

WOMEN'S MOBILIZATIONS FOR QUOTA REFORMS IN FRANCE AND
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ABSTRACT

WOMEN’S MOBILIZATIONS FOR QUOTA REFORMS IN FRANCE AND ARGENTINA

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The political scene has long been a male dominated one, with women excluded from and limited in political recruitment processes. Electoral gender quotas are designed to combat this recurring issue by making sure a certain number of women are nominated and elected for political posts. This study is conducted with the aim of documenting women’s mobilizations for quota reforms through the cases of Argentina and France. In this thesis, I argue that women’s mobilizations were the main actors of the quota reforms processes and I aim to highlight the political contexts surrounding women’s demands, organizations, and alliances. In order to analyse and compare the two cases, I utilized feminist process-tracing and documented systemic, chronological examples from both countries to show the impact of women’s mobilizations and alliances for the implementation of quota reforms.

Keywords: electoral gender quotas, women’s mobilizations, parity, quota reforms

ÖZ

FRANSA'DA VE ARJANTİN'DE KADIN AKTİVİZMİ VE KOTA REFORMLARI

ABAY, Ayda

Yüksek Lisans, Toplumsal Cinsiyet ve Kadın Çalışmaları Bölümü
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Siyasi sahnede erkekler uzun süredir egemen ve kadınlar uzun süre seçim süreçlerinden dışlanmış ya da sınırlandırılmıştır. Siyasi kadın kotalar ise belirli sayıda kadının siyasi görevlere aday gösterilmesini ve seçilmesini sağlayarak süregelen bu sorunla mücadele etmek için tasarlanmıştır. Bu çalışma, kota reformları için kadınların aktivizminin önemini Arjantin ve Fransa örnekleri üzerinden belgelemek amacıyla yapılmıştır. Bu tezde, kadın aktivizminin kota reformu süreçlerinin ana aktörleri olduğunu savunuyorum ve kadın taleplerini, örgütlenmelerini ve ittifaklarını çevreleyen siyasi bağlamları vurgulamayı hedefliyorum. İki ülkedeki kota reformlarında kadın aktivizminin önemini analiz etmek ve karşılaştırmak için feminist process-tracing yöntemini ve her iki ülkeden alınan sistemik, kronolojik örnekleri kullandım.

Anahtar Kelimeler: siyasi partilerde kadın kotaları, cinsiyet kotaları, kadın aktivizmi, parite

To Nevriye Ak.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

UN: United Nations

PARLATINO: Women's Committee of the Latin American Parliament

NGO: Non-Governmental Organization

NOW: National Organization for Women

PJ: Justicialist Party

PPF: Partido Peronista Femenino

UFA: Union Feminista Argentina

Argentinean MLF: Movimiento de Liberacion Femenina

FLH: Frente de Liberacion Homosexual

CEDAW: Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against
Women

PS: Socialist Party

French MLF: Mouvement de la Libération des Femmes

NCW: National Council of Women

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The rights of women, all the rights obtained in the course of history, have arisen from struggles that ended with the inscription of these rights into law. (Claude Servan-Schreiber¹, at a women's gathering in 1994, quoted in Scott, 2007).

1.1. The Subject Matter & Significance of the Study

In March 2021, Argentinean President Alberto Fernandez dedicated much of his annual Congress speech to the rights of women. Argentina had passed the first legislative quota three decades earlier and had more recently become the “most populous” Latin American country to legalize abortion a few months prior to this speech. A couple of months later, The New York Times published an article covering Alberto Fernandez and his “feminist” motives, giving credit to three significant feminist women prominent in political decision-making in Argentina. In June 2021, Emmanuel Macron, the President of France, hosted the UN Generation Equality Forum in Paris. The UN Generation Equality Forum marked the 25th anniversary of the Global Conference on Women in Beijing, which sparked equal gender representation motives in political decision-making (Krook 2009; Piatti-Crocker 2019; Moser & Moser 2005; Dutt 1996). In his opening speech, Macron

¹ Claude Servan-Schreiber was a French journalist who had been involved with the parity process, having been a part of the Women for Parity network in 1995 and campaigning for parity in France with Françoise Gaspard and Colette Kreder.

touched on women's freedom and rights, stressing the importance of autonomy and women's safety from harassment and violence.² A few months prior, however, Macron's government had been criticized by Elisabeth Moreno, the Gender Equality Minister of France, for his failure to display sufficient sensitivity against male violence against women in Congress.³ Nevertheless, under Macron's presidency, there has also been significant progress toward expanding women's legislative representation.

These separate anecdotes about Argentina and France are connected in two ways. First, the foundations, philosophies, and actions behind gender representation and gender equality of both countries display several similarities as both countries are, or have been, regional and global game changers for remedies for overcoming women's underrepresentation in politics (Dahlerup 2003; Bird 2003; Jones 2009; Piscopo 2015). Second, in both countries, the reform processes for positive action for equality in gender representation in political decision-making were orchestrated by a network of women's movements in alliance with the women in political parties, bureaucracy, academia, etc. (Jones 2009; Gaspard 2001; Baudino 2003). A "quota fever" emerged worldwide following the Argentinean Ley de Cupo of 1991, and during the same period, the French parity reform, also known as *parité/paridad*, was raised in the political debate, and evolved into a normative objective, philosophy, and a

² During Macron's term, France adopted four new laws on stopping physical and sexual violence against women, which Macron defined as "the shame of France."

³ Specifically, he was criticized for not reprimanding Gerald Darmainn, who was under investigation for sexual harassment. Darmainn, at the time of accusations, was a newly appointed minister in France. Read More: <https://www.cfr.org/blog/women-week-french-minister-denies-rape-accusations>

necessary instrument for equality in gender representation in the 1990s. (Piatti-Crocker 2019; Piscopo 2015; Krook 2014; Bauer & Dawuni 2016).

This thesis study aims at providing a comparative feminist analysis for comprehending an outstanding reform process legitimizing and institutionalizing positive action, which has been enshrined in transnational feminist activism for more than four decades. Situated at the intersections between politics, gender studies, and regional studies, this descriptive and exploratory study will provide an account of how quota reforms (and the parity principle) came to life within women's activism as an alliance between the civil society and the political society in Argentina and France. The experiences in both countries represent monumental historical events for the emergence of parity; in 1991, Argentina became the first country in the world to adopt a legislative electoral quota for women, subsequently extending it into a parity reform in 2017 (Piscopo and Wylie, 2020). In the presidential election of 2000, France became the first country to adopt parity, that is, 50 per cent legislative electoral quotas for women. In analysing the emergence of parity through a feminist lens, this research aims to reveal the links between local and global women's movements and analyse the alliances forged among women in civil society and the political system within the framework of a feminist methodological concern to comprehend the struggles of women for political rights. This has been a process which had started since the advent of universal suffrage in the last century and was taken up by the second-wave feminist movement. The main goal of this thesis study is to inquire into the foundations of political gender quotas by situating women as the main actors of political reforms. This research specifically aims to highlight how the women's movement in both cases succeeded in carrying transnational debates into

their domestic context and made use of the political openings provided by the changing political context to pressure the male political elites into the establishment of quotas in politics in France and Argentina.

Women in Argentina had been excluded from politics for a long time, and even when women were incorporated into the political system in the Péron era, it was a result of women constituting more than half of the workforce after the Second World War (Deutsch, 1991). Before gender quotas were implemented in the 1990s, women's situation in politics had not changed significantly. Craske (1999) defines three factors for women's exclusion from politics in Argentina. These include the long-reigning authoritarian political system of the country, the gender construction in Latin America where women being active in politics was deemed inappropriate, and the idealized concept of motherhood surrounding women, known as *marianismo*. In the case of France, Gaspard (2001) argues that women were excluded from the French political system as a result of the country's archaic political culture and sexist definitions of democracy. Giraud and Jenson (2001) also argue that the meaning of equality had to be redefined in France and women had to reclaim their own histories in order to challenge the current political system. Argentina and France were chosen as the cases for this thesis study because women from both countries shared a similar history of exclusion from politics and making history through successful campaigns for equal representation in politics.

In their ground-breaking study, Norris and Lovenduski (1995) theorized women's recruitment process leads to parliamentary representation by presenting a supply-and-demand model. They defined the supply side of the recruitment process for

women candidates as the capacity and aspiration of the candidates in terms of eligibility for election and identified the demand side as the receptivity of political parties, elites, and the voters for women for selection and election to political decision-making posts. The adoption and implementation of gender quotas were relevant for the supply of women candidates to overcome the demand for candidates limiting the supply of candidates (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). It was argued that the representation of women could only be improved with the input of women once they acted on their capabilities and their qualifications and started questioning the limited (or lack thereof) demand (Norris & Lovenduski, 1995). Reflecting on their work after more than two decades, Lovenduski (2016) admitted that much of the criticism of their work was concerned about being “too feminist.” This approach is indeed the conceptual basis of this thesis study since research applying feminist methodology can never be too feminist because it challenges the seemingly gender-neutral assumptions of the study and practice of politics.

The gendered institutions of patriarchy marginalized women’s representation in politics (Dahlerup and Leyenaar, 2013). In their effort to theorize women’s representation, Dahlerup and Leyenaar identified six key aspects of male monopoly: under-representation of women in politics, patriarchal norms and practices in politics, unequal gender distribution (over seats and areas), gendered discourses and bias of public policy (Dahlerup & Leyenaar, 2013). Women’s representation would not have achieved its objectives in terms of integrating women into formal politics since the advent of suffrage without the organized activism of women joined by women in political parties (Henig & Henig, 2001). Women employed three different strategies; establishing their own political parties, joining existing political parties,

establishing internal women's groups, and entering the traditional structures of political parties to change the status quo from within (Henig & Henig, 2001, p.46.). Women of the time realised that if they joined existing political parties, they would be able to pressure the male political elites of the parties into giving more attention to issues surrounding women's representation. As a result, in the 1980s, European political parties started implementing internal gender quotas. It is important to note that the spread of quota advocacy legitimized by the potent international and regional feminist focus on the importance of balanced gender representation in legislatures all over the world has been an extension of the Second Wave feminism.

Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis study, it is crucial to revisit the connections between the claims of the Second Wave women's movement which rose out of frustrations with women's continued exclusion from politics and pervasive sexism in all domains of private and public institutions, and the subsequent campaigns behind the introduction of quotas for of equal representation of women in parliaments.

Hence, this study also aims to highlight the background of quota struggles and the trajectory of the Second Wave feminist movement beyond the 1970s. Since the roots of the Second Wave feminist movement represent women's interests in analysing problems deeply- rooted in a patriarchal society (Sarahchild, 1978), and challenging existing understanding of politics (Nachescu, 2009). Women's mobilizations in many countries towards equal representation in politics also led to the expansion and diversification of the women's movement, and to the rise of state feminism, which could be defined as the responsiveness of a government to contribute to the feminist goals of the women's movements. It is important to note that these contributions were the results of women already existing in governments and political institutions

(Lovenduski, 2005). Consequently, women's consistent demands for equal representation in politics have resulted in a global trend of gender quotas. These trends first began as a result of women inside political parties and their campaigns, with examples such as Finland (Holli and Kantola, 2005), Sweden (Bergqvist et al., 2007), and France (Gaspard, 1999). As women were organized regionally, nationally, and transnationally, gender quotas became a global trend, leading to parity of total equality of women and men in political representation.

Electoral gender quotas refer to “policies that require a certain percentage of women candidates of legislators” and “laws or party rules requiring that women make up a certain percentage of a candidate list, parliamentary assembly, committee, or government” (Hughes & Paxton, 2015, p.331-333). Gender quotas in politics regardless of variations in rules and scope aim to make space for a substantial increase in the political presence of women (Krook, 2009). There have been three main types of electoral quotas implemented so far by states or political parties towards promoting women's presence in legislatures: constitutional, legislative, and party quotas (Peschard, 2002). Constitutional quotas are stated in basic laws, such as constitutions. Legislative quotas are established by electoral laws. Party quotas are independent or voluntary quotas implemented by political parties for their internal candidacy procedures (Peschard 2002; Gaspard 2001). However, political parties have always found ways to circumvent gender quotas rules often ensuring that women candidates are placed in unelectable positions or confining them to the bottom of the lists (Hinojosa, 2012). This situation (Krook, 2014; Dahlerup, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer, 2009) led to compulsory quota laws to ensure enforcement (Peschard, 2002), which specified quota type and percentage in the respective

electoral law and provided sanctions for noncompliance with the quota targets and procedures.

In this context, parity, as a special form of quota, refers to a set of reforms, essentially aiming to implement true democracy (Franceschet & Piscopo 2013; Praud 2012) by ensuring equal representation of men and women. Parity is set to “influence transformation” and change feminist debates on equality and representation (Haase-Dubosc, 2000). The parity movement can be traced back to 1992 and 1995, the Athens Charter, and the Beijing Conference (Gaspard 2001; Haase-Dubosc 2000). In its implementation, parity serves as legislative and compulsory gender quotas in political elections, specified and allocated in the respective election law of the country (Peschard 2002). Parity laws provide sanctions if they are not implemented in accordance with the respective Law (Peschard 2002, Gaspard 2001). Nevertheless, what differentiates parity from other types of electoral gender quotas is that parity is not considered a temporary solution to unequal gender representation in politics. Parity serves as a “permanent arrangement of the state” (Piscopo, 2016) and highlights a philosophy of gender representation and gender balance aiming for democratic states (Rodrigues Ruiz & Rubio-Marin 2008; Suk 2013).

Quotas, upon their emergence, quickly became popular since they were, in most cases, seen as the “fast-track approach to improving women’s representation” (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2005). There are many countries where political parties have implemented voluntary quotas for women candidates, such as India, Brazil, South Africa, Taiwan, Malaysia, etc. (Bird, 2003). For example, the DDP in Taiwan adopted a 25 per cent quota in 1995. Currently, Mexico, Tunisia, Belgium, France,

and Argentina are some of the countries that have a 50 per cent candidate gender quota, established by legislative and compulsory laws that are sanctioning all involved parties that do not comply. Women in Tunisia have struggled to challenge and change their authoritarian government, knowing that to have their voice heard in politics, they had to publicly support the existing political party (Goulding, 2009). Following the 2011 revolution, women undertook the task of devising electoral quotas for the new electoral code, a process that took more than five years. In the case of Tunisia, it was important for women activists to strategically force parties to include women in their political recruitment processes⁴ (Belschner, 2022). The case of Bolivia is striking because the country has a parity law and a reserved seat quota applied at the same time, with the reserved seats serving political candidates from indigenous backgrounds. However, Bolivian women struggled to endorse political quotas for women as different from quotas for politicians from indigenous backgrounds. Htun and Ossa (2013) argue that the women's movement for gender quotas in Bolivia was a unified one, where radical, urban feminists and women from the rural areas of the country united to demand representation for women.⁵

The parity movement in France provided a new philosophical approach to representation. In addition to addressing the problem of the under-representation of women, parity in French politics also aimed at democratizing the French political

⁴ Belschner (2022) identifies domestic women's activists as the main force behind the implementation of electoral gender quotas in Tunisia. Women forced for all party lists to contain equal female and male candidates, and have female candidates signed up for at least half of the lists, which is referred to as "horizontal parity quota." (p.112).

⁵ The indigenous movement for political representation in Bolivia was a divided one. While gender quotas and parity served all women from all backgrounds in Bolivia, reserved seats for indigenous candidates were only serving a small portion of the population. Htun and Ossa (2013) argue that parity inclusion via political institutions was found more relatable compared to reserved seats (p.6.).

system through the rejuvenation of French feminism (Baudino, 2003). This took place at a time when there were already policies for reforming unequal political representation in more than one hundred countries (Krook & O'Brien, 2010). As Dahlerup contended, these policies were “a step towards providing real equality of opportunity rather than equality of result” (Dahlerup, 2007, p.88). Sanbonmatsu (2003) held that improving the representation of women's interests in politics depended on increasing the presence of women in office, linking representation to “social characteristics” (descriptive representation) and “acting in favour of constituents” (substantive representation) (Pitkin, 1967; Sanbonmatsu, 2003, p.368). Parity literature analyses the relationship between descriptive and substantive representation based on parliamentary dynamics and the equality of results. Parity, as a methodology and philosophy, aims for equal representation in political decision-making. As Piatti-Crocker (2019) argues, what made parity successful when it resurfaced in the global arena in 2016 was the fact that there were already affirmative action mechanisms towards real equality for women. (Piatti-Crocker, 2019).

Argentina was one of the countries to revitalize its gender representation in political decision-making in 2016, when the parity debate re-emerged (Piatti-Crocker, 2019), eventually leading to the adoption of parity legally in 2017 (Schwindt-Bayer, 2018). The women's movement and networking of feminist women were major cornerstones of gender quotas in Latin America. PARLATINO, Women's Committee of the Latin American Parliament, which was convened in 1964 and institutionalised in 1987 (Htun and Jones, 2002), stated the following: “Equality between men and women is a human right which contributes to promoting democracy and good governance, a key factor for the sustainable development of

states” (Piatti-Crocker, 2019). Parity in Latin America came to be seen as a “philosophical commitment to gender balance and democracy across all state institutions, and it applies beyond the legislature, while national gender quotas were only described as “vehicles toward parity” (Piscopo, 2016). Parity in the region was connected to real equality, which is referred to as substantive or effective equality.

Within the gender and politics scholarship, mainstream research on electoral gender quotas and parity thus far has focused either on the functioning of different versions (Piatti-Crocker 2019; Piscopo 2016; Dahlerup 2007; Krook & O’Brien 2010; Dahlerup 2008; Praud 2012; Hinojosa 2012; Hughes & Paxton 2015; Peschard 2002) or specific quota/parity experiences or comparisons on the implementation problems in selected countries (Gaspard 2001; Bird 2003; Jones 2009; Baudino 2003; Funk et al. 2017). As mentioned before, institutional reforms for engendering equal representation for women in political decision-making almost everywhere were initiated and pursued by a network of women’s movements (Jones 2009; Gaspard 2001; Baudino 2003) which were supported locally and globally. What women expect from quotas and how they make use of them for the broader political transformations for empowerment call for an analysis to build a narrative focusing on the centrality of women’s visions and voices in the adoption of these reforms. Women’s significance as actors should be further recognised and theorised for a more comprehensive portrayal of women’s contributions during the trials and tribulations of the reform dynamics. Hence, a feminist account of the complexities, underlying mechanisms, and the egalitarian implications of the successful quota or parity reforms through highlighting specific aspects of the women’s movements is necessary to assess women’s claims and strategies to legitimize these legal changes

for a gender-equal democracy. In particular, women's contribution to the foundation, philosophy, and introduction of gender quotas and parity is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of the dynamics of the introduction of parity reforms. This calls for looking at the debates raised on them and revisiting their predicaments in the face of male-dominated political norms and practices. Accordingly, this study explores and analyses the significance of the women's mobilizations for their struggles towards political representation, which in most cases proceeded through alliances for political inclusion. Everywhere gender quotas and parity were not simply granted to women, yet their foundations were laid by women, mobilizations and movements for quotas represented movements led by women, and feminists and women in political parties and legislatures were at the forefront of its implementation and monitoring. In both France and Argentina, the legislative changes mandating quotas were adopted as a result of the work of various actors most notably through the efforts of the national, local, and international women's movements. They ultimately convinced male political elites and other detractors of quotas to support and pass the reforms, in particular, the political leaders in the context of the general public orientation which had become increasingly supportive of quotas in politics (Hoodfar & Tajali, 2011, p.119)

In this context, this thesis study attempts to contribute to the extant literature regarding the introduction of quota and parity reforms as a form of feminist institutional change in Argentina and France by focusing on the role of women's mobilizations by feminist activists, theoreticians, women's NGOs, and women politicians in support of electoral and constitutional reform agenda. This thesis contends that a comparative inquiry into women's mobilizations in the two

pioneering cases was the major driving force behind the introduction of quota and parity laws; this actor-centred approach reviews the quota adoption processes in Argentina and France to arrive at specific inferences which highlight women's representative claims, demands and strategies as conditioned by the unique domestic political context (shaped by politically relevant actors and institutions which offered resources for women to tap in as well as obstacles) which constituted uncertainty for the reforms. While there has been an impressive body of work on the significance of international institutions, political debates, and women's objections to parity reforms and narratives of the French and Argentina cases, there is still a need for a more focused account of how women from diverse sectors in France and Argentina united and mobilised to challenge the male-dominated political recruitment and representative processes under the specific circumstances of their political environments, controversies, and cultural contexts impacting their discourses and strategies during the reforms process.

In the years after the adoption of quotas and parity, the literature and gender and politics research came to be focused on the implementation of quotas and the factors impacting their effectiveness through different dimensions of representation. Nevertheless, revisiting women's mobilizations with a comparative concern to put quota debates into perspective one needs to explore the relative significance of their activism besides other enabling factors in both countries. This actor-centred perspective which is attentive to the contextual variables is also crucial to reclaiming the contributions and the historic evolution of feminist activism in engaging with the state towards egalitarian transformations in institutional politics. Therefore, this thesis aims to contribute to the feminist analyses of the quota literature by putting

women's struggles, claims, and strategies in the spotlight to explain a complex process of institutional change by bringing their experiences back into discussions to hear the voice of women and their claims without which quota and parity reforms could not have been achieved. A review of these two paradigmatic cases of successful legislative change, their national contextual differences notwithstanding, calls for a feminist methodological perspective, because the majority of research on parity, along with quota adoption processes, implementation dynamics, and related problems within the disciplinary confines of political science, has not sufficiently projected and integrated a feminist methodological lens to fully comprehend the gendered dynamics of the actors and their constraints and visions. As a gender studies thesis, this study has a concern with putting into perspective the struggles and mobilizations of women across different groups, yet united on a specific objective through a critical feminist reading of the process of quota reforms in Argentina and France, by focusing on women as its main actors. In both countries, women as equality advocates confronted highly patriarchal political cultures, and this study is set to draw inferences to explain what factors exactly made it possible the successful outcomes of feminist reforms at the specific political and historical conjunctures of their adoption in the legislatures.

1.2. Research Questions

This thesis combines descriptive and exploratory research purposes, aiming to answer the 'what' and the 'how' questions to analyse the conditions surrounding women's mobilizations, and alliances which succeeded in persuading the male leaders and parties to support quota reforms toward gender equality in politics in Argentina and France. Accordingly, the major research question of this thesis is the

following: What strategy and claims were employed by women's mobilizations towards the successful adoption of gender quotas in Argentina and parity reform in France? The underlying argument or the starting point holds that women's mobilizations were central to the emergence of quota debates and the adoption of legislative gender quotas and parity in Argentina and France. To dissect the major research question of the thesis, several secondary research questions were formulated:

- 1) How did women's mobilisation reformulate itself to demand equal political representation in post-transition Argentina and during the stagnation of French feminism?
- 2) What was the significance of the political contexts (actors and political equality notions) surrounding women's mobilizations in terms of facilitating the enactment of gender quotas and parity?
- 3) How did women strategize, and formed alliances within politics in Argentina and France and with what kind of claims?

To answer these questions and to draw comparative inferences through an in-depth analysis of the events and a feminist revisiting of the existing literature focusing on the women actors, this thesis inquiries into the processes, discourses, strategies, and the political contexts impacting women's mobilization for gender quotas and parity by comparing and contrasting the French and Argentinean cases.

1.3. Feminist Research Approach and Methodological Concerns

[...] to the effect of a small meteorite hitting the surface of the earth. Following the meteorite's impact, the earth is marked by a small crater that people observe as they walk past it, but the rest of the ground appears relatively undisturbed, and the earth itself continues to spin on its axis as it always did. However, the meteorite's impact does make people somewhat more careful of the soil they till or tread on. (Oakley, 1989, p.462, quoted in Eichler, 1997, p.10).

Eichler (1997) quotes Oakley's comparison of the feminist methodological approach to a meteorite when exploring several branches of feminist methodology. Aiming to be a meteorite in the field of gender quotas and parity, this research employs a feminist approach to feature women's mobilizations and their role in the introduction and implementation of gender quotas and parity reforms in political representation. As such, this qualitative, research will predominantly follow the feminist research approach and its methodological concerns shaping the objectives of research to provide to compare and contrast women's experiences regarding the quota and parity reforms. The comparative approach is utilised to highlight the significance of women's struggles facing both similar and also different challenges under the unique circumstances in their national contexts. Which nevertheless were always shaped by the overarching patriarchal gender dynamics and the marginalization of women in political life. The quota adoption processes of Argentina and France were revised based on secondary resources derived from the case studies for drawing inferences for the major lines of inquiry to be pursued in search of turning points in the history of gender quotas in politics, equality notions for or against quotas, the role of women within political parties and the roles of both women politicians and feminists or quota advocates to promote a quota -friendly public opinion and in the course of the debates. Quota and parity activists in both countries as elsewhere were influenced by the debates and advances in each other's cases and were predominantly shaped by

international women's activism Hence, this thesis also aims to demonstrate how women's global advocacy for and demands for equal representation in politics emerged as a powerful impetus and background variable to induce national change.

The introduction of quota and parity reforms in both countries was also related to the evolution of state policies under new debates and demonstrates how women organised around, with, and against the other political actors to fight for equal representation. Historically, both France and Argentina have had significant histories of women's mobilization through their respective social and political transformations, and yet patriarchal gender regimes had left many areas of public life with significant gender inequalities and discriminatory practices. In unravelling the role of causal actors for the reforms, the study approached women's mobilization as the main factor of quota reforms by providing an account of their identities, discourses and alliance strategies leading to the introduction of quota and parity, utilising a feminist methodology by contextualizing the two cases in the male-dominated political systems.

Feminist research, predominantly utilising feminist methodology, can be described as feminist women producing research for all women (CRIA, 1996). Eichler (1997, p.10) defines feminist research as the following: "feminist research is oriented towards the improvement of the status of women and is undertaken by scholars who define themselves as feminists." Parallel to the rise of the women's movement and mobilization regarding political representation in the 1970s, feminist research started to challenge (Eichler, 1997) existing male-dominated scientific research. Concepts

such as feminist research and feminist methodology are thus the by-products (DeVault, 1996, p.29) of the Second Wave women's movement.

There is much active debate regarding the place of quantitative and qualitative methods in feminist research (Harding, 1986), with several feminist researchers believing that qualitative research is a better way of amplifying the voices of women (Eichler, 1997). Reinharz (1993), in an in-depth analysis of feminist methodologies used by scholars, defined eleven separate features of feminist methodological approaches. As there is no single way of doing feminist research, it is important to emphasize common aspects of the feminist research approach and what methodological concerns, concepts, and theoretical frameworks inform this study. Hammersley (1992) identifies recurring themes in studies employing feminist research. The first recurring theme is a deep concern regarding representations, definitions, and structures of gender. This thesis is also mainly concerned with the representation of women in politics and "injunctions to explore women's experiences [to] study gender differences and relations" (Hammersley, 1992, p.187). Another recurring theme is highlighting the experiences and predicaments of women in patriarchal structures and institutions, which is covered in the main research question and the secondary questions of this thesis. This thesis study aims to bring into a closer focus the feminist grounds of discussion regarding the effectiveness of women's mobilizations vis-à-vis other women, male and female politicians, and gendered public debates before gender quotas and parity reforms.

Reinharz (1991, p.169), when theorizing feminist case studies, argues the following regarding the combination of separate cases: "[...] individual cases are combined to

examine the relation between cases and particular social structures or processes.” As such, the exploratory nature of the study aims at combining the cases of Argentina and France to examine recurring themes, parallel developments or interactions, and the activism of women. In terms of the method of analysis, this thesis will follow political process tracing, which, according to Della Porta and Diani (2015), systematically focuses attention on the institutional and political climate around which social movements organise and is defined as the “examination of intermediate steps in a process to make inferences about hypotheses on how that process took place” (Bennett and Checkel, 2012, p.8). Process tracing was first appropriated from cognitive psychology by George in 1979 to describe the decision-making process of a specific outcome. George later added that process tracing could be used to provide structural reasonings behind a certain historical or political event (Bennett & Checkel, 2012, p.6.). Bennett (2005) defined process tracing as “histories, archival documents, interview transcripts, and other sources to see whether the causal process a theory hypothesizes or implies in a case is, in fact, evident in the sequence of values of the intervening variables in that case” (p.6).

The main argument of this thesis contends that women’s mobilization was the leading factor behind the adoption of gender quota laws as well as the debates and the positive outlook on them on the part of male leaders and the general public. To analyse the relationship between the independent variable (women’s mobilization) and dependent variable (gender quotas and parity reforms), the process tracing approach enables the researcher to examine the causality between these two variables by tracking women’s struggles in the context of changing political contexts. Beach

and Pedersen (2019) argue for a theory-building approach to process tracing, where the aim is to contest theoretical evidence by factually examining the chosen cases:

In its purest form, theory-building process-tracing starts with empirical material and uses a structured analysis of this material to detect a plausible hypothetical causal mechanism whereby X is linked with Y. [...] The analyst examines a typical case to uncover a plausible causal mechanism that can be tested empirically [...] (Beach and Pedersen, 2019, p.60).

Aiming to link women's mobilization with the introduction of gender quotas and parity, this thesis examines the cases of Argentina and France in their specific political contexts. First, by conceptualising women's mobilization as part of going beyond the women's movement and by comparing and contrasting the cases of Argentina and France through process tracing, this research aims to "uncover the causal mechanisms" behind the global emergence and diffusion (Piatti-Crocker, 2019) of gender quotas and parity. This study aims to use secondary resources covering the historical and political contexts of women's mobilization in Argentina and France. Mansbridge (1996) defined the women's movement as "aspirations and understandings that provide conscious goals, cognitive backing and emotional support among women" (quoted in McBride and Mazur, 2008). McBride and Mazur (2008) contended that the women's movement strictly refers to the organisation of women and that "men cannot organise a women's movement" (p.226). As such, this thesis aims to review the historically crucial period of the women's mobilization for parity as part of the women's movement based on the accumulated experiences and the gender debates of the Second Wave feminist movement in the West. Overall, the feminist approach adopted in this thesis study asks questions on the process leading to gender egalitarian institutional change in patriarchal institutions where tracing

women's complex interactions and struggles with the male elites and anti-reform forces call for putting these women's legitimizing discourses and alliance strategies at the centre of its inquiry. As a feminist analysis, the thesis aims to challenge political hierarchy and power, providing an alternative, critical and feminist approach to the historical account of the emergence of quota reforms and the parity debate.

Gorelick (1991) argues that feminist research must consist of: a "...leap from a critique of the invisibility of women to the critique of the critique of the method and purpose of social science itself. From sociology about women to a sociology for women." (Gorelick, 1991, p.459). Andermahr et al. (1997) and Wickramasinghe (2009) argue that feminist research must not be limited to a single discipline, and it must borrow and collaborate with interdisciplinary points of view, which they define as transdisciplinary work. This thesis situates its approach and conceptual and analytical framework at the intersections of political science and gender studies.

There are several approaches to feminist research and a multiplicity of their interpretations. Hammersley (1992) identifies themes that are common in feminist research. According to Hammersley (1992), the prominent recurring theme in feminist research is the concern for the representations, definitions, and structures of gender. This study is concerned with the representations of gender in politics and how women were underrepresented historically. By revisiting the strategies and alliances of women in the cases of Argentina and France, this thesis also aims to explore the representations, definitions, and structures of gender in institutional politics which ultimately became receptive to the calls for gender equality.

Another recurring theme in feminist research, proposed by Hammersley (1992), is the goal of highlighting the subjective experiences of women constituting their agency. While this thesis aims to highlight the significance of women's alliances and mobilizations in the emergence of gender quotas and parity, it also aims to provide an account of women's experiences regarding gender reforms. What were their expectations? What political factors underlie their strategies? These questions will be the basis of further discussions and research surrounding women's equal representation in politics.

An exploration of Second-Wave feminism and its reflections in Argentina and France was necessary to understand the methodological concerns of the thesis since, as the roots of feminist methodology can be traced back to the foundations of Second-Wave feminism. Baxter (2003) argues that the theoretic concerns of Second Wave feminism include honouring the transnationality of women's experiences and criticising the political context surrounding women. This research, partly focusing on the foundations, processes, and implications of Second Wave feminism, aims to represent its theoretical concerns as well.

Bhavnani (1993) argues the following regarding the theoretical concerns of feminist research:

Feminist theorising has always argued that there is a necessity for scientific work to examine its practices, procedures, and theories through the use of historical insights, for it is these insights that bring into focus how knowledge production is a set of social, political, economic, and ideological processes. (Bhavnani, 1993, p.96).

It should be noted that this thesis interprets the ‘historicization of knowledge’ (Bhavnani, 1993) in two aspects. Firstly, this thesis has the objective of utilising secondary resources and feminist and/or non-feminist knowledge to interpret them, produced before this research throughout its conceptualisation, theory, and analysis. As such, the study provides feminist interpretations of historical events in which women from different groups were the agents for political and social change, albeit under specific contextual factors in political ideologies, the configuration of power holders, cultural-ideological patterns, and histories of women’s politicization. A comparative outlook on these historical events will also pay attention to the production of feminist knowledge when it comes to progress in women’s representation in politics throughout the trajectories of the expansion of equality arguments and positive action. In doing so, this research also aims at unravelling the significance of the persistence of women’s mobilizations through the diffusion of ideas into their national political systems which could have been the case in other countries in the world and which would still be an inspiring force for the ongoing or future struggles to transform political structures towards a gender-equal democracy. The introduction and implementation of gender quotas and other progressive and women-friendly politics. Holland and Ramazanoglu (2002) argued that one of the goals of feminist research should be a transformation within gendered institutions. These institutions include states and political parties, the main targets of the feminist women of Argentina and France who demanded more representation in politics

Concerning the point of conducting feminist research on women’s equal representation in politics, this thesis adopts the arguments of Holland and Ramazanoglu (2002), Harding (1987), and Gorelick (1991). Holland and

Ramazanoglu (2002) argue that studies that identify with the feminist methodological approach must aim to provide insightful information on the gendered political experiences of women. Gorelick (1991) argues that feminist research does not only represent an analysis of quantitative or qualitative data on women and that feminist research “must be a part of a process by which women’s oppression is not only described but also challenged” (Gorelick, 1991, p.462). Harding (1987) states that feminist research delves into the contributions of women, and how women have also been leaving marks in the social, economic, and political history of human culture (1987, p.4.).

Deriving from Snow and Trom’s (2002) definition of case studies, this study considers case studies as its main research strategy. According to Snow and Trom (2002), a case study can be a survey and analysis of an instance and an in-depth elaboration of a phenomenon through the utilisation of several methods and procedures. They also argue that the goal of a case study should be “to produce a holistic, that is, richly or thickly contextualised and embedded understanding of the phenomenon or system under investigation (Snow and Trom, 2002, p.150). Reinharz and Davidman (1992) also state that case studies are crucial strategies for qualitative research analysing the impact of women’s agency in particular social and political contexts and argued that feminist case studies provide opportunities to document women’s specific impact and achievements. From a feminist perspective, these objectives also underlie the orientation and the goals of this thesis.

Maddison and Shaw (2007) argued that feminist case studies call for an analysis of local and transnational practices, intending to achieve women’s political and social

demands. They also added that “Where the subject of the research is the women’s movement itself, a case study approach is particularly appropriate, given the often-dispersed nature of movement organisations and groups.” (Maddison and Shaw, 2007, p.404). Thus, it is clear that a comparative case study of the impact of women’s movements on the implementation of gender quotas and parity is the right strategy for the goals of this study.

An important question that needs to be addressed is the reasoning behind the case study choices of this research. Argentina and France were chosen as they represent significant developments in the history of women’s equal representation in politics. As mentioned, Argentina was the first country in the world to mandate and implement legislative gender quotas, and France was the first country to adopt and implement parity via constitutional changes with the potential to transform the representative arena in their respective political systems. The parallels between these two separate but inter-connected cases of reforms calls for an inquiry through a feminist lens to celebrate the achievements of women and also to assess the role of cultural ideological and political context for women’s mobilizations in countries that are yet to implement legislative gender quotas or parity in politics.

Process tracing can be defined as a systematic, chronological analysis of factual evidence to investigate a thesis statement or a hypothesis. The main hypothesis of this thesis is the following: Women’s movements were the main actors in the implementation of gender quotas and the introduction of parity reforms in Argentina and France. This hypothesis will be tested through process tracing conducted on the cases of Argentina and France by identifying the factual developments, supported by

secondary resources, that took place in the 1990s before the legalisation of gender quotas and parity. Through this analysis, this study aims to highlight the common occurrences and similar developments that took place in both countries as a result of women's mobilizations.

Causal analysis, a common element of process tracing, refers to an analysis of the root causes of a problem or a historical event in time (Venesson, 2008). Venesson argues the following regarding process tracing:

The researcher's focus is on learning whether a particular factor can be traced and linked to another. [...] process tracing allows the researcher to look for how this link manifests itself and the context in which it happens. The focus is not only on what happened but also on how it happened. (Venesson, 2008, p.233).

Regarding the scope of process tracing and how much and which information it aims to analyse, George (1979, quoted in Venesson, 2008) argues that process tracing is selective and that it only analyses specific aspects of the chosen event or phenomenon. This results in a common awareness between the researcher and the audience that information or certain events in time might not be mentioned or considered as part of the process of tracing. Furthermore, process tracing is pre-structured, following the intentions set by the researcher in previous chapters, and it aims to provide an account of a "causal path that leads to a specific outcome" (Venesson, 2008, p.235)

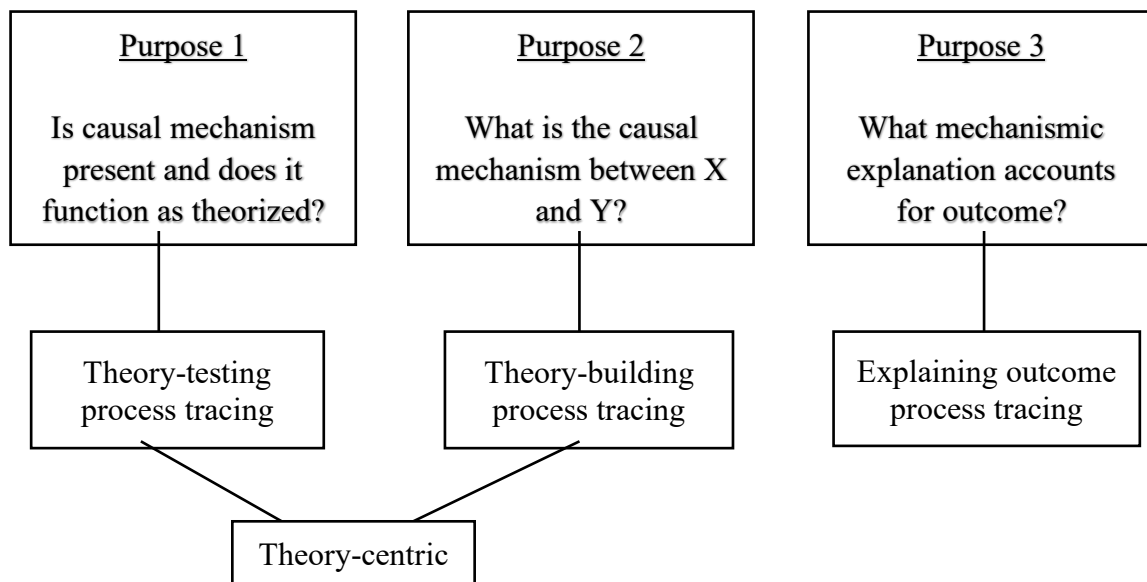


Figure 1. Three Types of Process Tracing **See More:** Beach, D., & Pedersen, R. B. (2012). Case selection techniques in Process-tracing and the implications of taking the study of causal mechanisms seriously. In APSA 2012 Annual Meeting Paper.

There are three variants of process tracing, which can be seen in the figure above.

This study aims to implement a deductive approach to making sense of the analysis of the secondary literature with the help of process tracing which contributes to theory testing at a general level in explaining the timelines of political outcomes. The thesis aims at uncovering the factors mediating the causal mechanism between women’s mobilizations and the introduction of gender quotas and parity in Argentina and France. According to Beach and Pedersen (2012), there are five steps to process tracing. These steps include establishing a causal mechanism based on the hypothesis, framing those causal mechanisms, determining the empirical evidence needed, collecting factual and empirical evidence, assessing the sufficiency of the evidence, and determining conclusions. Process tracing was chosen for this study as it provides a systematic analysis of evidence from two different countries that are connected in more ways than once. Through process tracing, historical and political similarities and differences between both countries are highlighted by considering

factual and chronological evidence showcasing women's mobilizations in Argentina and France.

1.4. The Organization and the Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is comprised of five chapters. The first chapter introduces the topic of the study while highlighting the historical context and how this study will contribute to the existing literature on gender parity in politics. The introduction also lays out the methodological and conceptual plans of the study, as well as provides an overall guideline on the organization of the thesis.

The second chapter focuses on the general background of the legacy and the claims of Second-Wave feminism in terms of the integration of women in political structures which led them to take up the question of transforming existing practices and rules of recruitment and selection in the context of women's lingering underrepresentation in politics and parliaments, decades after the suffrage reforms in democracies. This chapter introduces women's strategies around quotas and parity by providing the global context to the reader. Finally, this chapter concludes with a brief review of gender quotas and parity reforms, providing the reader with historical, political, conceptual, and theoretical context based on different countries.

The third chapter provides a descriptive account of the reform processes in Argentina and France: it looks at Argentina's political context after the democratic transition in the 1980s and contextualizes Argentinian women's struggles towards Ley de Cupo. It also provides an account of France's and French women's debates and campaigns leading to the introduction of parity. All three chapters aim to highlight the

importance of women and their organized efforts toward equal gender representation in politics by underlining the similarities and differences, the respective challenges women faced and the changing political contexts, and ideological and cultural constraints.

The fourth chapter focuses on an analysis of the cases compared with the use of insights from the process tracing approach. This chapter focuses on introducing a feminist way of interpreting political developments surrounding quota reforms in politics through women's strategies, and alliance politics as it analyses the events surrounding the emergence of gender quotas and parity in Argentina and France.

The fifth and concluding chapter of the thesis wraps up the insights gained from these cases by revisiting the history of quota reforms and, and it also mentions specific contributions to the existing literature, and it lays out the ground for future feminist research by highlighting the challenges ahead for women's struggles in extending political citizenship through the effective implementation of quotas and parity.

CHAPTER 2

AN OVERVIEW OF WOMEN'S STRUGGLES FOR POSITIVE ACTION AND GENDER QUOTAS

This chapter aims to provide the reader with background on women's struggles for equal political representation and addresses the question of how the feminist movement contributed to the changes in women's lives in the West. It also develops a framework for analysing the women's mobilizations in France and Argentina as a background for the analysis in the next chapter. The chapter will begin by providing a brief account of the history of women's struggle for political representation and highlight the significant developments in the post-1970s era in the aftermath of Second-Wave feminism. This chapter will provide the theoretical and conceptual frameworks for the main statement of the thesis, i.e., the idea that women were the main actors in the processes of various versions of gender quota introduction in Western Europe. This chapter will also provide an informative assessment of gender quotas and parity, emphasizing the ideological and practical significance of gender-equal democracy.

2.1. The Second-Wave Feminism in the West and Women's Integration into Political Institutions in favour of Changes in Political Representation

Even though women are still underrepresented in parliaments, they have made incredible progress over the years, starting from not having the right to vote in the

late 19th century to make up around 50 per cent of the parliaments of certain countries such as Rwanda and Sweden (Paxton et al., 2006). Historically, the First Wave of the women's movements (circa. The 1840s to the 1920s) focused on women's struggle to achieve the right to vote to empower them as equal citizens and also the obstacles they faced regarding education, employment, and other civil rights. Understanding the dynamics, concerns, and political repercussions the First Wave Feminism is valuable because it underlies women's contest and conquest for political citizenship, which will lay the ground for Second Wave women's movement, as well as the subsequent women's movement and mobilizations for gender quotas and parity.

The roots of First Wave feminism lie in the works of Harriet Taylor and John Stuart Mill. While their work symbolizes a turning point in feminist history, there is much to criticize and learn from. It is important to briefly highlight their work as they lay the foundations of the main criticisms of radical feminism, also known as Second Wave feminism. Taylor and Mill both argued that women had to be granted the political and economic opportunities men had to establish equality between the two sexes (Tong and Fernandes Botts, 2018). While their works are mostly cited simultaneously, they differ regarding their conceptualisation of marriage and marital rights for women (Tong and Fernandes Botts 2018; Mendus 1994; Bodkin 1999).

First Wave feminism, while allocated to different periods in time in different countries, represents women's efforts toward the right to vote and become political citizens. In the USA, its beginning is considered as the organisation of the Seneca Falls Women's Convention in 1948 (Wellman, 1991). In 1878, a women's congress,

the first of its kind, was organized in Paris (Rupp and Taylor, 1999). Transnational efforts for earning the right to vote resulted in New Zealand being the first country to grant women the right to vote in 1893, while Finland was the first European country to do so, in 1906. Argentinean and French women were granted the right to vote later compared to their international counterparts. French women were granted the right to vote in 1944 under Charles de Gaulle's government, while Argentinean women earned the right to vote in 1947 under Peron's government.

There was a rapid improvement in Argentina's democratization processes and debates on the connotations of women's citizenship in the 1940s. Women became more active in the public sphere, and while sexual and reproductive rights were still considered to be matters of the private sphere, there were significant developments that took place in the 1940s. The Communist Party of Argentina was the first political party to initiate debates on the issue of abortion in 1947 and in addition to the Communist Party, Trotskyites were also demanding reproductive rights for women (Bellucci, 1997). The Union of Argentinean Women (Union Argentina de Mujeres, UMA) in support of the Communist Party, released a magazine called *Nuestras Mujeres*, where they problematized the issues rural women of Argentina were facing during the first Péron era (Bordagaray, 2008). The problematization of women by UMA in the *Nuestras Mujeres* magazine is significant because it showcases how they see women as a part of rural Argentina and how they believe women should be subordinates to their husbands (Bordagaray, 2008). Furthermore, Bordagaray (2008) argues that while UMA wanted to highlight the problems of women, they categorized women under their relations to men and not in accordance with their relations with each other and the political structures they live under.

However, UMA's demands for reproductive rights in the magazine must be noted.

Bellucci (1997) provides the following excerpt from the magazine:

[...] in the 50s, it was possible to recognise the stereotyped notion of femininity which allowed us to postulate, perhaps for the first time, the absolute equality of humanness, albeit without analysing how this was related to notions of masculinity (Bellucci, 1997, p.99).



Figure 2. A photograph from women's streetwise riots focusing on women's rights and safety from violence in Argentina. **Source:** Hammer Museum

While the roots of equality debates lead back to the early 1950s in Argentina, the liberation movement for Argentinean women arrives in the country in the 1970s. Following the economic growth of the country in the 1960s in the post-war era, women were more integrated into the Argentinean education system. According to the records of the Argentinean Ministry of Economy, the number of female students in higher education doubled in the post-war era. In addition to women's breakthroughs in education, there was a massive increase in the number of babies born, with this era being referred to as the baby boom (Bellucci, 1997). This is seen

as the expression of Latin American motherhood, which both challenged the reproductive rights Argentinean women had, and provided a base for the incoming Second Wave discourse through which Argentinean women enjoyed the privilege of sexual freedom for the first time (Bellucci, 1997). The introduction of reproductive rights in Argentina has been a process that is in direct alignment with the introduction of political rights, as with reproductive rights women started to challenge their status in society (Bellucci, 1997), and had access to French women's campaigns for sexual rights, which would later lead to French women demanding rights for equal opportunity in politics (Gaspard, 2001).

Even though Argentinean women gained the right to vote in 1947, their expectations from the law were not fully integrated into Argentinean politics. Many aspects of the subordination of Argentinean women, including their sexuality, remained a part of the private sphere and were not discussed publicly by policymakers (Bellucci, 1997). Following the emancipation of Argentinean women, Argentina implemented a 30 per cent gender quota for a short period in the 1950s under the leadership of Eva Péron (Tajali and Hoodfar, 2011). As a result of this brief gender quota, women's representation in Argentinean politics increased to 22 per cent, which resulted in Argentina being the country with the fourth-highest representation of women during that period (Krook 2010; Tajali and Hoodfar 2011). This high representation of women did not last long as the coup d'état took place in 1955, resulting in a massive drop in women's representation to 2.2 per cent (Tajali and Hoodfar, 2011).

Nevertheless, the Argentinean women's presence in politics was seen as an extension of their motherhood, which is later challenged in the 1970s and 1980s. Argentinean

feminist pioneers translated works of feminists from other countries⁶, organized riots, and published documents. These documents were focused on the conceptualisation of the sexuality of women and representations of motherhood. It is important to highlight the impact of French feminists on the mobilizations of Argentinean feminist leaders in the early 1970s. However, the case of Argentina differs from the French case in several aspects. The Argentinean feminist movement of the 60s and the 70s focused on the sexual representation of women and the concepts of motherhood and stayed separated from the discourses of the New Left. The Argentinean feminist movement was not involved with any of the labour or left-wing movements, especially with any of the campaigns that took place following the emergence of upgraded armed forces in the 1970s. In the European and the French case, however, the feminist movement leading the debates for equal representation and reproductive rights was led by left-wing feminists, with the Socialist Party (PS) in France becoming the first political party to implement a 30 per cent voluntary gender quota in the early 1970s (Gaspard, 2001).

Even though French women were granted the right to vote and the right to become political candidates in 1944, they were not able to participate in local politics as provisioned. In 1946, only 5 per cent of the French National Assembly was women. (Krook, 2010). The right to vote for French women was granted as a result of their loyalty to Charles de Gaulle during Marshal Pétain's authoritarian regime (Chaperon,

⁶ Bellucci (2017) provides that these translations are radical and liberal feminist texts from North American, Italian, and French sources.

2012).⁷ The right to vote, which was ordered on April 21, 1944, was debated, and decided in Algiers. According to Chaperon (2012), the debates surrounding the order in Algiers were male political elites sharing their concerns towards an over-feminization of politics as most male war prisoners were not back in the country yet. In addition to this concern, women's votes were considered to be conservative and representative of Catholic tendencies.



Figure 3. Young French feminists rioting for the right to vote with banners stating that French women demand the right to vote. **Source:** SiSiLesFemmes

This is parallel to the idealisation of women in Argentina as representatives of the private sphere. In both countries, the right to vote had not changed the conceptualisations and the experiences of women and their equal representation in the private and public spheres. Christine Auvray, who was one of the first women to

⁷ Chaperon (2012) adds that Charles de Gaulle was in London when he found out about Pétain overtaking the French state, after which de Gaulle hosted a radio program asking for all citizens, including women, to side with him.

vote during the first election in France in 1944, shared her memories of the moment, stating that she was not aware of the power voting granted to her and to French women overall (Colvin, 2017): “I voted like my husband. I was not the only one. I had no personal opinion at the time. I posed all my questions to my husband. In the beginning, I asked him for advice [...] I knew nothing about politics. In our day, nobody told us about it. And we women did not talk about (politics) so much with each other.” (Colvin, 2017, p.153).



Figure 4. Irene Joliot-Curie⁸ and Gilberte Brossolote⁹ photographed voting for the first time in 1944. **Source:** France24, French Government Archives

⁸ Irène Joliot-Curie won the Nobel Prize for Chemistry in 1935 and was a pioneering feminist figure for French women in the 1930s and 1940s.

⁹ Gilberte Brossolote was the wife of French hero Pierre Brossolote and she was leading campaigns for French women’s liberation during the time.

Overall, enfranchisement for French women did not result in the total liberation and emancipation of French women. Colvin (2017) argues that the two main results of the enfranchisement were that French women's contributions to the Resistance were recognised and France was finally caught up with the Great Powers¹⁰ in terms of democratization (p.160). Colvin (2017) also covers the French concerns about the over-feminization of politics, stating that men in France felt that voting for women would mean that they would lose their feminine side and would not be interested in pleasing their husbands. Colvin (2017) shares a quote from Louise Weiss which highlights how the right to vote did not change the status of French women, both politically and sociologically:



Figure 5. A photograph from Christine Auvray's memories from voting for the first time in 1944. **Source:** France24

¹⁰ Colvin (2017) argues that the enfranchisement of French women was a strategy for France to retain and regain their status as a Great Power and was not considered as an actual reform for the status of French women.

During the electoral meetings I had the pleasure of attending, either from the audience or from the stage, I noticed that the candidates spoke to the women only about soup, bottle, steak, laundry, gas, or metro prices. They did not give them any sense of the general order of things. Sometimes they ventured to talk to them, in slightly higher terms, about their role in the home, their role as educators, but never about the relations between France and England, the United States, Russia, our economic or colonial interests, or details of the future constitution. It was pitiful. (Colvin, 2017, p.164).

Jayawardena (2016) argued that feminism and the women's movement were not orchestrated by the states in the Western world. Instead, feminism and the women's movement represent the political climate, ideological status, and historical developments that created opportunities for women's mobilization. The First-Wave women's movement focused on political citizenship and the right to vote. The Second Wave, in contrast, emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s with a focus on the liberation of women, equal reproductive rights for women, and equal representation for women in decision-making processes, including national and international politics. This shift was a result of successfully achieving suffrage for women, which pushed women to demand increased political representation as having the right to vote did not exactly mean being fully represented in politics (Jayawardena 1986, quoted in Paxton et al., 2006).

The origins of Second-Wave feminism are complex, representing two major branches rooted in North American feminism. The seeds of the Second Wave of the women's movement were planted in the 1953 UN Convention on the Political Rights of Women, as the UN records suggested a strong ambition to achieve equality between both sexes, especially regarding political rights (Paxton et al., 2006). The Second Wave feminism also represents the disappointment following the

developments that took place and the rights gained (such as the right to vote for women) during the First Wave feminism. Molony (2017) argues that Second Wave feminism occurs between the early stages of the 1960s and all through the 1970s. The early 1960s are imprinted by Betty Friedan and her strong argument that feminism was “dead” at the time (Thornham, 2004). To revive feminism, Betty Friedan founded the most powerful (Thornham, 2004) feminist organization of Second -Wave feminism: The National Organization for Women (known as NOW), in 1966 and established one goal: sustaining the full participation of women in American politics and society (Thornham 2004; Zeitz 2008). Sponsored by NOW, the Women’s Strike for Equality that took place in the USA in 1970 showcased women raising consciousness on many issues, ranging from equal pay, marital rights, and property rights (Zeitz, 2008).

Western ideas of womanhood were similar in the Argentinean and French patriarchal cultures upholding the idea that women were mothers, child-bearers, and representatives of the home, despite various measures taken towards women’s equal representation in politics. Then in the early 1960s, Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique* challenged the patriarchal belief that women’s only role in society was reproduction and caretaking. Women activists at the time were divided into two groups in the USA. The first group of women, mostly middle-aged, were a part of women’s organizations and commissions led by the state, such as the President’s Commission on the Status of Women, founded by President John F. Kennedy in 1961 (Zeitz, 2008). The first group of women worked through and with the state and NOW to enforce legal reforms regarding the economic and political rights of women. The second group of women was younger, “radical” activists who aimed to challenge

issues regarding women's bodies and sexuality and wanted no cooperation or coordination with male allies (Zeitz, 2008). A strong representative of the latter group of women, Kathie Sarachild, founded two organizations for women: Redstockings and New York Radical Women (Zeitz, 2008). In her own words, Sarachild argues that the main goal of these groups was to touch on subjects that NOW refused to lobby around, including, for example, this group's public protest of the Miss America contest in 1968 (Sarachild, 1978).



Figure 6. A photograph from the Miss America protests in 1968. **Source:** History.com/Getty Images

How did feminist women of the Second Wave analyse their oppression in their societies? The answer, according to Nachescu (2009), is consciousness-raising groups. Sarachild, who invented the term consciousness-raising (Zeitz, 2008), defines it as the most important stage of an intensive commitment to guaranteeing equal, radical rights for women (Sarachild, 1978). Consciousness-raising groups represent women-only events where women could discuss issues related to their

rights. It was an active decision by women to focus on their interpretations of events and their experiences, and they aimed to challenge the current political trends of the time by arguing that the personal was political (Nachescu, 2009). In the Argentinean and French cases during the 1950s- and 1960s-women's presence in society and politics was also limited to the private sphere: their homes. Even when women were involved in political discussions, they were confined to matters of the private, which radical feminists challenged as a part of the Second Wave feminist movement and claimed that what is personal and private represents the deep-rooted subordination and under-representation of women.

As mentioned above, a significant course of action in Second Wave feminist events in history was the President's Commission on the Status of Women, founded by John F. Kennedy. This turning point depicts the roots of state feminism, which represents feminist women of the women's movement pursuing their goals "through public policies from inside the state apparatus" (Lovenduski, 2005, p.4). Sawyer (1990, quoted in Lovenduski, 2005) provides two aspects of state feminism: feminists in the existing government of the state and the government's willingness to contribute to the feminist goals of the women's movement. While the foundations of state feminism represent the institutionalisation of feminism (Krook and Mackay, 2011), it also highlights how women were not represented enough in these institutions (Mackay, 2011). In the cases where state feminism has progressed, such as Finland (Holli and Kantola, 2005), West Germany (Kamenitsa and Geissel 2005; Naumann 2005), and Sweden (Sainsbury 2005; Naumann 2005; Gelb 1989; Bergqvist et al. 2007), the progress was a result of voluntary political quotas implemented by political parties (Dahlerup 2008; Dahlerup and Freidenvall 2011; Besley et al. 2017).

The 1970s represented a period when women everywhere realized the lack of substantial equality between women and men. This resulted in a shift in the women's movement (Freeman 1973). Paxton et al. (2006) argued that the discourse of the Second Wave women's movement contested the total, complete inclusion of women. The UN announced 1975 as the International Women's Year and also declared 1975-1985 as the Decade for Women (UN 2000, quoted in Paxton et al., 2006). The First World Conference on Women was held in Mexico in 1975, where the UN directed attending states to emphasize developments on women's equal representation in politics. Quoting Galey (1995), Paxton et al. (2006) also highlight the changes in the discourses of the UN, especially during the 1980 UN Second World Conference on Women. UN records convey a systematic interest in overcoming the lack of women in decision-making posts in politics.



Figure 7. A German stamp from the year 1975, Year of the Women. **Source:** Self scanned on Wikipedia



Figure 8. A photograph from the World Conference on Women that took place in Mexico in 1975. **Source:** UN. <https://www.un.org/en/conferences/women/mexico-city1975>

Similar to Jayawardena (2016), Paxton et al. (2006) also highlight how women aimed to use the UN as a tool to initiate developments regarding women's representation. The 1970s was a significant period since it represented the shift from contesting political inequality to demanding equal representation and integration in the public sphere for women. The women's movement managed to put pressure on states to include more women in politics. Hence, historically, both the First Wave women's movement and the Second Wave women's movement have been responsible for the global attention on issues regarding women's equal political representation, and yet women's frustration with the lack of progress in political representation and lack of improvements in their private and public experiences laid the grounds for further legal development: gender quotas in politics.

The Second Wave women's movement also ushered in new organizations, the discovery of a sense of community (feminist solidarity), and sharing their newly gained wisdom regarding political representation with each other (Rosen 2000). The movement became widespread in a short period and represented feminist women

from all backgrounds, “ranging from decentralized radical feminist groups to more conventionally organized national political organizations” (Staggenborg and Taylor, 2005, p.37). For example, in Peru, following the coup d’état that took place in 1968, economic and social reforms were introduced by the government that planted the seeds for grassroots movements to flourish. Women from the political Left that identified with the feminist discourse formed organizations inspired by the Cuban and Chinese Revolutions and the World Conference on Women that took place in 1975 (Blondet, 2018, p.253).¹¹



Figure 9. Chilean feminists marching for their social and political rights in the 1970s. **Source:** Duke University Department of History

In Chile, women’s mobilizations can be traced back to the 1970s, with women collectively rioting against the existing military regime. Frohmann and Valdes (2018) argue that women’s invisibility in Chile helped them become political actors

¹¹ The grassroots organizations formed by women in the 1970s include Flora Tristan Center for Peruvian Women, Women’s Socialist Front, and Manuela Ramos Movement (Blondet, 2018).

because it was too dangerous for other political actors to riot against the existing regime (p.281). Feminist women of the Chilean women's movement were middle-class women who criticised the social and political subordination of women, and the contributions of these women who had prior experiences in political parties helped shape the roots of the Second Wave movement in the country (Frohmann and Valdes, 2018). In Brazil, it was working-class women who led the demands for more social and political rights for women. These rights included health care, education, and workplace conditions (Alvarez 1990; Soares et al 2018). Working-class women were later joined by middle-class Brazilian women who later challenged existing political conditions inspired by parallel developments in the region (Alvarez, 1990).

2.2. Activism and Pressures towards the Gender Quotas in Politics: Objectives and Versions

As Steinem (2019) reflected, women's movements in history had not always started once and come to an end. There was, in fact, never an end point because movements and ideas transfer and reproduce themselves. In this sense, the trajectory of the women's movements for equal gender representation in politics could be seen as an extension of the women's suffrage movement. It is the granddaughters of suffragettes who struggled to improve women's presence in politics and to deal with the problems of inclusion and gendered dynamics of recruitment. To understand women's mobilizations and alliances to achieve equal representation, it is important to discuss the ways through which women sought to obtain more representation in politics.

Developments on gender quotas in politics have been on the international agenda since the 1990s, with various types of discussions and implementations all around the world. However, the story does not begin in the 1990s. The emergence of gender quotas in politics can be traced back to the 1930s, with ten nations experimenting with gender quotas between 1930 and 1980 (Krook, 2010). A brief example is Eva Péron, the wife of the Argentinean president Juan Peron, who was influential in the introduction of suffrage for women in 1948. Eva also successfully campaigned for gender quotas for the Argentine Chamber of Deputies in 1951, which led to resulting in 15 per cent of women deputies, the highest of any country at the time (Jones, 2009). Different types of gender quotas and varying arguments for and against them have surfaced throughout these years and leading up to the 21st century. For this thesis, this section provides the political and historical context of gender quotas for crucial insights into the French and Argentinean cases in the next chapters.

A significant factor in the emergence of gender quotas in politics was impatience since women were not willing to wait any longer to achieve equal representation in politics (Dahlerup, 2003). Gender quotas, according to Dahlerup (2008, p.323), represent “a redistribution of power and recognition of women’s under-representation as a democratic problem.” Women’s lack of representation was not always categorized as a democratic problem since politics has always been analysed and experienced through patriarchal “codes and standards” (Peschard, 2003). As Dahlerup argues: “chances are never equal for women as long as male standards are the norms” (Dahlerup, 2007, p.75).

An adequate discussion of gender quotas must include elements that are parallel to the suffrage movement, such as problematizing women's representation and recruitment (Norris & Lovenduski 1995) and linking the regional (Fauré, 2003), international (Youngs, 2013) and transnational (Booth 1998; Smith 1998; Mahler 1998; Naples 2004) women's movements and solidarity. Conceptually, it must additionally include theorizing male monopoly and women's agency (Dahlerup & Leyenaar, 2013), situating women's movements for gender quotas as a formative movement (Hughes & Paxton, quoted in Dahlerup, 2013), and analysing the transnational feminist movement and its dimensions of gender inequality and balance of power (Naples et al., 2002).

There are various types and multiple implementations of gender quotas. Peschard (2003) introduces three main types of political gender quotas: constitutional, legislative, and party(voluntary) quotas. Constitutional quotas are stated in basic laws, such as constitutions. Legislative quotas are established by electoral laws. Party quotas are independent quotas implemented by political parties for their internal candidacy procedures (Peschard 2003; Gaspard 1999). However, Hinojosa (2012) argues that political parties have always found ways around gender quotas, making sure women are placed in unelectable positions. This has historically (Krook, 2014; Dahlerup, 2007; Schwindt-Bayer, 2009) led to compulsory quota laws (Peschard, 2003), which specify quota type and percentage in the respective electoral law and provide sanctions if the law is not implemented properly.

As women's groups arrived at the realization that political gender quotas could contribute to an increase in women's representation, they started mobilizing and

exchanging knowledge (Bruhn, 2003). Regarding the multiplicity of women's organizations and expectations about gender quotas, Krook (2010) introduces "region-specific repertoires of female representation" and explains how quotas were a part of "learned, shared and experienced" regional political contexts. An example of these regional contexts is the Social Democratic Party in Sweden, which introduced a zipper quota in 1993. (Besley et al., 2017). A zipper quota refers to political parties alternating candidate lists between men and women (Besley et al. 2017; Krook 2009; Dahlerup 2008). Tunisia is another country that implemented a zipper quota as a result of local demands (Krook, 2010). In Germany, the concept of gender quotas was first introduced in the 1970s as women politicians of the Social Democrats (also known as SPD) demanded a reform in the internal party structures since male politicians dominated the decision-making posts in the party (Davidson-Schmich, 2006). Since then, four major political parties have voluntarily implemented gender quotas in Germany (Xydias 2007; 2014). Bick (2019) also points out that the Green Party of Germany voluntarily enforces a 50 per cent gender quota, also known as parity, which as result provides for a higher representation of the Green Party's women delegates in the parliament.

The case of Sweden was unique as even before the prominent political parties in the country introduced voluntary gender quotas, women were making up more than 30 per cent of the parliament (Moon et al, 2008). Compared to Sweden, in Germany women were making up lower than 10 per cent of the parliament when voluntary quotas were introduced (Moon et al, 2008). Moon et al (2008) argue that Nordic countries Sweden, Norway and Denmark represented the incremental track argument of Dahlerup and Freidenvall (2006) where a gradual improvement of women's

presence in politics is observed as the society develops over time. Opposite to the incremental track, the fast-track approach denies the concept of a gradual improvement. Representative of this approach is Germany, where it is believed that equal representation in politics will not take place gradually over time but will take place through policies (Dahlerup and Freidenvall, 2006). Seven parties in total have adopted voluntary gender quotas in Sweden, with the Green Party adopting a 50 per cent internal quota in 1987 and as result stealing many voters from the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party (SAP) which only implemented a 50 per cent quota in 1993 (Moon et al, 2008). Other parties to implement quotas include the Left Party (a 50 per cent quota in 1987), Liberal Party (a 50 per cent quota in 1984), Christian Democratic Party (40 per cent in 1987), Moderate Party (50 per cent in 1993) and Center Party (50 per cent in 1996). These quotas were implemented as a result of the campaigns and debates led by women's policy agencies in the Swedish government, such as the Ministry of Gender Equality and the Equality between Men and Women Advisory serving the Prime Minister (Moon et al, 2008). Furthermore, the Swedish government was inspired by the UN Conferences on Women in 1980 and 1985 and demanded an improvement in women's political representation and status in the country (Moon et al, 2008).

A similar case is seen in Germany, where a total of four political parties have implemented gender quotas including the Left Party (50 per cent in 1990), The Green Party (50 per cent in 1986), the Christian Democratic Union (33 per cent, 1996) and Social Democratic Party of Germany (40 per cent, 1988). Quota rules and issues on women's representation in Germany were not discussed often until women's mobilizations, combined with the efforts of the Green Party, induced a change in the

perception of gender in the country (Moon et al, 2008). The main reason for this was the conservative parties such as the Christian Democratic Union ruling the country for prolonged years following the end of the Second World War. Since these parties were focused on the idealisations of family and motherhood, they proposed policies that were not friendly towards women (Moon et al, 2008).

Hughes and her colleagues (2019) define national electoral gender quotas as “quotas that regulate (s)election to national legislatures through constitutional provisions” (p.220). In their classification of quotas, different from Peschard (2002), they divide national electoral quotas into two categories: reserved seats and candidate quotas. Reserved seats refer to “a certain seat share for women, regardless of the number of women candidates or nominees. (Hughes et al., 2019, p.220). According to recent data from IDEA, 44 countries have introduced reserved seats, including Iraq, India, Jordan, Pakistan, UAE, Taiwan, Sri Lanka, etc. Candidate quotas require all political parties to comply with a certain percentage of women candidates indicated by the election law (Hughes et al., 2019).

Krook defines reserved seats as appointing a predetermined number of seats to women representatives and party quotas as the will to increase women’s representation in a certain political party through internal party reforms (Krook, 2007). Reserved seats ensure the election of women, rather than merely appointing them to electable positions (Dahlerup, 2005).). In the case of Pakistan, a reserved seat quota was introduced in 1973 for the upcoming three elections that would take place in the country. This quota significantly increased the representation of women in parliament but was halted in 1988. Reserved seat quotas were later introduced in

2002. According to Mufti and Jalalzai (2021), despite the reserved seat quota, political party elites in the country did not believe in the political potential of women, and only women from higher social classes with extensive resources were nominated for these seats as they were trusted with the task of rallying more votes to the party through their resources (Mufti and Jalalzai, 2021, p.107).

Party quotas refer to political parties committing themselves to contribute to women's representation in politics by nominating women and implementing a gender quota in their statutes without a legal obligation (Caminotti, 2016). Reflecting the argument that the key actors of electoral gender quotas are political parties (Murray et al., 2012), party quotas contain various dynamics and multiple reasons behind their implementation. These could be efforts to adapt and embrace social equality (Opello, 2006), attempts to attract female voters (Meier, 2004), and controlling or defeating political rivals through inclusion strategies (Baldez, 2004; Gaspard, 1999). It is important to keep in mind that countries that have legislative quotas can also have party quotas because party quotas are voluntary. For example, PJ (Justicialist Party) parties in Argentina had voluntary party quotas, varying regionally between 30 and 50 per cent, although later on Argentina adopted legislative gender quotas encoded in their national electoral law in 1991.

Legislative quotas, the basis, and the core focus of this thesis, are implemented through legal and/or constitutional reforms that require political parties to nominate a predetermined proportion of women (Krook, 2007). Legislative quotas first appeared in the 1990s and have been implemented in various ways, dependent on the electoral system of the country (Baldez 2004; Jones 1998; quoted in Krook, 2010). Legislative

quotas contained sanctions for cases of non-compliance, with sanctions usually being financial sanctions cutting off governmental support for political parties (Gaspard 1999, Krook 2010, Dahlerup 2007, Peschard 2002). As Norris (2006) and Jones (1998) also noted, legislative quotas were more effective because they are imposed by the state and not party leaders. This means that all political parties, and not just the ones with party quotas, are required to implement the law, provided that they are endorsed by effective sanctions and monitoring. Another reason why legislative quotas are more impactful is that their wording emphasizes a need for compliance since the wording is argued to be a significant factor in the impact of gender quotas (Htun 2002; Htun & Jones 2002). Legislative quotas differ from reserve seats because they oversee and impact the candidate selection processes of political parties, which directly affects the number of women in parliament (Krook, 2010).

Dahlerup (2013), elaborated on women's mobilization towards equal gender representation in the West and identified women's agency through their methods as raising consciousness, challenging norms, and establishing activities that will reshape the political culture. Women's agencies, according to Dahlerup (2013), can be divided into five main groups. The first group is active women in political parties who aim to hire and train women inside the party to campaign for gender quotas. The second group is independent feminists who join public discussions, organize meetings with women candidates and persuade agencies to support women. The third group is grass-roots feminist movements that organize through cultural activities and consciousness-raising efforts. The fourth group is public gender policy agencies that develop campaigns targeting the government. The fifth and final group is gender and women's studies scholars who contribute to the existing knowledge through

research. Dahlerup and Leyenaar (2013) also underlined the importance of women's agency by arguing that the differences between women's representation in countries reveal the strength of women's agency in those countries.

Hughes et al. (2019) define women's agency as "multi-faceted," and Desai (2002) points out that women's agency is fluid, existing simultaneously in various spaces. These spaces could be local grass-roots movements, NGOs, and transnational feminist networks (Desai, 2002). To understand the nature of women's movements, a conceptual background on these spaces must be provided. The local or regional can be defined as a space of politicization where feminist activists come together to analyse the political and social limits to women's representation (Naples, 1998). Naples and Desai (2002) quote Dickinson and Schaeffer (2001)'s analysis of local and argue that the local is where activists work together to build an equal world by creating inclusive networks and opportunities for themselves. The local is where the women's movement started, and as a result, women have been able to create "cross-class, cross-race, cross-national" coalitions that are diverse in experiences and resources (Naples & Desai, 2002). The word 'international' has been used many times throughout the literature on women's movements and also by feminist women in their political discourses. However, Youngs (quoted in Naples, 1998) argues that the word international is problematic because it has historically contributed to the hierarchies of knowledge and power that have been hindering women. Gallegos (2017) provides a detailed account of the concept of internationality versus transnationality.

Gallegos quotes Swarr and Nagar's (2012) argument that the concept of an 'international' feminism "adheres to nation-states borders" and does not pay enough attention to the power structures surrounding globalisation (p.234). Gallegos supports this argument by quoting Mohanty's critique of internationality and its lack of intersectionality, as the concept "colonizes and appropriates the pluralities of [...] women" (p.234). The concept of transnationality is offered instead of the concept of internationality (Naples,1998). Transnationality can be defined as any actor or organization that is international in nature (Booth, 1998, quoted in Naples, 1998), but what makes it different is that transnationality focuses on the simultaneous everyday experiences and practices of ordinary people (Mahler, 1998, quoted in Naples, 1998). Naples (1998) concluded by defining transnational political spaces as the result of opposing and parallel projects operating at multiple levels of the global system.

Transnational women's movements considered gender as a uniting force for feminists; gender determines women's access and control to equal political representation (Steans, 2007). This has resulted in transnational politics of women's representation becoming a hub of diversity (Steans, 2007). However, this has not always been the case. Naples and Desai (2002) point out that while analysing transnational feminist networks, inequalities of resources and limits to access must be addressed. The word transnational should be "celebrating individuality and modernity" (Grewal & Kaplan 1994, quoted in Naples, 1998) and must evoke the differences in feminist organizing between first-world and third-world feminist organizations (Alexander & Mohanty, 1997, quoted in Naples, 1998).

In more recent work, Gallegos (2017) tracked how feminists could create solidarity networks across borders and identified two main strategies for transnational feminist solidarity: identity-based and goal-based (p.233). Pursuing the history of transnational feminist networks, Gallegos quoted Conway (p.234) and attributed the establishment of transnational feminist networks to two historical developments: a series of UN conferences (especially the 1995 conference in Beijing) and conferences and forums organized by local and international NGOs. Conway (2017) studied the practices of transnational feminist movements by following several transnational feminist organizations over eleven years. Naples (1998) argued that transnational feminist organizations were facing a systemic translation problem of naming. Debates on the politics behind choosing the correct terminologies that can convey the diverse conceptualisations of transnational feminists were prominent. Hence, Conway (2017) later argues that special attention must be paid to the “specific linguistic and cultural flows that constitute various transnational feminisms” (p.31), demonstrating a new methodological direction toward a culture of translation.

Krause (1996, quoted in Naples, 1998) argued that middle-class, well-educated white women held prominent roles in national and ‘international’ feminist organizations.

Understanding the conceptualization of transnationality, in this case, is a must.

Gallegos (2017) concludes by arguing for transversal politics, defining it as establishing solidarity networks among different groups of women and “showcasing how individuals in different social locations can [...] share the same values [...] and goals” (p.249). Sharing these same values and goals were transnational organizations of women who have aimed to obtain equal gender representation in politics through

gender quotas and parity. The next section of this chapter will provide an account of women's movements for the introduction of gender quotas and parity to provide political and historical context as a background to an in-depth analysis of the processes and contexts of Argentina and France.

Krook (2010) argued that quota policies around the globe point towards recurring patterns concerning their spaces, places, contexts, and timings and states that women's movements for gender quotas share a transnational link. Women's strategic alliances represent the historical roots of their political learning, mobilization, and transnational interactions, while also running debates and campaigning for changes in the legislature (Lovenduski, 2005). As Henig rightly contended, women designed several strategies to fight the political context surrounding the quota movement. One of these strategies was the claim that political parties were an extension of patriarchy, meaning that women began organizing outside of political parties and ended up developing women-only organizations. Another strategy was to purposefully join political parties to establish internal networks of women politicians. An extension of this strategy was to change political parties as active members of the party, which allowed women politicians to form closer relationships and put pressure on the political elites of the party (Henig, 2002, 43-49).

While the 1960s represented a period where women fought for and made progress towards obtaining their marital, property, and reproductive rights, the 1970s represent a shift towards political representation in the women's movement. Henig (2002: 44) described the 1970s as a period where the pressure for change within political parties was prevalent and where women started to complain about male

dominance in internal party dynamics. In the French Socialist Party (PS), activists contended that quotas were key in attracting female voters to the party. Another example is the UK, where the Liberal Democrats and the Social Democratic Party established internal regulations approving quotas: there would be one women candidate in every submitted candidate list (Krook and Squires, 2006).

This thesis argues that women's movements and mobilization have been the main actors in the introduction of gender quotas and parity and compares and contrasts the cases of Argentina and France to prove its point. In this light, the next chapter of the thesis will highlight women's movements and mobilizations in Argentina and France, starting from the 1970s until the introduction of gender quotas.

CHAPTER 3

WOMEN'S MOBILIZATIONS IN ARGENTINA AND FRANCE UNDER THE STAGNATION OF POLITICAL EQUALITY: THE PRESSURES FOR POSITIVE ACTION TO TRANSFORM THE PUBLIC AGENDA

The second wave women's movement and mobilizations have impacted the lives of women in more ways than one, including their equal representation in politics.

Women's struggle towards gender quotas and parity in politics have resulted from the rights gained previously by women. The regional, national, and transnational networks endorsed and created by women have been vital in the process of adopting and implementing gender quotas.

This chapter of the thesis provides the patriarchal and the political context, focusing on how the Second Wave women's mobilizations have emerged regionally, and how these mobilizations have impacted women's status and journey towards equal political representation in France and Argentina. This chapter aims to highlight the role of women's mobilizations in Argentina and France in the 1970s and 1980s, leading to major changes with regard to the political representation of women in the 1990s. The chapter will conclude by introducing the political climate and the structure of political opportunities for women's equal representation in politics in the 1990s, orienting the analysis towards the next chapter, where a comparative process tracing analysis is done on the cases of Argentina and France.

3.1. The Second Wave Women's Movement and Its Legacy in Argentina

In 1990, before Argentina became the first country in the world to adopt gender quotas to ensure women's equal representation in politics (Jones, 1996), the proportion of women in Argentina's parliament was 6 per cent (Krook, 2010).

Despite the low percentage, Argentinean women's efforts toward equal representation in politics can be traced back to the 1950s. Supported by the Socialist party (Deutsch, 1991), Argentinean women were first granted the right to vote in 1927, which was later detracted in the aftermath of the 1930 coup (Przeworski et al., 2014). When Eva Peron, the first wife of populist president Juan Peron who came to power in... became the Women's Secretary of the Labour Party, she campaigned for women's suffrage once again (Wellhofer, 1977). The decree law was passed in 1947, and in the 1949 constitutional reform, it was ratified (Przeworski et al., 2014).

Following Argentinean women's enfranchisement, Justicialist Party (PJ), founded by General Juan Domingo Peron in the 1940s (Little, 1973), declared the idealistic goal of a 30 per cent quota for women (Molinelli 1994, quoted in Krook, 2010) as a part of their organizational and institutional expansion strategy in 1949 and onwards (Little, 1973). At this stage in time, Argentina ranked fourth in the world concerning the representation of women, trailing behind East Germany, the Soviet Union, and Mongolia (Krook, 2010).

Latin American nationalisms are constructed as "highly gendered relationships" (Scott 1986 and Anderson 1991 cited in Radcliffe, 2005, p.141), and women are, essentially, not expected to be national citizens (Anderson, 1991, quoted in

Radcliffe, 2005). Latin American patriarchal discourses identify women as “reproducers, social agents in community development, and domestic crisis-management agents” (Luna, 1993, p.14, quoted in Radcliffe, 2005, p.141). The discourse of the Peronists on women and the ideals of the Argentinean nation were gendered, linking women with motherhood and men and the nation with masculinity and fatherhood (Somer, 1991). Deutsch (1991:272) analyses Eva Peron’s speeches and her relationship with her husband, arguing that even though Eva Peron declared herself as a woman leader, she was “subordinate to her husband,” and her definition of family was one where they “owed everything to their benevolent father, Juan.” Radcliffe (2005) also held that feminist women in Argentina were not considered role models, and Peronists emphasized and aimed to reinforce conventional gender norms.

While Eva Peron’s efforts resulted in an increased representation of Argentinean women in politics, her efforts did not represent a feminist concern. The campaign for more women’s representation in politics reflected the fact that Argentinean women “constituted 22.6 per cent of the Argentine labour force “(Deutsch, 1991, p.272). Craske (1999) and Bonner (2007) both argued that the Peronist inclusion of women into political roles was related to the fact that women linked their suffrage with Peron, which then would lead to a major increase in the votes of the Peronist government. Carlson (2014) argues that women of the time had not realised the impact education and financial security would have on the quality of their lives. Craske (1999) highlights the point that Péron’s efforts towards women’s representation were motivated by enhancing their roles as mothers in society. The Pérons placed women as the feminine defenders of the society and Argentinean

family. This later remained as the political legacy of the Pérons, which Craske (1999) cites as the roots of the militant motherhood that dominates the late 1970s and 1980s, as well as the machismo versus marianismo debates she discusses to highlight the role of Argentinean women in the country's political arena in the 1980s.

Nevertheless, as Deutsch (1991) underlined, the Argentinean feminists were rallying for their rights way before the establishment of the Peronist government, especially in the early 1930s and 1940s. Despite their anti-feminist efforts, Peronists also laid the grounds for further feminist activism in Argentina. They established Partido Peronista Femenino (PPF) in 1949 (Deutsch 1991; Radcliffe 2005). PPF resulted in alienating feminist women from the Peronist movement (Deutsch, 1991) and emphasizing the working-class women who were slowly proliferating in Argentinean politics in the early 1950s. The death of Eva Peron suppressed the Argentine women's mobilizations in politics, as there were no other women leaders to follow. In 1955, Juan Domingo Peron was overthrown and sent to exile, returning as late as 1973. When he died in 1974, his wife Isabel (Maria Estela Martinez de Peron) took over the government, leading to intense political turmoil and the strengthening of the military (Fabj, 1993).

Feijoo et al (1996) maintained that the feminist women of the first Peronist period were politically active as a result of their consciousness or concerns and that it should not be considered a movement. According to them, the 1960s could be divided into two separate periods, before and after the Argentine Revolution of 1966, led by General Juan Carlos Onganía. The 1960s were deemed revolutionary for the life of ordinary women belonging to different social classes as cultural norms were

reformed, and new concepts regarding gender relationships were constructed (Feijoo, Nari, and Fierro, 1996).

Htun (2003) points out that during the 1960s and 1970s, the military government of Argentina commenced efforts to update the country's civil law. Feijoo, Nari, and Fierro (1996: 7) hold that the 1960s in Argentina represented "social, cultural, and political unrest" through which a 'modern' Argentina, comprised of "consumerism, secularization, the realignment of political forces, changes in daily life and the transformation of gender relationships" emerged. According to Htun (2003), commissions focused on improving women's civil status initiated discussions and analysed proposals and recommendations, which resulted in a change in the Argentinean civil law in 1968 under the rule of Onganía.

Moreover, in Argentina, the re-emergence of women's collective organizations can be traced back to the mid-1970s under the military regime, (Krook, 2010). Ben and Insausti (2017) also provided the context of the 1970s regarding the structure of political opportunities surrounding women by identifying the growth of women's participation in the labour market, open discussions of the nature of marriage and divorce, and challenges to the patriarchal nature of the country's educational system. This political and social context provided opportunities for feminist women. A group of feminists collectively organized Union Feminista Argentina (UFA) in 1971 (Ben and Insausti, 2017). The goals of UFA, a non-hierarchical organization (Bellucci, 1997), included campaigning for gender equality at work, demanding a law for marital rights and divorce, and fighting for "equal distribution of tasks among men and women in the household" (Ben and Insausti, p.313). Following the foundation of

UFA, *Movimiento de Liberacion Femenina* (Argentinean MLF) was established in 1971, aiming to “take the abortion debate into the streets” (Bellucci, 1997, p.101). Bellucci (1997) argues that Argentinean MLF and UFA signify important turning points in Argentinean feminist history. The structure of political opportunities surrounding women’s mobilizations in Argentina in the 1970s also includes the restrictions imposed by the second Peronist government. Bellucci (1997) provides the following example:

[...] In 1974, the second Peronist government imposed Decree 659, which prohibited the provision of information, distribution, and unprescribed sale of birth control methods, and shut down 67 hospital-based family planning services. [...] Feminist groups went out on the streets to demand the retraction of Decree 659; it was from this time on that the subject of abortion appeared as a political issue.” (Bellucci, 1997, p.101).

Meanwhile, Argentinean MLF, UFA, and *Frente de Liberacion Homosexual* combined forces to establish a study group named *Politica Sexual* (Sexual Politics), working on establishing a campaign against the retraction of Decree 659. The abortion debate is important as it signifies the foundations of women’s mobilizations and the emergence of Argentinean feminist women in politics. While Bellucci (1997) argues that the dictatorship between the years 1976 and 1983 resulted in a “rapid decline and disintegration of grassroots organizations,” Krook (2010) identifies these years as a period of collective organization of Argentinean women and their establishment as political actors. Most notably, the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo represented the group of mothers who gathered consistently at Plaza de Mayo to campaign for their missing children (Taylor (2001) Women carrying white scarves and walking by the Plaza de Mayo, demanded information on their children, tortured,

and kidnapped mysteriously by the military dictatorship between 1976 and 1983, hence held the government accountable. Fabj (1993) reflected on the goals of the Mothers in the following way:

The Mothers' first rhetorical goal was to be heard. In a culture where women have little or no public voice, this was a very difficult task, and in a country where resistance to government policies was punished with disappearance, torture, and death, it was also dangerous. (Fabj, 1993, p.7)

While the Argentinean military "represented itself as a disciplined, masculine body" (Taylor, 2001, p.99), the Mothers of Plaza de Mayo represented motherhood and femininity, which provided them immunity against the military (Fabj 1993; Taylor 2001). Their stance as mothers deemed them apolitical and less threatening.

Goddardl (2007, p.81) argues that the resistance of the Mothers "had an important effect on political culture, encouraging participation and innovative forms of political action." This is following Krook (2010) 's argument that through multiple organised riots and resistance, women ended up playing an important role in the democratic transition of Argentina.

According to Chinchilla (1991), the emergence of Second Wave feminism in Latin America is linked by many scholars to the United Nations Conference on Women, which was held in 1975 in Mexico City. This international event provided the political context for Argentinean women who "took advantage of the political and intellectual opening created [...] to hold their discussions of women's condition and proposals for improving it" (Chinchilla, 1991, p.294). However, Chinchilla also argues that linking Second Wave feminism's appearance in Argentina fully to this

international event is to “underestimate the importance of feminist activities before the conference” (Chinchilla, 1991, p.294).

The emergence of feminism in the 1970s in Argentina also represents the re-collection of a lost memory: earlier feminist movements in Argentina and Latin America (Chinchilla, 1991). The results of this re-collection are introduced by Chinchilla (1991, p.295) as the following: “Historical accounts of earlier feminist efforts available during the late 1970s emphasized reformist tendencies in the nineteenth and twentieth-century Latin American feminism.” This emphasis on the reformist tendencies of feminist women ignited the mobilization of Argentinean women, especially at the beginning of the 1980s. The 1980s represent a period where women were more involved in political representation compared to previous periods in history (Chinchilla, 1991). Furthermore, national, and transnational women’s networks, alliances, and organizations were slowly implementing themselves in the Argentinean political arena, which resulted in “consciousness-raising and political action groups, service and popular education centres, research institutes and university-based women’s studies programs” (Deutsch 1988, quoted in Chinchilla, 1991, p.296).

The 1980s ushered in the ‘NGOization’ (Alvarez, 1999) of Latin American women’s movements. According to Alvarez, this NGOization was a “strategic response to the return of electoral politics and (fragile and uneven) processes of democratization” (Alvarez, 1999, p.182). Alvarez also describes this process as the following: “[...] in the mid-to-late 1980s and 1990s; many feminist groups began honing their applied research, lobbying, and rights advocacy skills in the hopes of translating the feminist

project of cultural-political transformation into concrete gender policy proposals” (p.182).

Most feminist NGOs based in Latin America were comprised of educated, middle-class women. Feminist women involved with NGOs aimed to “alter gender power relations that circumscribe their own lives as women” (Soares 1998, quoted in Alvarez, 1999, p.186). They also defined themselves as members of a broader community of women’s mobilizations that include other feminist women (Alvarez, 1991).

In 1980, Argentina signed the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) (Kohen, 2009). As part of the UN’s new regime toward women’s rights, CEDAW differentiates itself from other human rights treaties as it aims to control and initiate reforms “in the public sphere, the private sphere, and the minds of individuals” (Englehart and Miller, 2014). Waldorf (2007: 7, quoted in Englehart and Miller, 2014) defines the responsibilities of states participating in CEDAW as the following: “make(ing) sure that all of the necessary arrangements are put in place that will allow women to experience equality in their lives.” As a result, Kohen (2009) argues that Argentina committed itself to implement reforms and legal changes to establish gender equality.

After the transition to democracy, the Radical Party led by Raul Alfonsin won the elections in 1983 ending decades of military rule and Peronist administrations in between. The expectations of feminist women in Argentina re-emerged, hoping to reinstate the rights they had fought hard to gain in the years before the dictatorship

(Bellucci, 1997). These efforts have resulted in the 1987 law on civil and legal rights, granting women equality in divorce (Kohen, 2009). This process also allowed Argentinean feminist women to campaign and demand gender quotas in politics per their ideals of reconciling inclusion and autonomy (Hinojosa and Piscopo, 2013, quoted in Cake, 2019). Cake (2019) also argues that women's central roles during the regime change that took place in Argentina offered women a new opportunity for women's representation while pointing out that the regime change would not have taken place without women themselves.

At the end of 1989, women in Argentina came together on an inter-party network to fight for national gender quotas, resulting in a bill submitted by Margarita Malharo de Torres aiming to establish a 30 per cent quota for women (Krook, 2010). Once this bill was passed in Congress in 1991, during the administration of the Peronist president Menem, Argentina became the first country in the world to adopt a gender quota (Piatti-Crocker 2019; Krook 2010). Krook (2010) identifies the relationships and methods of the women's movement in Argentina as the following: legal campaigns, networking among women politicians and candidates and organizing around feminist lawyers and journalists. However, this struggle was not easy for all women involved. While many women declined to be a part of this feminist network as a result of their loyalty to their political parties, women that were involved were sanctioned, claiming anti-party activities (Krook, 2010). This did not stop women or the evolution of gender quotas in Argentina. Krook (2010) also points to a major gap in the quota literature where research on gender quotas and parity in Argentina focused mainly on a single actor, such as international organizations, political parties, etc.

Moreover, the male political actors, in particular President Carlos Menem's support for the quota legislation in the Congress and Senate were a determining factor. It is true that without his endorsement the quota bill could have not seen the daylight in the Senate. But as the next chapter will elaborate, it was the perseverance of the women from different political sectors who made it possible for the general political atmosphere to become more responsive to quota mandate.

3.2. The Second-Wave Women's Movement in France and Women's Political Underrepresentation as the Background of the Long Road to Parity

The roots of the quota debates and the movement in France lie in the efforts of the feminist members of the Socialist Party (PS), who demanded equal representation and quotas in the 1970s. However, a more detailed analysis of the women's movement and the political and historical contexts surrounding the women's mobilizations towards gender equality is due; hence this section looks at on women's movements surrounding political rights and representation in France particularly during the period between the 1970s and the early 1990s. This analysis aims to provide the reader with a political background for the parity movement in France to lay the ground for the fourth chapter of the thesis, where the developments in Argentina and France in the 1990s regarding gender quotas in politics will be analyzed comparatively using process tracing methods with feminist concerns.

French women won the right to vote in 1944, almost a century after the 1848 Revolution. The Charles de Gaulle government believed that the introduction of women's votes could have shifted the political balances, and women's vote also

came about in recognition of the labour of women during the Second World War (Allwood 2019; Krook 2010). Allwood (2019) identifies two main turning points in the literature of women's political behaviour and representation in *France: Les Françaises face a la politique* by Mattei Dogan and Jacques Narbonne in 1955, and *La participation des femmes a la vie politique* by Maurice Duverger, also in 1995. Dogan and Narbonne (1955) tried to identify the repercussions of women's late introduction to political representation, arguing that women's participation in politics was lower compared to men's because of their lack of interest and experience in politics. Duchen (2003), on the other hand, argues that women at that time disagreed with the findings of Dogan and Narbonne, stating that women felt like they were not given equal chances in politics, especially when it came to getting elected to the French National Assembly. Duverger (1955), on the other hand, argues that women's participation in politics did not differ from that of men, with only slight differences between the two sexes.

While French women were active participants in political parties in the 1950s and 1960s (Duchen, 2013), the Second-Wave feminism and its reflections on women's mobilizations toward equal representation in politics emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s, similar to the developments in Argentina and struggles in the rest of the world. In the previous section focusing on the history of Argentinean women, it was emphasized that women's participation in the labour force made them significant as voters, for political parties. The French case is also similar; as Portocarero (1983: 61) argues, French women's participation in the labour force dramatically increased between the years 1954 and 1975 from 35 per cent to 37 per cent, and a big proportion of this growth took place in the years between 1968 and 1975.

Allwood and Wadia (2002: 211) argued that the 1960s and 1970s in France were “marked by enormous change in terms of the range of behavior and choices allowed to women, [...] and change in the rights they were entitled to claim.” Gaspard (1999) argues that French women obtaining reproductive rights in the late 1960s directly correlated with French women’s mobilizations towards parity in the 1990s. Reynolds (2019) argued that the period between 1944 and 1968 were transitory years of a passive action and that French feminists had already achieved all there was to achieve. In addition to Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex*, *La Condition de la Française aujourd’hui*, written by Andrée Michel and Genevieve Texier in 1964, was also significant in the conceptualisation of French women’s mobilizations in the 1970s. Anne Zelenski, a prominent figure of Mouvement de Libération des Femmes (French MLF), claimed to have stumbled upon a copy of the book in 1966, and stated that the book represents the foundations and opinions of herself and the French MLF. Despite their earlier activities, especially in the aftermath of the 1968 protests, the French MLF claims to have been established in 1970, citing their first public appearance to the demonstration on 26 August (Reynolds, 2019). Zelenski (2005: 35, quoted in Reynolds, 2019) argued that the book challenged Beauvoir’s earlier view of having achieved all there was to achieve, highlighting the unchanged patriarchal nature of French society.

The student protests that took place in May 1968 marked the beginning of an important era of French feminism, and significant developments followed its aftermath during the 1970s. Atack et al. (2019) identified several developments in the early 1970s in their timeline of French feminism. These events include a public

meeting comprised only of women that took place in Sorbonne in 1970, a manifesto signed by 343 women (Manifeste des 343) who claimed to have gone through abortions that were illegal at the time of operation in 1971, Gisele Halimi defending a 16-year-old who went through an illegal abortion in November 1972, a first woman minister of health, Simone Veil, appointed in 1974, UN designating 1975 as the International Year of Woman in 1975, and the passing of abortion law, Loi Veil, and the march of 3000 women in Paris, both also in 1975. A significant common occurrence in these events was the participation of Simone de Beauvoir. The Manifeste des 343, signed on 5 April 1971, was authored by her. She also testified for Gisele Halimi's trial to defend the abortion of the 16-year-old, and she campaigned to change the public's opinion on the trial (Reynolds, 2019).

Holmes and Long (2019: 33) also argued that the year 1975 attracts attention as a year full of new developments regarding feminism, stating the following: "1975 was 'women's year' in more senses than one, and in its course, the tensions between state-endorsed, reformist feminism and the thoroughgoing radicalism of the new movement were played out on the public stage." Lovenduski (2005) argues that while the 1970s can be considered as a starting point for the women's movement for equal representation in politics, the movement truly came alive in the 1990s. Despite the efforts of women within the Socialist Party demanding a gender quota in the 1980s, gender quotas were deemed unconstitutional at the time (Krook, 2010). As a result, the parity movement, as an extension of the Second Wave women's movement, re-emerged in the 1990s, which will be discussed in the following chapter.

Baudino (2005, quoted in Lovenduski, 2005) argues that the French were already familiar with the concept of parity because it was similar to their understanding of democracy, which was in line with the ideas of parity, also known as *parité* in France, having a more philosophical and methodological foundation in France compared to the parity movement in Latin America. Fauré (2003), while theorizing how parity affected women's history in France, argues that parity is essentially a new methodology of writing women's history, linking it to the deeply rooted 'anachronistic democratic deficit' in Europe. Furthermore, Fauré (2003) argues that the political actions of women were 'buried in the sands of cultural history and that the law on parity can be considered as a conclusion of the formation of French democracy. Scott (2007) discusses how French universalism was related to parity. French universalism guaranteed equality before the law and epitomized individuals being representative of the French nation (Scott, 2007). As such, Scott (2007) defined parity as a movement challenging the French representative democracy in the 1990s, and feminist movement as preoccupied with reconfiguring French universalism. Both of these works greatly contributed to the conceptual basis of parity while also highlighting its feminist aspect.

Krook (2010) defined the main actors of France's trajectory to parity as women's movement organizations, women inside political parties, social movement organizations, and international organizations. Their actions were organized around rallying, advocating, and initiating discussion and debates. Until the 1990s, it was women inside political parties who initiated the progress on gender quotas and parity. Going as back as 1946, it was evident that the French Women only constituted 16 per cent of candidates, and only 7 per cent of those women ended up

being elected (Duchen, 2003). Those women candidates were instructed on how to ‘think like a man but act like a woman’ (Duchen, 2003). Nevertheless, Significant developments in marital and reproductive rights in the late 60s and 70s (Gaspard, 1999) laid the foundations for women asking for equal rights in political representation. The first proposals for gender quotas in French politics took place in the 1970s. The efforts of socialist women resulted in a 10 per cent quota in the Socialist Party (PS) in 1974 (Freidenvall & Krook, 2011).

Following the decision of the Constitutional Council in 1982 that declared gender quotas unconstitutional, women’s efforts for equal representation in politics lost momentum (Krook, 2010). The French movement for parity gained momentum again with the Manifesto of the Ten, as ten significant women politicians united in demanding voluntary measures within political parties to ensure equal representation (Krook, 2010). In the early 1990s, we see France’s gender quota movement switching to a movement for parity, as parity entails equal sharing of power between women and men. Krook (2010) defined the goal of the parity movement as establishing reforms in patterns of political representation. The parity movement was ignited by the shocking fact that France had the lowest percentage of women in its parliament in Europe (Gaspard 1999; Krook 2010). This resulted in a country-wide effort to modernize political representation in French, which also impacted political party actors resulted in the establishment of parity as a constitutional principle.

CHAPTER 4

THE QUOTA REFORM PROCESS IN ARGENTINA AND FRANCE

4.1. The Adoption of the Ley de Cupo: Women's Mobilization and the Changing Political Context in Argentina

Krook (2010) highlights the roles of women's movement organisations and women in political parties, among other actors, in the emergence of the first legislative electoral gender quota in the world, Ley de Cupos, in Argentina. The actions of these actors include promoting, demanding for, and contesting legislative gender quotas, exposing the flaws of Argentinean political institutions, and demanding a systematic reform to tackle women's underrepresentation in Argentinean politics. Process tracing will be conducted in the case of Argentina with an aim to emphasize the causal links behind this hypothesis, using the format below:

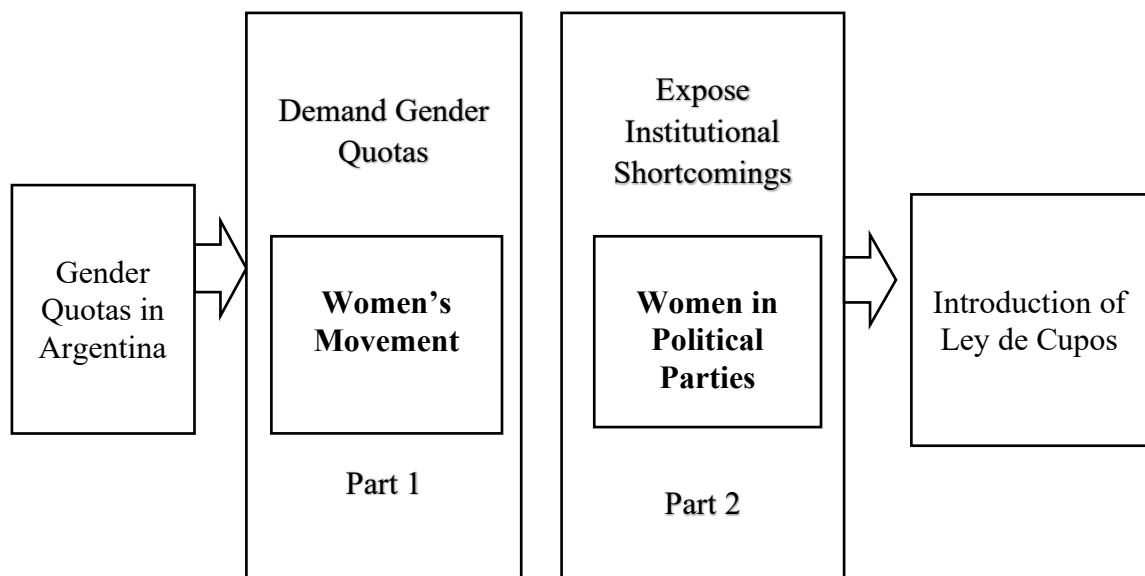


Figure 10. Causal Mechanisms of Gender Quotas in Argentina

Women in political parties in both Argentina and France are considered to be an extension of the women's movement and mobilizations in the conceptualisation of this thesis. The actions of the women's movement and mobilizations also include demanding institutional and systemic reform concerning gender quotas and parity.

The second step of process tracing focuses on determining the type of evidence needed to study the links between the causal mechanisms. There are four types of evidence provided by Beach and Pedersen (2012), and these are account evidence, trace evidence, pattern evidence, and sequence evidence. This study aims to combine trace evidence, which refers to crystal clear evidence that directly refers to the existence of a hypothesized causal mechanism, and sequence evidence, which refers to a chronological analysis of specific events that need to take place in a specific order for a causal mechanism to exist. The sequential links between the organized efforts of women's movements and mobilizations and the implementation of legislative gender quotas will prove that the presence of women's mobilization is a must for the implementation of legislative gender quotas.

The third step of process tracing involves gathering evidence. As stated previously, secondary resources will be analysed and incorporated into this feminist research. Furthermore, the researcher conducting process tracing needs to narrow down the evidence to provide the reader with a to-the-point overview of the causal mechanisms. Thus, three developments were chosen from the Argentinean journey of legislative gender quotas, and three developments were chosen for the French case as

well, which will be covered in the following section of this chapter. The first evidence for the Argentinean case is the first bill submitted by a woman legislator in 1989 for gender quotas. The second piece of evidence is feminist organizations based in Buenos Aires sending out letters to all legislators to vote in favour of the quota proposal. The third piece of evidence is the actions of the National Council of Women, which contested legal sanctions for political parties and groupings that did not implement the quota law and followed up on Argentina's compliance with CEDAW throughout the 1990s. What this study aims to highlight through evidence is the prominent relationship between women in political parties and the women's movement, the feminist movement, and "the coming together of women from the different political parties, and their knowledge and analysis of comparative experiences and legislation, their grasp of the problem and vision of the future, and the massive mobilization of women...." (Carrio, 2002, p.2).

Law No. 24012 regarding legislative quotas was inserted into the Argentine Law in 1991, and quotas were adopted on November 6, 1991 (Carrio, 2002). However, Carrio (2002), Krook (2010), and Navarro (2001) argue that the causal mechanism behind the adoption of this law lies in November 1989, when the first bill was submitted for gender quotas in Argentina by Margarita Malharro de Torres. This development is not only significant by itself, as it has also led other women and feminist organizations to demand gender quotas. As a woman legislator for Union Civica Radical (UCR), Margarito Malharro de Torres, introduced a bill to make changes to the National Electoral Code that would allow for Congress to have women members. Following her initiation, many women from different political

parties such as UCR, Partido Justicialista, Partido Federal and Democracia Popular expressed similar demands in the Chamber of Deputies (Carrio, 2002).



Figure 11. Margarito Malharro de Torres. **Source:** Historia de la Doctrina de la UCR.

Crocker (2007) outlines the requirements of the bill proposed by Margarita Malharro de Torres:

The bill had two requirements: a minimum thirty per cent quota for legislative candidates in Argentina's closed list system and a requirement that a corresponding percentage of women be placed in "winnable" positions. On September 20, 1990, Malharro's bill was adopted by an overwhelming majority, with only two PJ senators opposing it. On November 6, 1991, and this time, backed by an extensive mobilization of women, the bill was adopted in the Chamber of Deputies by a majority of votes... (Crocker, 2007, p.765).

An interesting detail about Margarita Malharro de Torres' submission was that when the bill became law in 1991, it was known as the Malharro Act (Carrio, 2002).

Furthermore, the bill ignited support from diverse women from various political parties and inspired feminist organizations to support gender quotas in Argentinean politics.



Figure 12. A newspaper clip of the Ley de Cupos. Source: Pagina12

When looking back at their campaigns, Liliana Gurdulich, a woman senator present at the parliament in 1991, stated that the presence and spirit of Evita Péron was felt. Another Péronist feminist, Virginia Franganillo argued that these developments in the early 1990 sparked debates on the social status of Argentinean women and children. Gurdulich also pointed out that the alliance between Péronist women and radical feminists was key to achieving quota reform in Argentina, and that the

government of Carlos Menem was motivated by the rise of women's voices and the number of women from different backgrounds protesting in a unified form.

Gurdulich recalls that on the day of the quota reform, the Senate could not invite all the campaigning women inside as there were hundreds, thousands of women coming together from all parts of Argentina. As a result, women had to climb the Senate and gather at the libraries, the terrace, and the balconies of the Senate building.¹²



Figure 13. Photo of Argentinean women attending the 30 per cent quota session at the parliament. **Source:** AMMUBA.

This leads to the second piece of evidence regarding Argentina. Krook (2010) pointed out that for Malharro's bill to pass, feminist organizations based in Buenos Aires, led by feminist senators Juliana Marino (Buenos Aires) and Cristina Zuccardi

¹² See more: Pagina 12's interview with feminist politicians who were present in the Senate for the introduction of the 30% gender quota in Argentina. <https://www.pagina12.com.ar/380039-a-treintanos-de-la-ley-de-cupo-femenino-en-el-congreso> Note: Interview was conducted in Spanish. All anecdotes are translated by the author of this study.

(Mendoza) sent out individual letters to every single legislator for them to approve the bill. These letters, combined with the organized efforts of Argentinean women, led to the passing of the gender quota bill.

In addition to the efforts of Malharro and Gurdulich, Péronist woman senator Olijela de Valle Rivas was also involved in the trajectory of 30 per cent gender quotas in Argentina. The three of them combined their forces for the gender quota bill to pass, but according to them, this initiative does not only represent the efforts of a certain group of women:

This initiative does not belong to fifty, sixty or seventy people. It belongs to hundreds of Argentinean women, who were on that day, waiting for the Senate to grant gender quotas to women and allow them to access fundamental legislative powers, which women should have had for a long time. (Pagina 12, 2021)¹³

The final evidence regarding Argentina is the formation and actions of the National Council of Women. Krook (2010) argues that the Argentinean National Council of Women (NCW) mainly focused on running legal campaigns and followed the Argentinean state and the political parties to make sure they complied with national law and international treaties. The goals of the National Council of Women included the following: running legal campaigns, establishing networks among female political candidates, cooperating with female lawyers who wish to contribute to women's mobilizations toward equal gender representation in politics, identifying violations in electoral lists, ensuring women's underrepresentation and the efforts to amend the situation gets media coverage by initiating network between female

¹³ Original quote by Gurdulich in Spanish, translated into English for the purposes of this study.

journalists. Another goal of NCW was to ensure that the Argentinean government complied with CEDAW. As mentioned previously in this thesis, the Argentinean government was reluctant when it came to assuring that the Ley de Cupos are implemented and ensuring the equal representation of women as agreed through CEDAW. The NCW monitored the actions of the Argentinean government of Menem and also filed complaints to CEDAW in cases that they deemed appropriate. NCW took a stance against the Menem government and took it as their mission to monitor their trajectory towards introducing gender quotas because an argument with Menem lies at the roots of the collective organization of women. One of the feminist activists, Durrieu (Pagina 12, 2021) recalls the following: “We, as women, had arguments with Menem. He had told the Péronist feminist activists that they need to prove the mobilization of women to the government.” Franganillo, another activist and founder of NCW, told Pagina 12 that to prove their mobilization to Menem, feminist women at the time started campaigning through multi-party meetings in all Argentinean provinces and started surveys among women in the streets.



Figure 14. Juliana Marino (Buenos Aires) and Marcela Durrieu from their time as deputies. **Source:** LatFem. **See More:** <https://latfem.org/las-primeras-sororas-historicas-y-vigentes/juliana-marino-y-marcela-durrieu-1991/>

Marcela Durrieu, in an interview conducted for the 30th anniversary of the Ley de Cupos, recalls the following:

The adoption of the quota law was an epic task, and it was an example of political will and solidarity between women who had different party origins. It was a tide that grew until the day the law was granted. After hours and hours of negative votes for the quota law, Menem ordered Manzano, Interior Minister to speak in favour of the law, which resulted in Péronists and radicals voting for gender quotas. Everything happened thanks to the mobilization of women and the fact that women refused to leave the Senate until the law was passed. (Clarín, 2021).¹⁴

In her interview with Clarín, Durrieu, who was a legislator at the time, also added that the introduction of gender quotas for Argentinean women signified not only

¹⁴ Translated from Spanish. See more: https://www.clarin.com/sociedad/30-anos-cupo-femenino-congreso-ley-necesaria-mujeres-entraban-listas-_0_Mi7dTKRx4.html

increased numbers of women in the Senate, but also the inclusion of international human rights and women's treaties into the Argentinean law. Furthermore, the presence of women in the Argentinean parliament resulted in the existence of laws on abortion, sex education, Ley Micaela and Matrimonio Igualitario.¹⁵¹⁶



Figure 15. The “Pasos perdidos” room where women legislators from different political parties gathered to discuss the trajectory of gender quotas. **Source:** Clarin. **See More:** https://www.clarin.com/sociedad/30-anos-cupo-femenino-congreso-ley-necesaria-mujeres-entraban-listas-0_Mi7dTKRx4.html

Florentina Gomez Miranda from Union Civica Radical (UCR), who pioneered a gender quota initiative inspired by Malharro, Gurdulich and others, stated the following about their campaigns in the same interview:

We would like to clarify that the fight for quota is not a fight against men. Women's struggles throughout the years are actually for earning civil and political rights. I would like to assure you that we are now in this position (to have political rights) because of strong women with power in Argentinean history. If it was not for Eva Péron, we would still be fighting for suffrage.¹⁷

¹⁵ Ley Micaela (Law 27499) was promulgated in 2019 and calls for an extensive training on gender violence for all public officers, including politicians.

¹⁶ Matrimonio Igualitario, the Equal Marriage law (Law 26618) was promulgated in 2010 and allows couples of the same sex to marry and be officially registered through the Argentinean law.

¹⁷ Translated from Spanish.

More on the resistance from Menem's government towards the correct execution of the 30 per cent gender quotas, Virginia Franganillo recalls that the same political leaders who approved the bill later refused to follow through in their electoral ballots. Hence, NCW took on the responsibility to monitor the actions and the sanctions of the government.



Figure 16. Florentina Gomez Miranda and other woman legislators discussing the trajectory of gender quotas for Argentinean women. **Source:** Museo Legislativo de la Honorable Camera da Diputados de la Nacion.

The fourth step of process tracing requires an assessment of the sufficiency of the evidence compiled, and the final step requires a conclusion. Evidence chosen for Argentina clearly indicates the causal mechanisms between the implementation of gender quotas, equal representation of women in politics, and the role of women's movements and mobilizations. As women slowly fought to establish their sociological, economic, and political rights, they felt the need to be represented more equally in politics. While the historical roots of gender quotas in Argentina can be traced back to the 1950s, what ignited the implementation of legislative gender

quotas was a bill submitted by women and other feminist women organizing within and around the bill. The evidence provided is sequential, with Malharro submitting the bill first, feminist organisations rallying for approval of the bill next, and NCW monitoring the implementation of the bill after. This shows that these developments are intertwined with each other, are the causes of each other, and are chronologically leading towards a change in the representation of Argentinean women in politics.

This can also be understood from the direct quotes of the woman senators, who cited their chronological and collective mobilizations as the main reason for the introduction of gender quotas in Argentina.

As a feminist study aiming to emphasize the significance of women, especially with regard to the political rights they have gained historically, this thesis argues that without the organised efforts of Argentinean women, legislative gender quotas would not have been achieved. While this thesis has also acknowledged the impact of other actors, such as male political elites and the contributions of international organisations, they are not central in the formation of the causal mechanism. As argued previously, this thesis considers itself feminist research, conducting research for women by women. One of the main goals of the thesis is to inspire women that they can be the main actors in their journey and that they are enough, as an organised group, to demand equal representation in politics. Thus, this process tracing focused on women's movement and mobilisations as sole entities and underlined three different strategies adopted by feminist women and organisations in Argentina.

4.2. The Campaign for Parity in France: The Political Sea Change and Women's Persistence

Similar to the case of Argentina, Krook (2010) highlights the role of women's organizations and women in political parties in the introduction of parity in France. However, the actions of these actors differ from the case of Argentina. French women's organizations and French women in political parties mostly focused on the normative implications, meaning that they have stirred up discussions on and challenged the French understanding of democracy and representation. Other actions of the actors in France included igniting further debates and discussions regarding women's lingering underrepresentation in France, and rallying, rioting, and actively advocating for legislative action in order to amend the situation. (Krook, 2010, p.23.). The main hypothesis of this study regarding France is the following: Women's mobilizations and movements are the key actors in the implementation of parity in France. Process tracing in the case of France, focused on the causal links behind this hypothesis, using the format below:

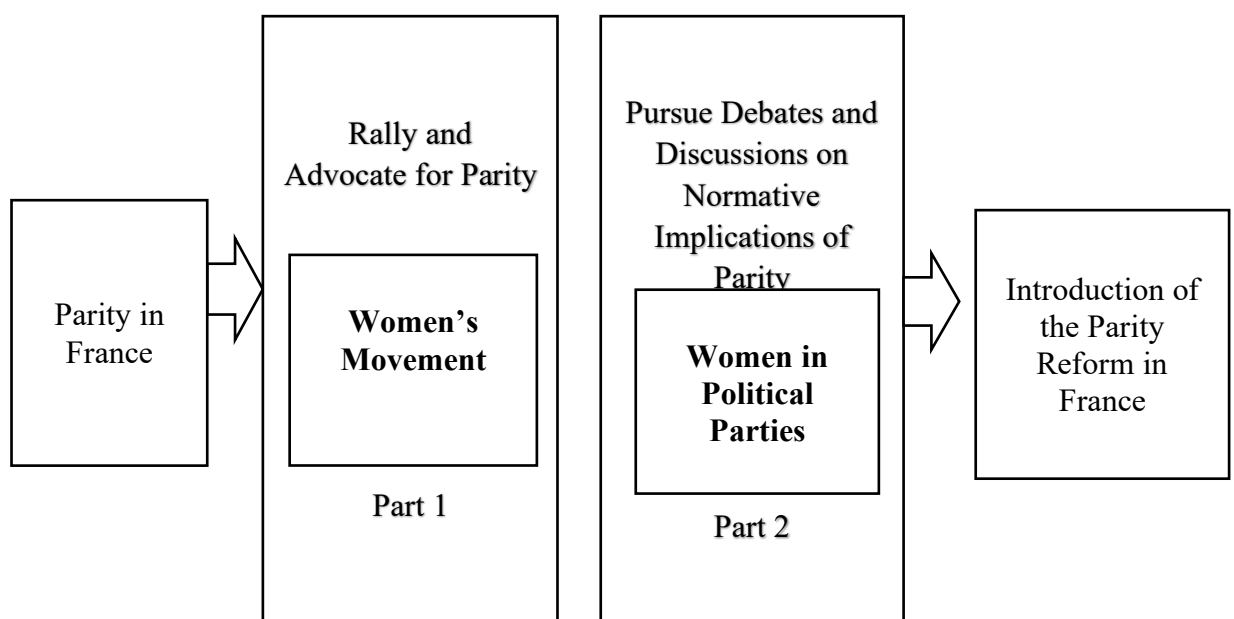


Figure 17. Causal Mechanisms of Parity in France.

It must be noted that while the women's movement and women in political parties (especially in Socialist Party, also referred to as PJ) are defined as separate key actors in this causal mechanism format, they are both parts of a broader framework of women's mobilizations and movements towards gender quotas and parity. In terms of the evidence needed, the French case will follow the evidence of the Argentinean case provided in the previous section. This process tracing will combine trace evidence and sequence evidence with the goal of highlighting debates surrounding quotas and French women's equal representation in politics, their major role in the implementation of parity, and their strategies and alliances.

Similar to the Argentinean case, the third step of process tracing involves the gathering of evidence. The first evidence regarding the French case is the 'Manifeste des Dix pour la parité' Manifesto of the Ten (Bereni, 2007). Krook (2010) states that the Manifesto of the Ten symbolises ten leading female politicians of different political parties from the right and the left collectively organising to contest equal representation for women. Their demands included voluntary quotas implemented by political parties, a legislative development on parity, and a referendum on amending the French Constitution with regard to parity. Bereni (2007) provides a detailed account of the Manifesto of the Ten: "Manifeste des Dix pour la parité (Manifesto of the Ten for Parity) in the weekly L'Express of June 6, 1996, signed by ten prominent French women politicians, including Simone Veil, Edith Cresson, Michele Barzahc, Yvette Roudy, Catherine Tasca, Monique Pelletier, all former ministers, from the major political parties (both wings)." (Bereni, 2007, p.9).



Figure 18. The cover of L'Express featuring the Manifesto of the Ten. **Source:** L'Express.

Another piece of evidence is the Manifesto of the 577 for Parity Democracy, which appeared in Le Monde. Haase-Dubosc (1999) describes it as the following:

On November 10, 1993, a full-page ad entitled 'The Manifesto of the 577 for a Parity-Democracy' appeared in the newspaper Le Monde, asking that a law be voted either by the National Assembly and the Senate jointly or by national referendum and amendment of the Constitution to ensure that as many women as men hold elected offices in France. The manifesto is followed by 577 names; 289 citoyennes, or female citizens, and 288 citoyens, or male citizens, affixed their signatures, thereby symbolically representing the

totality of deputies of the National Assembly. (Haase-Dubosc, 1999, p.185).

Haase-Dubosc (1999) also provides an excerpt from the full-page ad. In the text, women demand a change in the law as previous elections that took place without a law on parity did not improve the lingering underrepresentation of French women in politics. Through this text, women also question the roots of French democracy, as Haase-Dubosc (1999, p.186) argues: “the exclusion of women from public office on which French democracy has been founded since 1789 means that French democracy has only partially fulfilled the democratic project.”

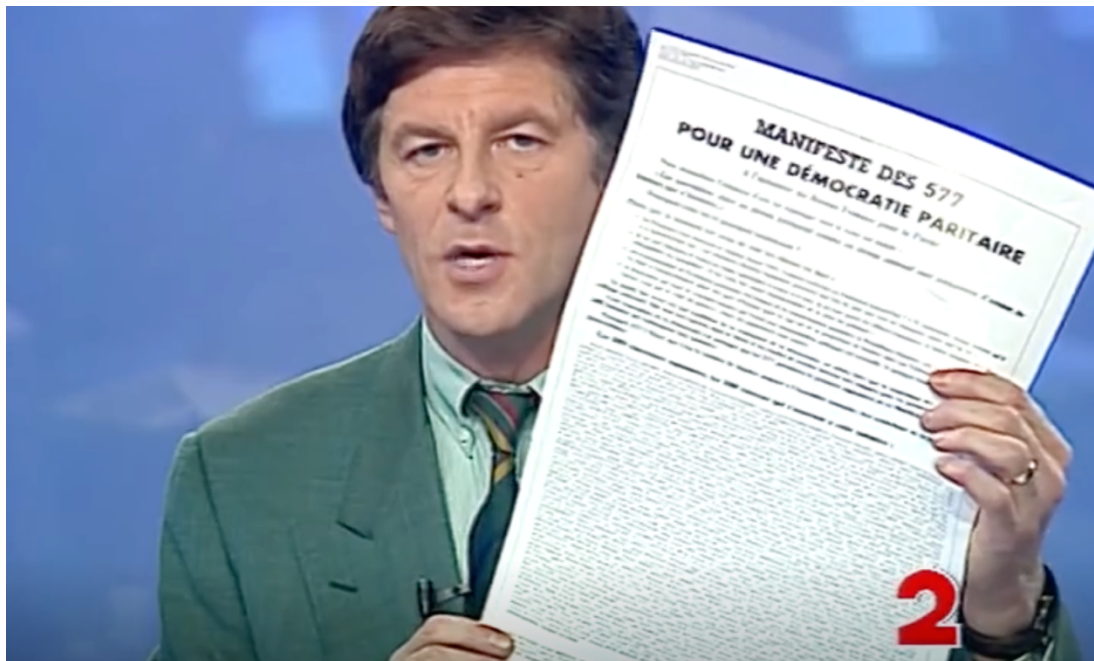


Figure 19. Screenshot from France 2’s evening news, where they featured the Manifesto of the 577 and the feminist journalist, Françoise Giroud. **Source:** France2

The final example from the French case is Régine Saint-Criq, who formed the first association for parity in 1992 (Krook, 2010; Praud, 2000). Praud and Dauphin (2011) identify her intentions and impact in detail: Saint-Criq was let down by the lack of women candidates from the Socialist Party for the 1992 regional elections, resulting

in her leaving the Socialist Party to establish Parité, a non-partisan group. Following the footsteps of Saint-Criq, another Socialist, Yvette Roudy kickstarted an association called L'Assemblée des Femmes. Roudy, when asked about her intentions behind kickstarting the association, mentioned the misogyny of the male politicians and the lack of female nominees for political posts (Giraud and Jenson, 2001, p.78). Antoinette Fouque was another woman to establish an association, this time called Alliance es Femmes pour la Democratie. Fouque's alliance contributed to the introduction of parity reforms by establishing Club Parité 2000.

What is significant in the trajectory of France towards the introduction of parity reforms is the philosophical and ideological discussions that took place in the meantime. After gender quotas were deemed unconstitutional in 1983 because they contradicted French universalism (Krook, 2010), women were prepared to challenge philosophical and political obstacles towards parity in the 1990s. In 1994, Françoise Collin initiated a series of seminars called Actualité de la Parité (The status of parity today), which took place for more than a year. In these seminars, Collin gave speeches that provided a philosophical foundation for parity by stating that assuming that parity "unsexes" the foundations of French universalism by giving power to both women and men is hypocritical. Collin also argued that parity represents the true nature of French universalism because parity will allow it to be plural, by granting power to multiple sexes (Haase-Dubosc, 2019, p.187).

As a result of these collective actions taken by women politicians and activists, many feminist associations, such as Union feminine civique et sociale (UFCS) and Choisir, joined the movement for parity reforms (Praud and Dauphin, 2011, p.22). The events

described were presented in this order to prove the following point: women have always been strategizing and forming alliances to fight for their demands, including equal representation in politics.

Observatoire de la parité (Observatory for Parity) was established on the 27th of September in 1995, with 18 appointed members aiming to track the introduction of parity reform. The French Republic's official archive states the purposes of the observatory as collecting and analysing the evolution of women's status in French politics, initiating the involvement of public authorities with promotional activities regarding women's political representation, making proposals on a legislative level regarding parity, and submitting a report to the French Prime Minister every two years on women's status in politics, which will then be published to inform the French public on women's status.¹⁸ The Prime Minister of the time, Alain Juppé, delivered a speech on parity On October 19th, 1995, on the establishment of the observatory. In his speech, he highlighted the significance of women activists and feminist politicians:

Mrs Codaccioni, as the Minister for Women's Rights, you will chair the observatory. Your convictions in this area are significant and your participants in the Beijing Conference will provide us with new assets. Madam General Rapporteur, dear Rosalyne (Bachelot), you ask to undertake the establishment of the observatory. Your will, tenacity and competence led you to be elected General Councillor in 1982 and then Regional Councillor in 1986. [...] Your concern to participate in the fighting that matters have led you to fight on the front line on women's issues. [...] I chose these 18 members for the observatory because they have demonstrated significant contributions as women fighting for equal representation.

¹⁸ See more: <https://www.vie-publique.fr/ressources/mots-cles/observatoire-de-la-parite-entre-les-femmes-et-les-hommes?page=1>



Figure 20. Rosalyne Bachelot and Alain Juppé at the Observatory for Parity Meeting. **Source:** GettyImages

The evidence provided for the French case is compelling and showcases the significance of women as the main actors in the parity process. This feminist study has aimed to highlight the alliances and networks of women's movements and mobilizations and their intersections with the emergence of gender quotas and parity in Argentina and France. Focusing on a feminist conceptualisation and revisiting the political trajectory leading to women demanding parity, this study aimed to situate women as the main actors in their journey towards equal representation in politics. The Argentinean and French cases demonstrate significant similarities and differences. Women's movements and mobilizations are, in fact, the main actors in the implementation of gender quotas and parity. The causal mechanisms highlighted through the examples indicate that legislative development regarding gender quotas

and parity are bound by an organized and strategized group of women acting and demanding political rights under each other.

4.3. Comparing the Cases of Argentina and France: Similar Challenges, Different Political Contexts, Comparable Outcomes

The first two sections of this chapter aimed to provide detailed information on the processes that took place separately in Argentina and France by following a process-tracing method, focusing on the relationship between the introduction of gender quotas and parity reforms and the impact of women's mobilizations. Both cases demonstrate strong interventions from women politicians and feminist activists, who earned the right to participate in politics through their activism. This final section of the chapter focuses on comparing and contrasting the cases of Argentina and France and also demonstrating the main arguments of this thesis.

The history of women's representation in Argentinean politics is marked by the strong presence of the individual actions of certain women, such as Eva Péron. Feminists of the 1990s who initiated the introduction of gender quotas have cited "Evita" as their inspiration. The implications of her actions and the soul of her activism were present in the actions of generations of Argentinean women. The importance of Argentinean women in the country's transition from the military regime to democracy is undeniable. In addition to the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo, who gathered in front of the national building at the country's central square, there were other influences from women towards the regime change. Even though they were few, women who were exiled during the military dictatorship had the opportunity of staying together, unlike men who had to be exiled in isolated rooms

(Femenia & Gil, 1987). This resulted in women's mobilization through collective strategies. Women of the time had the opportunity of reading articles and excerpts from the experiences of international women and debated on how they could ignite a similar change while they were exiled in Villa Devoto, a women's prison. Guest (1990) argues that women in exile identified themselves with European women more, compared to their American counterparts, and were inspired by the earlier gender quota developments in Europe. This corresponds with France's first experiences with gender quotas in the late 1970s, when the Socialist Party introduced a 30 per cent gender quota and when the quota debate was carried to the French Senate. Even though gender quotas were declared unconstitutional at the time, the efforts, ideas, and mobilization of French feminists inspired Argentinean women to fight for their rights.

When Argentina introduced gender quotas, women were adamant about having a seat at the table. Even though Argentina has a history of granting women political rights, including the efforts of Eva Péron, there was always a political reason behind it other than simply wanting women to be represented. Péron, who knew that Argentinean women made up more than half of the labour force in the aftermath of the Second World War, wanted women to vote for them and support their policies. However, the 1990s represent a period in Argentinean history where women strategized and mobilized to earn their rights on their own. The main arguments surrounding gender quotas were regarding how they would be implemented in elections, with women of NCW and other alliances volunteering to monitor the actions and the sanctions of the Argentinean government. Argentina was focused on granting women their much-earned rights and eradicating their historical underrepresentation in politics.

The same will, strategy and mobilization are present in the French case, as demonstrated through photographs, direct quotas and anecdotes provided by female and male politicians and feminist journalists of the 1990s. French women formed alliances, similar to the ones of Argentinean women both in terms of their structures and timings. They were publishing articles and manifestos in newspapers, forming strategic alliances with politicians, attending TV programs, and loudly sharing their opinions and demands. What made the parity efforts in the 1990s more unified was the support from philosophers, journalists and academics who provided new foundations for parity and proved how it is not in conflict with the French ideals of universalism and democracy.

Both the Argentinean and the French women were granted political rights, with Argentina becoming the first country in the world to introduce legislative gender quotas with the introduction of a 30 per cent quota, and France becoming the first country in the world to introduce a parity reform, where there is the equal presence of women and men in the parliament. These developments were the results of women's mobilizations, and they would not have taken place without the organized efforts of women. The process tracing conducted in the previous sections shows concrete proof of chronological causality between the actions of women inspiring other women to be involved and resulting in the introduction of equal political representation for women in politics. It is always one woman who comes forward, Margarita Malharro de Torres in Argentina's case, and Régine Saint-Criq in France's case, demanding more rights and forming alliances. It is important to acknowledge that these women were empowered by the history of feminist women in those

countries, who have impacted the trajectory of many lives and earned marital, economic and abortion rights before equal representation in politics. These women knew the importance of mobilization and kickstarted alliances, organizations, debates, meetings, and gatherings and spread the word to other women. In both countries, the involvement of women from opposing political parties is present. This shows the persistence of women and their recognition of the importance of campaigning together as a united force. This resulted in the male political elites of both countries had to give in and choose to become the voice of women. It is important to mention the impact of the Second Wave movement on state feminism and how there were prior instances of governments imposing feminist reforms knowing that it would benefit their chances in elections or the global status quo. The introduction of gender quotas and parity reforms in the 1990s is an extension of the Second Wave movement.

While there are similarities between both cases, there are also significant differences that need to be discussed. The mobilization of Argentinean women can be considered a physical force. They refused to leave the senate building until the bill passed. They forced politicians to listen to them. Historically, Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo gathered physically at the busiest square of the country and demanded attention to their missing children. Argentinean women demanded a physical seat at the table, they wanted to be present at the Senate. French women, on the other hand, challenged the ideals of democracy and French universalism and foundations of parity. They did not only want a seat at the table, but they also wanted half of the table. French women wanted to be represented equally at all political levels and wanted to challenge the foundations of the French Republic.

Alain Juppé, the French Prime Minister in 1995, delivered a lengthy speech for the foundations of the Observatory for Parity. This speech did not only mention rectifying women's lack of representation in politics, but it also mentioned the problems French women had been facing financially, reminding the public of the struggles they have faced in terms of education and equal access to resources. The French trajectory is thus different from that of Argentina because women focused on equality at all levels, everywhere all at once. This grand effort from French women continued to inspire Argentinean women, similar to the instance in the early 1980s when exiled Argentinean women read about the advancement of French women in representation in politics and demanded similar rights from their political parties and local organizations.

Another important difference between the cases is the struggles women have faced. French women were involved with ideological and philosophical debates, mostly starting those debates on their own and questioning ideal citizenship and democracy. On November 25th, 1995, after the foundation of the Observatory for Parity, more than 40.000 French women and men allied in Paris to defend the reproductive rights they were granted about two decades prior. This rally sparked new conversations as there were women who did not support other women having abortion rights and that having parity in politics might not reflect the best interests of French women. Their response to this was re-stating that a parity reform is not demanded to reflect the best interests of women, but to reflect women. Claude Servan-Schreiber stated the following: "The claim of parity is [...] based on the self-evident assumption that

there must be as many women as men in public life, from all political parties that participate in elections.” (Giraud and Jenson, 2001, p.79).

What is central in these cases despite their different natures is the impact of women and their mobilization on the introduction of representation of women in politics. Intertwined by similar developments and strengthened by the causal relationships between chronological developments that took place simultaneously in different countries, these women earned their equal places at the table on their own.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

With its objective to analyse and compare the roles of women's movements in the emergence of gender quotas in Argentina and France, and with a concern for women's conditions and patterns of strategizing in the context of the unequal representation of women in politics, this study situates itself as feminist research. This research aimed to answer four questions regarding women's movements and the quota and parity reforms in Argentina and France. The main research question of the thesis was the following: What was the role played by women's mobilizations towards the successful adoption of gender quotas in Argentina and parity reform in France? This research, in its effort to highlight the role of women, argued that it was women's mobilizations that were key to the emergence of gender quotas and parity in Argentina and France. Three separate secondary research questions were also answered in this research. These secondary questions focused on women's mobilizations and the way women reformulated their demands for equal representation in politics, as well as the political contexts surrounding women's movement for quotas and parity, and how women mobilized, strategized, and formed alliances within those political contexts in Argentina and France.

Throughout this study, I have argued that the introduction of equal political representation for women would not have taken place without the efforts of women.

This study has demonstrated the efforts of Argentinean and French women by utilising process tracing to revisit their trajectories towards political success. The findings of this research demonstrated that the commonalities in the cases of France and Argentina are the efforts of women's mobilizations and that women are, in fact, the main actors and agents of the implementation of gender quotas and parity. A comparative analysis of the developments in the 1990s, with background information on previous developments that took place in the 1970s and the 1980s, shows that women's mobilizations adjusted to the political contexts while also inventing strategies to use regional, national, and transnational developments to their benefit. Women translated conventions, and documents, communicate with each other, followed the developments in other countries, fought against the male elites of political parties, and bonded with each other to gain the right to be represented equally in politics. As a result, tendencies and similarities between the developments that took place in France and Argentina are present and are highlighted in the previous chapter of the thesis.

Argentinean women's struggles with political representation date back to the 1940s, when they were granted the right to vote during the Péron administration. I have demonstrated through factual and visual evidence that the wishes of Argentinean women were not fully granted. One problem was that they did not know what to wish for back then and the right to vote was granted to them after false pretences: the Péronist regime was not looking to empower women, they wanted to improve their political stability and votes by attracting the votes of the working-class women in that era. Women were idealised as the mothers of the country and their caretaking role was highlighted, which laid the grounds for future motherhood and political

debates in Argentina that shaped the roots of Argentinean women's struggle towards equal political representation. The case for French women was similar, the right to vote was granted to them as a result of their loyalty to Charles de Gaulle. Through sharing direct quotes from women of the time, I tried to pinpoint their points of view towards their enfranchisement. French women did not know what to vote for, they did not know what enfranchisement meant.

What changed the course of women's expectations and experiences was their demanding reproductive rights with the rise of Second-Wave feminism. Women started to challenge the existing governments and change the perceptions of womanhood and their representations. Women in the Socialist Party in France organized and demanded internal gender quotas, and women in Argentina challenged the existing undemocratic regime. It is important to note that Second Wave feminism took place differently in these two countries. Argentinean women were challenging the conceptions of motherhood, and their political activities were considered an extension of their femininity. Argentinean women who were exiled during the military regime mobilized to translate the works of French feminists, which laid the foundations for the commonalities between Argentinean and French women. Even though women's mobilizations were a collective effort, in both cases we witness brave women who pioneered the gender quotas movements, such as Margarita Malharro de Torres and Régine Saint-Criq demanding more political representation for women through proposing political bills and forming alliances with political elites.

Intending to implement a feminist methodological approach, this thesis focused on a feminist interpretation of the political events and instances that took place in the 1990s in France and Argentina. The decade signifies Argentina as the first country to implement legislative gender quotas and France as the first country to implement parity. While this thesis acknowledges the significance of other factors surrounding these developments, such as the role of regional, national, and international organizations, political elites, the political climate of the countries, and the overall political contexts surrounding women's mobilizations in France and Argentina, the study argues that women's mobilizations are at the centre of the developments. By providing more context on the role of women through anecdotes, direct quotes, photographs and archived documents, this study aimed to amplify the voices of Argentinean and French women and prove that they were inspired and empowered by each other.

Oakley compared studies that have followed a feminist methodological approach to a meteorite, saying that the aim is to mark the earth and make sure people observe the ground they walk on. This study aims to be a meteorite in the field of women's political representation and inspire women themselves and other scholars to revisit women's trajectories towards political victories. They will find that women were rarely granted rights. Political, human, economic, reproductive and many more rights women have today were demanded and earned by women.

The main goal of the research was to analyse the gender quotas and parity cases of France and Argentina to identify the strengths, alliances, and strategies of women's mobilizations. Throughout the research, one of the main limitations was the lack of

quotes directly from the women themselves. While the main resources of analysis were secondary, mainly other scholarly work written on and by women, more comparative resources covering the speeches and experiences of women in their own words would have contributed greatly to the feminist concerns of this study.

Another limitation was the lack of academic work covering gender quotas and parity that implemented feminist methodologies or focused solely and directly on the experiences and/or contributions of women's movements and mobilizations to the emergence of gender quotas and parity. Other works focused on gender quotas and parity in these countries share a tendency to highlight the structure of political opportunities surrounding gender quotas and parity and other transnational developments that have contributed to women forming regional and transnational alliances. This thesis differs from other studies as it employs a feminist research approach of analysing the developments with the sole aim of highlighting the role and contributions of women. There is a lack of feminist academic studies focusing on the processes surrounding the equal representation of women in politics, and this thesis aims to contribute to this gap in the literature to pave the way for further academic research focusing on highlighting the experiences, voices, and most importantly, significance of women in politics.

As a thesis written in Turkey, this thesis aims to contribute to the experiences, mobilizations, and alliances of feminist women in Turkey in their journey towards equal representation in politics. The cases of Argentina and France are analysed as ideal cases since they are significant in the history of the women's movement for equal representation in politics. Turkey, as of the date of this study, has not

introduced legislative gender quotas or parity. The analysis covered in this thesis and the argument that women are the main actors in the introduction of gender quotas and parity can be a starting point for Turkish women's mobilizations towards gender quotas and parity.

As argued previously, this thesis aims to be a starting point for further research on gender quotas and parity that aims to highlight the significance of women.

Recommendations of this study for further research include dissecting the quotes and experiences provided directly by Argentinean and French women themselves to understand how women situate themselves and their roles in the introduction of gender quotas and parity. This methodology will also be useful for understanding the concerns and demands of women in terms of future developments regarding gender quotas and parity.

Another recommendation is to further analyse the strategies and methodologies of women themselves and the roles of these strategies. For example, an analysis of how and why women translated national and transnational books, documents, contracts, agreements, and conventions regarding women's presence and representation in politics will be crucial to understanding the transnational alliances of women, which according to the findings of this thesis, have impacted the processes of gender quotas and parity greatly.

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A. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKE ÖZET

Seçime ilişkin toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları, “yasa koyucuların belirli bir yüzdesinde kadın aday olmasını gerektiren politikalar” ve “kadınların bir aday listesinin, parlamento meclisinin, komitenin veya hükümetin belirli bir yüzdesini oluşturmasını gerektiren yasalar veya parti kuralları” anlamına gelir (Hughes & Paxton, 2015, s.331-333). Politikadaki toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları, kural ve kapsamdaki farklılıklardan bağımsız olarak, kadınların politik varlığının önemli ölçüde artırılmasına yer açmayı amaçlamaktadır (Krook, 2009). Şimdiye kadar devletler veya siyasi partiler tarafından kadınların yasama organlarındaki varlığını desteklemek için uygulanan üç ana seçim kotası türü olmuştur: anayasal, yasama ve parti kotaları (Peschard, 2002). Anayasal kotalar, anayasalar gibi temel yasalarda belirtilmiştir. Yasama kotaları seçim yasalarıyla belirlenir. Parti kotaları, siyasi partilerin kendi iç adaylık prosedürleri için uyguladıkları bağımsız veya gönüllü kotalardır (Peschard 2002; Gaspard 2001). Bununla birlikte, siyasi partiler her zaman kadın adayların seçilemez konumlara yerleştirilmesini sağlayan veya onları listelerin sonlarına hapseden toplumsal cinsiyet kotası kurallarını aşmanın yollarını bulmuştur (Hinojosa, 2012). Bu durum (Krook, 2014; Dahlerup, 2006; Schwindt-Bayer, 2009), ilgili seçim yasasında kota türü ve yüzdesini belirten ve kotaya uyulmaması halinde yaptırımlar öngören zorunlu kota yasalarının uygulanmasını (Peschard, 2002) sağlamıştır.

Bu bağlamda, özel bir kota biçimi olarak parite, esas olarak kadın ve erkeklerin eşit temsilini sağlayarak gerçek demokrasiyi (Franceshet & Piscopo 2013; Praud 2012) uygulamayı amaçlayan bir dizi reformu ifade eder. Parite, dönüşümü etkilemek ve eşitlik ve temsil üzerine feminist tartışmaları değiştirmek için ortaya çıkmıştır (Haase-Dubosc, 2000). Parite hareketinin geçmişi 1992 ve 1995'e, Atina Tüzüğü'ne ve Pekin Konferansı'na kadar dayanır (Gaspard 2001; Haase-Dubosc 2000). Uygulamada parite, ülkenin ilgili seçim yasasında belirtilen ve tahsis edilen siyasi seçimlerde yasal ve zorunlu cinsiyet kotaları olarak görülür (Peschard 2002). Eşitlik yasaları, ilgili yasaya uygun olarak uygulanmadıkları takdirde yaptırımlar ortaya çıkartır (Peschard

2002, Gaspard 2001). Bununla birlikte, pariteyi diğer seçime ilişkin cinsiyet kotalarından ayıran şey, paritenin siyasette eşitsiz cinsiyet temsiline geçici bir çözüm olarak görülmemesidir. Parite, “devletin kalıcı bir düzenlemesi” (Piscopo, 2016) olarak hizmet eder ve demokratik devletleri hedefleyen bir cinsiyet temsili ve cinsiyet dengesi felsefesini vurgular (Rodrigues Ruiz & Rubio-Marin 2008; Suk 2013).

Kotalar ortaya çıktıktan sonra hızla popüler hale geldi çünkü çoğu durumda “kadınların temsilini iyileştirmeye yönelik hızlandırılmış yaklaşım” olarak görüldüler (Dahlerup ve Freidenvall, 2005). Siyasi partilerin kadın adaylar için gönüllü kota uyguladıkları Hindistan, Brezilya, Güney Afrika, Tayvan, Malezya gibi birçok ülke oldu (Bird, 2003). Örneğin, Tayvan'daki DDP, 1995 yılında yüzde 25'lik bir kotayı benimsemiştir. Şu anda, Meksika, Tunus, Belçika, Fransa ve Arjantin, yasal ve zorunlu yasalarla belirlenen yüzde 50 aday cinsiyet kotasına sahip ülkelerden bazılarıdır ve uymayan tüm ilgili tarafları cezalandırmaktadır. Tunus'taki kadınlar, siyasette seslerini duyurmak için mevcut siyasi partiyi alenen desteklemeleri gerektiğini bilerek, otoriter hükümetlerine meydan okumak ve onları değiştirmek için mücadele ettiler (Goulding, 2009). 2011 devriminin ardından kadınlar, yeni seçim yasası için seçim kontenjanı oluşturma görevini üstlendi ve bu süreç beş yıldan fazla sürdü. Tunus örneğinde, kadın aktivistlerin stratejik olarak partileri siyasi işe alım süreçlerine kadınları dahil etmeye zorlaması önemliydi (Belschner, 2022). Bolivya'nın durumu çarpıcıdır, çünkü ülkede bir eşitlik yasası ve aynı anda uygulanan bir ayrılmış koltuk kotası vardır ve ayrılmış koltuklar yerli kökenli siyasi adaylara hizmet vermektedir. Bununla birlikte, Bolivyalı kadınlar, yerli kökenli politikacılara yönelik kotalardan farklı olarak, kadınlara yönelik siyasi kotaları onaylamak için mücadele ettiler. Htun ve Ossa (2013), Bolivya'daki toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları için kadın hareketinin, radikal, şehirli feministler ve ülkenin kırsal kesimlerinden kadınların kadınların temsil edilmesini talep etmek için birleştiği birleşik bir hareket olduğunu iddia ediyor.

Fransa'daki eşitlik hareketi, temsile yeni bir felsefi yaklaşım sağladı. Kadınların yetersiz temsili sorununu ele almanın yanı sıra, Fransız siyasetinde eşitlik, Fransız feminizminin canlandırılması yoluyla Fransız siyasi sistemini demokratikleştirmeyi de amaçlıyordu (Baudino, 2003). Dahlerup'un iddia ettiği gibi, bu politikalar “sonuç eşitliğinden çok gerçek fırsat eşitliği sağlamaya yönelik bir adımdı” (Dahlerup, 2007,

s.88). Sanbonmatsu (2003), siyasette kadınların çıkarlarının temsilini geliştirmenin, kadınların görevdeki varlığını artırmaya, temsili “sosyal özellikler” (tanımlayıcı temsil) ile ilişkilendirmeye ve “seçmenler lehine hareket etmeye” (özlü temsil) bağlı olduğunu savundu (Pitkin 2003; Sanbonmatsu, 2003, s.368). Parite literatürü, betimleyici ve somut temsil arasındaki ilişkiyi parlamenter dinamiklere ve sonuçların eşitliğine dayalı olarak analiz eder. Parite, bir metodoloji ve felsefe olarak, siyasi karar vermede eşit temsili amaçlar. Piatti-Crocker'ın (2019) öne sürdüğü gibi, 2016'da küresel arenada yeniden ortaya çıktığında pariteyi başarılı kılan şey, kadınlar için gerçek eşitliğe yönelik pozitif ayrımcılık mekanizmalarının halihazırda mevcut olmasıydı. (Piatti-Crocker, 2019).

Arjantin, parite tartışmasının yeniden ortaya çıktığı (Piatti-Crocker, 2019) ve sonunda 2017'de yasal olarak eşitliğin benimsenmesine yol açtığı (Schwindt-Bayer, 2018) 2016'da siyasi karar alma sürecinde cinsiyet temsili yeniden canlandıran ülkelerden biriydi. Kadın hareketi ve feminist kadınların dayanışma ağları oluşturması, Latin Amerika'daki toplumsal cinsiyet kotalarının başlıca köşe taşlarıydı. 1964'te toplanan ve 1987'de kurumsallaşan Latin Amerika Parlamentosu Kadın Komisyonu PARLATINO (Htun ve Jones, 2002) şunları ifade etmiştir: “Kadın ve erkek arasındaki eşitlik, demokrasinin ve iyi yönetişimin geliştirilmesine katkıda bulunan bir insan hakkıdır. devletlerin sürdürülebilir kalkınması için kilit bir faktör” (Piatti-Crocker, 2019). Latin Amerika'da eşitlik, "tüm devlet kurumlarında cinsiyet dengesine ve demokrasiye yönelik felsefi bir taahhüt olarak görülmeye başlandı ve ulusal cinsiyet kotaları yalnızca "eşitliğe giden araçlar" olarak tanımlanırken, yasama organının ötesine geçiyor (Piscopo, 2016). Bölgedeki eşitlik, maddi veya fiili eşitlik olarak adlandırılan gerçek eşitliğe bağlandı.

Cinsiyet ve siyaset bilimi içinde, şimdiye kadar seçimlerdeki cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğine ilişkin ana akım araştırmalar ya farklı versiyonların işleyişine, (Piatti-Crocker 2019; Piscopo 2016; Dahlerup 2007; Krook & O'Brien 2010; Dahlerup 2008; Praud 2012) veya belirli ülkelerdeki uygulama sorunlarına ilişkin belirli kota/eşitlik deneyimleri veya karşılaştırmalara (Gaspard 2001; Bird 2003; Jones 2009; Baudino 2003; Funk ve diğerleri. 2017) odaklandı. Daha önce bahsedildiği gibi, hemen hemen her yerde kadınların siyasi karar alma süreçlerinde eşit temsili sağlamaya yönelik

kurumsal reformlar, yerel ve küresel olarak desteklenen bir kadın hareketleri ağı (Jones 2009; Gaspard 2001; Baudino 2003) tarafından başlatıldı ve sürdürüldü. Kadınların kotalardan beklentileri ve onları güçlendirmeye yönelik daha geniş siyasi dönüşümler için nasıl kullandıkları, bu reformların benimsenmesinde kadınların vizyonlarının ve seslerinin merkeziliğine odaklanan bir anlatı oluşturmak için bir analiz gerektiriyor. Kadınların aktörler olarak önemi, reform dinamiklerinin denemeleri ve sıkıntıları sırasında kadınların katkılarının daha kapsamlı bir tasviri için daha fazla tanınmalı ve teorileştirilmelidir. Bu nedenle, kadın hareketlerinin belirli yönlerini vurgulayarak, karmaşıklıkların, altta yatan mekanizmaların ve başarılı kota veya parite reformlarının eşitlikçi sonuçlarının feminist bir açıklaması, kadınların iddialarını ve cinsiyet eşitliğine sahip bir demokrasi için bu yasal değişiklikleri meşrulaştırma stratejilerini değerlendirmek için gereklidir. Özellikle, cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğin kurulmasına, felsefesine ve getirilmesine kadınların katkısı, eşitlik reformlarının uygulamaya konulmasının dinamiklerinin kapsamlı bir şekilde anlaşılması için gereklidir. Bu, onlar hakkında ortaya atılan tartışmalara bakmayı ve erkek egemen siyasi normlar ve uygulamalar karşısında açmazlarını yeniden gözden geçirmeyi gerektiriyor. Buna göre, bu çalışma, çoğu durumda siyasi içerme için ittifaklar yoluyla ilerleyen kadınların siyasi temsile yönelik mücadeleleri için kadın seferberliklerinin önemini araştırıyor ve analiz ediyor. Her yerde cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitlik kadınlara basitçe verilmedi, ancak temelleri kadınlar tarafından atıldı, kotalar için seferberlikler ve hareketler kadınların önderlik ettiği hareketleri temsil etti ve siyasi partilerde ve yasama meclislerinde feministler ve kadınlar bunun uygulanmasında ve izlenmesinde ön saflarda yer aldı. Hem Fransa'da hem de Arjantin'de kotaları zorunlu kılan yasal değişiklikler, başta ulusal, yerel ve uluslararası kadın hareketlerinin çabaları olmak üzere çeşitli aktörlerin çalışmaları sonucunda kabul edildi. Nihayetinde, erkek siyasi elitleri ve diğer kota saptırıcılarını reformları desteklemeye ve geçirmeye ikna ettiler, özellikle de siyasette kotaları giderek daha fazla destekler hale gelen genel kamuoyu yönelimi bağlamında siyasi liderler (Hoodfar & Tajali, 2011, s. 119)

Bu bağlamda, bu tez çalışması, feminist aktivistler, teorisyenler, kadın STK'ları ve kadın örgütleri tarafından yürütülen kadın hareketlerinin rolüne odaklanarak kota ve parite reformlarının Arjantin ve Fransa'da bir feminist kurumsal değişim biçimi olarak

tanıtılmasına ilişkin mevcut literatüre katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu tez, iki öncü durumdaki kadın seferberliklerine ilişkin karşılaştırmalı bir araştırmanın, kota ve eşitlik yasalarının getirilmesinin arkasındaki ana itici güç olduğunu iddia ediyor; bu aktör-merkezli yaklaşım, Arjantin ve Fransa'daki kota benimseme süreçlerini gözden geçirerek, kadınların temsili iddialarını, taleplerini ve stratejilerini benzersiz yerel siyasi bağlam tarafından şartlandırılmış olarak vurgulayan belirli çıkarımlara varır (siyasi olarak ilgili aktörler ve kadınlara kaynak sunan kurumlar tarafından şekillendirilir). Uluslararası kurumların önemi, siyasi tartışmalar ve kadınların parite reformlarına itirazları ve Fransa ve Arjantin vakalarının anlatıları üzerine etkileyici bir çalışma grubu olmasına rağmen, çeşitli sektörlerden kadınların nasıl davrandığına dair daha odaklanmış bir açıklamaya hala ihtiyaç var. Fransa ve Arjantin'de, reform sürecindeki söylemlerini ve stratejilerini etkileyen siyasi ortamlarının, tartışmalarının ve kültürel bağlamlarının özel koşulları altında, erkek egemen siyasi işe alma ve temsil süreçlerine meydan okumak için birleştiler ve seferber oldular.

Kotaların ve paritenin benimsenmesinden sonraki yıllarda, literatür ve toplumsal cinsiyet ve siyaset araştırmaları, kotaların uygulanmasına ve temsilin farklı boyutları aracılığıyla etkililiğini etkileyen faktörlere odaklanmaya başladı. Bununla birlikte, kota tartışmalarını bir perspektife oturtmak için karşılaştırmalı bir endişeyle kadın hareketlerini yeniden ele aldığımızda, her iki ülkedeki diğer kolaylaştırıcı faktörlerin yanı sıra kadınların aktivizmlerinin görece önemini keşfetmemiz gerekiyor. Bağlamsal değişkenlere özen gösteren bu aktör-merkezli bakış açısı, feminist aktivizmin kurumsal siyasette eşitlikçi dönüşümlere doğru devletle ilişki kurma konusundaki katkılarını ve tarihsel gelişimini geri kazanmak için de çok önemlidir. Bu nedenle, bu tez kadınların ve kadınların sesini duymak için deneyimlerini tartışmalara geri getirerek karmaşık bir kurumsal değişim sürecini açıklamak için kadınların mücadelelerini, iddialarını ve stratejilerini gündeme getirerek kota literatürünün feminist analizlerine katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. olmadan kota ve parite reformlarının gerçekleştirilemeyeceği iddiaları. Ulusal bağlamsal farklılıklarına rağmen bu iki paradigmatik başarılı yasama değişikliği vakasının gözden geçirilmesi, feminist metodolojik bir bakış açısı gerektirir, çünkü araştırmaların çoğunluğu kota benimseme süreçleri, uygulama dinamikleri ve disiplinler sınırlar içindeki ilgili sorunlarla birlikte parite üzerinedir. siyaset bilimi, aktörlerin toplumsal cinsiyete

dayalı dinamiklerini ve onların kısıtlamalarını ve vizyonlarını tam olarak kavramak için feminist bir metodolojik merceği yeterince yansıtmadı ve bütünleştirmede. Bir toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları tezi olarak bu çalışma, Arjantin ve Fransa'daki kota reformları sürecini eleştirel bir feminist okuma yoluyla, farklı gruplardaki kadınların mücadelelerini ve seferberliklerini perspektife oturtmakla ilgilidir. baş aktörleri kadınlardır. Her iki ülkede de, eşitlik savunucuları olarak kadınlar, son derece ataerkil siyasi kültürlerle karşı karşıya kaldılar ve bu çalışma, feminist reformların yasama meclislerinde benimsenmelerinin belirli siyasi ve tarihsel konjonktürlerindeki başarılı sonuçlarını tam olarak hangi faktörlerin mümkün kıldığını açıklamak için çıkarımlar yapmaya hazırlanıyor.

Bu tez, kadın hareketlerini çevreleyen koşulları ve erkek liderleri ve partileri toplumsal cinsiyete yönelik kota reformlarını desteklemeye ikna etmeyi başaran ittifakları analiz etmek için 'ne' ve 'nasıl' sorularını yanıtlamayı amaçlayan tanımlayıcı ve keşif araştırma amaçlarını bir araya getiriyor. Arjantin ve Fransa'da siyasette eşitlik. Buna göre, bu tezin ana araştırma sorusu şudur: Arjantin'de toplumsal cinsiyet kotalarının ve Fransa'da eşitlik reformunun başarılı bir şekilde benimsenmesine yönelik kadın seferberlikleri tarafından hangi strateji ve iddialar kullanılmıştır? Altta yatan argüman veya başlangıç noktası, kadın hareketlerinin Arjantin ve Fransa'da kota tartışmalarının ortaya çıkmasında ve yasama cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğinin kabul edilmesinde merkezi olduğunu savunuyor. Tezin ana araştırma sorusunu incelemek için birkaç ikincil araştırma sorusu formüle edildi:

- 1) Kadın seferberliği, geçiş sonrası Arjantin'de ve Fransız feminizminin durgunluğu sırasında eşit siyasi temsil talep edecek şekilde kendisini nasıl yeniden formüle etti?
- 2) Kadın hareketlerini çevreleyen siyasi bağlamların (aktörler ve siyasi eşitlik nosyonları) toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğinin yasalaşmasını kolaylaştırma açısından önemi neydi?
- 3) Arjantin ve Fransa'da kadınlar nasıl stratejiler oluşturdular, siyasette ittifaklar kurdular ve ne tür iddialarla?

Bu soruları yanıtlamak ve olayların derinlemesine bir analizi ve kadın aktörlere odaklanan mevcut literatürün feminist bir incelemesi yoluyla karşılaştırmalı çıkarımlar yapmak için bu tez, kadınların mobilizasyonunu etkileyen süreçleri, söylemleri, stratejileri ve siyasi bağlamları sorgulamaktadır. Fransa ve Arjantin'deki farklı örnekler karşılaştırılarak bu soruların cevabı bu çalışma içerisinde verilecek.

Arjantin ve Fransa'da kadın hareketlerinin toplumsal cinsiyet kotalarının ortaya çıkışındaki rollerini analiz etme ve karşılaştırma amacı ile ve kadınların siyasette eşitsiz temsili bağlamında kadınların koşulları ve strateji oluşturma kalıplarına ilişkin bir kaygıyla ilerliyor bu çalışma, bir feminist araştırma olarak. Bu araştırma, Arjantin ve Fransa'daki kadın hareketleri ile kota ve parite reformlarına ilişkin dört soruyu yanıtlamayı amaçlamıştır. Tezin ana araştırma sorusu şuydu: Arjantin'de toplumsal cinsiyet kotalarının ve Fransa'da eşitlik reformunun başarılı bir şekilde benimsenmesinde kadın hareketlerinin oynadığı rol neydi? Bu araştırma, kadınların rolünü vurgulama çabasıyla, Arjantin ve Fransa'da toplumsal cinsiyet kotalarının ve eşitliğinin ortaya çıkmasında kilit rolü oynayan şeyin kadın seferberlikleri olduğunu savundu. Bu çalışmada ayrıca üç ayrı ikincil araştırma sorusu yanıtlanmıştır. Bu ikincil sorular, kadın seferberliklerine ve kadınların siyasette eşit temsil taleplerini nasıl yeniden formüle ettiklerine, ayrıca kota ve eşitlik için kadın hareketini çevreleyen siyasi bağlamlara ve kadınların Arjantin'deki bu siyasi bağlamlarda nasıl harekete geçtiğine, strateji oluşturduğuna ve ittifaklar kurduğuna odaklanıyordu.

Bu çalışma boyunca, kadınlar için eşit siyasi temsilin getirilmesinin kadınların çabaları olmadan gerçekleşmeyeceğini savundum. Bu çalışma, Arjantinli ve Fransız kadınların siyasi başarıya giden yollarına yeniden bakmak için süreç izlemeyi kullanarak çabalarını göstermiştir. Bu araştırmanın bulguları, Fransa ve Arjantin örneklerindeki ortak noktaların kadın seferberliklerinin çabaları olduğunu ve aslında kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğinin uygulanmasının ana aktörleri ve aracıları olduğunu göstermiştir. 1990'lardaki gelişmelerin karşılaştırmalı bir analizi, 1970'ler ve 1980'lerde meydana gelen önceki gelişmelere ilişkin arka plan bilgileriyle birlikte, kadın hareketlerinin siyasi bağlamlara uyum sağladığını ve aynı zamanda bölgesel, ulusal ve ulusötesi gelişmeleri kendi çıkarları için kullanmak üzere stratejiler icat ettiğini göstermektedir. fayda. Kadınlar sözleşmeleri ve belgeleri tercüme ediyor,

birbirleriyle iletişim kuruyor, diğer ülkelerdeki gelişmeleri takip ediyor, siyasi partilerin erkek seçkinlerine karşı mücadele ediyor ve siyasette eşit temsil edilme hakkını elde etmek için birbirlerine kenetleniyorlardı. Sonuç olarak, Fransa ve Arjantin'de meydana gelen gelişmeler arasındaki eğilimler ve benzerlikler mevcut olup tezin bir önceki bölümünde vurgulanmıştır.

Arjantinli kadınların siyasi temsil mücadeleleri, Péron yönetimi sırasında kendilerine oy hakkı verildiği 1940'lara kadar uzanıyor. Arjantinli kadınların isteklerinin tam olarak yerine getirilmediğini gerçek ve görsel kanıtlarla gösterdim. Sorunlardan biri, o zamanlar ne dileyebileceklerini bilememeleri ve onlara sahte iddialarla oy kullanma hakkı verilmiş olmasıydı: Péronist rejim kadınları güçlendirmenin peşinde değildi, siyasi istikrarlarını ve oyları çekerek oylarını iyileştirmek istiyorlardı. o dönemin işçi sınıfı kadınlarının Kadınlar, ülkenin anneleri olarak idealize edildi ve Arjantinli kadınların eşit siyasi temsil mücadelesinin köklerini şekillendiren gelecekteki annelik ve Arjantin'deki siyasi tartışmaların zeminini hazırlayan bakıcı rollerinin altı çizildi. Fransız kadınları için de durum benzerdi, Charles de Gaulle'e sadakatlerinin bir sonucu olarak onlara oy hakkı verildi. Dönemin kadınlarından doğrudan alıntılar paylaşarak, oy kullanma haklarına bakış açılarını belirlemeye çalıştım. Fransız kadınları neye oy vereceklerini bilmiyorlardı, oy kullanma hakkının ne anlama geldiğini bilmiyorlardı.

Kadınların beklenti ve deneyimlerinin seyrini değiştiren, İkinci Dalga feminizmin yükselişiyle birlikte talep ettikleri üreme hakları oldu. Kadınlar mevcut hükümetlere meydan okumaya ve kadınlık algılarını ve temsillerini değiştirmeye başladılar. Fransa'daki Sosyalist Parti'deki kadınlar örgüt içinde toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları talep etti ve Arjantin'deki kadınlar mevcut demokratik olmayan rejime meydan okudu. İkinci Dalga feminizminin bu iki ülkede farklı şekilde gerçekleştiğini not etmek önemlidir. Arjantinli kadınlar annelik kavramlarına meydan okuyorlardı ve siyasi faaliyetleri kadınlıklarının bir uzantısı olarak görülüyordu. Askeri rejim sırasında sürgüne gönderilen Arjantinli kadınlar, Fransız feministlerinin Arjantinli ve Fransız kadınları arasındaki ortak noktaların temellerini atan eserlerini çevirmek için seferber oldular. Kadın seferberlikleri kolektif bir çaba olsa da, her iki durumda da Margarita Malharro de Torres ve Régine Saint-Criq gibi toplumsal cinsiyet kotası hareketlerine

öncülük eden cesur kadınların siyasi yasa tasarıları önererek ve siyasi elitlerle ittifaklar kurarak kadınlar için daha fazla siyasi temsil talep ettiklerine tanık oluyoruz. .

Feminist bir metodolojik yaklaşım uygulamayı amaçlayan bu tez, 1990'larda Fransa ve Arjantin'de meydana gelen siyasi olayların ve örneklerin feminist bir yorumuna odaklandı. On yıl, Arjantin'i yasal cinsiyet kotalarını uygulayan ilk ülke ve Fransa'yı eşitlik uygulayan ilk ülke olarak gösteriyor. Bu tez, bölgesel, ulusal ve uluslararası örgütlerin rolü, siyasi seçkinler, ülkelerin siyasi iklimi ve Fransa ve Arjantin'deki kadın hareketlerini çevreleyen genel siyasi bağlamlar gibi bu gelişmeleri çevreleyen diğer faktörlerin önemini kabul etse de, Araştırma, kadın hareketlerinin gelişmelerin merkezinde olduğunu savunuyor. Anekdotlar, doğrudan alıntılar, fotoğraflar ve arşivlenmiş belgeler yoluyla kadınların rolüne ilişkin daha fazla bağlam sağlayan bu çalışma, Arjantinli ve Fransız kadınların seslerini yükseltmeyi ve birbirlerinden ilham aldıklarını ve güçlendiklerini kanıtlamayı amaçladı.

Oakley, amacın dünyayı işaretlemek ve insanların üzerinde yürüdükleri zemini gözlemlenmelerini sağlamak olduğunu söyleyerek, feminist bir metodolojik yaklaşımı bir göktaşıyla karşılaştıran çalışmaları karşılaştırdı. Bu çalışma, kadınların siyasi temsili alanında bir göktaş olmalı ve kadınların kendilerine ve diğer akademisyenlere, kadınların siyasi zaferlere yönelik yörüngelerini yeniden gözden geçirmeleri için ilham vermeyi amaçlamaktadır. Kadınlara nadiren hak verildiğini görecekler. Bugün kadınların sahip olduğu siyasi, insani, ekonomik, üreme ve daha birçok hak, kadınlar tarafından talep edilmiş ve kazanılmıştır.

Araştırmanın temel amacı, kadın hareketlerinin güçlü yanlarını, ittifaklarını ve stratejilerini belirlemek için Fransa ve Arjantin'deki toplumsal cinsiyet kotalarını ve eşitlik durumlarını analiz etmektir. Araştırma boyunca, ana sınırlılıklardan biri, doğrudan kadınların kendilerinden alıntı yapılmamasıydı. Ana analiz kaynakları, çoğunlukla kadınlar hakkında ve onlar tarafından yazılan diğer akademik çalışmalar olmak üzere ikincil olsa da, kadınların konuşmalarını ve deneyimlerini kendi sözleriyle ele alan daha karşılaştırmalı kaynaklar, bu çalışmanın feminist kaygılarına büyük katkı sağlayabilirdi.

Diğer bir sınırlılık, feminist metodolojileri uygulayan veya yalnızca ve doğrudan kadın hareketlerinin ve seferberliklerinin toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğinin ortaya çıkmasına katkılarına ve/veya deneyimlerine odaklanan, toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğini kapsayan akademik çalışmaların olmamasıydı. Bu ülkelerde cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğine odaklanan diğer çalışmalar, cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğini çevreleyen siyasi fırsatların yapısını ve kadınların bölgesel ve ulusötesi ittifaklar kurmasına katkıda bulunan diğer ulusötesi gelişmeleri vurgulama eğilimini paylaşıyor. Bu tez, yalnızca kadınların rolünü ve katkılarını vurgulamak amacıyla gelişmeleri analiz eden feminist bir araştırma yaklaşımı kullandığı için diğer çalışmalardan farklıdır. Kadınların siyasette eşit temsilini çevreleyen süreçlere odaklanan feminist akademik çalışma eksikliği var ve bu tez, deneyimlerin, seslerin ve kadınların deneyimlerini, seslerini vurgulamaya odaklanan daha fazla akademik araştırmanın yolunu açmak için literatürdeki bu boşluğa katkıda bulunmayı amaçlıyor. en önemlisi de kadının siyasetteki önemi.

Türkiye'de yazılmış bir tez olarak bu tez, Türkiye'deki feminist kadınların siyasette eşit temsile yönelik yolculuklarındaki deneyimlerine, seferberliklerine ve ittifaklarına katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Siyasette eşit temsil için kadın hareketi tarihinde önemli yer tutan Arjantin ve Fransa örnekleri ideal örnekler olarak analiz edilmiştir. Türkiye, bu çalışmanın tarihi itibarıyla yasal cinsiyet kotaları veya eşitlik getirmemiştir. Bu tezde ele alınan analiz ve toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğinin getirilmesinde kadınların ana aktörler olduğu iddiası, Türk kadınlarının toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğine yönelik seferberlikleri için bir başlangıç noktası olabilir.

Daha önce tartışıldığı gibi, bu tez, kadınların önemini vurgulamayı amaçlayan toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitlik üzerine daha fazla araştırma için bir başlangıç noktası olmayı amaçlamaktadır. Daha fazla araştırma için bu çalışmanın önerileri, kadınların kendilerini nasıl konumlandıklarını ve toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve eşitliğinin getirilmesindeki rollerini anlamak için doğrudan Arjantinli ve Fransız kadınlar tarafından sağlanan alıntılar ve deneyimlerin incelenmesini içeriyor. Bu metodoloji, kadınların toplumsal cinsiyet kotaları ve paritesine ilişkin gelecekteki gelişmeler açısından endişelerini ve taleplerini anlamak için de faydalı olacaktır.

Diđer bir öneri ise, kadınların strateji ve metodolojilerini ve bu stratejilerin rollerini daha fazla analiz etmektir. Örneđin, kadınların siyasetteki varlığı ve temsili ile ilgili ulusal ve ulusötesi kitapları, belgeleri, sözleşmeleri, sözleşmeleri ve sözleşmeleri nasıl ve neden çevirdiđine dair bir analiz, bu tezin bulgularına göre kadınların ulusötesi ittifaklarını anlamak için çok önemli olacaktır çünkü tarihsel ve siyasal açıdan bakıldığında cinsiyet kotalarını ve eşitlik süreçlerini büyük ölçüde etkiledi.

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