how feminism is conceived in different manners as the feminist identity too, women differ in how they describe what feminism should achieve and why or not they consider themselves feminists. As a heterogeneous category, each of them have their personal identity that is more than being only a woman.

With regards to representation, this study found that Assemblywomen acted in the National Assembly 2013-2017 in an attempt to represent all Ecuadorians and not only women. Each had their own preferences and their own motivations to present diverse initiative of laws, or having particular meetings or travelling to specific places.

The most crucial empirical contribution is that the identities and personal experiences of representatives matters in the way they legislate, the present case shows how five women legislators represented in a certain way based on their own stories. None of them omitted to mention their personal identity or personal experiences in their motivations for their substantive work in the National Assembly between 2013-2017. However, it is crucial to note that their identities involve more than just the gender: women. On the contrary their

identities are complex, multifaceted, diverse and interconnected and that's why their legislative work was varied. An excellent example is how Lourdes Tibán who claims to represent all Ecuadorians, presented motives of law based on her personal experiences of being a mother, but also a woman and an indigenous person. Her identity could not be separated by being a woman and consequently neither can her work in the National Assembly only respond to one facet of her identity.

The present case also corroborates that women quotas in Ecuador promote the inclusion of women in the legislature and that the electoral system endorses the participation of women of different provinces. However this inclusion overlooks race, age, classes, feminist perspective and personal experiences. Women quotas can be improved through an intersectional perspective. As a recommendation the UNDP should rethink its measure of GII, since the indicator of the number of seats of women does not always reflect the variety of women.

My theoretical contributions to the framework of women's political representation both criticize and support Schwindt-Bayer's framework. First, Schwindt-Bayer focuses her analysis just on the differences between women and men in the legislature, thus the framework does not account for the diversity of women. As this research shows, women are not a homogenous category. The self-identity with the gender women could not be the only reason to represent in a certain way; it could be related to other personal factors like race, age, own experiences, feminist identity etc. Political science academics who study women's representation should consider merging Schwindt-Bayer's framework with an intersectional perspective since women are not considered to be a homogenous category.

The second contribution is to reaffirm with the present case that political representation can't be seen by just one approach. The different dimensions proposed by Hanna Pitkin and used by Leslie Schwindt-Bayer are recommended since political representation is interconnected between these different angles: formal, descriptive and substantive. For example, the case of women's political representation in the Parliament of Ecuador 2013-2017 shows how one dimension of representation is interconnected to the other. The formal representation through electoral rules had positive effects on the participation of women in Ecuador. In the same manner, who are these women legislators (descriptive representation) and how does this affect their actions (substantive representation). Thus, formal, substantive and descriptive should be seen in an integrated model of representation. These angles allow for having the complete picture of representation from the representatives.

The intersectional analysis helped to understand and examine the complexity of the five women legislators, understanding that several elements come together in their representation. The consequences of how they represented cannot be understood as one factor. Intersectionality has precisely the ingredients, which are required for a good feminist theory, as it encourages complexity.

Further research is required on how the parliament of Ecuador is composed preferably through intersectional lenses in order to observe which groups of Ecuadorian society are being ignored or excluded. The number of women in the National Assembly is not enough to analyse women's political participation. For example, indigenous or Afro-Ecuadorian women of a particular place could be excluded from this space of power. CNE should present results of women's political participation with an intersectional lens.

In the same manner, quotas that have been widely discussed should go beyond the number of women occupying legislative seats and include an intersectional debate on them. Finally the present research, in the frame of the debate of descriptive and substantive rep-

resentation, suggests that future research should focus on the question: if women represent women, but which women?

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Appendices

Appendix I: Countries by quotas in the Legislative

Countries with statutory gender quotas or reservations, ethnic quotas or reservations, or both

For Gender

Argentina
Armenia
Bangladesh
Bolivia
Brazil
Costa Rica
Djibouti
Dominican Republic
Ecuador
France
Greece
Guyana
Macedonia
Mexico
Morocco
Namibia
Nepal
North Korea
Panama
Paraguay

Peru
Rwanda
Sudan
Tanzania
Uganda

For Ethnicity

Bhutan
Croatia
Cyprus
Ethiopia
Fiji
Kiribati
Lebanon
Mauritius
New Zealand
Niger
Samoa
Singapore
Slovenia
Switzerland
Venezuela

For both gender and ethnicity

Belgium
Bosnia and Herzegovina
Colombia
India
Jordan
Pakistan
Peru
Serbia and Montenegro
Taiwan

(Htun 2016)

Appendix II: History of Quotas in Ecuador

January 1997: Labour Law (Ley de Amparo): 20% of participation

June 1998: Constitution of the Republic: guarantee of equity in the participation political participation of women.

February 2000: amendment to the Organic Law on Elections: 30% as a fee minimum, with an increase of 5% in each electoral process until reaching 50%, alternate and sequential form of location of candidacies.

March 2000: regulation of the Law that includes interpretation of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal (TSE) on alternation and sequentially. Claim of unconstitutionality of Article 40 of the Electoral Law.

June 2000: TSE leaves without effect the instructive (after electoral process of ay 2000)

July 2000: Answer of the demand stating that a pronouncement would be inofficious.

August 2002: New demand for the unconstitutionality of the Coordinator Politics of Women and Deputy Anunziata Valdez, against the art 40 of the Regiamente of the Ley of Elections.

November 2002: Proclamation of the Constitutional Court favorable to the demand of women (After election process October 2002).

July 2001-: Resolution of the Supreme Electoral Tribunal stating that the alternabilidad and sequence of the candidatures of men and women will be defined by political parties,

August to 2004-: Appellation from the women's movement for not respecting

(Vega 2005:171) (Translation made by the author)

Appendix III: Eletoral Results of women in 2013

Women elected

Province	Total Elected	Total of Women	%	Names	Political Partie
Azuay	5	3	60%	Rosana Alvarado Mariangel Muñoz Liliana Guzman	Alianza País
Bolivar	3	0	0%		
Cañar	3	1	33,33%	Paulina Padron	Alianza País
Carchi	3	0	0%		
Cotopaxi	4	1	25%	Rocio Alban	Alianza País
Chimborazo	4	1	25%	Rosa Elvira Muñoz	Alianza País
El Oro	5	1	20%	Rocío Valarezo	Alianza País
Esmeraldas	4	1	25%	Esperanza Galván	Alianza País
Guayas	19	9	47,37%	Adriana Moisotti Gina Godoy Dolores Salazar Luisa Cuesta María Alejandra Vi- cuña Mónica Brito Verónica Guevara Cristina Konfle Maria Cristina Reyes	Alianza País Partido Social Cristiano
Imbabura	4	1	25%	Marisol Peñafiel	Alianza País
Loja	4	1	25%	Myriam Gonzales	Alianza País
Los Ríos	6	2	33,33%	Pamela Falconí Marcia Arregui	Alianza País
Manabí	10	3	30%	Maria Soledad Vela Verónica Rodríguez Zoila Benavides	Alianza País
Morona San- tiago	2	0	0%		
Napo	2	1	50%	Gina San Miguel	Alianza País
Pastaza	2	0	0%		
Pichincha	15	8	53,33%	María Augusta Calle Blanca Arguello Esther Acero Mariana Constante María José Carrión	Alianza País

				Soledad Buendía Mónica Alemán Ximena Ponce	
Tungurahua	4	2	50%	Betty Carrillo Maricela Jerez	Alianza País
Zamora Chinchipe	2	1	50%	Zobeida Gudiño	Alianza País
Galápagos	2	1	50%	Fanny Esther Uribe	Avanza
Sucumbíos	3	1	33,33%	Nancy Morocho	Alianza País
Orellana	2	1	50%	Magaly Orellana	Pachacutik
Santo Do- mingo	3	2	66,66%	Mary Verduga Johana Cedeño	Alianza País
Santa Elena	3	2	66,66%	Vanessa Fajardo Noralmá Zambrano	Alianza País
National As- sembly	18	11	61,11%	Gabriela Rivadeneira Marcela Aguiñaga Lorena Bravo María Ocles Luisa Jijón Isabel Mosquera Anny Vásconez Mae Montaña Lourdes Tibán Cynthia Viteri	Alianza País Creo Pachacutik PSC
From the exterior	6	3	50%	Diana Peña Dora Aguirre Ximena Peña	Alianza País
Andean Community	5	2	40%	Silvia Salgado Carmen Castro	Alianza País
Total	143	58			

(Source: the author)

Appendix IV: Interviews

Entrevista Cristina Reyes

1.¿Cómo se describe? Bastante complicada la pregunta, quien la logra responder con exactitud es porque conoce que somos seres humanos en construcción. Yo soy una mujer en construcción que se cultiva todos los días, que tiene curiosidades, tiene preocupaciones. Me gusta prepararme. Tengo compromiso. Me apasionan las causas. Todo esto en construcción insisto. Demente, apasionada con carácter dentro de mis decisiones y de mi sensibilidad también.

Ecuatoriana, me parió el Ecuador. Obvio tengo sentimientos de mi ciudad natal, la ciudad donde se crió que en este caso es Guayaquil, hay rasgos de esa vivencia. Al decir que los guayaquileños somos gente franca, con personalidad, espontáneos, cariñosos parte de eso sí esta.

2.¿Se identifica con un cierto grupo? ¿Cuál?

Me identifico si con las causas de las mujeres pero muy particularmente me ha tocado por estos años de lucha, identificarme mucho con las personas mayores, con la personas de la tercera edad. Con las causas de los jubilados porque yo considero que un país debe respetar a sus mayores para poder honrar sus tradiciones, sus valores, su historia. Lastimosamente me he encontrado con un país donde ellos son la última rueda del coche. Porque solo buscan capital político. Me identifico mucho con las personas de la tercera edad, con sus causas, con sus preocupaciones, con sus luchas. He luchado mucho aquí para que les paguen sus pensiones jubilares, se ha conseguido parcialmente. Ellos son muy cariñosos conmigo.

3.¿Cómo comenzó en política? Comencé en parte ocasional y en parte providencial. Tenía alguna inclinación por la política pero no me había ni definido ideológicamente ni había participado nunca ni en política universitaria. Incluso mi vida está enfocada en medios de comunicación, hice unas pasantías en una institución pública y me iba a ir a vivir fuera del país por causas personales y recibí la invitación a ser parte del proceso constituyente liderando la lista nacional por el partido social cristiano en el año 2008 y desde allí cambió mi vida. Cambiaron incluso, no se dieron esos temas personales y empecé una carrera política.

4.¿Puede por favor describir cuál fue el proceso dentro de su partido político para su nominación como candidata a las elecciones de 2013?

Como te digo en la primera en el 2007-2008 donde fui candidata, hubo una crisis en general de los partidos políticos, no solo de las élites sino de la militancia, todo estaba podrido con Correa esta hegemonía política que él tuvo en el país, prácticamente nos dejó desechos. Muchos tuvieron la creatividad, la inteligencia de reformularse de re inventarse de atraer cuadros de afuera de la militancia política. Ahí fue cuando yo ingrese con otros compañeros. En ese caso bueno, yo creo que había una ausencia en la participación en el tema de la Constituyente. En mi caso pues tuve la convicción de hacerlo frente a la propuesta que me hizo el Alcalde Nebot.

Luego fui Concejala de Guayaquil en el año 2009 hasta el 2012 que renuncié. Fue un rol completamente cívico, menos político no hay el desgaste de todos los días del que hacer político porque hay más ciudadanos, más trabajar con la gente con la comunidad. Ahí pude hacer más causas de

equidad de género, la lucha contra la violencia contra las mujeres, proyectos de emprendimiento para los jóvenes. Muy bonito además una experiencia muy enriquecedora trabajar con el Alcalde.

Luego llegó un momento que se iba a decidir venir a la Asamblea Nacional. Tengo entendido en el partido hay un proceso de encuestas muy serias también. Mi nombre lo encuestaron, tuvo mucha aceptación y eso llevó a que yo lidere la lista primero en el 2013 de un distrito en el que fui una de la más votada de ese distrito aunque Alianza País y el Presidente Correa tuvieron también una hegemonía absoluta de la Asamblea Nacional. Llegué en el 2013 en una minoría absoluta en esta Asamblea. Aquí en la Asamblea las fuerzas han cambiado pero se hicieron horrores, las enmiendas constitucionales, se hicieron leyes que afectaron a trabajadores, a militares, a jubilados, a todo el mundo. Yo me convertí en una voz en esa Asamblea y eso hizo que yo tuviera los números para poder encabezar ahora la lista nacional ahora del partido el 2017. Pude acompañar a Cynthia que era la candidata a Presidenta y yo en la lista nacional.

5. Según su experiencia, ¿el Código de la Democracia ayuda a las mujeres a participar en política? ¿Puedes explicarme cómo específicamente?

Ha sido un proceso más que hablar solamente del Código de la Democracia. Todo puede quedar en simples postulados. Ha sido el camino que han abierto otras mujeres que participaron cuando aquí solo era participación de hombres. La ley de cuotas que de alguna manera fue el inicio para una equidad en la participación de las mujeres, su incorporación en los partidos políticos. En la preparación, capacitación de las mujeres para la lucha política.

El Código de la Democracia habla de ese deber de los partidos políticos, de hacer esta capacitación. Ojalá que no queden en postulados y sea una realidad. De nuestro partido puedo decir que esos postulados son una realidad, nosotros tenemos mujeres guerreras valiosas, hemos encabezado listas. Muchas de ellas, todas nos caracterizamos por eso por causas ciudadanas. Las que destacamos somos las mujeres.

6. ¿La cuota de mujeres fue importante para su propia participación en las elecciones?

A mí en lo particular, no. Yo considero que una ley de cuotas, una acción de medida afirmativa en un principio son importantes.

7. ¿Cree que las normas electorales deberían promover la participación política de las minorías y las mujeres? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo podría establecerse normativamente?

Yo considero que una persona no se merezca algo por ser mujer, por ser hombre, por su pertenencia geográfica, ni su tema racial, ni político, ni religioso, ni nada de eso. Las personas se merecen ocupar de un espacio público, participar por su preparación porque están dispuestos a servir a su país porque sus electores así podrán ratificarlo o no en las urnas. Sin embargo si ha sido necesario, fue necesario frente a tanta discriminación, violencia, aislamiento de alguna manera de las mujeres del acontecer político de que se den estas medidas para que progresivamente esos espacios se vayan ganando, se vayan demostrando la capacidad y para que luego ya no sea necesario. Porque ahora tenemos mujeres listas para gobernar un país.

8. ¿Se considera una representante de cierto grupo de ciudadanos? Cuáles?

Yo siento compromiso, sí siento por supuesto que represento no solamente a mis electores. Fui la tercera asambleísta más votada a nivel nacional. Yo creo que uno no solo represento por

quien voto. Ahí están muy equivocados. Uno representa al... uno debe actuar con sentido nacional, representamos los sentimientos de 16 millones de ecuatorianos, los ecuatorianos que están en el exterior que quieren ver plasmadas sus ilusiones, esperanzas, expectativas en legislaciones serias, fiscalización seria. En ese sentido es el rol que yo he asumido.

9. ¿Con qué grupos de ciudadanos se relacionó más?

Bueno por las causas que he abanderado como he dicho sí he sentido mucha identificación con con los jubilados porque los he visto luchar, he visto que los viejos de nuestro país nos han dado una lección moral a los demás. Por supuesto también yo soy parte de la comisión de los Derechos de los Trabajadores y Seguridad Social y ahí también he aprendido muchas lecciones porque no hay nada que dignifique más a una persona que el trabajo, sentirse empoderado a través un trabajo digno. Las causas de los derechos de los trabajadores me emocionan mucho pero yo aquí también he aprendido que ese sesgo político, ideológico que quieren darle. Para mi es importante crear una nueva visión de socios estratégicos entre la clase laboral que es la parte más importante en la relación pero también quien crea, en quien permite que haya esa relación laboral que son los empleadores, los empresarios, que es el sector productivo que son quienes generan la riqueza económica, que generan esas oportunidades. Pues todo eso también me ha conectado con el sector productivo, con la clase laboral.

10. ¿Se considera una feminista? Sí / no ¿por qué? Claro que soy feminista, en el estricto sentido de la defensa de los derechos de las mujeres, de lograr una sociedad igualitaria. Me lastima mucho, me apena mucho que a veces la causa feminista puede ser distorsionada por algunos radicalísimos que no comparto. Yo considero que la causa feminista se deben unir los hombres, hay muchos hombres valiosos que también creen en esto que no hay discriminación, que no haya violencia, que haya igualdad de oportunidades para todos, entonces sí, claro que sí.

11. ¿De qué manera representó a las mujeres en la Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017?

Bueno creo que en primer lugar con el ejemplo, intentando dar un ejemplo. Bueno suena pretencioso y decir que aquello que dije, yo también en esta lucha me voy informado, me voy cultivando pero también abandero muchas causas y yo levanto la voz. Y el país ha visto, y me agrada la cercanía con la gente de que me dicen me siento identificada contigo porque no tienes miedo. Como si el coraje fuera ausencia de miedo como dice Mandela uno puede tener miedo, vencer esos miedos. Yo aquí me he enfrentado con verdaderas mafias. Pensar si tengo miedo o no, no simplemente tengo un mandato popular no solo de las mujeres sino de los ecuatorianos y me he enfrentado. Entonces eso te genera una identificación de muchas mujeres que quisieran también perder el miedo en situaciones más cotidianas, que agreden, que las ofenden, que están en situación de discriminación o de violencia. Entonces en primer lugar creo eso que con el ejemplo se puede enseñar mucho, porque con las palabras se pueden decir mucho, cuantas personas dicen tantas cosas pero el ejemplo es lo que te marca la diferencia.

Intentando dar un ejemplo. Levanto la voz. No tienes miedo. Me he enfrentado en mafias. Mandato popular me he enfrentado. Identificación de muchas mujeres que quieren perder el miedo en momentos más cotidiano.

12. ¿Qué piensas sobre que tres mujeres que ocupan los asientos principales de la Asamblea Nacional por primera vez en la legislatura de 2013-2017? Hay diferencia en que ocupen hombres?

Haber, que nos pregunten si nos contenta puesto de representación, creo que todos diríamos que sí, sin en buena hora. Pero va más allá, de la representatividad, va más allá de que sean mujeres las que sean asignadas a puestos importantes, sino para mí lo más importante es el ejercicio del poder, el acceso a la toma de decisiones.

La Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017 tuvo más mujeres pero fue criticado por afirmar que las representantes de las mujeres eran sumisas al presidente de ese período. ¿Cuáles son sus puntos de vista sobre esto?

Lastimosamente estas tres personas que yo cuestioné durante la legislatura porque no fueron ni empáticas con las mujeres ni fueron solidarias. Al contrario fueron alcahuetas de poder del turno, fueron sumisas al poder de turno. No podían representarnos, sino que al contrario desmerecieron esa oportunidad y deslegitimaron esos cargos al someterse al poder de turno que en este caso era del ex Presidente Correa. Para mí en lo personal, no era que me contentaba. Al inicio sí, me pareció interesante pero ya en el ejercicio de ver para que les pusieron y a muchas de ellas que decían que eran sumisas a Rafael Correa, que no protestaban cuando violentaban nuestros derechos, cuando nos insultaban, cuando el propio Rafael Correa se burlaba de las mujeres, cuando no se abrían discusiones (podríamos tener distintas posiciones) que afectan directamente a las mujeres y simplemente se cerraba el debate aquí porque él no lo permitía. Para mí se quedaron totalmente deslegitimadas.

Sus discursos eran preciosos en función de la reivindicación de los derechos de las mujeres pero en el ejercicio permitieron que a las mujeres, el poder de turno, nos insultaran, se mofara por nuestra apariencia física, nos discriminara, nos disminuyeran. No se abrieran debates importantes en la Asamblea Nacional. No tenían criterio propio, liderazgo propio, no tenían luz propia.

Entonces qué queremos nos vamos a contentar con puestos de representación o queremos mujeres en el ejercicio del poder y en toma de decisiones.

Yo no quiero mujeres en puestos de manera decorativa, lo que queremos son mujeres guerreras, que si tienen que desafiar al poder, lo hagan. Pero estas tres personas, más allá de mi crítica voy a sus actuaciones que dejaron mucho que desear.

13. ¿Cuál ha sido el tema o área de trabajo en el cual más se relaciona desempeñando el cargo de asambleísta?

Jubilación

14. ¿Trabajó en alguna comisión? ¿Cuál y por qué esa comisión?

De los trabajadores y seguridad social. Entonces todo lo que se hizo en contra de los trabajadores, en este periodo lo hemos reivindicado, poco a poco.

15. ¿Tuvo reuniones con un grupo específico de ciudadanos cuando eras legislador en 2013-2017? ¿Con qué frecuencia al mes y con quién? Me reúno muchísimo con grupo de jubilados, operación nacional de jubilados, mujeres aquí en Quito :mujeres por la libertad. Constantemente cuando me requieren, generalmente son temas laborales. Cada semana hay reuniones. Promedio un día a la semana, generalmente los días lunes tenemos oficina Guayaquil entonces tengo reuniones ciudadanas.

16. ¿Visitó el lugar donde viven sus electores? ¿Dónde estaba y con qué frecuencia solía visitar?

Depende del trabajo legislativo. Últimamente he estado más allá de las visitas a sectores populares que también lo hago, cuando tengo algún tipo de invitación. Últimamente he estado muy enfocado en un tema académico. He ido mucho a universidades a lo largo del país por invitaciones directas para comentar proyectos de ley.

Con mucha frecuencia. Unas dos veces a la semana. Antes mi comisión era itinerante, en la Asamblea Nacional 2013-2017 recorrí todas las provincias y el primer año de la Asamblea 2017.

17. ¿Cuál crees que es el obstáculo que enfrentan las legisladoras?

Hay muchos obstáculos que se han ido derrumbando en el camino. Todavía hay violencia política no me gusta victimizarme pero la hay, la hay en las redes, la hay a veces con algunos compañeros asambleístas con comentarios machistas. Eso mismo se derrumba cuando ven a una mujer empoderada con carácter y sin miedo. Yo creo que eso de querer disminuirnos, siempre intentan deslegitimar la actuación de la mujer política, inventando temas que van vinculados a la moralidad, a su apariencia física, vinculados con temas que son intrascendentes pero sí te hacen pensar que si calan en la gente es porque todavía son prejuicios que deben irse derrumbando. Seguimos enfrentando prejuicios. A mi me desafían estos obstáculos.

18. En tu caso particular por ser mujer has tenido obstáculos?

Por ser mujer, por ser joven. En muchos casos por prejuicios a la actividad que realizaba antes era presentadora de televisión y mucho atrás por haber participado en un concurso de belleza en una pequeña parte. Un año de mi vida, tratar de estigmatizar ese año, tratar de restregártelo como si fuera algo malo. Cuando no tiene absolutamente nada de malo, es parte de la juventud, una actividad. Tratar de ningunear, de desvalorar el esfuerzo, la trayectoria, la carrera que como mujer vamos teniendo. Pero a mi todas esas cosas me han desafiado, creo que me he ganado un lugar importante y me he hecho respetar

19. ¿Cuáles son las principales oportunidades y desafíos para la representación de las mujeres en el Parlamento? Construir un liderazgo más sólido. Creo que ya lo estamos haciendo, efectivamente el liderazgo femenino es más simpático no es tan individualista, es siempre con la gente. Eso nos diferencia y nos da muchos réditos. En algunos casos hay más contundencia. Es ser menos modestas cuando logramos cosas mientras que a veces cuando hay cosas que van logrando o consiguiendo, los hombres lo dicen sin ningún pudor. A veces las mujeres somos hasta más recatadas para decirlo, debemos tener más fuerza y más poder de comunicación para eso para las cosas buenas que vamos logrando y ser menos modestas en eso.

Y más solidarias creo yo también entre nosotras, porque todavía si persiste en mayor medida aquello que entre las propias mujeres puede haber cierto tipo de rivalidad, se va venciendo con el tiempo.

¿Cuál fue tu motivación para presentar la iniciativa de la Ley Reformativa a la Ley de Seguridad y a la ley de Banco del Instituto de Seguridad Social?

Esa situación del seguro social, el seguro social que es el ahorro nacional de los/las ecuatorianos, de los trabajadores. Representa ese esfuerzo, ese sacrificio, es parte de un derecho que tenemos los ecuatorianos de algún día jubilarnos y a demás recibir prestaciones sociales como la atención médica, créditos hipotecarios, quirografarios, de manera efectiva, oportuna. Sin embargo los gobiernos especialmente el de Correa lo han utilizado como una caja chica para meterle la mano

sin control cuando quiera. Esa falta de control, esa falta de límites, me llevó a presentar este proyecto. Hay el banco del seguro social, verdad y analizando el portafolio de esas inversiones que se ha hecho, porque esas inversiones se refieren de las pensiones médicas, más del 50% de ese portafolio estaba invertido en bonos del Estado, es decir papeles. Claro que dan una rentabilidad mensual pero yo considero que fueron emitidos para cubrir las urgencias fiscales de Correa, plata fácil, plata fresca, meterle la mano. Cuando pudieron ser invertidos en portafolios más grandes de inversiones seguras y rentables. Expandir los créditos hipotecarios, quirografarios. Podría el IESS ampliar sus créditos a otros ciudadanos del país. Se puede invertir en la bolsa de valores, en acciones. Descubrimos que meten la mano a través de estos bonos del Estado y luego descubrimos que hay algunos proyectos como Toachi Pilato en donde hay plata del seguro social como 250 millones de dólares botados a la basura. No hay control y eso me motivó a presentar esta ley.

¿Cuál fue tu motivación para presentar la iniciativa de Ley de Fomento de Jóvenes Emprendedores?

Bueno, eso que no pudo traducirse en una ley o política pública por el egoísmo del oficialismo después se tradujo en una serie de promesas de campaña de varios candidatos. Luego también en una política de Estado, el Presidente Lenin Moreno ha dado una serie de créditos a los emprendedores, reconociendo su importancia, como motores del país, que no son sujetos de crédito, no tienen el incentive. Está la credibilidad, la idea pero no hay ni una infraestructura técnica, ni administrativa, ni legal, menos crediticia que pueda ayudar en sus sueños. Mi proyecto de ley quería crear esa política, se institucionalizaba (?). En beneficio de los jóvenes. La mayor de emprendimientos es por necesidad más que por oportunidad. La gente se busca la vida.

Entrevista Gabriela Rivadeneira

1. ¿Cómo se describe? Ehm, bueno ahora y después de todas estas pruebas que nos ha tocado, creo que me describo como una mujer súper apasionada, muy convencida. Puesta a prueba y lo suficientemente terca.

2. ¿Se identifica con un cierto grupo? ¿Cuál? Sabes que siempre me he preguntado eso porque ha habido ciertas ocasiones que me han preguntado primero si es que soy feminista y obviamente mi respuesta es que si. Segundo me preguntan siempre si es que milito en una organización feminista o milito en alguna organización de jóvenes. Y yo siempre les digo que me rehusé un poco desde una concesión ideológica más de clases creo yo, en el sentido en que las luchas son dispersas que si bien es cierto en ciertos momentos de la historia han ayudado a visibilizar ciertas falencias de la sociedad pero también esa dispersión es parte de un sistema que trata de mantenernos divididos para evitar el debate de lo que realmente es sustancial dentro de las sociedades que es permanentemente la lucha de clases. Y hoy me ratifico mas por lo que está pasando en el país. Entonces creo que con el grupo social con el que más me identifico es con la identidad de clases, con los sectores populares y es ahí donde he militado desde muy peladita. Yo participo en espacios de elección popular desde que tengo 19 años, ya son 15 años que estoy como funcionaria pública en espacios de elección y creo que todo este trayecto político-publico que he tenido ha sido mas ligado a ese sector mas que otro en particular.

3. ¿Cómo comenzó en política?

Yo soy **otavaleña**, yo nacía en Quito pero a los 5 años de edad me fui a vivir en Otavalo por lo tanto me considero otavaleña. Yo empecé a militar realmente en una organización cultural cuan-

do tenía 14 años y desde esa organización cultural empezamos a conocer un poco más la conceptualización de la política desde el que a hacer de las casas, de las plazas, del arte culinario.

A los 16 años empecé a militar en Pachacutik que era el movimiento, en esa época después de los 90 y movilización indígena, fue la alternativa para muchos sectores que no encontrábamos asideros en partidos ortodoxos o tradicionales. De ahí después de algunas luchas interesantes a nivel local, pudimos consagrar el primer alcalde indígena en Otavalo en el año 2000 y en el año 2013 me invitaron a participar como candidata a concejala, yo tenía en esa época 19 años. Así prácticamente empezamos en lo público, yo me involucré ya en la candidatura. Fue muy interesante porque yo era tercera en la lista y en las elecciones quedé primera y era la más joven de un concejo de ocho personas, bastante adulto céntrico, muy machista además. Éramos solo 3 mujeres y yo era la única joven. El promedio de ese concejo era de 60 años. Así fueron mis inicios en la política, entonces no es que haya sido un inicio muy fácil.

4. ¿Cómo describe su trayectoria política? De Resistencia permanente.

5. ¿Cuáles fueron los factores que le impulsaron a postularse a la Asamblea Nacional 2013-2017? Después de ser concejala y vicealcaldesa de Otavalo, llegó el gobierno con Correa y ahí hicimos una alianza con la organización local con alianza país. Me empecé a involucrar con Alianza País especialmente en instancias de representación internacional. Luego de eso, ya como Alianza País participé como a la Vice Prefectura y fui la primera mujer Viceprefecta de la provincia de Imbabura. Después del año y medio que fui electa vice Prefecta renuncié para ser gobernadora y fui la primera mujer gobernadora de la provincia ya con Rafael. Desde ahí implementamos todo un sistema de gestión que fue conocido a nivel nacional desde la gobernación en temas de participación, y fue un poco digamos lo que me anclo ya a un conocimiento y a unas rutinas de recorrido nacional con otras gobernaciones, la representación internacional pero además la coordinación de espacios de jóvenes del movimiento que trataba de articular mayor presencia dentro de la gobernabilidad. En toda esta construcción se dan las elecciones del 2013 y como planteamiento de una renovación necesaria es que plantean mi nombre como primera candidata de la lista nacional asambleísta. Claro ya te imaginaras que eso tenía un montón de rechazo, porque habían asambleístas que venían desde la Constituyente, actores políticos que por sus años de participación política decían ser mucho más experimentados para liderar la lista. Sin embargo se privilegió mucho un tema de ya experiencia en lo público, de haber trabajado en gobernabilidad, de ser actor político y sobre todo la juventud y tema de género.

Habíamos planteado que si bien es cierto tuvimos a Rafael Correa que durante su presidencia metió mucho énfasis en la participación de la mujer, muy contrario de lo que se pensaría hacía fuera. Él haber dado el mucha participación, también era muy cuestionado que durante los 10 años de la revolución siempre el binomio presidencial fueron hombres, entonces ahí fue cuando se decidió que la lista de asambleístas principalmente contenga liderazgos de mujeres y ahí se consolidó mi primera candidatura con la que alcancé ser la primera mujer más votada con de tres y medio millones de votos y posterior la presidencia de la Asamblea en un bloque mayoritario, arrasador de 100 de 137 asambleístas, pero además el periodo legislativo con mayor participación de mujeres en la historia del país.

6. ¿Puede por favor describir cuál fue el proceso dentro de su partido político para su nominación como candidata a las elecciones de 2013?

7. ¿Cuál es su punto de vista sobre el Código Nacional de la Democracia?

8. Según su experiencia, ¿el Código de la Democracia ayuda a las mujeres a participar en política? ¿Puedes explicarme cómo específicamente? Más que el Código que es una norma secundaria yo creo que lo que sí fue un debate importante fue la Constitución. Nosotros somos de los pocos marcos constitucionales incluso a nivel mundo que tiene la paridad obligatoria en los espacios colectivos. Es decir no solo la Asamblea sino todos los órganos y funciones del Estado tienen la obligatoriedad de tener paridad de género y en ese sentido lo que te ayudó es que el Código aterrizó ya en normativas que por ejemplo digan por ejemplo: si tenemos mitad hombres y mujeres pero resulta que las mujeres eran alternas o últimas de las listas y eso siempre perjudicaba el nivel de la representación. Eso fue un gran paso hablando netamente en temas de representación política porque permitió que por primera vez en nuestro país tengamos una Corte Constitucional, un Consejo de la Judicatura, un Consejo Electoral que tenía paridad absoluta o incluso hasta 60-40 de participación de mujeres. Eso es importante porque generas en la sociedad otro tipo de debate. En una sociedad sumamente conservadora como la nuestra que es una sociedad que tiene muchos mitos y estigmas todavía ligados mucho a la práctica eclesiástica religiosa. Sobre eso generar un debate de la participación fue fundamental.

Nosotros si aterrizamos a los espacios básicos, de organización social como comunas, barrios, organizaciones de segundo y tercer grado, nosotros encontramos que hay una gran cantidad de mujeres en esos liderazgos pero cuando ya hablamos de cargos de elección popular disminuimos la participación y es un tema que ha estado en debate permanente en nuestro país. De una u otra manera lograr que por ejemplo ya se hable de una mujer alcaldesa, de una mujer prefecta, de una mujer presidente ya te marca un nuevo debate y un nuevo concepto de lo que es pensar en una sociedad integral. Lo hemos demostrado, el gabinete de Correa que tuvo gran participación de mujeres, una Asamblea con el 42% que fue el momento con mayor participación te provoca que todos los temas de gobernanza sean obligatoriamente tomados desde un eje transversal de género. Nosotros mismos en la Asamblea durante 4 años que aprobamos más 70 leyes, ninguna de esas leyes quedó por fuera de un debate de género necesario de involucrar en esas leyes. Esa es la visión y el chip que se cambia cuando logras transformar la **representación jurídica**.

9. ¿Qué piensas sobre la cuota de mujeres en el legislativo? Si, pero acuérdate que ya no tenemos ley de cuotas, eso fue justamente fue subsanado con la Constitución. Creo que la obligatoriedad de tener paridad absoluta los espacios de representación colectiva ya es un gran paso para un nuevo debate de género en la sociedad.

10. ¿La cuota de mujeres fue importante para su propia participación en las elecciones? ¿Cómo?

11. ¿Cree que las normas electorales deberían promover la participación política de las minorías y las mujeres? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo podría establecerse normativamente? Si te fomenta porque claro el partido y las organizaciones políticas se ven obligados a buscar cuadros de mujeres para poder cumplir el formalismo. Ahora eso es un Pro pero contra eso tenemos que por ejemplo en un sistema muy patriarcal, buscar cuadros de mujeres que puedan afrontar esas responsabilidades tampoco ha sido tarea fácil porque además si a esto sumamos que históricamente en nuestra sociedad, las mujeres como grupo social hemos sido las que menos hemos accedido a un sistema de educación tienes muchos limitantes a una participación efectiva. A eso súmale un descuido absoluto de las organizaciones en formación política entonces lo que tienes en efecto son nombres para llenar listas y no necesariamente representación de género que puedan hacer políticas

de género o que puedan crear un nuevo debate social cuando las mujeres llegan a esos espacios de representación.

La norma de paridad yo creo que es la correcta este momento, si podemos hacer reformas yo apuntaría a la obligatoriedad de las organizaciones políticas en proceso de formación con enfoque de género en general. Porque si tu miras ahora mismo los debates en la Asamblea Nacional, los debates parlamentarios nuevamente volvemos a replicar estereotipos machistas y patriarcales del manejo de la política. Ahí te das cuenta que no necesariamente la paridad es suficiente para garantizar un mejoramiento de un debate político sino que debe ir anclado con la obligatoriedad de una formación con enfoque de género atravesado por el sistema educativo y por supuesto cuando hablamos representación política la obligatoriedad de las organizaciones políticas.

12. ¿Se considera una representante de cierto grupo de ciudadanos? Cuáles? Creo que si por a la nueva votación que hemos logrado tener. Más allá de eso está muy en debate el tema de las democracias, yo creo que ahora se vuelve fundamental. Nuestra visión de construcción de un país hacia el Buen Vivir y el Sumak Kawsay no necesariamente pasa por una representación política sino por el nivel de participación política de la gente. Yo me considero representante de un sector al estar involucrada con ese sector, no necesariamente por haber conseguido una cantidad de votos para estar en mi curul sino porque que hago yo desde ese curul para estar conectada con la gente que apostó por una renovación de la política y por implementar una nueva visión de la política.

13. ¿Con qué grupos de ciudadanos se relacionó más? Creo que con sectores mucho de trabajadores ligados a lo popular. Creo que en eso hay un muy buen sector de mujeres aunque no sean militantes en organizaciones feministas. Creo como en todo que y como todo actor político nos bancamos una serie de broncas de las decisiones que vamos tomando en el camino y en la trayectoria de nuestras vidas. Esas decisiones te llevan a tener simpatías y adhesiones y yo creo que sí que hay sectores de mujeres, de jóvenes pero especialmente de trabajadores en los cuales yo estado involucrada más directamente y de los sectores campesinos con los cuales si hemos generado una afinidad más grande para representación.

13. ¿Se considera una feminista? Sí / no ¿por qué? Sí porque yo creo en una sociedad igualitaria donde además la redistribución te permite un desarrollo y el mejoramiento de la calidad de vida de la gente pero en este desarrollo se debe incluir el desarrollo de género. No podemos ser inconsistentes en un sistema patriarcal. Creo absolutamente en la generación de nuevo modelo que no sea patriarcal y o despatriarcalización que lo ha llamado Bolivia en sus sistema político que me encanta. Hay que avanzar hacia la despatriarcalización de nuestras sociedades.

Me considero feminista porque las mujeres tenemos los mismos derechos que tienen que ser consagrados, ejercidos y reparados con una deuda histórica que mantiene el Estado Ecuatoriano con el sector de las mujeres.

14. ¿De qué manera representó a las mujeres en la Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017? Primero el hecho de ser la primera mujer Presidenta de la Asamblea ya genera un debate diferente independientemente que nombre tenga si era Gabriela Rivadeneira o cualquier otro nombre. El haber apostado por una primera mujer presidenta ya aportó a un debate diferente en la sociedad. Hasta el trato político, por ejemplo siempre que ves una mujer al frente para los hombres por más machos que sean es mucho más complicado elevar un debate a la indolencia o al insulto, marcas un debate interesante, elevas el nivel del debate político.

Segundo, las leyes que aprobamos, fueron muchas de ellas leyes que han sido tomadas incluso a nivel internacional como por ejemplo el reconocimiento de las mujeres amas de casa, de las trabajadoras no remuneradas del hogar que fue una apuesta definitiva al reconocimiento del trabajo de

un sector grande de mujeres que generan el 14% del producto interno bruto de nuestro país y que no había sido tomado en cuenta. O como por ejemplo la Ley de Tierras que permite por primera vez en nuestra historia en pleno siglo 21 por fin legalizar tierra a nombre de las mujeres que son dueñas y herederas de su tierra. Entonces fuimos rompiendo temas de propiedad, de violencia patrimonial, de violencia simbólica. El hecho de tener un Código Orgánico Integral Penal que es mucho más fuerte en contra de los delitos contra género fue importante.

15. ¿Qué piensas sobre que tres mujeres que ocupan los asientos principales de la Asamblea Nacional por primera vez en la legislatura de 2013-2017? Hay diferencia en que ocupen hombres? Sí, definitivamente.

16. La Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017 tuvo más mujeres ocupando escaños legislativos; sin embargo, apenas fue criticado por afirmar que las representantes de las mujeres eran sumisas al presidente de ese período. ¿Cuáles son sus puntos de vista sobre esto? Eso me encanta porque me permite romper un mito que se ha generado entorno a las tres. Primero el haber tenido tres mujeres rompió el mito que dice que las mujeres no pueden trabajar juntas. Dicen siempre la discusión termina entre mujeres que pelean entonces como entre ellas pelean es mejor que estemos los hombres. Por eso logramos romper este mito durante 4 años por eso es que hubo reelección de las 3 por justamente por haber demostrado un trabajo más equitativo y más concentrado.

Abro paréntesis y te cuento una anécdota. En el 2008 tuvimos la oportunidad de viajar a Libia y en Libia tuvimos una reunión con Muammar Gadafi dos años antes de su asesinato. Mi primera pregunta fue porque tenía tantas mujeres a su alrededor. Toda su guardia privada, las militares todas eran mujeres y muchos puestos de representación política eran mujeres. Porque si vemos a un Muammar Al Gadafi, un dictador porque tenía muchas mujeres. Su respuesta fue simple: Las mujeres no se corrompen con la rapidez con la que los hombres lo hacen y la confianza siempre va a estar ligada a la madurez y a esa posibilidad de proteger. Siempre me acuerdo de ese mensaje porque cuando las mujeres vemos que algo está mal lo decimos pero en todo hay casos especiales pero en la generalidad las mujeres no caemos y no nos corrompemos. No estamos con ese tufo de lo malo de la política, apostamos por otro tipo de político porque además venimos desde la discriminación y todos los días luchamos para no caer en los vicios de esta discriminación.

Con esto que te quiero decir que por un lado generamos un debate, participamos y fuimos cuestionadas porque además esto te enlaza a lo de sumisas.

El tema de sumisas se dio porque es un formato político implementado para deslegitimar los cuadros políticos. Las discusiones que teníamos al interior fueron sumamente fuertes. Discusiones de decisión política que llevaron que nuestra voz pudiera cambiar una decisión presidencial. Porque no lo dijimos porque por algo militamos en una organización política. Toda organización política tiene su estructura, su disciplina, su código de ética, su democracia interna que te permite discutir, debatir, estar en contra pero al final una vez que llevas a una resolución dentro de esa democracia interna tienes que defender eso para afuera sino para que militar en una organización política si te vas a ser anarquista o solo vas decir solo lo que tu piensas. En efecto, fuimos respetuosas de las autonomías de las instituciones que prácticamente con un ejemplo de lo estamos viviendo ahora, te das cuenta cuando las organizaciones son cooptadas por un poder y son sumisas a un poder. Cuando fortalecimos una democracia interna pudimos avanzar en la construcción de un país y la construcción legislativa.

Desde la legislación marcamos hitos importantísimos en el debate parlamentario y en la toma de decisiones y eso es algo que contradice de por sí el aquel slogan de la Asamblea sumisa a Correa.

Porque además no es la función ejecutiva sino a Correa. Ese era un formato establecido y se desmiente y cae por sí solo.

Por ejemplo yo fui crítica contra el aborto pero se votó por el partido por ser orgánica respeté la decisión.

Ahora creo que deberíamos debatir y vamos a llegar a dar el aborto por tema de violación. Ojalá sea pronto. El tema del aborto no corresponde a lucha feminista, sino a un tema de reconocimiento de clases. Las mujeres ricas seguirán yéndose a otro país y las que mueren las pobres.

17. ¿Qué iniciativas de ley presentó en relación con un grupo específico de ciudadanos?

18. ¿Cuál ha sido el tema o área de trabajo en el cual más se relacionó desempeñando el cargo de asambleísta? Principalmente fueron los temas relacionados con el agro, temas de ley de aguas, ley de tierras. Yo vengo de Otavalo donde la ruralidad es sumamente machista entonces estaba relacionada con lo rural.

Estuve muy ligada a las reformas al Código Civil por los temas de embarazo adolescente y matrimonio adolescente. En pleno siglo xxi cambiamos que las niñas no puedan casarse a los 12 años como estaba legalizado sino a los 18 años. La mujer que al momento de inscribir su matrimonio, la sociedad conyugal pueda inscribir también su poder sobre propiedad, sobre bienes generados. Por lógica el hombre era quien manejaba, ahora la mujer puede inscribir para el manejo de los bienes. Lo de las amas de casa que era impensable antes.

19. ¿Tuvo reuniones con un grupo específico de ciudadanos cuando eras legislador en 2013-2017? ¿Con qué frecuencia al mes y con quién?

Casi siempre, yo tenía la práctica de salir de 2 a 3 veces por semana salir del despacho, salir de la Asamblea. Fuimos una Asamblea que estuvo todo el tiempo recorriendo el país. Creo que durante los 4 años nos habremos recorrido 10 veces el país completo socializando las leyes, fue un trabajo bien bacán.

Y en la Asamblea abrir la puertas para que todas las organizaciones sociales estén presentes en los debates y obviamente conmigo en reuniones de planificación. Con los grupos que más me reuní con representantes de organizaciones sociales en distintas temáticas legislativas. En mi rol también he sido dirigente del partido entonces también fueron un sector importante para mi trabajo. Reuniones con organizaciones sociales para fortalecer al partido y en eso un poco estaba destinado el trabajo legislativo.

Estuvimos mucho en colegios, universidades, ese tema fue muy importante hablando de temas de jóvenes, de temas país y de temas sociedad.

20. ¿Cuáles son las tres solicitudes más comunes que recibió de los constituyentes?

- Primero temas laborales, fue recurrente, te abarca todo tipo laboral, comercial, informales, derechos, sindicatos.
- Temas de agro.
- Políticas sociales vinculados a temas de seguridad y salud.

21. ¿Visitó el lugar donde viven sus electores? ¿Dónde estaba y con qué frecuencia solía visitar?

Casi siempre, yo tenía la práctica de salir de 2 a 3 veces por semana salir del despacho, salir de la Asamblea. Fuimos una Asamblea que estuvo todo el tiempo recorriendo el país. Creo que durante los 4 años nos habremos recorrido 10 veces el país completo socializando las leyes, fue un trabajo bien bacán

22. ¿Cuál crees que es el obstáculo que enfrentan las legisladoras? El sistema. Bueno al estar en una sociedad machista, las instituciones son la representación de esa sociedad. Es decir la institución pública era y es una institución sumamente adulto céntrica y muy patriarcal. Escuchas expresiones tu no sabes, tu solo estas por tu cara, que habrás hecho. Ponen en duda tu capacidad, como ser humano para enfrentar problemáticas, mediaciones. Cuando hay un problema tiendes a buscar a hombres cuando hemos demostrado que quienes se desenvuelven mejor en situaciones de mediación son las mujeres. Porque las mujeres mediamos siempre en nuestras casas, tenemos otro nivel de tolerancia.

Que estamos viviendo en una sociedad patriarcal es una realidad y las instituciones reflejan eso, incluso la Asamblea.

23. ¿Cuáles son las principales oportunidades y desafíos para la representación de las mujeres en el Parlamento?

Es feminizar la política. Creo que en eso hay que hacer un estudio importante que cuando tenga tiempo me voy a poner a escribir en esto. Nosotras tendemos a masculinizarlos entonces tu puedes ver a través de la historia del parlamento como mujeres que pasaron por esos parlamentos donde mayoritariamente eran hombres tendieron muchas veces a masculinizar su discurso, sus expresiones y su actuación política. Cuando al contrario tenemos una oportunidad de feminizar la política y a equilibrar a una feminización de la sociedad.

¿Cuál fue tu motivación para presentar la Ley de Parto Humanizado? Fue una experiencia propia que la viví cuando era Vicealcaldesa de Otavalo. En el 2012 implementamos en Otavalo la primera sala de parto vertical en todo el país y eso porque veíamos como las mujeres especialmente rurales y las mujeres quichuas no iban a los centros de salud primero porque eran blancos y el blanco en lo andino significa o está asociado a la muerte. Segundo porque el parto horizontal siempre fue contracultural. Nuestras culturas incluso pre incaicas practicaban partos verticales lo cual es hasta más cómodo y más seguro para la mujer y etc, etc.

Mas fue la experiencia del 2012, la recogimos y ahora es parte de la política pública de salud. Ahora encontramos salas de parto humanizado en la costa por ejemplo, entonces hemos logrado romper que esto solo es indígena sino que es parte de los derechos de la mujer y de topar de la violencia obstétrica que muy poco se ha topado. Existe violencia obstétrica en nuestro sistema de salud y que debe ser combativo porque a través de la violencia obstétrica se afecta muchísimos y se vulnera muchísimos derechos de las mujeres.

¿Cuál fue su motivación para presentar la Ley Orgánica para el uso del Cannabis con fines Médicos y Terapéuticos?

Bueno eso salió a la raíz de la necesidad de un grupo de jóvenes que son la Asociación de Jóvenes con Epilepsia, que llegaron a mi. Hay muchos jóvenes que importan productos de Cannabis desde Estados Unidos, entonces empezó el debate de porque importamos si podemos producirlo en Ecuador. Me empecé a involucrar en este tema y la Derecha, la iglesia empezó a mandarme pasquines pro abortista, pro drogas, pro marihuana, pro todo. Pero creo que son debates im-

portantes que hay que darlos porque son ahora porque la dinámica de la sociedad te obliga a que los políticos asumamos necesidades y realidades que hay en nuestro país y la necesidad de cannabis médico y terapéutico a su gente. Yo incluso pienso más allá que el tema de la legalización en sí misma es necesaria como una potestad de control del Estado. Uruguay en eso nos dio grandes lecciones pero bueno una sociedad como la nuestra apostar por la legalización médica y terapéutica es bastante así que esperemos que sea una realidad.

Entrevista Lourdes Tibán

1. ¿Cómo se describe? Mujer multifacética. Madre, esposa, asambleísta, dirigente, funcionaria, política, etc.

2. ¿Se identifica con un cierto grupo? ¿Cuál? Sector social indígena

3. ¿Cómo comenzó en política? No hay un punto donde empecé sino hay un proceso. Uno comienza cuando empiezas a identificar una posibilidad de desarrollar una actividad colectiva porque lo político es colectivo no es individual. Yo empecé siendo dirigente de la organización de mujeres en Mulalillo a los 14 años de edad y por ahí empiezas a ver cómo involucrarte con las bases, con las mujeres pero sobre todo con la comunidad.

4. Cómo describe su trayectoria política? Así que pienso que es un proceso. Una organización de mujeres indígenas en mi parroquia de Mulalillo. Mira mi Libro "Yo soy Lourdes Tibán." Ahí está el paso a paso, como construyo el liderazgo desde abajo. Ahí te cuento que como ser política, ser mujer, ser indígena y sobre todo las tremendas dificultades que uno pasa para llegar a estar en este momento. Tuve 3 hijos mientras seguía siendo Asambleísta.

5. ¿Cuáles fueron los factores que le impulsaron a postularse a la Asamblea Nacional 2013-2017? Bueno ahí creo que el pedido del movimiento indígena. La posibilidad de un concurso interno entre Pachacutik. Yo postulé junto a los hombres para un debate y ahí logré tener el primer escaño y así llegué a la Asamblea Nacional. Uno no planifica y decir cual va a ser mi rol en la Asamblea, de pronto sabes que vas a ir a legislar y fiscalizar pero nunca me iba dar cuenta el papel que iba a jugar en esos momentos y panorama para mí fue extraordinario, tener un Correa como contrincante y ser la oposición desde la Asamblea. Eso no estaba en mi mente. Te ubicas ahí cuando ya ganaste.

6. ¿Puede por favor describir cuál fue el proceso dentro de su partido político para su nominación como candidata a las elecciones de 2013? Se hicieron primarias, siempre se hacen primarias.

7. ¿Cuál es su punto de vista sobre el Código Nacional de la Democracia?

El Código de la Democracia incluye una acción afirmativa a favor de las mujeres.

8. Según su experiencia, ¿el Código de la Democracia ayuda a las mujeres a participar en política? ¿Puedes explicarme cómo específicamente?

Si es una herramienta positiva a favor del género. Es una acción afirmativa a favor de las mujeres. Habla de cuota de mujeres en general, no te habla especificaciones de mujer indígena o afro. No tiene esa especificación. Ese aporte aun no tiene el Código.

9. ¿Qué piensas sobre la cuota de mujeres en el legislativo? Es una acción afirmativa a favor de las mujeres en general pero no incluye su diversidad.

10. ¿La cuota de mujeres fue importante para su propia participación en las elecciones? ¿Cómo?

Yo no llegué por acción afirmativa, yo entré por concurso normal entre hombres y mujeres. No como otras mujeres correistas que entraron por arrastre.

11. ¿Cree que las normas electorales deberían promover la participación política de las minorías y las mujeres? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo podría establecerse normativamente?

El espacio como tal aún no te permite. Por ejemplo en la Amazonía no hay mujeres que quieran participar, muy poco liderazgo de mujeres. La cultura política debe entender sobre la importancia del colectivo no solo ser mujer. No tienes derecho por ser mujer sino por ser parte de un colectivo.

Por discriminación histórica debería haber una diferenciación histórica debe haber una diferenciación. Por ejemplo en un empate entre una indígena y una no indígena, debe entrar una indígena.

No estar normado solo dice paridad, equidad y alternancia. La conformación no te da resultados positivos sino saliéramos 80-80 En la elección, en los resultados, de los más votados. En la elección debe haber paridad no en las listas. De cada partido debe entrar las mujeres más votadas.

12. ¿Se considera una representante de cierto grupo de ciudadanos? Cuáles?

Me siento representante de todos los ecuatorianos, porque en el momento que ganas una elección dejas de ser representante incluso siendo representante de una provincia la Constitución dice que son representantes nacionales.

13. ¿Con qué grupos de ciudadanos se relacionó más?

Con sectores sociales. Con ambientalistas, grupo de mujeres, jubilados.

14. ¿Se considera una feminista? Sí / no ¿por qué? Sí pero a mi modo. Complementariedad de hombre mujer.

15. ¿De qué manera representó a las mujeres en la Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017? Las representé, representando a todos los ecuatorianos.

16. ¿Qué piensas sobre que tres mujeres que ocupan los asientos principales de la Asamblea Nacional por primera vez en la legislatura de 2013-2017? Hay diferencia en qué ocupen hombres? No se trata si es de hombre o mujer. Cual es la diferencia que marca cuando la mujer está en ese cargo. A mi me pareció fundamental que asuman las mujeres ese rol pero ya el resultado no existe nada cuando son los hombres los que dominan todo el poder de representación de la mujer. Como decían las asambleístas "Somos sumisas, orgullosamente sumisas". Ahí hubiera preferido no tener representantes mujeres al frente de la legislatura.

17. La Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017 tuvo más mujeres ocupando escaños legislativos; sin embargo, apenas fue criticado por afirmar que las representantes de las mujeres eran sumisas al presidente de ese período. ¿Cuáles son sus puntos de vista sobre esto? Ese fue el peor ejemplo de capacidad de las mujeres que asumieron la Asamblea porque te dan una representación pero dice ojo te vamos a poner ahí pero debes hacer lo que te dicen los hombres" entonces no tiene sentido. Por eso es que esto de "sumisas fue mal visto por toda la sociedad.

Yo creo que las asambleístas de Alianza País tenían un libreto, siguiendo las órdenes del Ex Presidente Correa. Ellas lo que tenían que hacer es no facilitar espacios por ejemplo de fiscalización, no permitir espacios que ellas permitan visibilizar lo que estaba pasando en el Correísmo. Ellas lo que hicieron es cumplir con un discurso que venía desde Carondelet: "No a la fiscalización porque eso es un show" y ellas repetían lo mismo, cuando ellas podían decir "no, no aquí no hay un show". Ellas cumplieron un proyecto político de Alianza País.

18. ¿Qué iniciativas de ley presentó en relación con un grupo específico de ciudadanos?

Ley de jóvenes

Ley de adulto mayor

Ley de comunas

Ley de aguas

Ley de tierras. Es que para mí, por ejemplo, hablar de la ley de tierras no es que es para un grupo es para la familia. Para mí es importante la complementariedad, la mujer solita como tal no puede hacer nada.

Pero si hablamos de algo específico, yo apoye la iniciativa de jubilación para la mujer con 30 años de aportaciones sin límites de edad.

19. ¿Cuál ha sido el tema o área de trabajo en el cual más se relacionó desempeñando el cargo de asambleísta?

No tuve un tema específico porque hice una política genera.

20. ¿Trabajó en alguna comisión? ¿Cuál y por qué esa comisión?

Muchas. Salud, Derechos Indígenas, Comunicación, Derechos colectivos, soberanía alimentaria.

21. ¿Tuvo reuniones con un grupo específico de ciudadanos cuando eras legislador en 2013-2017? ¿Con qué frecuencia al mes y con quién?

Con muchos. Cada día tu recibes una comisión que viene con una causa en específica.

Recibía con todos que buscan depende de sus necesidad. Todos los días con lo que buscan justicia, tema ambientales. Uno recibe todos los días sin importar el tema.

22. ¿Cuáles son las tres solicitudes más comunes que recibió de los constituyentes?

Violación de derechos humanos

Acceso a la Justicia

Derechos laborales

23. ¿Visitó el lugar donde viven sus electores? ¿Dónde estaba y con qué frecuencia solía visitar? Sí, cada fin de semana a distintas provincias. No visité ninguna en específico.

24. ¿Cuál crees que es el obstáculo que enfrentan las legisladoras?

El peor obstáculo la doble función que desempeña. No dejas de ser mamá y asambleísta. Yo tuve 3 hijos y seguía siendo legisladora.

La cultura política no te permite.

25. ¿Cuáles son las principales oportunidades y desafíos para la representación de las mujeres en el Parlamento?

El desafío es legislar para las mujeres. Ahora uno solo lucha por los partidos.

El desafío es cambiar la cultura política, hay pocas mujeres líderes por ejemplo en la Amazonía.

- **¿Por qué presentó la Ley de Práctica Intercultural para el Parto Humanizado en el Sistema Nacional de Salud?**

Experiencia personal. Di a luz a dos de mis hijos en una clínica y fue un parto donde estuvo incluida toda la familia. En cambio di a luz a otro de mis hijos en el hospital general y fue parte la familia. En todo el sistema de salud.

- **¿Por qué presentó la Ley Orgánica contra el Discrimen, el Acoso y la Violencia Política en razón del Género**

Pedido de mujeres, que se reunieron en Galápagos. Fue archivada porque se dijo que cualquier acto machista ya estaba en el código penal. Sugiero que se debería volver a presentar.

- **¿Por qué presentó la Ley Orgánica de Coordinación y Cooperación entre la Jurisdicción Indígena y la Jurisdicción Ordinaria?**

Dificultad entre justicia indígena y justicia. Experiencia personal.

¿Usted cree que representó con estas propuestas de ley a las mujeres indígenas?

La Asamblea no es para representar a los indígenas sino a la país.

Entrevista Mae Montaña Entrevista Preguntas

- 1. ¿Cómo se describe?**

Una mujer negra, activista social más que política.

Como una persona sencilla, de extracción popular, alegre con la gente que me rodea, mi familia, mis amigos; pero rebelde ante las injusticias.

2. ¿Se identifica con un cierto grupo? ¿Cuál?

De manera general yo creo que debemos integrarnos. Podría ser que tenga un poquito que tenga el corazón inclinado hacia la población de afro. Pero creo que ha llegado la hora de trabajar por todos, así es como me he manejado siempre desde el activismo social en beneficio de jóvenes, mujeres y niños, sin hacer distinciones, o sea no he trabajado de manera específica para un grupo, me gusta la integración.

3. ¿Cómo comenzó en política? Hace mucho años, en mi Esmeraldas natal cuando me propusieron ser candidata a alcalde y yo acepté sólo porque dijeron que ese puesto no era para mujeres. Luego, el racismo, el machismo y la escasez de recursos me alejaron de la política por décadas.

4. Cómo describe su trayectoria política. La describo como una trayectoria que pocos la pueden sostener: coherente siempre intelectualmente, responsable con la gente que confía en mí y recta en cada una de mis actuaciones.

5. ¿Cuáles fueron los factores que le impulsaron a postularse a la Asamblea? Sentí la necesidad de impulsar cambios en el país y noté con tristeza que desde el activismo es sumamente complicado hacerlo, por eso entré en política para a través de leyes y acciones concretas buscar mejores días para los más vulnerables. Sin embargo, siempre he estado en minoría y siento que todavía tengo una deuda pendiente hasta poder llegar a ser gobierno y hacerlo.

6. ¿Puede por favor describir cuál fue el proceso dentro de su partido político para su nominación como candidata a las elecciones de 2013? El proceso de nominación es el que establece el Código de la Democracia: al interior de cada organización se hacen las postulaciones, luego eso pasa a las instancias determinadas: directivas locales, provinciales y nacionales y son ellas, las que al final del día, toman la decisión democráticamente con un delegado del CNE presente.

7. ¿Cuál es su punto de vista sobre el Código Nacional de la Democracia? Que es una herramienta necesaria pero que definitivamente es perfectible: en temas de democracia interna, participación, nominación, publicidad, entre otras.

8. Según su experiencia, ¿el Código de la Democracia ayuda a las mujeres a participar en política? ¿Puedes explicarme cómo específicamente?

Yo no sé si el Código de la Democracia. Yo creo que la Constitución actual recogió el trabajo del movimiento de mujeres desde dos décadas pasadas cuando se consiguió la primera ley de cuotas que se llamaba, que fue la participación de un porcentaje x en la estructuración de la listas y que se perfeccionó en la Constitución vigente, cuando se dijo que debe ser paritario y debe respetarse la alternancia pero ha sido un proceso, proceso conseguido por la lucha del movimiento de mujeres, prácticamente. Lo que hace el Código de la Democracia es tomar lo que está en la Constitución y definir los mecanismos legales para que sea efectivo pero eso ya está consagrado en la Constitución.

9. ¿La cuota de mujeres fue importante para su propia participación en las elecciones? ¿Cómo?

Bueno yo creo que de todas las mujeres que hemos participado estos últimos años la cuota ha sido importante. Algunas personas difieren porque las mujeres tenemos asegurado un tema de cuotas que se tienen que ver las capacidades pero quienes hemos vivido un proceso histórico de discriminación y de lucha en defensa de los derechos de las mujeres sentimos que es justo que a los grupos igual que los indígenas, afroecuatorianos, que los grupos que han sufrido discriminación histórica y desigualdades históricas necesitan de acciones afirmativas que ayuden a reparar ese proceso, esas desigualdades históricas. Entonces cómo que empujan a las organizaciones políticas, que no han tenido ningún interés en una participación real y efectiva de las mujeres, se sientan obligados a dar estos espacios. Más allá de eso si entiendo también que es una responsabilidad tanto de las mujeres, de las organizaciones sociales, organizaciones de mujeres y de las organizaciones políticas de capacitar a sus militantes femeninas, a sus mujeres, de capacitarlas, de darles la posibilidad de demostrarse en la política lo que yo llamo "dar la vitrina" igual que debe pasar con los jóvenes en su momento. Así que yo creo que hay que seguir utilizando eso como un recurso, como una herramienta que nos permite a las mujeres asegurarnos ciertas posiciones.

10. ¿Cree que las normas electorales deberían promover la participación política de las minorías y las mujeres? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo podría establecerse normativamente?

11. ¿Se considera una representante de cierto grupo de ciudadanos? Cuáles? Yo ciudadana, ciudadana. Yo no tengo ahora, es difícil porque para llegar a una posición política no puedes venir de una orientación ciudadana pero mi participación tanto en la Asamblea Constituyente como ahora, fue a partir de ser militante de una organización política no fue parte de una negociación con una organización social o étnica pero indudablemente pues representamos a toda la ciudadanía. Siempre digo quiero sentirme más que política ciudadana, más que política activista social.

12. ¿Con qué grupos de ciudadanos se relacionó más? Siempre he estado del lado de los más vulnerables: emprendedores pequeños, trabajadores, jubilados, afros, indígenas.

13. ¿Se considera una feminista? Sí / no ¿por qué? Sí, soy feminista de corazón. No soy feminista de formación, no me he formado para el feminismo, no estudié la teoría político-feminista. No vengo de ese origen, nació de una necesidad personal, afectiva. De haber vivido en un hogar, de ser hija de una madre soltera y de haber vivido el maltrato físico, psicológico del compañero de mi madre hacia ella y eso en su momento hizo que sintiera la necesidad de trabajar por los derechos de las mujeres, por las posibilidades de que las mujeres no sean maltratadas, abusadas. Me encontré con la problemática de los niños, de las niñas, de los jóvenes. Toda esa lucha por los derechos de las mujeres y en general por los grupos que están en condiciones sociales y económicas disminuidos, me hizo convertirme en una feminista. Siempre digo soy feminista de corazón más que de una estructura intelectual, no me ha tocado, no he tenido la suerte de haber estudiado así, pero en el camino he ido leyendo, preparando pero sí soy feminista de corazón y seguiré siempre por los derechos de las mujeres, siempre.

14. ¿De qué manera representó a las mujeres en la Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017? Mi intención no fue sólo representar a las mujeres, por mi votaron también muchos hombres que pusieron su confianza en mí a través del voto. Pero sin embargo, el pueblo siempre me ha reconocido por mi condición de mujer puesto que siéndolo he luchado y he defendido los intereses de la ciudadanía con toda la valentía, frontalidad y rectitud del caso.

15. ¿Qué piensas sobre que tres mujeres que ocupan los asientos principales de la Asamblea Nacional por primera vez en la legislatura de 2013-2017? Hay diferencia en que

ocupen hombres? Fue una profunda decepción por dos razones: primero porque albergó la esperanza de que las mujeres hagan un magnífico trabajo y representen con dignidad al género. Al final, fueron sumisas obedientes de un machista misógino que les daba órdenes desde Carondelet y eso hizo quedar muy mal a la mujer como independiente y capaz de hacer el trabajo. Y después porque pensábamos que entre mujeres podía haber un respeto y una sororidad de género, cosa que nunca sucedió y más bien pasó todo lo contrario: fui relegada en las intervenciones, fui maltratada por las autoridades y fui bloqueada en mi intención de presentar proyectos de Ley.

16. La Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017 tuvo más mujeres ocupando escaños legislativos; sin embargo, apenas fue criticado por afirmar que las representantes de las mujeres eran sumisas al presidente de ese período. ¿Cuáles son sus puntos de vista sobre esto? Misma respuesta de la pregunta anterior.

17. ¿Qué iniciativas de ley presentó en relación con un grupo específico de ciudadanos?

He presentado más de una decena de proyectos pero los más importantes pueden ser:

- Proyecto de Fomento al Emprendimiento
- Proyecto de Defensa de los Emprendedores Urbanos
- Proyecto de Reforma Integral a la Ley de Comunicación
- Proyecto de Reforma a la Ley de Discapacidades.

18. ¿Cuál ha sido el tema o área de trabajo en el cual más se relacionó desempeñando el cargo de asambleísta? En tres temas:

- Fomento y apoyo al emprendimiento
- Defensa de las libertades
- Derechos de los ciudadanos.

19. ¿Trabajó en alguna comisión? ¿Cuál y por qué esa comisión?

Trabajé en la Comisión de Participación Ciudadana y Control Social en donde mi intención fue que la participación de los ciudadanos en las decisiones de la Asamblea sean cada vez más efectivas: que se escuche al ciudadano y que éste sea parte activa de los procesos de aprobación de las leyes.

20. ¿Tuvo reuniones con un grupo específico de ciudadanos cuando eras legislador en 2013-2017? ¿Con qué frecuencia al mes y con quién? Haber como he estado más en la militancia política en este último tiempo pero en los problemas y en las luchas, en la lucha contra la corrupción de manera específicamente, yo sentí que más allá de mi rol en la Asamblea, que a veces es sumamente limitado en cuanto se refiere a control político y fiscalizaciones. Esas limitaciones siempre me siento más ciudadana acompañada con la gente en las calles. Así que en un momento determinado sentí la necesidad de ayudar, de contribuir a la formación de un colectivo ciudadano con el cual siempre nos encontrábamos en estas marchas, plantones. Entonces nació en los últimos años en plantones que hicimos periódicos al frente a la fiscalía, la gente venía espontáneamente. Formamos un grupo apolítico que tiene como objetivo la lucha contra la corrupción que se llama Vigilancia Ciudadan. Nos reunimos con frecuencia, más que de salón hacemos conversatorios, seminarios, encuentros más sociales de integración pero nuestra lucha esta en las calles, ahí nos encontramos para buscar la transparencia pero sobre todo nuestro deseo profundo que algún día los ecuatorianos, logremos que los que han robado a los ecuatorianos vayan a las calles y que devuelvan lo robado.

21. ¿Cuáles son las tres solicitudes más comunes que recibió de los constituyentes?

- 1.- Empleo
- 2.- Empleo
- 3.- Empleo

22. ¿Visitó el lugar donde viven sus electores? ¿Dónde estaba y con qué frecuencia solía visitar?

Bueno yo soy una candidata nacional, asambleísta nacional, recorrer el país con demasiada frecuencia no, pero siempre hago recorridos a distintas ciudades, me he dado muchas vueltas al país. No puedo decir que voy cada mes, porque no trabajaría en la Asamblea. Pero por ejemplo en esta semana que termine me fui a Esmeraldas y a renglón seguido a Riobamba con una acción parlamentaria. Pero estoy frecuentemente, me gusta el trabajo de territorio, me voy a los barrios. , soy una política que no se encierra en las cuatro paredes de la Asamblea, me gusta el contacto con la gente.

23. ¿Cuál crees que es el obstáculo que enfrentan las legisladoras? Uno solo: el hiper-presidencialismo que existe en nuestra Constitución y la mezquindad de los políticos que han gobernado mientras he sido legisladora. Si no me bloquean en la Asamblea, lo hacen desde el Ejecutivo. Necesitamos madurar políticamente.

23. ¿Cuáles son las principales oportunidades y desafíos para la representación de las mujeres en el Parlamento?

Oportunidades:

- El mundo está cambiando y las mujeres somos parte esencial de ese cambio.
- Existe un elevado número de mujeres que hoy participan en política y eso hace que cada vez más se animen.
- Nuestras responsabilidades cada vez son más altas y debemos estar a la altura de aquello.

Desafíos:

- Cada vez que accedamos a un cargo público hacerlo con capacidad, rectitud y coherencia.
- Mantener un debate elevado e inteligente
- Formarnos y capacitarnos constantemente
- No permitir actitudes ni discursos machistas o discriminadores

24. ¿Que motivación tuvo para presentar la Ley Orgánica al Fomento al Emprendimiento?

Yo creo que uno de los derechos que no se han trabajado, sobretodo, nació del interés de que grupos como los Afro ecuatorianos, la población indígenas, la población montubia y las mismas mujeres, sobre todo madres solteras, madres jefas de hogar no han tenido un apoyo claro y preciso para el goce de sus derechos económicos. Siempre hablamos de todos los derechos menos de los derechos económicos. Creo que estamos obligados desde la Asamblea en generar derechos que sean útiles para la gente y la ley lo que procura es darle facilidades al emprendedor. No podemos tener una sociedad donde la población joven sea desempleada, donde las mujeres jefas de hogar tienen que volverse informales, donde los hombres desempleados se vuelven informales, donde la población Afro ecuatoriana es de las más pobres del país, los indígenas, etc. Entonces lo que queremos con esto es empujar al emprendimiento y facilitarle la vida al ecuatoriano, a la ecuatoriana

emprendedor para que genere sus propios recursos, para que no dependa del Estado, de los subsidios. Que tengan autonomía económica.

25. ¿Qué motivación tuvo para presentar la Ley Orgánica de Defensa de Emprendedores Urbanos?

Nos lastima cada vez que vemos y posiblemente eso me lleva a mis recuerdos de la infancia, de la adolescencia. Yo veía que mi madre de cualquier forma salía así sea la esquina y vendía comida o lo que sea y de manera informal pero conseguía los recursos para darle de comer a sus hijos. Entonces cuando veo que se maltrata a la gente, que se los trata a toletazos, a puñete limpio, que incautan sus pocos productos, sus utensilios y sobretodo se los afecta a sus derechos entonces eso a mí me molesta. Esa ley surgió no solamente de interés solamente mío sino de las personas dentro de la organización política de definir si los alcaldes si están obligados a poner orden en las ciudades pero que la gente emprendedora, trabajadora debe ser respetada. Esto está unido al otro proyecto, si los municipios no quieren o quieren cuidar la imagen de sus ciudades entonces tienen que facilitar el hecho de que la gente sea formal para que no tenga que estar en la esquina sino para que puedan emprender de manera formal cumpliendo los requisitos. Hay demasiadas trabas, demasiados impedimentos y se le trata al emprendedor urbano a lo que le conocen como informal como un criminal y eso se tienen que terminar.

¿Presentó alguna Ley o presentaría para Esmeraldas?

Está presentada. Tengo una ley que la hemos llamado de Reactivación Económica. La hicimos en la motivación de los últimos acontecimientos de la frontera norte, por la gran situación de pobreza que vive Esmeraldas, por la falta de oportunidades para los jóvenes para todos los que están esperando tener un trabajo digno, un trabajo estable o de generar su empresa. Vemos que no se puede luchar contra la inseguridad, contra el narcotráfico, contra el narcoterrorismo, contra la delincuencia organizada sino le damos oportunidades a la gente. Así que la he presentada la ley, presentada con todo el corazón y mayor sentimiento. Es una ley muy bien estructurada, muy bien pensada. Sin generar gastos, ni más empleados, ni más estructuras burocráticas sino de utilizar los recursos institucionales ya existentes para generar políticas claras de desarrollo para Esmeraldas. Así que pues yo digo sí yo amo a todo el Ecuador, tengo mi corazón dividido en 24 pedacitos pero ahora Esmeraldas necesita a todo el Ecuador en todo su conjunto. Necesita también de quienes nos sentimos no solo Esmeraldeños de sangre sino con corazón de sangre así que vemos que esa ley salga.

Entrevista Gabriela Díaz

Durante la entrevista la ex asambleísta se encontraba con bebé recién nacido, habló de ser madre primeriza.

1. ¿Cómo se describe?

Yo considero que en el ámbito político considero que soy una mujer de decisiones, sobre todo de enfrentarse, de enfrentarse a lo que no está bien. No sé si investigaste sobre mi actuación en la Asamblea Nacional, sin embargo yo fui de las asambleístas que estuvo en contra del gobierno pasado, en contra de Rafael Correa directamente. Mi razón te la doy porque soy una amazónica de corazón, de sangre y de todo y durante mucho tiempo fuimos pisoteados en

la Amazonía y yo creo que tener la posibilidad de reivindicar derechos amazónicos, derechos de las mujeres, derechos de los jóvenes, era la oportunidad en la Asamblea Nacional

Mujer, joven, decidida y sobretodo decidida a enfrentarse a lo que no está bien y luchadora y amazónica por supuesto.

2. ¿Se identifica con un cierto grupo? ¿Cuál?

Si con el grupo de mujeres, de jóvenes, con aquellas personas que no se conforman.

3. ¿Cómo comenzó en política?

Comencé a los 16 años cuando participé en la dominación para presidenta del comité colegial. Obviamente se hicieron campaña ahí con los jóvenes, en los colegios. No ganamos esa vez pero seguí en la política ya más formalmente como asambleísta en el 2013. Fue la primera vez en cargo público.

4. ¿Puede por favor describir cuál fue el proceso dentro de su partido político para su nominación como candidata a las elecciones de 2013?

Te comento que en las elecciones primarias, tuvimos la participación de más o menos de 100 personas militantes del partido Avanza, partido en el cual represente en ese momento. Tuvimos la suerte de contar con el apoyo de todos porque en otros partidos se presentan dos o tres listas y ahí son los problemas de intereses y todo. En mi partido, gracias a Dios, fue voluntario de todos y la elección fue unánime pero también con la conformidad de todas la gente que participó en ese momento. Fueron primarias, una sola lista la cual fue aprobada por todos.

5. Según su experiencia, ¿el Código de la Democracia ayuda a las mujeres a participar en política? ¿Puedes explicarme cómo específicamente?

Bueno yo creo que sí ayuda muchísimo pero te doy mi opinión personal. Creo que no debería haber ninguna ley que obligue la participación de las mujeres, debería ser una cosa voluntaria, una cosa que nazca de la sociedad, de los partidos políticos mas no por obligación sino por una representación activa de las mujeres. Yo creo que en eso las mujeres ecuatorianas han hecho muchísimo porque hace muchos años atrás, en el 2000 se aprobó la ley para ir en ascendencia la participación de mujeres en su momento era 30% y ahora es 50% entonces creo que es muy válido. Sin embargo creo que también las mujeres en su momento ya deberían, o sea creo que sí debería existir la ley pero tampoco porque debería ser una cosa de participación espontánea, que nazca, que hayan líderes, que se vayan formando en los partidos políticos. Y creo que esa es una deuda de muchos partidos políticos porque solo son figuras hombres. Pero sin embargo para la pregunta puntual obviamente que ayuda por lo que es una obligación 50-50.

6. ¿La cuota de mujeres fue importante para su propia participación en las elecciones? ¿Cómo?

Yo creo que sí porque en ese momento en el 2013, yo que tenía 22-23 años entonces la participación de jóvenes y mujeres era casi nula. Esto motivo para que de cierta parte el partido diga necesitamos alguien, veamos una figura y veamos su capacidad y todo eso y pues se nominó a mi persona.

7. ¿Cree que las normas electorales deberían promover la participación política de las minorías y las mujeres? ¿Por qué? ¿Cómo podría establecerse normativamente?

Yo propuse en la Asamblea Nacional una reforma a la Ley de la Juventud para que la participación también sea de los jóvenes. Lamentablemente en nuestro país todavía no hay esa cultura de participación política para estos cargos. Muchos jóvenes tienen miedos de participar porque en la realidad se enfrentan a plataformas estructuradas, a empresas electorales con partidos políticos gigantes con mucho dinero. Entonces les da mucho miedo participar a pesar que tienen ideas geniales y son brillantes. Propuse que la participación de jóvenes sea activa también. Considerando jóvenes de los 18 a los 29 años. En este tema propuse que las minorías tengan un tipo ley de cuotas.

8. ¿Se considera una representante de cierto grupo de ciudadanos? Cuáles?

Mmm bueno creo que sí, creo que de los jóvenes. Jóvenes y mujeres porque es lo que defendimos más.

9. ¿Con qué grupos de ciudadanos se relacionó más? Trabajadores, grupos de las nacionalidades indígenas, participamos conjuntamente muchos jóvenes obviamente, mujeres, grupos glbti también, hubo cierta participación con ciertos grupos animalistas.

10. ¿Se considera una feminista? Sí / no ¿por qué? No porque yo considero que muchas veces se va a lo extremo, creo que los doctrismos no funcionan en una sociedad que cada día va avanzando más y sobre todo que ya mucha gente van captando más que hay que tener mentalidad abierta y respetando obviamente las características de cada persona. No me considero feminista, respeto mucha a ese grupo social porque también tienen sus luchas, sus logros.

11. ¿De qué manera representó a las mujeres en la Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017?

En participaciones políticas a nivel internacional en otros países, en Brasil, estuvimos participando también en Suiza donde tuvimos la posibilidad de exponer los avances de la representación política de las mujeres en Ecuador. Incluso también se logró elevar a un nivel internacional la necesidad que de que el sueldo de la mujer ecuatoriana sea elevado, se sacó una resolución y esa resolución fue expuesta en todo el mundo y yo creo que fue muy beneficioso para que se considere dentro de algunos análisis y estudios estadísticos la posibilidad de que las mujeres tengan un sueldo mayor al que estaban percibiendo.

12. ¿Qué piensas sobre que tres mujeres que ocupan los asientos principales de la Asamblea Nacional por primera vez en la legislatura de 2013-2017? Hay diferencia en que ocupen hombres?

Creo que por el mismo hecho de ser mujeres, la sensibilidad incluso, muchos de los detalles que incluso los hombres olvidan si fueron considerado por las tres autoridades mujeres pero dejó mucho que desear su participación porque lamentablemente el país nos conoció por sumisas por la participación de las tres. Esto lo digo abiertamente porque así fue y todo el mundo lo reconoce. Dentro de la Asamblea Nacional criticamos muchísimo la participación de las tres en ese momento colegas porque presentamos proyectos de leyes que iban enfocados en el beneficio de la sociedad sin embargo estos quedaban rezagados, archivados. Como tu debes haber investigado solo se aprobaron proyectos de ley de asambleístas de Alianza país ninguno por la oposición o asambleístas que no fueran de su bancada. Todas estas directrices fueron guiadas por Gabriela Rivadeneira y eso estuvo bastante mal. Para criticar muchísimo pero para aplaudir de que mujeres hayan llegado así a

puestos tan importantes muy bien; pero lamentablemente la actuación fue nefasta para el país y para la imagen de la Asamblea Nacional de que por sí ya está desgastada.

La Asamblea Nacional de 2013-2017 tuvo más mujeres pero fue criticado por afirmar que las representantes de las mujeres eran sumisas al presidente de ese período. ¿Cuáles son sus puntos de vista sobre esto?

13. ¿Cuál ha sido el tema o área de trabajo en el cual más se relacionó desempeñando el cargo de asambleísta?

En el tema de la ley amazónica, empecé un proyecto que se llama Amazonizate que todavía está en vigencia el cual lo que quería es buscar la atención a nivel nacional que en la Amazonía hay problemas específicos que todavía no han sido atendidos. En esta Asamblea actual ya se aprobó la ley amazónica pero considero que todavía hay muchas aristas por tratar, hay muchas cosas por hacer en la Amazonía y creo que esa fue una de mis mayores motivaciones el proyecto amazonizate que busco integrar muchos líderes amazónicos, las mismas nacionales y pueblos indígenas para que ellos se empoderen y puedan tener la posibilidad a nivel nacional lo que está pasando.

14. ¿Trabajó en alguna comisión? ¿Cuál y por qué esa comisión?

Sí en la comisión de derechos colectivos estuve participando.

15. ¿Tuvo reuniones con un grupo específico de ciudadanos cuando eras legislador en 2013-2017? ¿Con qué frecuencia al mes y con quién?

Sí bastantes. Yo te comento una cosa: La Asamblea Nacional tiene sus casos legislativos en las provincias sin embargo por este tema de rivalidades entre asambleístas de la oposición y asambleístas de Alianza País, yo tuve que abandonar el legislativo. Yo abrí mi propia cede, mi propia oficina de Asambleísta. En esta oficina los lunes teníamos un proyecto, que fue bonito fue un programa y todo, que se llamó “Lunes ciudadano”, ahí atendíamos a todos los grupos sociales que iban con sus problemas en busca de soluciones y sobre todo en el poder dar asesoramiento jurídico que es lo que más podíamos enfocarnos. Las reuniones con grupos sociales fueron muchísimas pero las que más recuerdo fueron con grupos animalistas, defensores de la naturaleza, jóvenes, grupos glbt que también buscaban reivindicar sus derechos. Mmm del otro lado del tema animalista también tuvimos reuniones con galleros, con gente que defendía a los gallos, a los toros de pueblo y eso. Con qué frecuencia pues todos los lunes. Todo mi periodo participamos con al gente.

16. ¿Visitó el lugar donde viven sus electores? ¿Dónde estaba y con qué frecuencia solía visitar?

Sí por su puesto, lo que tratamos cada fin de semana con mi equipo de trabajo era de visitar las comunidades indígenas, pueblo, parroquias. Sobre todo tener reuniones con el fin de explicarles un poco la ley pero ya para que ellos puedan aplicarla porque muchas veces la ley queda en papel y mucha gente no sabe que hay leyes que les beneficia. Visitamos unas comunidades como de Montalvo, bueno muchas comunidades de Pastaza que nos recibían y ahí hacíamos incluso juegos con los niños. Solo Pastaza sí visite todas las provincias porque fue jefe de bloque. Visité líderes del partido avanza y gente de los sectores sociales. Si todos los fines de semana porque en ese entonces estaba sola sin mi bebito entonces tenía todo el tiempo del mundo.

17. ¿Cuál crees que es el obstáculo que enfrentan las legisladoras?

Yo creo que muchas veces somos nosotras mismas porque lamentablemente entre mujeres hay un poquito de envidia o se están viendo el último detalles que nos podamos equivocar. Te digo por experiencia propia, dentro de la Asamblea, las asambleístas de Alianza país eran muy muy celosas. Ellas mismas no dejaban que las mujeres nos desarrollemos. Independientemente de la ideología, creo que este es un problema cultural de nuestro país, en el cual si una mujer está destacándose, las primeras en criticar somos nosotras mismas, creo que ese es un obstáculo. Dentro del tema de gestión fuimos tratadas de igual manera. Muchas veces dicen que los hombres no nos permiten a nosotras pero realmente creo que solo depende de una misma de tomar la decisión para decir aquí estamos para representarlas y contra todo ir y defender nuestras causas.

18. ¿Cuáles son las principales oportunidades y desafíos para la representación de las mujeres en el Parlamento?

Bueno yo creo que primero el tema de poder. Primero de participar, participar como candidatas y poder y si tienes la oportunidad de llegar a la Asamblea Nacional pues de discutir varias problemáticas, varios temas de mujeres que sufren a veces no. A veces sufren discriminación laboral, discriminación salarial incluso. Entonces yo creo que esos son los desafíos para todas las mujeres, que todavía tenemos la posibilidad o la decisión de decir aquí estamos, vamos enfrentándonos a lo que sea, a lo que venga, decir las cosas como son. Y no dejarse llevar por el momento porque en ese momento Alianza País era una mega estructura política y todas las mujeres de Alianza País por poco y veneraban a Rafael Correa entonces eso es un grado de sumisión. Si la lealtad no está de doble lado, eso es ser sumiso. Mucha gente fue leal a Rafael Correa pero el otro lado no, entonces sí es importante considerar eso.

19. ¿Cuál fue su motivación para presentar la Ley Reformatoria a la Ley de Turismo y a la Codificación de la Ley de Aviación Civil?

Bueno la motivación fue por una compañera asambleísta de avanza que es de Galápagos. Ella siempre nos comentaba que en el tema turístico todavía estamos digamos en cierto modo atrasados porque todavía habían problemáticas en tema de transporte que se debían solucionar. Las aerolíneas muchas veces aumentaban los costos de los viajes, de los pasajes hacia Galápagos hacia otras ciudades desmedidamente. Esa fue la motivación para que se regule los precios y la gente tenga la posibilidad de viajar tanto turistas extranjeros como nacionales. Muchos turistas nacionales quiere ir a Galápagos pero se enfrenta que el pasaje es sumamente alto. Esa fue la motivación.

20. ¿Cuál fue su motivación para presentar la Ley Reformatoria a la Ley Orgánica de Educación Superior-LOES?

Te comento que en Pastaza, te pongo el ejemplo. En Pastaza tenemos la universidad pública y en esta universidad solo existen cinco carreras nada más. La motivación para presentar esta ley es que en provincias pequeñas como Pastaza, se puedan incluir otras carreras como comunicación social, derecho que todavía no estaban incluidas en estas universidades públicas. Eso pasa a nivel nacional, los jóvenes por ejemplo de Pastaza tienen que salir a Quito, Ambato, Riobamba a estudiar porque en Pastaza no hay la posibilidad de tener las carreras que ellos quisieran estudiar y solamente hay carreras técnicas como turismo, agropecuaria, ambiental.

21. ¿Cuál fue su motivación para presentar la Ley de Innovación Tecnológica Estudiantil?

Si eso lo que pretendía es que cada joven estudiante tenga su propia Tablet porque creemos importante que la tecnología tiene que irse incrustando en la realidad de los jóvenes porque creemos que incluso para ayudar al ambiente, la tecnología ayuda muchísimo entonces dejar de lado la excesiva utilización de libros si no tener la posibilidad de tener una Tablet que incluya contenidos didácticos y que obviamente esto vaya de la mano de tener wifi gratis donde los jóvenes se dedican a estudiar como por ejemplo en parques, incluso en los mismos colegios, mismas universidades y que obviamente puedan usar de buena manera la tecnología.

22. ¿Por qué no presentaste ninguna ley enfocada en temas relacionados con mujeres?

Bueno apoyamos a ciertas leyes que presentaron en su momento las legisladores Cristina Reyes, Mae Montaña. Apoyamos como te comenté, toda iniciativa que presentábamos eran bloqueadas entonces mejor trabajábamos en conjunto, presentando leyes que en su momento podían ser leyes aprobadas para el Ecuador pero lamentablemente la Asamblea no daba paso entonces lo que si hacíamos era colaborar en la estructuración de algunos proyectos de ley que se presentaron y ahí constan obviamente mis respaldos, mis firmas para que sean proyectos de ley que nunca se dieron lamentablemente.

Appendix V: Discourse Analysis's Tables

Analysis of Lourdes Tibán's Initiatives of Laws						
Initiative of Law	What is the problem?	Assumptions underlying this representation?	What are the effects produced by this representation?	Who is likely to benefit from this representation?	What is left unproblematic in this representation?	How would responses differ if the problem were thought about or represented differently?
Reform Law of the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization (COOTAD)	The article 424 of the COOTAD that demand that small lands (allotments) have to leave green areas or communal spaces and this land that has to be for "green areas or communal spaces" is for tradition to the sons and daughter of the owners.	Small lands have to be treated different that extensive lands. Small Allotments should be treated different than estates. It is a tradition to give small land of small allotments to the sons and daughters of the landlords.	Reform of the Code.	Small landlords of lands. Heirs of new small lands of their parents.	Differences between the urban and the rural.	The problem was seen from the perspective of small heredities but not from rich heirs. If it was thought by them, the problem were protecting big rich landlords and their inheritances.
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function Tr. 192293	The legislators don't read and in some cases even know what laws they are voting for.	The legislators are irresponsible. The legislators are	The debate should be oral.	The legislators that domain well oral expression.	Illiterate, people who have difficulty to express without reading.	The content is not consider. The quality of the debate could be improved

		not prepared. Assessors prepared the speech and legislators just read them.				by other methods like revision of their reports.
Reform Law on the Labour Code and the Social Security Law for the Stability and Defence of the Rights of Workers and Workers of Ecuador	The Labour code affects workers. Self-employees can't pay regularly a specific input since their work have different inputs. For example workers that depends of festivities. Women have being aiming a voluntary special retirement but women from the Assembly have being limiting the proposal already presented.	The self employment should have an especial regime. The salary has to be progressive. The President and the two Vice President of the National Assembly don't want to approve a special retirement for women.	The Code needs to be reformed. Women as a particular group to be attended.	Self-employed Women Employees with the basic wage.	Informal work.	If the Code was seen by other perspective, it could promote protection for informal workers or women who have not recognized work.
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of Land Transport, Traffic	Detention of hundreds of cargo and indigenous passenger vans.	Vans do not accomplish all the requirements for being legal.	The majority of Indigenous don't count with private transport and the	Indigenous Vans' owners / Owners of vans	Security, quality of the vans and knowledge of the drivers.	The problem could be seen as the security of the transport, the

and Road Safety		Public rural transport is inefficient.	public is inefficient. Indigenous as excluded of public services.			common accidents of vans.
Law of Intercultural Practice for Humanized Labor in the National Health System	The dehumanization in the experiences of labor in the public and private health attention centers The contradiction and confrontation between the cultural knowledge of the labor-childbed. The mother is alone in the process and the partner, family and community is excluded of the process. The system capitalist and neoliberal creates individual-	That the actual system of health in Ecuador excludes ancestral knowledges. Conceive maternity as the maximum realization of women and as a right in the dual, familiar childbearing. That the partner and family nowadays are excluded of the childbed. That indigenous and ancestral practices promote the union of family in the labor. Those caesarean operations are bad for women's	Women and men are complementary. That the indigenous cosmovision has to be included. It constitute women as the mother, the one that is plenty when is mother. Also as the vulnerable that can be affected by traumas. Mother as the one that needs the company of their partner. Partner as the one that is not included in the labor and who must be dur-	Family Women The newborn The partner (husband) The community Indigenous	The problem of single mothers that don't count with a partner is not seen.	If the problem would be tough by an occidental perspective, maybe the policy could be to improve the technology of the hospitals. Other perspective could be the labor in water, following other practices not necessary indigenous practices.

	ists humans. For example in the health system, the doctors understand the patient but not the family. Today there are unnecessary caesarean operations.	health. That she presented this law because she is a mother and was based on her experience.	ing the process since is equal important as the mother.			
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Discourse Analysis of Gabriela Rivadeneira's Initiatives of Laws						
Initiative of Law	What is the problem?	Assumptions underlying this representation?	What are the effects produced by this representation?	Who is likely to benefit from this representation?	What is left unproblematic in this representation?	How would responses differ if the problem were thought about or represented differently?
Organic Law for the use of Cannabis for Medical and Therapeutic Purposes	The use of Cannabis for therapeutic purposes are prohibited thus patients could not use it for different illness.	Cannabis is seen as a healing product especially for people who suffer of epilepsy. People cannot afford alternative	Young people care about the use of cannabis.	Patients who suffer of different illness. Young people (based on the interview, Appendix IV)	The use of cannabis for different purposes.	Legalization of cannabis in general as a request of young organizations. The solution could be less prices for

		medicines who have the same effects. Organization of youth care for the legalization of cannabis for medicinal purposes.				some medicines that have the same purposes than cannabis.
Reform Law to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	The lack of clear procedures in the work in the Legislative. There is no procedure for Pre legislative consultation.	The legislators had confusion how to use some articles of the Constitution. There were not enough and specialized commissions for legislative tasks.	Legislators need clarity in the procedures.	Legislators Indigenous, afro ecuadorians, communities for the clarity in the procedures of the pre-legislative consultation.	Procedures in the legislative that affect women legislators.	Re-think commissions related with gender struggles.
Organic Law for the Strengthening of the Popular Consultation and Political Participation	There was an amendment to the Constitution that modify the referendums of the Decentralized Autonomous Governments and the secondary laws are contradictory thus it is necessary to reform these norms.	The Constitution is more important than other laws. Decentralized Autonomous governments are limited by this reform.	Decentralized Autonomous Governments could manipulate for other motives the referendums for motives that are outside of their competence.	Central Government.	Referendum requested by citizens and not by Decentralized Autonomous Governments.	If I will be though by citizens, the solution will be to open more possibilities for a referendum.
Organic Law of						

Humanized Labor	Unnecessary cesareans. Lack of resources in hospitals and health centers. Obstetric violence, violence of human rights of women.	Humanized labor is seen as the alternative instead of caesarean operations. Cesarean operations are bad for women. It constitutes a risk for women and for the baby. Ignorance of women about caesarean operations. Majority of women don't know about the effects of caesarean operations.	Women of minority ethnicities, the poorest, the youngest are the most vulnerable. Divides women into two groups: women without access to public health and women with access to health. Only women decide about her body and about her baby. Humanized labor as an intercultural and ancestral way of labor.	Women	Her perspective does not count with the agency of men, of the partner or the community.	Could be seen humanized labor as communal labor of women and men not only women.
Organic Law on the Protection of the Rights to Privacy and Privacy of Personal Data	Personal information is in risk of not counting with privacy. Citizen's information could be used for different purposes without consent.	Information as an important issue in people's life. Databases are commercialized without consent.	Citizens are affected especially the most vulnerable: children and teenagers. Children and	All citizens Children Teenagers	The use of media without control.	It may have been seen as an international problem like how Facebook and Google operate. It might have been seen as a solution

			tenagers as the most frequent users of media and TICS.			that benefits companies.
Organic Law Reform of the Organic Code of Territorial Organization, Autonomy and Decentralization	Confusion about who has the competence to lead the construction and infrastructure for education and health, the national government or the municipalities, Autonomous Decentralized Governments(GAD).	Central Government and Autonomous Decentralized Governments did the same tasks.	Autonomous Decentralized Governments had not enough budget to respond for health and education.	Autonomous Decentralized Governments.	Political competences.	More competence for Autonomous Decentralized governments instead of more competence for Central Governments.

Discourse Analysis of Mae Montaña Initiatives of Laws						
Initiative of Law	What is the problem?	Assumptions underlying this representation?	What are the effects produced by this representation?	Who is likely to benefit from this representation?	What is left unproblematic in this representation?	How would responses differ if the problem were thought about or represented differently
Organic Law for the Promotion of Entrepreneurship (Reformed)	Unnecessary bureaucracy for starting an entrepreneurship Underemployment	Bureaucracy affects entrepreneurs to formalize their business.	Small entrepreneurs are poor people who have the only alternative	Micro, small and medium entrepreneurs.	. Big entrepreneurs.	The lack of capital instead of legalization of business.

		Entrepreneurship as a mechanism for having incomes that allow informal workers to obtain incomes.	to leave poverty with entrepreneurship.			
Organic Law for the Defense of Urban Entrepreneurs ⁵	-The police harass informal workers. - The few objects of the informal entrepreneurs are seized by the police. - Ecuador has to many informal workers and under-employment.	The need of a legislation that defend the urban entrepreneurs. Her personal experience motive her this law since her mother was an informal entrepreneur (Appendix IV)	Informal workers as vulnerable citizens. Police as the enemies of the informal workers. Informal workers are described as entrepreneurs.	Informal urban entrepreneurs.	Lack of formal work.	Problem of lack of formal employee.
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	The legislators don't read and in some cases even know what laws they are voting for.	The legislators are irresponsible. The legislators are not prepared. Assessors prepared	The debate should be oral.	The legislators that domain well oral expression.	Illiterate, people who have difficulty to express without reading.	The content is not consider. The quality of the debate could be improved by other methods like revision of their reports.

⁵ Mae Montaña presented several times initiatives of law for the Defense of Urban Entrepreneurs and for the promotion of Entrepreneurship. All of them have the same text and motivations, thus the analysis is the same. Information based on the information provided by Observatorio Legislativo extracted 21 August 2018 <http://2013-2017.observatoriolegislativo.ec/media/archivos_leyes/11.pdf>

		the speech and legislators just read it.				
Reform Law on the Communication Law	Current law of communication allow abuses by the control organisms.	The President, Rafael Correa, use the present law to attack his opposition.	Media as the affected and vulnerable. Government as the bad one, promoting official information. Especially the President Rafael Correa.	Media	Control of Media	Positive things of the current law.
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	There is no clarity in the work of legislators.	It is necessary to establish new procedures.	The quality of work of legislators is not the best. Legislators are confused in some procedures.	Legislators	Procedures of work of legislators outside the National Assembly	No enough text in the motivation.
Discourse Analysis of Gabriela Díaz's Initiatives of Laws						
Initiative of Law	What is the problem?	Assumptions underlying this representation?	What are the effects produced by this representation?	Who is likely to benefit from this representation?	What is left unproblematic in this representation?	How would responses differ if the problem were thought about or represented differently?
Reform Law on the Tourism Law and the Codification of the Civil Aviation Law	The airlines charge tickets are so expensive that limit to travel to some places of Ecuador	The expensive tickets limit the development of tourism.	Tourism is being affected. Galapagos destiny	Citizen's of special provinces of Ecuador, especially from Galapagos	The protection of Galapagos islands. The contamination	If the problem would be thought as a problem of transport only for

	especially to Galapagos.	There is no regulation in the prices that airlines establish. Rafael Correa also want ticket prices less expensive. Prices are exceeded	is the most complicated. National and Foreign tourists are limited because of the exceeded prices.	and the Amazon Region. Ecuadorian tourists.	of airplanes.	citizens, the solution would be to have special prices only for citizens of that particular place.
Reform Law to the Organic Law of Higher Education - LOES-	LOES prohibit the creation of new universities or extension of universities for the period of 5 years.	The current law of higher education affect in certain way citizen's that can't access to a university far away from they live.	Mainly Galapagos citizen's can't access to a public educations since there are not presencial universities. The province of Pastaza don't count with enough careers for students that want to study certain careers.	Young people from Galapagos and Pastaza	In the motivation she left the reality of other provinces.	The problem could be seen as career's relevance so the solution could be to create in the existing universities some careers.
Student Technological Innovation Law	Since we are living in a technological era, students need electronic devices	The tablet is not a luxury object. There is a gap in	The majority of Ecuadorians cannot afford com-	Young people, students.	The bad use of technology. The lack of access	If the problem would be seen as the lack of technology of high

	such as tablets, but they do not own these. .	technology between developed countries and Ecuador and to give a tablet could help to reduce it.	puters or tablets.		to technology of other citizens.	schools, the solution would be to equip the public institutions with technology not giving to students.
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Discourse Analysis of Cristina Reyes's Initiatives of Laws						
Initiative of Law	What is the problem?	Assumptions underlying this representation?	What are the effects produced by this representation?	Who is likely to benefit from this representation?	What is left unproblematic in this representation?	How would responses differ if the problem were thought about or represented differently?
Law for the promotion of young entrepreneurs and entrepreneurs Law for the Promotion of Young Entrepreneurs Both initiatives of law have the same text.	There is no support for entrepreneurship of young people.	Private Entrepreneurships will generate employee. Young people have good ideas, creativity but there is no legal, administrative infrastructure that help them.	Young people as productive engines who intend an entrepreneurship for necessity not for opportunity.	Young people	Adults, those are not young. Public entrepreneurship	If the problem had been seen the lack of entrepreneurship of citizens in general the solution would be focused for everyone regardless of age
Reform Law to the Organic Law of the Council of Citizen Participation	There is a lack of incentives for volunteer work	The volunteer work doesn't count with points for the contest for being	The solution is to add points for a contest. Volunteering is seen as a	Volunteers	Volunteering as an activity without particular interests	If the problem had been seen as the lack of volunteer work, the solution

and Social Control, which includes the volunteer as a condition of the affirmative measure		part of the Citizen Participation and Social Control Council	conditional activity.			would be to promote volunteer programs.
Organic Law Reform to the Seventh Transitory Disposition of the Organic Law of the Public Electric Power Service	The firefighters have lost the 90% of their budget	The change of the norms affected the firefighters budget. Citizens don't pay opportunely their taxes.	Firefighters are workers not well remunerated. It is seen as an important labour in society. Information obtained through a meeting with the firefighters of Guayas.	Firefighters	The quality of service of the firefighters. Policeman, militaries who could have the same problem.	If the problem had been seen as a problem of all the firefighters not only of the reality of the firefighters of Guayas.
Organic Law Reform to the Organic Law of the Legislative Function	There is no clarity in the work of legislators.	It is necessary to establish new procedures.	The quality of work of legislators is not the best. Legislators are confused in some procedures.	Legislators	Procedures of work of legislators outside the National Assembly	No enough text in the motivation.
Reform Law to the Labor Code	Very low retirements	People received low pensions like	The quantity has no be analysed.	The retirees		If the problem had been seen as

		for example 20 dollar per month, quantity that is not enough for leaving.				a problem of the quality of the services like the public hospitals the solution will be on improving the services.
Reform Law to the Social Security Law and Law of the Bank of the Ecuadorian Institute of Social Security	There was no control of the use of the savings of the citizens for social security.	Correa changed the law in his favour to use the money of the saving of the citizens.	The necessity for controlling the savings of citizens. The savings could be invested in better way.	Correa and his government whom used for their convenience the funds of IESS.	Retirees	If the problem had been seen as a problem of where to invest, the solution will be to invest in a more efficient and profitable way.

