



Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca
Informe trimestral de proyectos

FECHA DE ELABORACIÓN

01

12

2021

Instituto: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades			
Título del Proyecto			
Participación de las mujeres, en las candidaturas independientes, a las gubernaturas locales en México (2015-2020)			
Porcentaje de avance:	100%	Período que se reporta:	01/01/2021 al 01/12/2021
Descripción de las actividades:			
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Revisión bibliográfica y hemerográfica, de los antecedentes de las candidaturas independientes, en México, desde 1824 hasta 2021. - Análisis de las reformas constitucionales: de 2012, 2013 y 2014, que hicieron posible la reintroducción de las candidaturas independientes, en México. - Recopilación y análisis de datos empíricos, con relación a las candidaturas independientes, de las 35 elecciones locales (33 ordinarias y dos extraordinarias), que se han celebrado en 31 Estados de la República mexicana para elegir Gobernador (a), a partir de la reintroducción de dicha figura en 2015 y hasta 2020. - Investigar cuántas de las aspirantes a una candidatura independiente en las 35 elecciones locales (33 ordinarias y dos extraordinarias), celebradas en los 31 Estados de la República mexicana para elegir Gobernador (a), corresponden a mujeres y cuántas a hombres, a partir de la reintroducción de dicha figura en 2015 y hasta 2020. - Identificar cuántas de las candidaturas independientes registradas en las 35 elecciones locales (33 ordinarias y dos extraordinarias), celebradas en los 31 Estados de la República mexicana para elegir Gobernador (a), corresponden a mujeres y cuántas a hombres, a partir de la reintroducción de dicha figura en 2015 y hasta 2020. - Elaborar tablas por año de elección que señalen los nombres de hombres y mujeres que participaron como aspirantes a una candidatura independiente en las 35 elecciones locales (33 ordinarias y dos extraordinarias), que se han celebrado en 31 Estados de la República mexicana a partir de la reintroducción de las candidaturas independientes en México, en 2015 y hasta 2020, para elegir Gobernador (a). Además de los datos de los que lograron su registro. - Investigar el “Estado del arte”, qué se ha escrito sobre el tema en revistas en inglés, además de elaborar su resumen y traducción. - Inscripción al Congreso Internacional de Ciencia Política organizado por la Asociación Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas A.C. (Amecip), de la cual soy integrante. 			

- Integración de propuesta de ponencia: Participación de las mujeres, en las candidaturas independientes, a las gubernaturas locales en México (2015-2020).
- Elaboración de resumen de ponencia para someterlo a revisión por pares.
- Redacción de memoria en extenso para el congreso y elaboración de artículo para proceso de publicación en revista.
- Elaboración de presentación de ponencia en el Congreso.
- Liberación de prestación de servicio social.

<p>Indicar que tipo de documentos se adjuntan como evidencia de avance del proyecto:</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Referencias de las fuentes consultadas. 2. Redacción de los antecedentes de las candidaturas independientes, en México. 3. Análisis de las reformas constitucionales: de 2012, 2013 y 2014, que hicieron posible la reintroducción de las candidaturas independientes, en México. 4. Elaboración de tabla que integra datos de las 35 elecciones locales (33 ordinarias y dos extraordinarias), que se han celebrado en 31 Estados de la República mexicana a partir de la reintroducción de las candidaturas independientes en México, en 2015 y hasta 2020, para elegir Gobernador (a). 5. Primer informe mensual de prestadora de servicio social: del 25 de enero de 2021 al 24 de febrero de 2021. 6. Segundo informe mensual de prestadora de servicio social: del 25 de febrero de 2021 al 24 de marzo de 2021. 7. Tercer informe mensual de prestadora de servicio social: del 25 de marzo al 24 de abril de 2021. 8. Cuarto informe mensual de prestadora de servicio social: del 25 de abril al 24 de mayo de 2021. 9. Quinto informe mensual de prestadora de servicio social: del 25 de mayo al 24 de junio de 2021. 10.-Sexto informe mensual de prestadora de servicio social: del 25 de junio al 24 de julio de 2021. 11.-Informe final de prestadora de servicio social. 12.-Evaluación de prestación de servicio social. 13.- Liberación de servicio social 14.- Pago de socia Amecip 2021. 15 y 16. Estado del arte, qué se ha escrito sobre el tema en revistas en inglés, resumen y traducción (en dos partes). 17. Tabla que integra datos de las aspirantes a una candidatura independiente en las 35 elecciones locales (33 ordinarias y dos extraordinarias), que se han celebrado en 31 Estados de la República mexicana a partir de la reintroducción de las candidaturas independientes en México, en 2015 y hasta 2020, para elegir Gobernador (a), en la cual se identifica cuántas mujeres y cuántos hombres participaron, así como cuántas mujeres y cuántos hombres lograron su registro. 18. Tabla de identificación de mujeres y hombres, Aspirantes y Registrados a Candidatos Independientes por año de elección.
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19.- Carta de aceptación de ponencia
20.-Pago de Congreso Amecip 2021.

Profesora-Investigadora responsable

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be 'Ivonne Maya Espinoza', enclosed within a large, loopy oval scribble.

Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza

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Antecedentes de las candidaturas independientes en México

Para identificar cuáles son los antecedentes de las candidaturas independientes en México, es necesario primero definir a los candidatos, después a los candidatos de partido y finalmente a los candidatos independientes, para determinar los periodos en los cuales, tuvieron o tienen, presencia en la escena política mexicana.

González define a los candidatos son “aquellos a quienes les está permitido, según las disposiciones electorales, participar en las elecciones cubriendo simplemente los requisitos de elegibilidad en ella establecidos” (2010, p. 48). Por lo tanto, para González el elemento central para ser considerado candidato es el de la reunión de requisitos, así quién cumpla con lo señalado en la normatividad podrá ser registrado como candidato.

¿Cuál es la diferencia entre un candidato independiente y uno de partido? La CPEUM (2015) y la normatividad federal no definen las CIs; por su parte, la Ley General de Instituciones y Procedimientos Electorales (LEGIPE) sólo menciona que CI es: “el ciudadano que obtenga por parte de la autoridad electoral el acuerdo de registro, habiendo cumplido los requisitos que para tal efecto establece la presente Ley” (LEGIPE, 2014, art. 3, inciso c); por lo tanto, es necesario recurrir a la literatura para definir con mayor claridad a las CIs.

Zovatto define a las CIs como “la nominación para ocupar un cargo electivo, cuyo rasgo peculiar y sobresaliente consiste en que tal oferta política se realiza sin el concurso ni principal ni complementario de un partido político” (2008, p. 137). Por otra parte, el Instituto Nacional de Estudios Políticos A.C. (INEP, 2002) señala que un CI “es un aspirante a un cargo de elección popular que no está afiliado a un partido político” (p. 17).

De acuerdo con la normatividad y las definiciones señaladas, los CIs son aquellos ciudadanos que cumplen con los requisitos establecidos en la normatividad para registrarse ante un órgano electoral (ya sea local o federal) para contender por un cargo de elección popular, sin estar afiliados a un partido político.

La diferencia entre los CIs y los candidatos de partido radica en que éstos últimos están afiliados a un partido político registrado, ya sea a nivel federal y/o local, que apoya su candidatura. Los candidatos de partido han estado presentes en la vida política del país desde que es independiente, a diferencia de los CIs que salieron de la escena política durante casi todo el periodo de partido hegemónico.

Las CIs han estado presentes en la vida política del país desde la época independiente; sin embargo, durante más de seis décadas desaparecieron de la escena política, tiempo que coincide con el establecimiento del régimen de partido hegemónico.

De acuerdo con Hernández (2012, pp. 20-26) las CIs en México han pasado por tres periodos: a) El primero, de los ciudadanos candidatos (1824-1911), este periodo se caracterizó porque no se hacía referencia a los CIs, mucho menos había una reglamentación; sin embargo, era común la participación de CIs en las elecciones. b) El segundo, del reconocimiento institucional de los CIs (1911-1946), en este periodo se reconocieron legalmente las CIs (con dicha denominación) y se establecieron disposiciones mínimas para su funcionamiento. c) El tercero, del rechazo a las CIs (1946-2012), durante este periodo sólo a través de los partidos políticos era posible acceder a una candidatura.

Después de las reformas constitucionales de 2012, 2013 y 2014, a estos tres periodos hay que sumar uno más (Maya, 2021): d) Cuarto, sistematización de las CIs (2012- a la fecha), este periodo se caracteriza por la reintroducción de las CIs en un régimen distinto: el democrático.

El escenario político electoral de este cuarto periodo difiere del segundo, ya que si bien en ambos existe un reconocimiento institucional de las CIs el contexto es distinto. Las diferencias principales son dos: a) En el segundo periodo se establecieron disposiciones “mínimas” para el funcionamiento de las CIs; actualmente las reformas constitucionales a nivel federal y local han “sistematizado” a través de la reglamentación el funcionamiento de las CIs a nivel federal y local, si bien hace falta trabajar en las condiciones de equidad e igualdad entre los CIs y los candidatos de partido, las CIs constituyen un avance significativo para que los ciudadanos accedan al poder. b) La institucionalización de las CIs durante el segundo periodo se llevó a cabo en un régimen semi-democrático, y la reintroducción de las CIs en el cuarto periodo se realizó en un régimen democrático de reciente adquisición.

El régimen democrático abre el “acceso legal” al poder a los ciudadanos; sin embargo, es necesario hacer ajustes para que éstos “accedan realmente” al poder en igualdad de condiciones que los candidatos de partido.

Reformas constitucionales, federales y locales, que reintrodujeron a las candidaturas independientes en México

Durante siete décadas México estuvo inmerso en un sistema de partido hegemónico, el cual finalizó con la alternancia en los poderes Legislativo y Ejecutivo en 1998 y 2000 respectivamente. Sin embargo, la crisis en el sistema de partidos persiste; así lo demuestran los resultados de encuestas sobre desencanto ciudadano (Latinobarómetro, 2016) que evidencian la desconfianza de los ciudadanos hacia los partidos políticos de acuerdo con datos del Observatorio de Elites Parlamentarias en América Latina (PELA, 2016). Dicho desencanto ha originado cambios en el sistema de partidos, tal es el caso de la reintroducción de los Candidatos Independientes (CIs) como una alternativa para hacer frente a la crisis partidista.

A nivel federal, la regulación de las CIs se ha dado paulatinamente a través de tres reformas a la Constitución Política de los Estados Unidos Mexicanos (CPEUM): a) la primera en 2012, reintrodujo la figura del CI, ya que desde 1946 para ser candidato a un puesto de elección popular era necesario ser propuesto por un partido político (CPEUM, 2015, p. 41); b) la segunda en 2013, incorporó el principio de que las constituciones y leyes locales garanticen que en las elecciones los ciudadanos soliciten su registro como CIs a todos los cargos de elección popular; y c) la tercera en 2014, otorgó a los CIs derechos y obligaciones en las mismas condiciones que a los candidatos de partido, dichas prerrogativas incluían el acceso a: postulación, registro, radio y televisión, financiamiento público, franquicias postales, nombramiento de representantes ante las mesas directivas de casilla (MDC), así como la obligación de presentar su contabilidad y plan de reciclaje de propaganda (CPEUM, 2015).

A nivel local, las constituciones y leyes de los estados han regulado el acceso a las CIs a través de adecuaciones realizadas entre 2014 y 2015. Cada Estado ha decidido el porcentaje y los plazos para recabar el apoyo ciudadano, así como los requisitos para el registro de los CIs, de ahí que existan diferencias sustanciales entre los diferentes Estados de la República Mexicana.

En México, el sistema de partido que precedió a la democracia fue el de partido hegemónico. Entendiendo por sistema de partidos “el sistema de las interacciones que resultan de la competición

entre los partidos” (Sartori, 2005, p. 13). En los sistemas de partido hegemónico “el partido hegemónico no permite una competencia oficial por el poder, ni una competencia *de facto*” (Sartori, 2005, p. 282). En este sistema “se permite que existan otros partidos, pero como partidos de segunda” (Sartori, 2005, p. 282); si bien están autorizados, no compiten con el partido hegemónico en términos antagónicos ni de igualdad. Dicho sistema no debe ser confundido con el de partido único; “esta distinción reviste una importancia notable, pues, entre otras cuestiones, los regímenes políticos de partido único han sido, en general, más represivos que los de partido hegemónico” (Lizcano y otros, 2013, p. 61).

El régimen de partido hegemónico, ejercido por el Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI) durante más de siete décadas, finalizó con la llegada del Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) a la presidencia de la República, en 2000. Sin embargo, la alternancia en el poder no consiguió terminar con la crisis del sistema de partidos a que hacen referencia diversos autores desde hace décadas (Boudon, 1998; Loaeza y Segovia, 1987 y Reyes, 1995).

La Reforma Constitucional de 2012 introdujo las CIs como una alternativa ciudadana ante la crisis de partidos, sin embargo, no garantizaba la equidad de la contienda entre los ciudadanos independientes y los candidatos propuestos por un partido político; por lo tanto, se hizo necesaria la Reforma de 2014 que modificó la normatividad para transformar las instituciones y las reglas de la competencia electoral. De acuerdo con Castellanos (2014) los objetivos de la Reforma son: “fortalecer la participación ciudadana en la política y ampliar la representación popular para enfrentar su crisis” (p.70), “garantizar la equidad de las elecciones en cuanto al acceso y uso de financiamiento” (p. 88), y “dar mayor certidumbre, transparencia y estabilidad al sistema político” (p. 43).

Tabla 1. Candidatos independientes registrados en elecciones para Gobernador (2015-2020)

N	2015	ACI	CI	N	2016	ACI	CI	N	2017	ACI	CI	N	2019	ACI	CI
1	Baja California Sur (1)	0	0	1	Aguascalientes (10)	1 (d)	1	1	Coahuila (22)	3	2	1	Baja California (33)	4	0
2	Campeche (2)	1 (a)	1	2	Chihuahua (11)	1 (e)	1	2	Nayarit (23)	3	3	2	Puebla (Extraordinaria) (34)	5	0
3	Colima (3*)	0	0	3	Durango (12)	1 (f)	1	3	Estado de México (24)	2	1	A CI	9	CI	0
4	Guerrero (4)	0	0	4	Hidalgo (13)	0	0	ACI	8	CI	6	0	2020	AC	CI
								N	2018	ACI	CI				
5	Michoacán (5)	0	0	5	Oaxaca (14)	3 (g)	0	1	Jalisco (25)	0	0				
6	Nuevo León (6)	1(b)	1	6	Puebla (15)	7 (h)	1 (i)	2	Guanajuato (26)	0	0				
7	Querétaro (7)	0	0	7	Quintana Roo (16)	0	0	3	Puebla (27)	3	0				
8	San Luis Potosí (8)	2 (c)	0	8	Sinaloa (17)	1 (j)	1	4	Tabasco (28)	1	1				
9	Sonora (9)	0	0	9	Tamaulipas (18)	1 (k)	1	5	Chiapas (29)	4	1				
				10	Tlaxcala (19)	1 (l)	1	6	Yucatán (30)	4	0				
				11	Veracruz (20)	1 (m)	1	7	Veracruz (31)	2	0				
				12	Zacatecas (21)	2 (n)	2	8	Morelos (32)	7	1				
				13	Colima (3**)	0	0	ACI	21	CI	3				
	Total	4	2		Total	19	10								
	Total				ACI	61	CI						21		

Notas: ACI= Aspirantes a Candidatos Independientes; CI= Candidatos Independientes; (a) Luis Antonio Che Cu, dirigente del Frente Campesino Independiente "Emiliano Zapata" (FRECEZ); (b) Jaime Heliodoro Rodríguez Calderón "El Bronco"; (c) Enrique Suarez del Real Díaz de León y José Alfredo Loredo Zarate; (d) Gabriel Arellano Espinoza; (e) José Luis Barraza González "Chacho"; (f) Alejandro Campa Avitia; (g) Juan Manuel García López, de Transformar Oaxaca 2016 A.C.; Zenén Avila Elena, de Confederación Nacional Revolucionaria de los Pueblos Dinámicos de México A.C.; y Matías Romero Solano, de Matías Romero Solano A.C.; (h) Ricardo Jiménez Hernández, Ricardo Villa Escalera, Marco Antonio Mazatle Rojas, Ana Teresa Aranda Orozco "La Doña", Rubén Hernández Pérez, Leodegario Pozos Vergara "El Tigre de la Sierra" y Carolina López López; (i) Ana Teresa Aranda Orozco "La Doña"; (j) Francisco Cuauhtémoc Frías Castro; (k) José Francisco Chavira Martínez; (l) Jacob Hernández Corona; (m) Juan Bueno Torio; (n) Alma Rosa Ollervides González y Rogelio Soto Acuña. Fuentes: elaboración propia con datos de (1) IEEBCS, 2016; (2) IEEC, 2016; (3*) IEECO, 2016 y (3*) Elección extraordinaria; (4) IEPCEG, 2016; (5) IEM, 2016; (6) CEENL, 2016; (7) IEEQ, 2016; (8) CEEPACSLP, 2016; (9) IEEPACS, 2016; (10) IEEA, 2016; (11) IEECH, 2016; (12) IEPD, 2016; (13) IEEH, 2016; (14) IEEPCO, 2016a; (15) IEEP, 2016; (16) IEQR, 2016; (17) IEES, 2016; (18) IETAM, 2016; (19) IETLAX, 2016; (20) IEV, 2016; (21) IEEZ, 2016; (22) IEEC, 2020; (23) IEEN, 2020; (24) IEEM, 2020; (25) IEPD, 2020; (26) IEEG, 2020; (27) IEEP, 2020; (28) IEPCT, 2020; (29) IEPCH, 2020; (30) IEPY, 2020; (31) IEV, 2020; (32) IMPEPAC, 2020; (33) IEBC, 2020; y (34) IEEP, 2020.



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE MENSUAL

Fecha: __03/03/2021__

DATOS DE LA EMPRESA, ORGANISMO O DEPENDENCIA

Nombre: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca

Área: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca

DATOS DEL ALUMNO

Nombre: María Selene Villegas Maya

No. de matrícula: 108300

Grupo: LL34

Carrera: Lengua y Literatura

PERÍODO DE ACTIVIDADES

Del: 25 de enero de 2021 al: 25 de febrero de 2021

Horario: 17:00 a 21:00 horas

Promedio de horas a la semana: 20

Total de horas mensual: 80

PRINCIPALES ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS EN EL PERÍODO

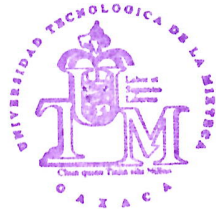
- a) Búsqueda de fuentes de información, relativas al proyecto "Participación de las mujeres en las candidaturas independientes a las gubernaturas locales en México 2015 – 2020".
- b) Consulta de material bibliográfico y hemerográfico.
- c) Realizar referencias del material consultado.
- d) Registrar documentos.



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

OBSERVACIONES DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR

La presentadora de servicio social ha desarrollado sus actividades adecuadamente, con total disposición.



Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
Profesor-Investigador
Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca

Ing. Lázaro Sánchez Hernández
Coordinador de Servicio Social
Universidad IEU



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE MENSUAL

Fecha: 25/03/2021

DATOS DE LA EMPRESA, ORGANISMO O DEPENDENCIA

Nombre: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca
Área: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH)

DATOS DEL ALUMNO

Nombre: María Selene Villegas Maya
No. de matrícula: 108300
Grupo: LL34 Carrera: Lengua y Literatura

PERÍODO DE ACTIVIDADES

Del: 25 de febrero de 2021 al: 25 de marzo de 2021
Horario: 17:00 a 21:00 horas
Promedio de horas a la semana: 20
Total de horas mensual: 80

PRINCIPALES ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS EN EL PERÍODO

- Crear un portal de investigador en Academia.edu
- Alimentar el portal con: publicaciones de artículos de revista, capítulos de libros, artículos de periódicos, memorias de congresos y blogs institucionales.
- Realizar ajustes al portal de investigador creado para: facilitar la presentación del material, su consulta y descarga.
- Elaboración de tabla, con información de municipios del estado de Oaxaca que se rigen por: partidos políticos o sistemas normativos indígenas.

OBSERVACIONES DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR

Ninguna.

Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
Profesora-Investigador
Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca



Ing. Lázaro Sánchez Hernández
Coordinador de Servicio Social
Universidad IEU



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE MENSUAL

Fecha: 25/03/2021

DATOS DE LA EMPRESA, ORGANISMO O DEPENDENCIA

Nombre: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca
Área: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH)

DATOS DEL ALUMNO

Nombre: María Selene Villegas Maya
No. de matrícula: 108300
Grupo: LL34 Carrera: Lengua y Literatura

PERÍODO DE ACTIVIDADES

Del: 25 de febrero de 2021 al: 25 de marzo de 2021
Horario: 17:00 a 21:00 horas
Promedio de horas a la semana: 20
Total de horas mensual: 80

PRINCIPALES ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS EN EL PERÍODO

- Crear un portal de investigador en Academia.edu
- Alimentar el portal con: publicaciones de artículos de revista, capítulos de libros, artículos de periódicos, memorias de congresos y blogs institucionales.
- Realizar ajustes al portal de investigador creado para: facilitar la presentación del material, su consulta y descarga.
- Elaboración de tabla, con información de municipios del estado de Oaxaca que se rigen por: partidos políticos o sistemas normativos indígenas.

OBSERVACIONES DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR

Ninguna.

Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
Profesora-Investigador
Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca



Ing. Lázaro Sánchez Hernández
Coordinador de Servicio Social
Universidad IEU



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE MENSUAL

Fecha: 25/04/2021

DATOS DE LA EMPRESA, ORGANISMO O DEPENDENCIA

Nombre: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca
Área: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades

DATOS DEL ALUMNO

Nombre: María Selene Villegas Maya
No. de matrícula: 108300
Grupo: LL34 Carrera: Lengua y Literatura

PERÍODO DE ACTIVIDADES

Del: 25 de Marzo de 2021 al: 24 de Abril de 2021
Horario: 17:00 a 21:00 horas
Promedio de horas a la semana: 20
Total de horas mensual: 80

PRINCIPALES ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS EN EL PERÍODO

- Elaboración de tabla, de las y los presidentes municipales, del Distrito 06 local del Estado de Oaxaca (para identificar % de hombres y de mujeres en el poder).
- Investigación de artículos con respeto a las candidaturas independientes, en sitios de internet como: Redalyc, Scopus, Scielo, Dialnet y Google Academic.
- Traducción de ideas principales de los artículos, de candidaturas independientes, de inglés a español y resumen de los mismos.
- Investigación de artículos y capítulos de libro, del acceso al poder de las mujeres en México.

OBSERVACIONES DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR

Ninguna

Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR
Y SELLO DE LA DEPENDENCIA



Ing. Lázaro Sánchez Hernández
Coordinador de Servicio Social
Universidad IEU



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE MENSUAL

Fecha: 28/06/2021

DATOS DE LA EMPRESA, ORGANISMO O DEPENDENCIA

Nombre: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca
Área: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH)

DATOS DEL ALUMNO

Nombre: María Selene Villegas Maya
Nc. de matrícula: 108300
Grupo: LL34 Carrera: Lengua y Literatura

PERÍODO DE ACTIVIDADES

Del: 25 de mayo de 2021 al: 25 de junio de 2021
Horario: 17:00 a 21:00 horas
Promedio de horas a la semana: 20
Total de horas mensual: 80

PRINCIPALES ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS EN EL PERÍODO

- Revisión ortográfica, de redacción y sintaxis del artículo "La aplicación de la ética en la democracia del Estado de México", como parte del proceso de arbitraje para la *Revista Ius Comitalis* de la Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México (UAEMex).
- Revisión ortográfica, de redacción y sintaxis del artículo "Desarrollo y democracia: aproximación a su relación", como parte del proceso de arbitraje para la *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* de la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM).
- Investigar los lineamientos, guías y protocolos sanitarios en los museos del mundo.
- Investigar las restricciones a las actividades culturales en el mundo derivadas de la crisis por el virus SARS-CoV-2.

OBSERVACIONES DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR

Ninguna

Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR
Y SELLO DE LA DEPENDENCIA



JEFATURA DE CARRERA
LICENCIATURA EN CIENCIAS
EMPRESARIALES

Ing. Lázaro Sánchez Hernández
Coordinador de Servicio Social
Universidad IEU



COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE MENSUAL

Fecha: 26/07/2021

DATOS DE LA EMPRESA, ORGANISMO O DEPENDENCIA

Nombre: Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca
Área: Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH)

DATOS DEL ALUMNO

Nombre: María Selene Villegas Maya
No. de matrícula: 1C8300
Grupo: LL34 Carrera: Lengua y Literatura

PERÍODO DE ACTIVIDADES

Del: 25 de junio de 2021 al: 25 de julio de 2021
Horario: 17:00 a 21:00 horas
Promedio de horas a la semana: 20
Total de horas mensuales: 80

PRINCIPALES ACTIVIDADES REALIZADAS EN EL PERÍODO

- Corregir datos de publicaciones en Academia.edu
- Agregar publicaciones recientes en Academia.edu
- Investigar aspectos del marco conceptual del proyecto "Participación de las mujeres, en las candidaturas independientes, a las gubernaturas locales en México 2015-2020"
- investigar en la normatividad electoral con respecto a las leyes aplicables en el proyecto antes señalado.

OBSERVACIONES DEL JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR

Ninguna

Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinza
JEFE INMEDIATO SUPERIOR
Y SELLO DE LA DEPENDENCIA



JEFATURA DE CARRERA
LICENCIATURA EN CIENCIAS
EMPRESARIALES

Ing. Lázaro Sánchez Hernández
Coordinador de Servicio Social
Universidad IEU



SERVICIO SOCIAL REPORTE FINAL

- El Servicio Social fue desarrollado para la Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca (UTM).
- Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH)
- Período comprendido del 25 de enero al 25 de julio de 2021
- Nombre del prestador de servicio social: María Selene Villegas Maya
- Matrícula No. 108300 Grupo LL34

1. Objetivo: que la prestadora de Servicio Social apoye directamente en las actividades de investigación de la Profesora-Investigadora Ivonne Maya Espinoza, adscrita al Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH)

2. Actividades: Las actividades que como prestadora de servicio social se realizaron, fueron las siguientes:

- REALIZAR CORRECCIONES ORTOGRÁFICAS, DE REDACCIÓN Y ESTILO EN ARTÍCULOS PARA SU PUBLICACIÓN EN REVISTAS INDEXADAS.
- SEÑALAR CORRECCIONES ORTOGRÁFICAS, DE REDACCIÓN Y ESTILO EN ARTÍCULOS, PARA REVISTAS QUE SOLICITARON SU ARBITRAJE.
- INVESTIGAR CON RESPECTO AL PROYECTO DE INVESTIGACIÓN: PARTICIPACIÓN DE LAS MUJERES, EN LAS CANDIDATURAS INDEPENDIENTES, A LAS GUBERNATURAS LOCALES EN MÉXICO 2015-2020.

3. Oportunidades en el área de trabajo: Las oportunidades en el área de trabajo fueron adquirir experiencia en la corrección ortográfica, de redacción y estilo en artículos para su publicación en revistas indexadas. Además de aplicar los pasos del método científico para hacer investigaciones.

4. Formación Profesional: La formación obtenida en el IEU me ayudó a la realización de mis actividades.

5. Logros. Adquisición de experiencia y de habilidades para realizar la labor de autora y revisora de artículos.


Responsable Directa: Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza.

ATENTAMENTE

María Selene Villegas Maya
PRESTADORA DE SERVICIO SOCIAL

COORDINACIÓN DE SERVICIO SOCIAL ESTUDIANTE ONLINE

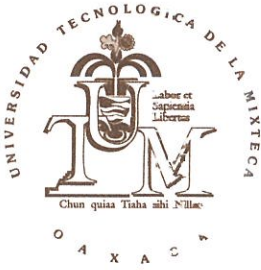
EVALUACIÓN FINAL DE DESEMPEÑO DEL ALUMNO

Nombre de la dependencia:	Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca (UTM)
Nombre del alumno:	Maria Selene Villegas Maya
Área asignada:	Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades
Responsable/ firma:	 Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
Lugar y fecha de evaluación:	Heroica Ciudad de Huajuapán de León, Oaxaca a 26 de julio de 2021

FAVOR DE EVALUAR MARCANDO CON UNA "X" EL CONCEPTO ADECUADO

Calidad en su colaboración	Deficiente. requiere supervisión constante	
	Aceptable. pocos errores	
	Buena, con errores aislados	X
	Buena, sin errores	
Conocimiento del área	Deficiente	
	Conocimiento mínimo	
	Empeño en reafirmar sus conocimientos	X
	Excepcional conocimiento del área	
Disciplina	Indisciplinado	
	Descuidado en su comportamiento	
	Cuidadoso en su comportamiento	
	Alto sentido de la disciplina	X
Cooperación	No coopera	
	Coopera esporádicamente	
	Colabora por sí mismo satisfactoriamente	
	Colabora sin reserva en toda actividad	X
Responsabilidad	Irresponsable	
	Poco responsable	
	Acepta la responsabilidad	X
	Extraordinariamente responsable	
Iniciativa	Sin iniciativa	
	Rutinario tiene poca iniciativa	
	Utiliza su iniciativa adecuadamente	X
	Busca la oportunidad de utilizar su iniciativa	
Sociabilidad	Poco sociable	
	Retraído, pero amable y cortés	
	Con capacidad para convivir con las personas	X
	Muy sociable	
Puntualidad	Deficiente	
	Aceptable	
	Buena	
	Alto sentido de la puntualidad	X





UNIVERSIDAD TECNOLÓGICA DE LA MIXTECA
LICENCIATURA EN CIENCIAS EMPRESARIALES

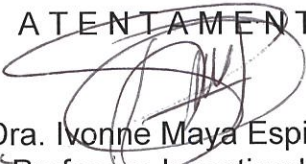
Oficio No. 001/2021
Asunto: Constancia de
Liberación de Servicio
Social

Heroica Ciudad de Huajuapán de León, Oaxaca a 26 de julio de 2021

ING. LAZARO SANCHEZ HERNANDEZ
COORDINADOR DE SERVICIO SOCIAL
UNIVERSIDAD IEU
P R E S E N T E

Por medio del presente le informo que la alumna María Selene Vilegas Maya con matrícula 108300 de la Licenciatura en Lengua y Literatura ha **LIBERADO SATISFACTORIAMENTE** su **SERVICIO SOCIAL** en la Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca en el Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (ICSyH) desempeñando las actividades de: a) Realizar correcciones ortográficas, de redacción y estilo en artículos para su publicación en revistas indexadas; b) Señalar correcciones ortográficas, de redacción y estilo en artículos que solicitaron su arbitraje; y c) Investigar con respecto al proyecto "Participación de las mujeres, en las candidaturas independientes, a las gubernaturas locales en México 2015-2020", en el período comprendido del 25 de enero de 2021 al 25 de julio de 2021, en el horario de 17:00 a 21:00 horas, cabe mencionar que cubrió un total de 480 horas.

ATENTAMENTE


Dra. Ivonne Maya Espinoza
Profesora-Investigadora
Responsable inmediata





Abriendo Amecip 2021.jpeg...

CONGRESO INTERNACIONAL DE CIENCIA POLÍTICA

Acapulco de Juárez, Guerrero, México

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Estado del arte, qué se ha escrito sobre el tema en revistas en inglés, resumen y traducción

Gender disparities in the media coverage of local electoral campaigns in Mexico (Disparidades de género en la cobertura mediática de campañas electorales locales en México)

FRIDA V. RODELO, Universidad de Guadalajara, Guadalajara, México (frida.rodello@academico.udg.mx)

A full exercise of the right of women to participate in politics and government also implies equality in areas such as media coverage of electoral campaigns. Absence of bias in media attention is important due to the fact that lack of information about female candidates can be disadvantageous for them, since it is more difficult for those who vote to choose an option that they remember less (Kahn, 1994). Faced with this, a question arises: do women receive less media coverage than their male counterparts during electoral campaigns? This article analyzes the volume of media coverage of local electoral campaigns in Mexico during the first implementation of the principle of gender parity in legislative candidates (2015). The historical struggle for gender equality has been aimed at guaranteeing the rights of women not only to live a dignified (in areas such as work, health, education, housing, food) and free of violence life, but also to participate in politics and government. In general, women are still underrepresented in the formal political spaces in the world (Paxton, Kunovich & Hughes, 2007). Empirical evidence supports the relationship between gender and development and the need to include a gender perspective in development and democracy studies to build public policies that contribute to narrowing gender gaps. For example, according to a longitudinal study with data from 123 countries (Wyndow, Li & Mattes, 2013), empowering women (by increasing their schooling and participation in the labor force and lowering the fertility rate) fostered the development of democracy in the world during the 1980-2005 period. Since the 1990s, gender quotas have been established in Latin American countries to ensure women's access to publicly elected positions (Archenti & Tula, 2014; Jones, Alles & Tchintian, 2012). In Mexico, the political reform of 2014 incorporated in article 41 of the Political Constitution of the United Mexican States the principle of gender parity in the formation of candidacies of federal and local legislators, as a measure to increase the political representation of women in the country's legislatures. This principle forces political parties to posit the same number of men and women candidates.

But, in addition to gender quotas and parity, ensuring the full exercise of women's right to participate in politics and government implies gender equity and non-discrimination in the media coverage of election campaigns. The first reason for this is that differences in media attention would put these candidates at a disadvantage (Kahn, 1994). Secondly, the difference in media attention may invisibilize the political participation of women, so that people judge that women's participation is not important or that women are not interested in politics; and also contributing to the absence of role models for girls and adults. According to Unesco (2012), the media "continue to be one of the main sources of information, ideas and opinion for the majority of the world's people" (p.15) and, therefore, can spread stereotypes and ideas with the potential to improve or worsen social problems: in this case, problems such as misogyny, sexism or discrimination against women and, in general, attitudes that support the persistence of gender gaps in different

areas of social life, such as labor, economy, politics and education. As they are extremely important information vehicles, the media “must reflect the diversity of society” (Unesco, 2012, p.15). From the above, an agenda for media research includes, among other tools, systematically conducting content analysis and media monitoring with a gender perspective (Gallagher, 2014), to account for the status of women’s access to what Vega-Montiel (2010) calls a “right to communication” (which includes freedom of expression and the right to information).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK THE CAUSES OF GENDER DIFFERENCES IN NEWS COVERAGE OF ELECTION CAMPAIGNS The pioneering study of Kahn (1994) establishes three possible explanations for gender differences in the coverage of election campaigns: (i) stereotypes of media organizations, (ii) news reporting standards in newsrooms and (iii) differences in campaign strategies. We will mention a fourth explanation in literature: the gender of decision makers in media organizations (Shor, Van de Rijt, Miltsov, Kulkarni & Skiena, 2015). These explanations are discussed below.

The first possible explanation –stereotypes within media organizations– can dictate in advance the best areas of competence of male and female candidates according to their gender (Kahn, 1994; Meeks, 2013), relating, for example, men with themes of foreign policy and women with education (Kahn, 1994); or imposing traditional gender roles (Mota & Biroli, 2016). Moreover, media organizations can assume and reproduce certain arguments that oppose the political participation of women. Vega-Montiel (2008) mentions three: the “rooted perception that women are less effective for positions of representation and performance of public functions”; the belief that “society is not prepared to have a female president”; and the conviction that “women must (...) have exceptional abilities to engage in politics” (p.75). The second possible explanation is that media organizations prioritize information that meets the highest standards of news reporting, including novelty and rarity. Thus, in certain contexts, the rarity of female candidates may make them more newsworthy (Kahn, 1994) or influence on how the candidate is described (Meeks, 2013). Third, news coverage may reflect differences between campaign strategies of male and female candidates (Kahn, 1994). Likewise, gender differences in issues such as campaign financing (Speck & Mancuso, 2014), recruitment and training of cadres (Beer & Camp, 2016), internal selection of candidates (Vidal Correa, 2013) –particularly the allocation of nominations in “lost districts” (Palma Cabrera & Cerva Cerna, 2014)–, partisan symbolic support (Cerva Cerna, 2014), among others, influence the effectiveness of campaigns and, therefore, can also translate into differences in media attention. The fourth possible explanation places the reason for gender differences in media coverage on the gender of media workers, especially decision makers, such as media owners and directors (Shor et al., 2015). According to Mexico’s Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres [National Institute of Women] (2005, p. 14), executive positions (CEOs, presidents, vicepresidents, seats in councils, etc.) in Mexican radio stations are occupied by women in only 12% of cases. For television stations, this same statistic is reduced to 5%. In addition, despite the fact that about 60% of those who study journalism in Mexico are women, labor access to media organizations does not correspond proportionally with this trend, as women are 16.3% of the written press journalists in the Federal District and 24.2% of journalists in the other Mexican states (Instituto Nacional de las Mujeres, 2005, p. 13). A similar situation prevails outside the media sector (Zabludovsky, 2015). In a study on the explanatory role of this variable, Meeks (2013) found the following differences in the way men and women journalists covered candidates in the United States: women who covered Senate elections emphasized more than their peers the

feminized qualities and issues; men who covered state and presidential elections emphasized masculinized contents more than their comrades.

Meeks' (2013) interpretation of this data is that journalists, both men and women (possibly unconsciously), support the "genderization" (i.e., gender-based allocation) of popularly elected positions (p. 68). GENDER DIFFERENCES IN THE VOLUME OF COVERAGE DURING ELECTION CAMPAIGNS Gender differences in media coverage of election campaigns can be of different types. Atkeson and Krebb (2008) have distinguished four main approaches in the literature on this topic: (i) the volume of coverage, (ii) the viability of the candidates, (iii) the candidates' issues, and (iv) the qualities of candidates. Since this study focuses on the first of these approaches, the following literature review will mainly comment on evidence referring to biases in volume of media coverage. According to the literature review by Shor et al. (2015), the evidence indicates that despite greater participation of women in various spheres of social life, a very large gender gap remains in the proportion of news coverage, to the extent that these authors speak of a "paper ceiling", since the studies they reviewed "typically find that women's names constitute about a quarter of the total mentions [of actors]" (p.962). Shor et al. (2015) have proposed that "inequalities in media coverage often reflect societal realities and everyday societal inequalities" (p. 964). In a similar

vein, Baitinger (2015), after finding that fewer women than men appear as guests in talk shows, mentions that "these gender differences can be explained, for the most part, by women's underrepresentation in the political professions from which guests are selected" rather than by sexism in the media (p. 587). Focusing specifically on news coverage of political campaigns in the United States, Kahn (1994) found gender differences in coverage by monitoring 47 campaigns for Senate and governorships between 1982 and 1988. The differences were: (i) lower volume of coverage of female candidates to Senate compared to male counterparts, and (ii) more negative female candidate coverage compared to their male counterparts. In the gubernatorial campaigns, the author did not registered differences in volume of coverage. In a later analysis, referring to the coverage of the senatorial campaigns and the U.S. gubernatorial campaigns of 1994, Smith (1997) obtained results different from those of Kahn. On this occasion, the author performed two regression analyzes to predict coverage volumes, the first with data on men's coverage, and the second with women's data. One of his findings is that the fact that a female candidate competes for governor contributed an additional 5.65 square inches per day of coverage (possibly because of the novelty factor), whereas it was not a significant factor for male candidates. Smith's conclusion was that there is "little evidence of gender-based patterns of coverage in 1994 senatorial and gubernatorial contests [in the United States], at least in terms of quantity" (p.76). According to Smith, the difference between his results and those of Kahn (1994) is explained by the fact that in the 1990s the United States experienced an era of greater awareness of the role of women in politics (1992 had been proclaimed the "year of the woman"). Other studies report similar results: Atkeson and Krebb (2008) also found no differences in volume in the U.S. municipal elections, nor Devitt (2002) in gubernatorial elections —also in the United States. By contrast, Bystrom, Robertson, and Banwart (2001) found evidence of greater coverage for female

candidates in gubernatorial and senatorial elections in the United States in 2000; likewise, Meeks (2012) also recorded greater media coverage of female candidates in four selected cases of women-versus-men races won by women in the United States. Campaign studies in Israel also show coverage with “quantitative gender parity” (Lachover, 2015, p.3), that is, absence of gender differences in media attention.

Outside the United States, there have been fewer studies on gender differences in the volume of media coverage. One of these is Hooghe, Jacobs and Claes (2015), concerning the television coverage volumes of members of the Belgian Parliament. The conclusions of these authors were that “news media continue to have a biased treatment of male and female MPs [members of parliament]” (p.407). In addition, having a longitudinal sample allowed them to reject the notion that the increase of women in positions of power will increase also their media coverage. This is because, among other reasons, this differential treatment is particularly detrimental to women who occupy the most important positions, such as being party president, being a minister, presiding over the House or leading the parliamentary group (Hooghe et al., 2015). In another study, Dan and Iorgoveanu (2013) observed gender biases in their analysis of the coverage of Romanian representatives’ elections to the 2009 European Parliament: female candidates appeared more in tabloids; male candidates appeared more in broadsheet newspapers. Likewise, more trivialization and a greater number of gender issues were observed in the coverage of female candidates than in the coverage of male candidates. Ross, Evans, Harrison, Shears and Wadia (2013) obtained a similar result in their analysis of coverage of the 2010 United Kingdom general elections, as women were less mentioned in the news stories than men, but appeared more often in articles focused specifically on gender issues. Studies of differences in coverage during campaigns usually consider within the analysis factors that, coupled with gender, may also explain the differences in media coverage of candidates. In the case of Kahn (1994), these factors were the competitiveness of the election¹, the candidate’s incumbent or challenger status, or being in an “open race”². Smith (1997) took into account, in addition to the previously mentioned factors, the gender of the writer of the news story, and presence of newspaper’s endorsement for the candidate, among other variables.

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Resumen

Un ejercicio pleno del derecho de las mujeres a participar en la política implica también una cobertura mediática no discriminatoria de las campañas electorales. Para determinar si hubo diferencias de género en el volumen de cobertura de las primeras campañas en que se aplica el principio de paridad de género en México, se analizaron datos provenientes de las campañas locales de Jalisco. Se encontró que los hombres obtuvieron medias de porcentaje de notas significativamente superiores a la de sus contrapartes mujeres, especialmente cuando se compararon los volúmenes de cobertura de candidaturas postuladas por partidos gobernantes (incumbents) y por partidos grandes.

BEYOND HEARTH AND HOME: FEMALE LEGISLATORS, FEMINIST POLICY CHANGE, AND SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION IN MEXICO (Más allá del hogar: Las legisladoras, el cambio feminista en las políticas y la representación sustantiva en México)

Jennifer M. Piscopo

The dramatic increase in women's numerical presence in legislatures across Latin America raises the possibility that qualitative improvements in policy and governance will follow. These expectations are grounded in normative discourses that see women –by virtue of their different social positions and roles– as introducing new perspectives to policy debates: the more diverse the legislative body, the more responsive and inclusive the decisions. In the words of Argentine activists who supported the electoral quota law that compelled parties to nominate women, “With few women in politics, women change, but with many women in politics, politics changes” (Marx, Borner, and Caminotti 2007:61). For scholars of gender and politics, this connection is studied as the link between women's descriptive representation (that is, women's numbers in legislative office) and women's substantive representation (that is, women's policy interests). Researchers have explored whether Latin American female legislators are more likely than male legislators to support policies related to women's interests, conceived as women's rights policies or social policies such as education and health. Generally, findings have been positive: female legislators do change politics by supporting equal rights legislation and social welfare policies (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013; Miguel 2012; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). Yet none of these studies have included the Mexican case, despite a highly successful electoral quota law that has raised women's descriptive representation to over 30 percent. This study offers the first quantitative assessment of the descriptive-substantive connection in the Mexican Congress. The Mexican case also provides an opportunity to answer some outstanding theoretical and methodological questions. First, how can scholars parse the causal effects of gender identity versus party membership? Scholars have debated whether women's policy preferences can be attributed to their sex or to their adherence to party platforms (Htun and Powers 2006; Piscopo 2011a). In the case of Mexico, two of the major three parties have staked clear, consistent ideological positions: the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) on the right, advocating economic neoliberalism and social conservatism, and the Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD) on the left, advocating state-led social welfare regimes that benefit the working class and other marginalized groups. Looking at substantive representation within the Mexican political parties offers an opportunity to explore whether rightist women (female panistas) still stake out progressive positions on women's issues. Second, and related, how can scholars measure women's substantive representation without neglecting the diversity of identities and preferences within women as a group? Celis and Childs (2012) have asked what scholars of women's substantive

representation should “do” with conservative women. At is, the standard conceptualization and operationalization of women’s interests has examined feminist policy change, ignoring instances wherein female legislators support policies that restrict women’s rights or protect male privilege. Yet under a strict definition of women’s substantive representation –that women’s interests are advocated for in policy debates– there appears no reason to exclude, *ex ante*, conservative visions.

After all, as a female panista commented in an interview, women who identify as housewives have interests in economic policies that support women’s domestic –as opposed to formal sector– work.¹ This paper thus takes a “values-neutral” approach to substantive representation, comparing female legislators who represent feminist policy change (proposals that would advance women’s rights and roles beyond those associated with hearth and home) to female legislators who represent non-feminist policy change (policies that shape women’s rights and roles in relation to hearth and home). In addition, can male legislators substantively represent women? The causal factor linking descriptive representation to substantive representation is legislators’ gender identity. Consequently, male legislators are not typically theorized as advocates for women’s interests. Yet this theoretical formulation confronts an empirical reality: male legislators may represent women less than female legislators, but they do not neglect women’s interests all of the time (Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013; Piscopo 2011a; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). When, then, are men considered women’s interests advocates? This paper explores this question by attending more carefully to the frequencies of men’s and women’s advocacy of feminist versus nonfeminist policy proposals, as well as proposals related to child wellbeing. This paper thus uses the Mexican case to address outstanding questions about which legislators undertake substantive representation and which policies count as substantive representation. I ask the following research questions: Does women’s descriptive representation enhance women’s substantive representation? Does gender identity (as proxied by sex) or party ideology best explain legislators’ policy preferences on women’s interests? Finally, how much evidence exists for substantive representation that is non-feminist and/or undertaken by men, and what are the theoretical implications of these trends? I focus on substantive representation as process, which Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) conceptualize as alterations to the legislative agenda (as opposed to substantive representation as outcome, which consists of policy change). I operationalize substantive representation as bill introduction, using quantitative data from the Mexican Chamber of Deputies between 1997 and 2012. I supplement the statistical analysis with qualitative data from fifteen field interviews conducted with female legislators from Mexico’s three largest parties in December 2009. At the time, interviewees were current members of the Chamber of Deputies or Senate, or had served at least one term in either chamber between 1997 and 2009.² Consistent with other studies from Latin America, I find that electing women indeed adds women’s interests to the legislative agenda. While right parties are less likely to represent women overall, female deputies from the right and left are more likely than their male colleagues to represent women’s interests. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of substantive representation is feminist. Related, my coding scheme for women’s interests shows that researchers must untangle the complicated nexus between women, hearth, and home. When feminist proposals are separated from non-feminist proposals, and non-feminist proposals are divided between women, on the one hand, and children, on the other, significant differences between male legislators’ and female legislators’ bill introduction emerge. Male legislators, particularly those on the left, do propose some feminist bills, but many male legislators abandon an explicit focus on women in favor of an explicit focus on children, is

abandonment being most notable among men on the right side suggests that previous studies, which have not divided women's interests in this way, may have over-estimated the participation of male legislators in feminist substantive representation at is, when a single "women's interest" measure includes proposals addressing women and children, divergences in female legislators' and male legislators' approaches to substantive representation are overlooked. I build this argument as follows.

First, I present background data on women's descriptive representation and legislative politics in Mexico. Second, I analyze overall trends in women's substantive representation, followed by an examination of the bills' content –that is, whether substantive representation means the advocacy of feminist proposals, non-feminist proposals, or proposals focused on children. I conclude that female legislators are largely responsible for placing feminist women's interests on the agenda.

*Data was first analyzed as part of author's Ph.D. Dissertation, "Do Women Represent Women? Gender and Policy in Argentina and Mexico" (2011), University of California, San Diego. ** Assistant Professor of Politics, Department of Politics, Occidental College, Los Angeles; piscopo@oxy.edu.*

Resumen:

Este artículo utiliza el caso mexicano para explorar temas pendientes en la conexión entre la representación descriptiva de las mujeres (es decir, la presencia numérica de las mujeres en la legislatura) y la representación sustantiva de las mujeres (es decir, las políticas que responden a los intereses de las mujeres). De acuerdo con trabajos previos sobre América Latina, encuentro que la elección de mujeres hace que la agenda legislativa sea más diversa, y también que las legisladoras –más que los legisladores– presenten propuestas que se sustentan en perspectivas feministas sobre los derechos y roles de las mujeres. Estas tendencias se mantienen a través de todos los partidos políticos mexicanos que se organizan ideológicamente, indicando que las activistas feministas deben preocuparse por que se elijan representantes de izquierda y mujeres. Es decir, las mujeres de derecha son aun más progresistas que los hombres de derecha. Para concluir, planteo la necesidad de desentrañar la relación entre las mujeres y el hogar y de eliminar la fusión de "intereses de las mujeres" con la niñez.

INTERACTION BETWEEN GENOTYPE AND GEOGRAPHIC REGION FOR MILK PRODUCTION IN MEXICAN HOLSTEIN CATTLE

Genotype x environment interaction (GEI) results from the lack of adaptation of regions for Holstein cattle in Mexico. Differentiation of environments in Mexico and other countries with tropical and subtropical regions is important, because Holstein herds and production level could be influenced for the environment in different magnitude. Therefore, this type of studies may give some indication of what could happen when selection is performed under several environmental conditions. The objective of this study was to investigate the presence of genotype- geographical region interactions for milk production in Holstein cattle in Mexico. MATERIAL AND METHODS Data were obtained from the milk recording system of the Mexican Holstein Association. First lactation 305-day mature equivalent records were used. Data were edited by discarding records

without lactation number, with less than 18 months of age at first calving, and with codes indicating lactations initiated with abortion, or terminated by sale, illness or lesions, or cows with less than 1500 kg of total milk production. Data from herds with less than 10 records, were also discarded. Records were classified by location of herd as Northern, Central and Southern regions.

Northern region included the arid states of Baja California Norte, Chihuahua, Sinaloa, Coahuila and Durango; the Central region involve mostly arid and temperate states of Aguascalientes, Guanajuato, Michoacán, Jalisco, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí and Zacatecas, and the Southern region included the temperate and subtropical states of Mexico, Hidalgo, Tlaxcala, Puebla and Veracruz. Dominant climatic classification according to the modified Köppen system, average temperature and annual rainfall are presented for each region in table I.

Climates, temperatures and rainfall varied considerably within regions and states. To obtain the average values for temperature and rainfall given in table I, climate prevailing in the area where herds were located in each state was considered. Northern region presented the most extreme temperatures, and Southern region was the one with highest rainfall. Genetic correlations for milk production (r_g) were estimated using records of daughters of sires distributed in several regions, considering only sires with at least 5 daughters in two regions for bivariate analysis (Garrick and Van Vleck, 1987). Numbers of records analyzed are shown in table II. Two seasons were defined trying to get a minimum of 10 observations in the combination herd-year-season of calving effects and to have seasons with different average temperature and precipitation effects; season 1 from June to November (warm and rainy); and season 2 from December to May (dry and cold). Three bivariate animal models were used to estimate the components of (co)variance. Restricted Maximum Likelihood (REML) method and the MTDFREML program (Boldman et al., 1995) were used. Several studies have reported (co)variance estimates from REML-animal model analyses in dairy cattle (Cienfuegos et al., 1999; Dedková and Wolf, 2001; Zwald et al., 2003; Valencia et al., 2004), due to their convenient properties of maintaining estimates within the parametric space taking into account selection bias when complete pedigree is used (Henderson, 1984). variances and covariances in this type of studies (e.g. Cienfuegos et al., 1999), assuming that the environments for the daughters of each bull were independent, therefore, residual covariance was set to 0. All additive genetic relationships were considered through the numerator additive relationship matrix A with complete pedigree information of each animal and records for several generations. To estimate the (co)variance components, convergence was assumed when the change in $-2 \log$ likelihood (L) was equal to or smaller than 10^{-6} . If the model converged to similar values for genetic correlations, using at least three restarts with different initial sets of values for the variances and covariances, a global maximum was assumed to be found (Boldman et al., 1995). test if the genetic correlation between two regions was less than one (Robert et al., 1995). Values of L were obtained for two models; in the first model (1) all variances were estimated, while in the second (2), L was obtained restricting r_g to be equal to one.

Instituto de Ciencias Agrícolas. Universidad de Guanajuato. ExHacienda El Copal. AP311. Irapuato, 36500, Guanajuato. México. posadas@dulcinea.ugto.mx 2 Facultad de Medicina Veterinaria y Zootecnia. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México. Ciudad Universitaria. 04510 Coyoacán. D.F. México. montaldo@servidor.unam.mx 3 Centro Nacional de Investigación en Fisiología Animal. INIFAP-SAGARPA. México. Km 1 carretera a Colón. Ajuchitlán 76280. Querétaro. México. ruiz.felipe@inifap.gob.mx

Resumen

Se utilizaron registros de primera lactancia corregidos a 305 días y equivalente de madurez, para investigar la presencia de interacciones genotipo-regiones para producción de leche en Ganado Holstein en México. Los registros fueron clasificados en tres regiones del país: Norte, Centro y Sur. Las correlaciones genéticas (r_g) fueron estimadas por pares de regiones, usando modelos animales bivariados. Sólo se utilizaron registros de sementales con hijas en dos regiones en cada análisis. Los modelos incluyeron hato-añoestación de parto como efecto fijo, y el efecto de animal como aleatorio. Las r_g entre Norte-Centro, Norte-Sur y regiones Centro-Sur fueron de 0,73, 0,38 y 0,93, respectivamente. La r_g entre Norte-Sur fue significativamente menor que la unidad ($p=0,002$), mientras que la r_g entre Norte-Centro tuvo una probabilidad cercana al límite de significancia ($p=0,07$). Estos resultados indican la presencia de una interacción genotipo-ambiente, los cuales pueden tener diversas repercusiones para el mejoramiento genético del ganado Holstein en México. Se requieren estudios adicionales orientados a la identificación de factores ambientales específicos relacionados a estas interacciones

Modernizing Schools in Mexico: The Rise of Teacher Assessment and School-based Management Policies

After the Revolution (1910-1917), Mexico's development model was based on state centered economy that has been accounted for the 'Mexican Miracle'. Hence, from 1940 to 1970, Mexico's gross domestic product grew at a steady rate of 6% (Buffie, 1990, p. 398; Cárdenas & Castañeda, 1994). By then, education policy focused on expanding access to education, especially to basic level, and simultaneously, on increasing the education levels in order to support the economic development of the country. However, after 1980, the nature of Mexico's development model changed towards a model of economic "modernization" that essentially meant opening the country's economy towards liberalization, and regional integration. Accordingly, the state's functions were reduced and decentralized, state-owned industries and infrastructure were sold to the private sector, and market liberalization was hugely promoted (Cabrera, 2015; Cejudo 2003; Villareal, 2000). It was no different for education and simultaneously, the Mexican state began the "modernization" of the Mexican Education System (SEM). In this paper we aim to analyze a series of education policies implemented during this modernization period as Mexico joined the Global Education Reform Movement (Hargreaves, Earl, Moore & Manning, 2001; Sahlberg, 2011) up to these days. Our objective is to outline the evolution of the teacher assessment policy through Monitoring and Evaluation (M&E) initiatives and the origins of school-based management (SBM) policies in the Mexican education context started, with the late 1980s reforms up to the last one, enacted in 2013. Similarly, our purpose is to set out the educational and political context to understand how the assessment culture became institutionalized within the SEM through these reforms. Our contribution also seeks to provide a systematized landscape of the complex

processes of education policy that introduced accountability and testing culture across the Mexican schools and upon the teachers. In doing so, we offer an articulated read of the reforms in education and the stakeholders that have been involved in the policy-making processes.

For this purpose, we conducted a document analysis (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). We collected around 130 publicly available documents or 'documentary sources' (Mogalakwe, 2006), covering the period from 1980 to 2016, and which were relevant to teacher assessment and school based management policies in basic education in Mexico by using digital search engines (Scopus, EBSCOhost, Google Scholar, and Google). At the first stage, we identified the documents concerning National Agreement for the Modernization of Basic Education (ANMEB), Teachers Career Service (CM), the Quality School Program (PEC), the National Institute for Education Assessment (INEE) and Education Reform 2012–2013 (RE2012–2013), and selected 90 of those. The main selection criterion was based upon the document's relevance vis-à-vis understanding the processes of teacher assessment institutionalization and of school-based management education policies in recent education policy in Mexico. In a second stage of the analysis, we classified our data into four categories: a) Government policy documents, which included enacted laws, congress policy assessments, policy briefings, federal/national policy frameworks, and government agreements; b) NGO policy assessment documents, which included policy reports, briefings, recommendations, and communications; c) academic research, which included empirical studies and policy assessments; and d) press articles, which included news articles, feature articles and opinion pieces strictly related to the policies and their context. We selected diverse documentary evidence in order to cover several angles of the object of our research. The third stage involved grouping the policy government articles into the following categories, a) specific policy documents that shaped/enacted the policy; b) specific policy recommendations/assessments shaping/assessing the policies; c) research/examinations that investigated the effects/outcomes of such policies; d) articles that reported about the policy reactions or its effects. Aided by common word processing and document software, (Acrobat Reader and Word) we were able to aggregate document descriptions, passages and quotes that allowed us to narrow down our analysis. Within this stage the objective was to understand the policy mechanisms and rules of operation in order to sketch a road map of the policies workings in regards to teacher assessment and SBM throughout the subsequent education reforms and policy agenda. The final stage involved drafting our policy analysis road map, which was then informed by academic research regarding those policies. While we were not looking to triangulate, the interactions between the literature we explored, allowed us to contrast policy documents with policy recommendations and with academic research in order to provide a more complete analysis. In this sense, Berg (2004, p 270) suggests having a minimum of three pieces of evidence for each interpretation of an inquiry. Similarly, in order for the reader to better identify the policies and historical stages that the SEM has undergone across Mexican history, we devised the following timeline seeking to provide a bigger picture and spatial representation from the context we address within the article. Consequently, our analysis across the paper is divided into five sections. In the first section, we outline the context under which Mexico joined the growing support for the global education reform movement in the 1990s. The ANMEB became the first among the

set of reforms aiming to modernize the state-centered and stagnated education system. Under the ANMEB, the CM program sought to increase teacher quality and student performance.

Branded as a true-merit pay system, in reality, CM constituted one of the first assessment devices to implement an evidence-based policy agenda and inform education policies in order to improve quality in education. In the second section, we introduce the subsequent wave of reforms that took place in the 2000s dovetailing with CM in order to analyze the PEC, implemented to decentralize school management and increase school accountability by introducing five-year school grants. This section will also introduce how the basic education reform based on competencies related to the PEC and to teacher assessment. In the third section, we analyze the institutionalization of the assessment culture within the SEM. In doing so, we review the genesis of the M&E mechanisms and its evolution from an office embedded within the SEP until the last RE2012–2013 where the INEE acquired constitutional autonomy. Further, in the fourth section, we map out the stakeholders involved in the CM, PEC, and INEE, and thus identify how these influenced and effected the development and implementation of last RE2012–2013 teacher high-stakes assessments. Finally, in the last section of the paper we discuss the main results and consequences of these accountability policies as they have been implemented, and we provide a contextual analysis of the implementation and the resistance to the latest reform in some regions of Mexico.

: Echávarri, J., & Peraza, C. (2017). *Modernizing schools in Mexico: The rise of teacher assessment and school-based management policies*. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 25(90). <http://dx.doi.org/epaa.v25.2771> This article is part of the special issue, *Global Perspectives on HighStakes Teacher Accountability Policies*, guest edited by Jessica Holloway, Tore Bernt Sorensen, and Antoni Verger.

Resumen:

En este artículo analizamos la evolución de la política de evaluación docente en el contexto educativo mexicano, así como el origen de las iniciativas de gestión basada en la escuela, desde finales de la década de los 80s hasta la última Reforma Educativa 2012-2013. México se incorporó al Movimiento Global de la Reforma Educativa durante la década de los 90s a través del Acuerdo Nacional para la Modernización de la Educación Básica bajo el cual se creó el programa Carrera Magisterial, buscando mejorar la calidad de los maestros. Posteriormente, se implementó el Programa Escuelas de Calidad para descentralizar la gestión escolar e incrementar la transparencia en las escuelas. Finalmente, la institucionalización del Monitoreo y la Evaluación en el Sistema Educativo Mexicano dio origen al Instituto Nacional para la Evaluación de la Educación. Mediante un análisis documental, revisamos los orígenes de las citadas políticas, delineando a los actores involucrados e identificando cómo éstos han influenciado y afectado el desarrollo e implementación de la última Reforma Educativa 2012-2013, en lo que concierne a la evaluación docente. Por último, el artículo ofrece un panorama

general de los resultados y consecuencias de la implementación de las políticas mencionadas y provee un análisis contextual de la implementación y boicot de la última reforma educativa en algunas regiones de México.

Local Government Capacity in the U.S.-Mexican Border: A Comparative Analysis of Calexico, California and Mexicali, Baja California

The political and economic capacity of local governments is very different on each side of the U.S.-Mexican border. But, many of the issues confronting local governments are the same. Local governments are impacted by migrants traveling through the region. There are demands for services for residents who live in one community but pay income and other taxes on the other side of the border. The inability to agree or to make decisions regarding business development in the region (competing instead of working together) is an ongoing issue. Finally, uncontrolled population growth, particularly on the Mexican side of the border, is a serious ongoing problem for local government. Some differences between the U.S. and Mexican cities are due to the systems of federalism. U.S. cities have more autonomy and financial resources than do Mexican cities. However, even with more autonomy and finances, the smaller cities on the U.S. side of the border do not have the political capacity to deal with the problems that come with being on the border. This is particularly true for cities in Imperial County, California. Local governments are the creations of their respective state governments. The number of resources that are provided directly to the local governments and the amount of revenues they can collect vary according to the federal and state constitutions and legislation. There was also a taxpayer revolt in California in the late 1970s that sought to limit the amount of taxes local governments can collect. Proposition 13, a voter initiative in California, restricted the ability of local governments to raise revenues through property taxes. State control and taxpayer movements have decreased the income sources available to local governments, particularly in California. The cities on each side of the border share economies, environment, culture and recreation, educational facilities, and housing, but do not share political systems. Many important decisions that affect life in the community, such as placement of power plants on the Mexican side of the border and border crossing wait times because of security measures, are made at the federal level—by two separate and sovereign federal governments. Most political problems are resolved formally at the federal level and, to a lesser extent, at the state level. Resolution of local transborder problems at the local level is often accomplished through informal means. Issues with cooperation between the government levels and the powerlessness of the local governments exasperate local quality of life issues. Local governments are important to quality of life because it is at the local level that government officials interact with, and are elected by, their neighbors. This permits transparency at the local level that does not exist with the state or federal government. But this closeness to the voters can also lead to poor decision and policy making by the political leaders as they try to

please all constituents. In smaller cities, there is also a level of nepotism that cannot always be avoided as there are only so many people to fill decision making positions.

These aspects of local governments are found in the city of Calexico, where a common phrase throughout Imperial County is “only in Calexico,” which is short for only in Calexico are the positives and negatives of local government so clearly visible. Nepotism is strong and is expressed through a small number of individuals and their close colleagues making the majority of the decisions. Corruption and problems in the government are spoken about every day by the residents and commentaries often appear in the newspapers. But beyond the gossip and personalities, what is the capacity of the city of Calexico to deal with the number of challenges facing the city?

In Mexicali, many of the local government challenges are the same as for Calexico but are based on different factors. Nepotism and favoritism come from the political party system and with interest groups, families, and friends (Ramos García and Sánchez Munguía, 2004). Party affiliation is used as a mechanism to move up the job ladder and many join a particular party to gain access to jobs not available to those who are non-partisan. Therefore, within this context, what is the capacity of Mexicali to deal with its local problems and challenges? How do the challenges in each city or municipality differ from the other? Is there common ground between the two? The answers to these questions are found in the bases of political and economic authority and power, or the systems of federalism in the United States and México. Local government capacity can be divided into two categories: political and economic. The political capacity includes issues such as leadership in the community and the will to move forward with policies that improve community conditions. Political capacity is derived from state and federal intergovernmental aid and local effort. Economic capacity is based on the resources available in the community through local economic growth (Warner, 1997: 59). As Warner explained in her 1997 doctoral dissertation, “Urban sociologists have emphasized the importance of the interplay of local political and economic forces in creating the ‘growth machine’ which governs public sector investments and market regulation at the local level” (Warner, 1997: 70). As will be discussed throughout this chapter, the political and economic capacity in the cities and municipalities on both sides of the U.S.- Mexican border is not strong enough to deal with the problems and issues found in the border region. One reason for the limited capacity of local governments in the border region is globalization. The term globalization for this study is primarily related to the integration of markets through technological and transportation advances. These changes have also led to the increased movement of economic refugees or workers in search of better opportunities, and the intermingling of cultures and people. The deregulation of markets that has occurred through the North American Free Trade Agreement and the movement of goods across international borders are increasing rapidly. A large part of local economies in the border region is dominated by these local forces. There are also a large number of workers moving into and through the region, be it to work for just one day on the other side of the border, or looking to find work far from their homes.² The mingling of cultures and people can also be seen directly in border cities as commerce and services are exchanged freely, and in cultural events attended by residents from

both sides of the border. The aforementioned occurrences happen every day in the U.S.-Mexican border region, thereby providing a living laboratory in which to analyze the impacts of globalization.

The relationship among federal, state, and municipal governments has always been difficult along the U.S.-Mexican border as sovereignty issues have inhibited transborder cooperation at the local level. Even though local governments obtain their authority from federal and state governments, these institutions increasingly are unable to control the international or global markets (Saint-Germain, 1995: 572) and other forces of globalization.

The power of the market over the government is supported through clauses in the North American Free Trade Agreement. This phenomenon influences the political capacity at the local level. For example, if a state or local government does not agree with a business plan of a company and decide to stop its activity, this company may file a complaint with a trilateral board that can overrule the government's decision.

This supranational authority limits the power of governments, moving the market and business above the three levels of government in the nation (Commission for Environmental Cooperation, 2002). This paper begins with a review of the theories surrounding local government capacity. The core to this capacity is based in the federalist systems of the United States and México. Local authority, which is derived from the states, can be a moot question if there is not enough political or economic capacity at the local level. The following two sections review the local governments of Calexico and Mexicali, specifically, their organizational infrastructure. After the individual discussions of each municipal government, a short comparative analysis is presented. Finally, a regional view will be explored to understand the joint capacity of the governments, especially with the influences of globalization.

Collins, Kimberly Local Government Capacity in the U.S.-Mexican Border: A Comparative Analysis of Calexico, California and Mexicali, Baja California Nóesis. Revista de Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades, vol. 16, núm. 31, enero-junio, 2007, pp. 234- 264 Instituto de Ciencias Sociales y Administración Ciudad Juárez, México

Resumen

A lo largo de la frontera EUMéxico, existen problemas en ambos lados que confrontan los gobiernos locales. Ejemplos de estos hechos incluyen inmigración y políticas de seguridad; crecimiento de la población descontrolado que obedece al desarrollo económico; la falta de planeación urbana e infraestructura. Este documento revisa estos problemas mediante un análisis de federalismo en las ciudades hermanas de Calexico, California y Mexicali, Baja California.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SOCIAL MEDIA AND POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: AN ANALYSIS USING SURVEY DATA FROM BRAZIL, COLOMBIA, AND MEXICO

The internet has changed the way we communicate, express our opinions and the way we engage and participate in politics¹. In the political arena, internet use is currently embedded in electoral campaigns, policy-making, government communications, and citizen activism. Even before we experienced the full potential of the online world in politics, in the 2004 American presidential campaign, Democratic Party candidate Howard Dean's campaign manager confidently stated that "the internet is the most democratizing innovation we have ever seen, more so even than the printing press" ². He was not wrong. Today, information can be spread and accessed faster, is cheaper, and can be 'created' by anyone with a smartphone connected to the internet.

The creation of social networking sites (SNS) like Meetup.com, Facebook, Twitter, and WhatsApp opened new opportunities for citizens, policymakers, government officials, political parties, election candidates, and even traditional media outlets. They have allowed people who otherwise would never have met to do so, have discussions, get involved in groups focused on their interests, get organized (politically or otherwise), even from the most remote locations, and while far away from each other. It is hard to realize that just a bit over a decade ago, the possibility of having a "direct discussion" with someone not being present in the same physical location was only possible via telephone and in more limited scope, via videoconferencing.

When asked about the reasons to be on SNS, users worldwide have expressed they do it to connect with friends (42%), staying "up to date with current activities and events" (41%), and to express an opinion (30%)³. The data reflects the relevance of these channels for personal expression and as a source of information. The fact that people can now engage with others about politics in the online world has expanded the notion we used to have about the "political public sphere"⁴. Before the internet, the environment created within communities or neighborhoods was the usual focal place for political discussions because their proximity allowed the discussion and expression of political opinions. Nowadays, since these discussions are no longer limited to the offline world, it is widely acknowledged that the internet expands citizens' opportunities to exchange information and ideas regarding matters "of common concern" with people beyond their local, physical surroundings.

Building a political public sphere "and the conditions for communication within it are essential for democracy"⁵. Among the top factors that foster interpersonal relations is news consumption, which also leads to political expression. Studies have also shown that "the relationship between talking about politics today and participating in the future is strong. Furthermore, existing literature reveals that those exposed to political news are more prone to express their political opinions and will later be more politically involved⁷. Consequently, the internet and social networking sites' role in expanding or contributing to political involvement has been subject to numerous scholarly studies⁸. If there are tools that can strengthen political participation, it is important that users as

well as the academics and policymakers know how they do it and under what conditions. This study aims to contribute to that field of inquiry by expanding what other scholars have done in the past. This study considers how consumption of political information via SNS may encourage several forms of political participation: civic engagement, voting, and protests. While past research has mostly focused on North America, this analysis concentrates on three specific countries in Latin America: Brazil, Colombia, and Mexico. Furthermore, existing research focuses mainly on traditional social networking sites, such as Facebook and Twitter, leaving a relatively unexplored area: messaging platforms such as WhatsApp. There is a discussion concerning WhatsApp's classification as a social networking platform (SNS). This study considers this messaging application as SNS because it allows users to have a profile, publish in a timeline (stories), and share a status message with members of the persons' network (contacts).

For this study's purpose, online communication is not being contrasted against the use of traditional media, but as complementing source of information. In that regard, the integration of online and traditional communication can happen when discussions that started by "looselycoupled individual and groups," who were communicating both online and offline, causes

"spillovers." Examples of this include the many Wikileaks cables which published information through the internet that was later replicated through traditional media or the Arab Revolutions, which refers to mobilizations that started online and had such an impact that they became agenda setters for the mass media. The overall impact of social media on democracy continues to be an important area of study even though it might be too soon to have a conclusive characterization of it. Nonetheless, the fact that more than half of the world's population is estimated to use social media is sufficient reason to explore more thoroughly its effects on our political life⁹. It should be noted that this study does not aim to prove whether SNS are good or bad for democracy, but rather to expand the analysis of its relationship with political participation. This paper argues that individuals who frequently use Facebook and WhatsApp to access political information show an increased likelihood of political participation compared to those who never view political information through these platforms. To evaluate this hypothesis, the author ran numerous statistical regression models using 2018/19 survey responses conducted by the Americas Barometer. Through quantitative analysis of data assembled by Americas Barometer furnished herein, the author has endeavored to expose a positive relationship between consuming political information via SNS and political participation that has not been adequately considered in existing social and political science literature focused on the effects of SNS use in Latin America.

The Americas Barometer was selected over other Latin American surveys because they have a standardized questionnaire and methodology replicated across all countries (20 for the 2018-19 edition). This allows a comparative analysis to be made of the selected nations. Furthermore, the Americas Barometer enjoys a broad reputation in the field of public opinion polls.

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Resumen

La exposición y el compromiso con los problemas políticos contribuye a la participación política al construir ciudadanos con más conocimientos políticos, según los resultados de la investigación. Este estudio analiza la relación entre el uso recurrente de las redes sociales como fuente de información política y diferentes tipos de participación política. Específicamente, esta tesis examina el nivel de participación de personas que utilizan con frecuencia Facebook y WhatsApp para acceder a política información, en comparación con quienes tienen una cuenta pero nunca consultan este tipo de información a través de las redes sociales. El análisis se centra en tres países de América Latina: Brasil, Colombia, y México. Los resultados de un análisis cuantitativo utilizando modelos de regresión basados en las Américas Las respuestas de la encuesta 2018/19 del Barómetro encuentran que la exposición frecuente al contenido político a través de Facebook y WhatsApp se asocian positivamente con el compromiso cívico, la participación de votantes y participación en protestas en los tres países estudiados.

July 2nd, 2018: The Day after inside Written Press Presidential Elections in Mexico

The elections' relevance was defined by different factors in political, economic, social and cultural ambiances. AMLO's (Andrés Manuel López Obrador) leadership, built throughout national territory and being this the third time the candidate contested to be the Republic's President, printed a personal mark of honesty and determination. These attributes made the suffrage rule in AMLO's favor with over 30 million votes from the citizenship. From the contentious and aggressive discourse of 2006 elections, AMLO turned his ideals to the possibility of having an "amorous Republic" in 2012, and this year's proposal was one, firm and overwhelming: to fight against corruption. On second term he proposed a national reconciliation with the proverbial "Peace and love" speech.

Corruption scandals from various governments like PRI's or PAN's helped raise the cause represented by López Obrador. These scandals along current President's disapproval index were crucial factors for millions of citizens to finally get tired desire a completely different political regimen. The proposal of establishing the movement Frente por México, whose members were the parties PAN, PRD and MC, did not have the expected impact on the Mexican society. The insider division within the allied parties was visualized in the public sphere, as well as the political maneuvers taken by the PAN's headmaster, Ricardo Anaya, who was the second most powerful candidate at the end of the electoral process. President Peña Nieto's (EPN) decision of turning José Antonio Meade, a member of the presidential cabinet, into the PRI's candidate resulted in a new wave of critics towards the party's inside. Both the president and the party stayed firm on this decision, though. Meade made it to the dispute carrying the burden of EPN's past mistakes. Without the enough amount of autonomy and liberty, his picture was always associated to

economic crisis, political mistakes and any type of scandal. He reached a third place way too far from the winner of the electoral journal of July 1st, 2018.

Campaigns' main characteristics were attacks, accusations and disqualifications amongst the three main presidential candidates. In the three official debates and before the overwhelming result from censuses that showed AMLO's superiority, caused an aggressive response from the other candidates to the obvious winner: it was even pointed out that

AMLO doesn't speak English, that he got a degree after 14 years of study, that his proposals were mere emotional ideas, etc. But Morena's leader always said that the key to achieve a "fourth transformation" consists on eradicate corruption, give support to elders and unemployed youngsters, drastically reduce all salaries (including the government's), build three oil refineries and take control of all oil profits, etc. The media were highly active during the electoral campaigns. On their websites, both critics and support messages were found; applause and repudiation. The mass media were highlighted: informing and giving personal opinions. By giving opinions, they influenced; when this happened, a huge impact was caused on their audiences' opinions and ideas. The media act as mediators within contemporary societies even though their power goes beyond that "limit". They are social actors and as social actors they defend political trends based on their own interests. What was the most important journals' (at least inside Mexico City) stance the day after the electoral process? Were there any coincidences on the opinions' and information's treatment? Which were the specificities inside the journalistic speech? Both methodology and discourse analysis' tools that give answer to these questions will be registered within this article, in which the historic precedents of past elections that awakened a sense of finding the path to democracy in Mexico will be shown first.

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Resumen

Las elecciones presidenciales del 1 de julio de 2018 representaron un hecho histórico sin precedentes en la vida de México. Los resultados de las elecciones culminaron en una nueva configuración de la mapa político-electoral. El partido Movimiento de Regeneración Nacional (Morena), cuyo Registro oficial ante el Instituto Nacional Electoral (INE) fue reconocido el 9 de julio, 2014, trepó victorioso en las elecciones. Los medios, como actores socialmente relevantes, abordaron este tema desde diferentes perspectivas: ¿Cuál fue el procedimiento seguido por seis revistas a lo largo de los titulares de las primeras páginas de 2 de julio de 2018? ¿Existen coincidencias, divergencias o especificidades? ¿Cuál fue la orientación ideológica? A través del análisis del discurso y un modelo elaborado a partir de las propuestas de Juan Nadal Palazón (2008, 2013) sobre el campo semántico / pragmático, y Silvia Gutiérrez Vidrio (2011) nivel pragmático, se responderá a las preguntas planteadas. El corpus de la investigación será el análisis de los seis titulares de las revistas Milenio, La Jornada, El Universal, Excelsior, El Financiero y Reforma. Los resultados del análisis se examinaron dentro de un contexto político e

histórico, encontrando coincidencias, diferencias y especificidades en los titulares de las revistas. La semántica el análisis arrojó resultados específicos en cada primera página. La constante dentro del campo pragmático fue interpretación.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND WOMEN PARTICIPATION IN POLITICS MAKURDI, BENUE STATE NIGERIA

Political participation has over time been a major challenge faced by women both in the developed and developing countries. Despite, the fact that women constitute about 56% of the total population (NPC, 2011), they are discriminated against in the political process. This means that, women participation in politics is low. However, in order to enhance women political participation, many studies point out that education is of central importance. In most studies of political behavior it is found that women with higher education participate to a larger extent in political activities than individuals with less education (Wolfinger and Rosenstone 1980; Rosenstone and Hansen 1993; Verba, Schlozman and Brady 1995; Franklin 2004; Schlozman, Verba and Brady 2012). Improving participation of women in Higher Education (HE) may be identified as one of the most significant developmental challenges facing sub-Saharan Africa (Oduga, 2005). Yet, this may influence their participation in politics.

At both the national and international levels, there is a growing academic interest in the level of participation of women in politics. In countries like USA, Europe, Austria, the rate of women participation in politics is low (Verba and Brady 2012). In Nigeria, among the Hausa people, women's access to political participation is exemplified by the emergence of Queen Amina of Zazzau, a renowned military and political leader who was reputed to be a formidable woman who personally led her army to the battlefield and succeeded in saving her people from extermination (Olojede, 2009; Mohammed, 1985). Queen Kambasa of the Ijo and Queen Owari of Ilesa were said to possess the same attributes. Elsewhere in Yorubaland, Madam Tinubu, who later became the Iyalode of Egba and Iyalode Efunsetan of Ibadan made history because they were able to assert themselves and applied their opinions. After the Second World War, Lady Oyinkan Abayomi founded the women's party and campaigned for the expansion of opportunities for women. In 1946, Mrs. Funmilayo Ransome Kuti's lead Abeokuta Women Union projected and promoted special interest of women. Yet, in 1929, in the present south east Nigeria, there was the famous "Aba women riot" during which over 50 women lost their lives fighting injustices against women (See Uhuo, 2011; Irabor, 2011; Olojede, 2009; Mba, 1989). The riots were a testimony to the political vigour of women as well as women's capacity to mobilize. According to the United Nations (2005) Nigeria was classified as a low development country in respect of equality in educational accessibility with female adult literacy rate (ages 15 and above) for the country was 59.4% as against male 74.4%. However, majority of developing countries may be observed as having many girls discriminated against with regard to access to school by UNESCO (2007). Precisely, they comprise about 57% of all out-of-school children. Education could be seen as crucial for development and social empowerment, necessary for the realization of the equal participation of women in politics. In recent times, as a variable of international development, gender equality may serve as a major prerequisite in accessing foreign aid by the developing nations.

Zurita (2016), notes that there is a correlation between education and political participation among women. It means that, educated women have the tendencies of high political participation. Education is the process of becoming critically aware of one's reality in a manner that leads to effective action upon it. An educated man/woman understands his/her world well enough to deal with it effectively. In the opinion of Edukugho (2002) cited in Imogie (2002), the prosperity of a country depends not on the abundance of its revenue, nor the strength of its

fortifications, but on the number of its cultivated citizens, men (and women) of education, enlightenment and character.

The difference in education and political participation between male and female to a great extent may have been so wide. Omolewa (2002), notes that a gross disparity exists between schools' enrolment of boys and girls in Nigeria. Social determinants, such as cultural beliefs - wifeinheritance, early/forced marriage and widowhood practices - obtainable in most rural and semiurban settlements and narratives of religion have continued to impede educational accessibility by women in the country. Moreover, the denial of inheritance and property rights, dysfunctional and gender-skewed development policies may have equally been constraining women from taking advantage of educational opportunities, and by implication, political participation and economic opportunities. However, the Eurocentric contextualization of male-gender privilege, impact of tenets of Christianity (and Islam), and more importantly, the colonial 'ideology of domesticity' ('housewifification') have all combined together to lay the foundation for women's educational disempowerment in our society. Indeed, they serve as the pivot around which other impediments revolve (Omolewa, 2002).

. It is opined that with a functional gender mainstreaming policy in place, all these odds could be meaningfully tackled, and Nigerian women would be better for it. More importantly, educational unevenness has been constraining women in globally from active socio-economic and political participation, unduly. According to INSTRAW (2007) the pattern of women's poverty in Nigeria has often been a consequence of unequal institutional gender-role ascriptions; accessibility to resources and institutions.

The woman gender may remain a highly indispensable social group in all aspects of human endeavor. The discourse on women participation in societal development may become a recurrent decimal, and this could be premised on the realization by stakeholders in development projects that women are central to the success of any development policy or initiative due to their numerical strength, productive and nurturing roles. The bigger picture of this argument is that women empowerment is crucial in all aspects of societal life.

Globally, tertiary education particularly may be said to have attracted new attention with gender implications as education could be recognized as an important determinant of living standards because of its immense contribution in the transformation of societies, through enhancement of the quality of life of the individual such as building up one's personality. Indeed, history points to the fact that rapid economic and technological developments, experienced globally have heralded the knowledge that society and improvement is directly derived from new inventions and research at the tertiary level of education (Genyi, 2012).

Resumen

Este estudio examinó la educación superior y la participación de las mujeres en la política Makurdi, Estado de Benue.

400 Los encuestados fueron muestreados para el estudio utilizando el método Taro Yamane. Cluster y simple aleatorio Se utilizaron técnicas de muestreo para los datos cuantitativos, mientras que el muestreo intencional se utilizó para Estudio cualitativo. Los datos se recopilaron mediante cuestionarios y entrevistas con informantes clave. Datos recolectados para el estudio fue presentado y analizado tanto cuantitativa como cualitativamente. Los datos cuantitativos fueron presentado en tablas de distribución normal, porcentajes simples, frecuencias, desviación media y gráficos. La Los hallazgos del estudio revelaron que hay un aumento en el nivel de acceso de las mujeres a la ES en Makurdi, el El nivel de participación de las mujeres en la política en Makurdi es bajo. Los hallazgos del estudio revelaron relación insignificante entre la ES y la participación política de las mujeres, los principales desafíos que enfrentan las mujeres que participaban en la política eran la política monetaria, la educación política deficiente, el padrismo y la violencia política. El estudio recomendó que el gobierno federal hiciera esfuerzos para cerrar la brecha entre la participación educativa y política de hombres y mujeres. Por ejemplo, por extra asignaciones presupuestarias para la educación de la mujer y becas. Es probable que esto sea más efectivo en áreas donde los escasos recursos de las familias pobres afectan la capacidad de los padres para enviar a las niñas a instituciones superiores. Promover la incidencia sobre el acceso de las mujeres a la ES y su participación en la política, El gobierno y las ONG deben promover la inclusión y la transversalización de género en la política de puestos de toma de decisiones; Por lo tanto, aumentar las oportunidades de las mujeres en estos campos parece ser un forma racional de mejorar el acceso de las mujeres a la educación superior y la participación política. Los partidos políticos deben promover la participación de la mujer de manera más eficaz, y debería desarrollar mecanismos de rendición de cuentas y buscar asistencia técnica, incluso de la sociedad civil, para alcanzar este objetivo.

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Supra-madre: A Persona of Female Leadership for the Twenty First Century

For half a century, Elsa Chaney's conceptual model of female political leadership in Latin America has served as the linchpin of numerous gender and leadership studies. Radical changes have transpired in that time span. In Latin America, eight female presidencies materialized since the debut of Chaney's *supermadre* in 1971, with over half in the last two decades alone. Writing in 2006, Leslie Schwindt-Bayer signaled a lacuna of "empirical research ... on the attitudes and behaviors of female politicians ... and how they have changed since Chaney's characterization, if at all" (570). The increasing numbers of women that pursue public office or executive positions in organizations make that a timely inquiry. Choices about which paths to take to those positions and which leadership models to adopt once they arrive are critical factors of sustainability.

In its simplified version, the *supermadre* model embodies the premise that women exercise political leadership at the municipal or national level as an extension of the maternal role, where the political setting translates as an amplified version of the home. Even in the new millennium, it would be irresponsible to classify this model as completely obsolete. The link between social imaginaries and the maternal construct endures. Francie Chassen-López notes that while "feminist scholars in the United States and Europe" take a dim view of "the repeated utilization of the discourse of motherhood," it remains "an incredibly effective political stimulant in Latin America" (188). As recently as 2015, experts reiterated that "maternalism's emphasis on caretaking, compassion and domestic management still shapes the public's response to female political leadership" in Latin America (Franceschet et al. 3). While these observations spotlight a specific region, a global sampling indicates that the political application of the maternal construct is not in actuality altogether absent from cultures outside the region.

One of the world's most powerful leaders, Chancellor Angela Merkel, has been designated *Mutti* by the media and a sector of the German electorate although she is not a mother in the biological sense (Murray 14). Angela Leadsom, candidate for Prime Minister in 2016, suggested that as mother and grandmother she was more heavily invested in the future of the United Kingdom than her childless rival, Theresa May (Hope). Only months later, the media and Member of Parliament Anne Jenkins urged the newly installed Prime Minister May to play the role of "nanny" and tackle the problem of childhood obesity (qtd. in Baird; Foges). A strategy to "humanize" Hillary Clinton in the 2016 U.S. election portrayed her as "a mother and a grandmother who would do anything to help our children thrive" (Strauss). Commentary on the French election of 2017 claimed that Marine Le Pen's campaign utilized maternal rhetoric to "sanitize the party's image" (Chira). In December 2018, after mediating a heated exchange with U.S. President Donald Trump and Senator Chuck Schumer, Speaker of the House Nancy Pelosi explained, "I was trying to be the mom" (Tcholakian). Maternal imagery persists across cultures. And yet, a wide lens view of the political track records of these leaders demonstrates that the real or perceived maternal qualities ascribed to their personas have not circumscribed their political modus operandi. In contrast, Chaney acknowledged the *supermadre's* intrinsic constraints: "women's universal task of motherhood has profoundly influenced the boundaries and style of their interventions in public life" (10). Given that the *supermadre* model retains varying degrees of status in political contexts by virtue of social imaginaries, the argument for its residual influence cannot be completely

overruled. However, social imaginaries and social realities encounter acute points of discord when a model that “extends traditional sex roles into the political sphere” and “reinforces patriarchy” (Chassen-López 188) is superimposed on twenty first century praxis. This circumstance encompasses more than a reshaping of the style of female political intervention. A diminishing market for fatherhood as the normalized image of political leadership over time potentially reshapes the style of male political intervention. Herein lies the case for an altered model. For containment, this discussion of that model is situated in the Chilean context, with specific application to the political record of Michelle Bachelet.

My observations comprehend at least three distinguishing features of the recast model. First, the *supra-madre* is a hybrid that interfaces both traditional and nontraditional gender roles. In Chile, its early stages of development unfold in the appointments of several women to high-profile posts over time, with notable acceleration in the twenty-first century. Soledad Alvear became Chile’s first female Foreign Minister in 2000. In 2002, Bachelet became Minister of Defense, the first woman to hold that position in Chile and Latin America, and one of very few to hold it in the world. In 2006, Bachelet became Chile’s first female Head of State. Carolina Tohá, who became Chile’s first female Minister Secretary General of Government in 2009, was also the first woman to serve as president of the Party for Democracy in 2012 and the first female mayor of Santiago. That same year, Barbara Figueroa became the first female leader of a multi-union in Chile and in Latin America. In 2014, Isabel Allende became Chile’s first female head of congress and Bachelet was elected for a second presidential term. None of these appointments falls within the category of traditional sex roles. Moreover, their execution logically mandated behaviors that were not in strict compliance with the *supermadre* paradigm.

One catalyst for the altered paradigm came from the male sector. Bachelet’s predecessor, President Ricardo Lagos (2000-2006), appointed more women to upper echelon posts than had been appointed in the previous 40 years (Izquierdo and Navia 82). Analysts link this action to the call for gender equity, a successful rallying point of the 2005 Bachelet campaign (82). Chaney described a far different setting for the *supermadre*: “Many [women] find themselves marginated to old line ministries and agencies far removed from power, social innovation, and change ... few women of the left attain front rank in government or party hierarchies” (339). The Bachelet CV indicates a much-altered landscape. The post of Minister of Defense placed her uniquely close to the center of “power, social innovation, and change” on the heels of Chile’s transition to democracy. Her two presidencies placed her squarely in the center. To press the point, her two presidential terms, her post as Executive Director for UN Women, and her current post as United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights rank at a considerable distance from “marginated” roles.

The Lagos appointments not only cultivated a degree of receptivity to women in nontraditional power positions but also paved the way for the “Bachelet Phenomenon”— the unprecedented rise of female outsiders to the executive office. This is based in part on the theory that “male attitudes about the suitability of female leaders are more prone to fluctuation based on pro- or anti-egalitarian cues from elites” (Morgan and Buice 646). While the Lagos cue appeared to favor Bachelet’s tenure as Minister of Defense, which yielded substantial political capital, the executive office was still perceived as an inviolable bastion in *tierra de hombres*. In the latter case, public opinion prevailed and Bachelet’s *Concertación* party backed her candidacy, albeit “a regañadientes,” grudgingly (Dockendorff 167). Given the stakes, this was not surprising. Bachelet’s breach threatened to dismantle the established order that Chaney claimed

systematically “marginated” female politicians to low impact positions while reserving high profile posts for male counterparts.

Where Bachelet did not meet all the criteria of the *supermadre* model, the *supra-madre* allowed for substantial accommodation. The public formed a connection with her “weaknesses,” as defined by traditional Chilean social norms and political profiles, and perceived in her the requisite combination of qualities to represent their humanity. Rubén Dittus expands on this: “One does not vote for the person but, rather, for the imaginary that the candidate represents...it is the common citizen that ends up creating the candidate” (43, 46). Therefore, they created her in their own image as the “everyday” Chilean, despite her privileged upbringing and multiple violations of alleged norms. Just as the *supermadre* model is not entirely a product of intentional design, neither is the *supra-madre*. I view it as the sociopolitical outcome of what Deborah Frieze and Margaret Wheatley have coined “the perfect storm:” a “result of a number of discrete and often invisible factors converging in perfect synchrony” (Wheatley and Frieze). In the Bachelet case, those dynamics included broad scale disillusionment with political parties, diminishing conservatism both socially and politically, and endemic disengagement from the status quo. These game-changers were not transitory elements in concert with an anomalous political shift as some claimed. Rather, they were the culmination of processes that incubated over time in both detectable and undetectable undercurrents of social transformation.

The pronouncement that Bachelet’s election signaled “a leap forward for women in one of the world’s most machista societies” (Vogler, *Chile’s*) foreshadowed departures from the status quo. In a country with gender roles inextricably tied to the patriarchal template for centuries, there is value in the claim that “in few years, a region known for its secular machismo seems to have been converted into the vanguard of equality between sexes, at least at the peak of political power” (Marugán and Durá). Yet, does this signal a sustainable transformation? While a deep probing of the impact of Bachelet’s presidencies on the preponderance of *machismo* exceeds the parameters of this discussion, the concept of *machismo* merits consideration as a counterpoint to the *supra-madre* model. Prior to the 2005 Bachelet election, Renee Mengo observed that female political integration had gained traction based on visible alterations to the social structure:

women have come to be co-protagonists of public life, in the parties and social movements, in electoral processes and fields of power. And her incorporation has produced in the politics, just like in the social collective, the most important revolution of the twentieth century. Society is not the same and neither is the place of the woman in that society. (202)

Hindsight provides an informed perspective. In the 2005 election, Bachelet captured almost equal percentages of male (53.7) and female (53.3) votes, thus indicating no disproportionate bias on the part of male voters at that time (Navia 316). A Latinobarómetro survey conducted four months before Bachelet’s first election revealed that only 26 percent of Chileans agreed that men were better political leaders than women (Franceschet 19). Admittedly, that statistic does not guarantee that more women will run for office, that more women will be elected, nor that gender bias has been completely eliminated from processes. What it does confirm is a shift in attitudes about female political suitability since the Chaney study.

Additional research conducted in 2014 in the United States with 85 women in high power positions in 60 companies offers insight into developments in female leadership in general. The study group scored female leadership traits highest in the areas of “assertiveness, ego-drive, abstract reasoning, urgency, and risk-taking,” indicating a general “results-and-action-oriented approach”

(Caliper 4). The researchers noted “personality traits of women leaders closely match what are universally considered to be ‘male leadership’ traits” (7). They also noted that female leaders practiced “both transformational and transactional leadership styles” (6). This validates the emergence of a model where traditional and nontraditional gender roles intersect. After tracking these kinds of studies over time, I find this to be a trend across many cultures.

The second distinguishing feature of the *supra-madre* model is that, in addition to challenging the patriarchal template, the *supra-madre* may co-opt it. At the onset, the first Bachelet term (2006-2010) seemed destined to perpetuate the *supermadre* model:

It would appear that the Chilean people were looking for a maternal figure with the hope that she could help heal the wounds left by the abusive dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. It is clear that Bachelet campaigned and was received by a majority of the Chilean people as a feminine maternal leader who was closer to the people than a male leader and whose ability to restore the health of the country depended upon her feminine attributes. (Haddad and Schweinle 104-05)

Yet, a close examination reveals an essential departure from the *supermadre* norm: this was not maternal imagery that reinforced patriarchy. In contrast to the negative association between patriarchy and authoritarianism, the maternal offered psychological compensation for male abandonment or abuse, both consequences of the military regime. This allowed for co-optation by the maternal constant. Here, the “maternal constant” is characterized by trustworthy and empathetic power practices. Far from a deficit, Bachelet’s status as a female head of household could transmit competence to a society where a third of children are raised by single mothers (“Writing”). It is problematic to assume that female leadership, even when assigned a symbolic representation of the maternal, arbitrarily reinforces patriarchy. In societies with histories of colonial or totalitarian systems, women have successfully orchestrated numerous subversive initiatives that challenged patriarchal protocol.

Although pre- and post-election commentary focused on how Bachelet’s gender might impact her governance, typecasting a leadership style based on gender is an inaccurate science at best. Mapping out specific sets of strengths and weaknesses by gender encounters numerous variables. A study conducted in Spain using created profiles of male and female leaders serves as illustration. Leaders of both genders with stereotypical female leadership styles received “significantly better evaluations” in measurements of competence, effectiveness, and desirable leadership characteristics, regardless of the gender of the leader or the evaluator (Cuadrado et al. 62). A broad scale comparison of results from studies of this kind produces one indisputable point of consensus: leadership expectations are in transition in both corporate and political structures across the globe.

An analysis of the Chaney model requires that a distinction be made between maternal and female leadership. In spite of some common denominators, they are not identical: female leadership is not unequivocally maternal at its core. Research in 2014 found that although “the majority [of people] ... make the assumption that women will excel at nurturing competencies,” the competencies that ranked highest in women— “taking initiative, displaying integrity/honesty, [and] driving for results”—do not support that assumption (Sherwin). In contrast, Chaney found that women in political positions were expected to function in the “nurturant and affectional tasks society assigns to women, rather than in the instrumental male role, which is defined as more aggressive, authoritarian, and achievement-oriented” (20). Those expectations were largely still

in play when Bachelet assumed the presidency in 2006. Subsequently, the new way of doing politics was expected to be short-lived:

It's evident that something changed in a dramatic way in the balance of symbolic power between women and men in the country... Since the arrival of Michelle Bachelet to the government a series of skirmishes was initiated, small tactical actions and strategies of masculine power in their fight to recuperate lost ground that they considered their property and privilege, as part of the "natural" order. (Valdés 267-68)

Attempts at recuperation floundered and the "natural" order of male preeminence was not completely restored. In 2005, two women campaigned for the presidency; one of them won. The 2013 runoff vote between two female candidates saw a woman win a second term.

I include the following comments about Bachelet by Chilean voters to press the case for an altered model:

To working women she was a survivor, ... men admired her approach to life; ... Surveys of the armed forces showed that a plurality considered her the best minister of defense in decades ... for men, she represented courage ... middle- and even upper-middle-class women could identify with her upbringing, her education, and her resilience. For young adults born after the coup ... she was a symbol of what it was possible to achieve in Chile ... They saw in her a person who could really give them the resources and the opportunity to be a part of the sociopolitical scene. First and foremost, Bachelet was perceived as a symbol of political, economic, and social change. (Fernández and Vera 13)

Had Bachelet conformed to the *supermadre* paradigm, it is doubtful she could have garnered the support and wielded the power to become a symbol of "political, economic, and social change." The fully invested female citizen-leader had arrived.

Changes in the sociopolitical dynamic were not readily comprehended by the established order even as the evolution of the *supra-madre* model was well underway. Teresa Carballal explains the roots of those changes as a consequence, albeit unintended, of the dictatorship:

The new female heads of state of this last decade ... were politicized during the brutal military regimes. They played a very big role in resistance movements, sometimes fighting alongside men and proving themselves capable as organizers, militants and leaders ... That formative period was characterized by a rejection of traditional forms of leadership and a more inclusive form of politics that didn't focus on gender or class as a condition to hold an important political role. (qtd. in Kubi)

The "rejection of traditional forms of leadership" translated to a growing disassociation with the patriarchal template. The very expectations that required a woman "as the maintainer of tradition ... to maintain practices that were not her own" actually served as a catalyst (Morello-Frosch 90). She was free on two accounts—both as a female and as an outsider—to approach the traditional as an "alien discourse" and "ironize it, modify it, [and] deconstruct it in order to expose its imperfect functioning ... as a project of resistance and realignment" (91). As Chaney's study established, female leadership in Latin America happens "under conditions of change that undermine tradition" (Paxton and Hughes 170).

Bachelet's second election indicated that Chileans of both genders were receptive to less conventional options. A view from the inside expands on the topic:

Although it is conservative discourse which ideologically confers a certain degree of “unity” on the Chilean population, it is clear that it is losing ground in the national psyche because of the process of modernisation in the country ... conservative norms which do not really represent our culture are prevalent ... Our society lacks new collective, symbolic reference points which give sense to people’s actions. (Palacios and Martínez 31)

I propose that what was framed as “novel” or “unorthodox” in Bachelet’s backstory helped forge one of the “new collective, symbolic reference points”—that of the *supra-madre*. By 2006, *Time* magazine depicted Bachelet as “revolutionizing this traditionally conservative Catholic country,” with her government viewed by some as a “menace to traditional values” (Edwards). As traditional values lost ground, so did the traditional, restrictive qualities of the *supermadre* paradigm.

An article on female leadership advises that “becoming a leader involves much more than being put in a leadership role, acquiring new skills, and adapting one’s skills to the requirements of that role. It involves a fundamental identity shift” (Ibarra et al.). Persistent opinions about female inability to execute power in masculine domains required Bachelet to surpass the domestic orientation of the *supermadre* construct. As Minister of Defense under Lagos, Bachelet’s decision to board a tank and ride through the flooded zones of Santiago not only gave her celebrity status as a “champion of the common good” (Kornblut 240), but also interfaced stereotypical masculine qualities of authority and control with feminine and maternal qualities of care and compassion. In the *supra-madre* role, Bachelet conveyed an image of particular resonance for the Chilean electorate as it “humanized” the use of military power and presence.

As stated, assumptions about gender and leadership styles can lead to flawed conclusions. The *supermadre* model suggested that female governance informed by the maternal construct would, in turn, accommodate expectations linked to commonly held gendered perceptions. There is, however, an essential caveat: not all female leaders fit female stereotypes and not all male leaders fit male stereotypes. Gaps exist between expectations and praxis, regardless of gender. A growing discourse on how contemporary styles of leadership reinforce the value of feminine qualities for male leaders raises new concerns (Colvin; Murray). If men adopt leadership traits perceived as feminine, will they lose status? Will they be evaluated as less competent? Likewise, would “the ability of women to learn how to act and think like men” assure that women would be “accepted as if they *were* men?” (Janeway 236). Those may now be irrelevant considerations. A global survey conducted in 2014 by Ketchum, an organization dedicated to leadership studies, revealed:

that to inspire trust, leaders of both genders need to avoid a “macho,” command-and-control approach to leadership communication, which tends to be one-way, domineering and even arrogant. Instead, we are seeing the birth of a new model of leadership communication based on transparency, collaboration, genuine dialogue, clear values and the alignment of words and deeds, a model being followed far more consistently by female leaders. This research finally puts to rest the flawed assumption that women need to act like old school male leaders to make their mark. (“Global Leadership”)

The *supra-madre* interfaces with the emergent model described here on several accounts. However, the changing landscape it comprises has not been fully mapped due to variations in the rate at which expectations make the necessary adaptations to changing contexts.

Undoubtedly, the political leadership model is a pivotal choice as women may still be evaluated based on gendered images of power and not on actual aptitude (D’Adamo et al. 92-93). Bachelet

acknowledged the risk: “I took a gamble to exercise leadership without losing my feminine nature” (“Bachelet: Democracy”). The risk was not exaggerated. In spite of a professed progressiveness in the twenty-first century, old and new social expectations coexist. Cross-cultural surveys conducted on women in leadership establish that women who adopt a primarily masculine style may attain a high position but “have difficulty enlisting respect, support, and cooperation from coworkers” and “are rated lower as leaders” (Kellerman and Rhode 7). Herein lies the dilemma: the “manly” stance that favors the attainment of a position can also elicit negative evaluations of its performance. Developments in the United Kingdom serve as a case in point. June 2017 witnessed an ironic bow to Bachelet’s much-criticized model of consensus when Defense Secretary Michael Fallon stated that May’s leadership style “had to start being more consensual” and form a “more collective government” (Merrick). Ironically, in the present sociopolitical context, male leaders can also face similar criticisms when they adopt the command-and-control “*mano dura*” approach.

What can be established is that acting outside of the maternal construct requires female leaders to navigate an ever-shifting reef of public opinion. Suzanne Brogger advises that “If a woman can only succeed by emulating men, I think it is a great loss and not a success. The aim is not only for a woman to succeed, but to keep her womanhood and let her womanhood influence society” (qtd. in “How Women”). Moreover, adopting a male leadership model may transmit a skewed message “that masculine character traits are those most needed for executive office, thus reinforcing the linkages among men, masculinity, and the presidency” (Franceschet and Thomas 190). The dichotomous nature of the combined criteria can produce a zero-sum outcome when matched with the capricious nature of electorates. Bachelet was criticized for not practicing “a traditional ‘command,’...[and] for not delivering discourses in the traditional tone and speaking with a distinct rationale” (Montaner 182). Amidst increasing corruption scandals involving both the government and business sectors in May 2015, Bachelet took the “alpha male” approach by dismissing her entire cabinet in a single day. The aftermath saw both approval of her boldness and accusations of incompetence. At the same time, the “*comando tradicional*” approach did no favors to Brazil’s “Iron Lady” Dilma Rousseff, as evidenced by her comment during her impeachment trial: “I’ve always been described as a hard-charging woman in the midst of delicate men ... I never saw a man accused of being hard-charging” (Romero and Kaiser).

Female candidates face the additional challenge of “being an ‘insider’ (one of the boys) while also demonstrating that you have the freshness of an ‘outsider’” (Wilson). Bachelet’s decision to assume her executive position without forfeiting her “feminine nature” in a political context accustomed to male leadership enhanced her “outsider” status. Paula Escobar Chavarría, editor of *El Mercurio*, recognized Bachelet for “not adopting all the male-dominated codes of power but transforming them” (qtd. in Bennhold). Her rhetoric of gender parity, inclusiveness, and seeking consensus mirrored the contemporary leadership model “menos vertical y mucho más horizontal” (Marugán and Durá 96). It required, if anything, a modicum of balance between seemingly contradictory approaches.

In line with the *supra-madre* model, Bachelet chose to forefront her gender as a difference marker but not her maternal status in televised messages. Meanwhile, her male opponents heavily exploited their image as fathers (López-Hermida). An analysis of media coverage during the 2005 campaign found that when Piñera played to the traditional “rol de padre” in televised appearances, Bachelet downplayed the role of mother (14). The unforeseen outcome saw her range of appeal increase during the campaign period as she established rapport with marginalized and

disillusioned citizens. Evidence exists that, consciously or subconsciously, feminine qualities nurture a political advantage “when the salient issues and traits of the campaign complement a woman’s stereotypical strengths” (Kahn 2).

Fortuitously, in 2005, many of the issues interfaced with female concerns: education reform, reduction of inequality, reduction of poverty, and support for at-risk family units (Bonilla and Silva 14). Corruption and economics also made the list. One study that logged specific time limits given to topics in televised discourse revealed that in the first round, Piñera took the lead in “asuntos típicamente femeninos” and even increased the time allotted to those in the second round. Bachelet did the same, but with respect to “los temas masculinos” (López-Hermida 3-14). The effectiveness of that approach is endorsed by findings that “men may have more flexibility to choose whether and when to emphasize feminine issues, whereas women need to stress masculine issues consistently in order to convince the audience of their competence” (Deason et al. 141). In contexts where female leaders must perform in capacities that overreach the maternal construct, the *supermadre* model falls short.

Nevertheless, it was not Bachelet’s articulation of masculine issues alone that won votes. Sociologist Manuel Garretón credits Bachelet with “the capacity to read in a very correct manner what was happening in the Chilean society” (Reyes). That ability, called “contextual intelligence,” is an increasingly desirable commodity for contemporary leaders (Nye, *Leadership*). In televised discourse, Bachelet couched the theme of gender equality in a message that her status as a female head of household and single parent linked her to all Chileans who experience discrimination (López-Hermida 12, 14). Although there is an overlap here with maternal imagery, the core message positioned her beyond the role of mother. This was neither a mother focused primarily on mothers’ issues nor a woman focused primarily on women’s issues. In the capacity of *supra-madre*, she assumed the role of citizen advocate, enabling her to engage multiple sectors of the electorate based on the mantra of “shared fate.” Chilean journalist Paul Walder acknowledged the amplified role prior to Bachelet’s first term: “What woman didn’t identify with her as she seduced the army without contrivances? If she could do it, why couldn’t other working women control their labor relations, or at least their own husbands? And if she could tame the army, why couldn’t she tame the political class and run the country from La Moneda?”

The transition from *supermadre* to *supra-madre* was abetted by intentionality. Bachelet’s campaign unapologetically played the “woman card” as counterpoint to the opposition’s promotion of masculine hard power as the ideal: “Because of *machista* campaign attacks, we wanted to show that her gender would enable her to do things differently” (qtd. in Steinberg). Doing things differently was a hard sell to a public that saw “stereotypical male personality traits as those more compatible with the executive office, such as assertiveness, ambition, vision, decisiveness, rationality, and strength” (Steckenrider 249; Kornblut 21-22). Bachelet was aware of the gap between Chilean expectations and her leadership persona: “There are those who think I’m all smiles and a fool” (Politzer 83). The media sought to trivialize her political gravitas by casting her as an affectionate housewife, or “ama de casa” (“Michelle Bachelet (perfil)”), a “marketing product,” and a “populist media star with a hidden agenda up her sleeve” (“Señora Presidenta”). Bachelet understood that public perception could remain fairly static as long as stereotypes were presented as uncontested truths. That situation would limit the potential to effectively address some of Chile’s most pressing problems. Bachelet described her role in the process:

Every time any of us starts something new we have to confront prejudices. We have to confront resistance to change ... if I could be successful at this, I would be opening doors and windows for so many women—and men, because they would free themselves of prejudice. (“Berkeley”)

Paradoxically, men thanked her for opening new doors of possibility to their daughters.

The third distinguishing feature of the *supra-madre* is that while it retains the maternal element at the symbolic level, it does not operate primarily from a maternal initiative at the pragmatic level. In order to attain and retain power, the *supra-madre* must possess a multi-dimensional, autonomous political persona. During her first campaign period, Bachelet transmitted a leadership style that was “more approachable, and more rooted in the everyday experiences of ordinary Chileans” than those of her opponents (Thomas, *Michelle* 75). To the extent that she challenged the status quo, she was perceived as an alternative to politics-as-usual with the male political elite at the controls. While stereotypes are undeniably influential, they are not the ubiquitous scapegoat for all inequalities and contradictions. Due to the number of variables, studies on the degree to which gender stereotypes “harm or benefit female candidates” yield inconsistent conclusions (Bauer). What can be concluded is that female “stereotypes do not always shape how individuals perceive female candidates” (Bauer). In fact, research predicts that as female candidates become less anomalous, the relevance of stereotypes will diminish (Bauer).

A reading between the lines of Paul Walder’s assessment that Bachelet “symbolize[d] reason, access to the equality of modernity, a break with the baggage of macho tradition” suggests that she simultaneously projected the image of citizen advocate, progressive political actor, and autonomous woman. Commentary by a supporter on the threshold of Bachelet’s first election verifies the altered view of female status:

I am voting for her because it is historic for the country. She is the fruit of the fight and work of the women in Chile. Just five years ago, I could not have thought it was possible to have a woman president. It is an opening up of possibilities, especially for young girls—now that they have in their heads the possibility of being president. (qtd. in Thomas, *What* 130-31)

Chaney foresaw the potential of these possibilities for a new generation of females, citing a study conducted by Armand and Michèle Mattelart in 1968: “Once the principle of personal autonomy is recognized, it is evident that the roles of mother and wife may be reevaluated” (qtd. in *Supermadre* 159). In short time, that expectation materialized:

During the military period, women began to view themselves as equal partners in the political processes with the right to occupy and define for themselves what constitutes political space. By empowering themselves as individuals, they challenged the state’s right to define their political identities. (Chuchryk 94).

Bachelet was the beneficiary. Her blend of traditional and nontraditional career paths and traditional and nontraditional personal choices epitomized the element of personal autonomy in keeping with the *supra-madre* model.

The proposal of a modified model in no way diminishes the accomplishments of the *supermadres*. Credit is due to the legacy of Chilean women who engaged in groundbreaking political processes viewed by many as “apolitical.” Literature held that “their traditional domestic roles were extended into the public realm, as mothers in the human rights organizations and as housewives in the popular economic organizations” (Valenzuela 177, 179). Even if evaluated as apolitical, maternal,

and domestic in origin, their efforts served as important staging events for the next phase of political engagement. I base this on the logic that if conditions had remained static in Chile, the probability of two female presidencies and multiple female candidacies would be minimal to nonexistent.

In an explicit departure from the *supermadre* model, Bachelet “reconfigured the meanings of motherhood and [gave] it multiple dimensions that reach far beyond traditional essentialized characterizations of the mother as morally superior, domestic, and dependent on men” (Pieper-Mooney 200). This is significant. Based on interviews among women half a century earlier, Chaney singled out the term “decente” to describe the ideal “desirable female behavior in Latin America” or, “in sum, the virtuous and the proper” (34). In 1971, there was no positive social designation for a woman like Michelle Bachelet. The “madre decente” centered her life on the well being of her family; the “mujer de mala vida” sought fulfillment outside the domestic sphere and lived independently of male authority (35-37). Bachelet’s admission, “I unite all of Chile’s deadly sins within me,” verifies that the Bachelet biography falls short of the aforesaid traditional profile characterized by moral superiority, domesticity, and dependence on a male figure. It appears that a new model more representative of Chilean reality has taken shape.

In line with Gabriela Mistral’s appeal to “not burn our femininity in the crater of politics,” Bachelet assumed the “risk” to preserve her female identity in her approach to governance. Yet, that did not restrict her agenda to areas traditionally categorized as maternal or female concerns. Her administrations achieved pension reform, educational reform, electoral system reform, tax reform, reform to abortion laws, the implementation of gender quotas, the establishment and judicial support of commissions to monitor and prosecute corruption, the punishment of crimes committed by the regime, the reduction of poverty, and the establishment of multiple agencies to reduce discrimination and increase the quality of life for those with minimal resources. Several were landmark reforms deemed impossible missions by analysts and veteran politicians. Clearly, they required actions far beyond the scope of the *supermadre* paradigm.

Four years after Chileans elected a female Head of State for the second time, senator Carolina Goic was nominated the Christian Democrat candidate for the presidential election of November 2017 (Brown). The left-wing party Frente Amplio nominated journalist Beatriz Sánchez (Castillo). Sánchez, an outsider, garnered 20% of the vote. Analysts called this election “the most interesting and unpredictable political constellation since the return to democracy in 1989” (Benediker and Zlosilo). The Mattelart prediction in 1968 of a reevaluation of the maternal role appears to have materialized: Goic is the mother of two children, Sánchez is the mother of three. This gives credence to Susan Carroll’s observation that as “motherhood is becoming increasingly politicized,” it is losing the stigma of “liability” (qtd. in Dvorak). That being the case, the *supra-madre* is well positioned to disqualify the stigma of “inability.”

Resumen

La publicación de la investigación de Elsa Chaney sobre el compromiso político femenino en América Latina en 1971 aseguró su legado como pionera en ese campo. También proporcionó a décadas de investigadores una línea de base para la evolución de las teorías asociadas con el modelo supermadre. Los desarrollos sociopolíticos del siglo XXI ahora cuestionan la viabilidad de ese modelo en el futuro. Esta discusión sugiere un modelo refundido, una “adaptación de especies” con capacidades mejoradas: la supra-madre.

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Isotopies of Chilean political discourse: TV ads from the 2013 presidential election

The aim of this paper is to characterize, at least in part, the representations and imaginary present in the discourse of the major political sectors of the country: the Nueva Mayoría [New Majority], a centerleft conglomerate, and the Alianza por Chile [Alliance for Chile], center-right. To achieve it, we will appeal to the identification and classification of redundant sets of semantic categories -or isotopies- observable in the spots for the television time frame for the balloting of the presidential election of 2013, in which Michelle Bachelet and Evelyn Matthei clashed. From this point of view, the study can be located in the field of Political Communication, although its main ambition is to contribute to this area from the perspective of Semiotics. This possibility is explained by the particular condition of semiotic analysis, which distinguishes it over other methods of social research, including traditional content analysis and discourse: its focus on the question of meaning.

When speaking of sense, Semiotics seeks to define a broader level of understanding of reality than the production of particular meanings. Formally the meaning is the correlative of all significant (Saussure, 1945, p. 93), i.e., an element in the structure of the sign. The question of the meaning goes beyond that. From the semiotics perspective, human beings live in a world of sense (Greimas, 1973, p. 8), as the culture itself is a network of individuals and extended meanings (Zecchetto, 2002, pp. 29-30), which accounts both, knowledge of reality, and attributes of the subject from this reality (Klinkenberg, 2006, pp. 88-90). And this is possible because the sense implies significance, but also direction, intent and purpose (Greimas, 1973, p. 12). In other words, the problem of meaning is not pose to a human being, for the sense exists, it is imposed as evidence (Greimas, 1973, p. 8), it is present in the collection that he has of the world around him (Zecchetto, 2002, p. 188). From this, Semiotics can be understood in a more complex way, as the study of the processes of meaning and sense in society.

If from Morris (1985, pp. 31-32) it is stated that semiotics studies both relations between signs (syntax) and between them and the objects they represent (semantics), and the relationship with their interpreters (Pragmatic), then the whole semiotic perspective is not confined to the

identification of meanings. The question of meaning does not seek to make a catalog of meanings or discover the correct meaning, but to explain how, at a given moment of a given community, something makes sense (Magariños de Morentin, 2002, p. 22). Semiotic perspective, therefore, not only involves the analysis of texts, but identifying those categories of thought that justify that discursive use in society. This form of observation can be applied perfectly in the field of Political Communication, given its interdisciplinary character (Kaid, 2004a, p. Xiii) and the enormous diversity of methods used in it (Graber, 2004).

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RESUMEN:

Este artículo muestra los avances de un estudio sobre la representación discursiva y los imaginarios de los principales grupos políticos en Chile –la Nueva Mayoría y la Alianza–, a partir de las isotopías presentes en sus spots para el balotaje de la elección presidencial 2013. Se concluye que mientras la campaña de Bachelet construye su discurso desde una isotopía de la inclusión (“Todos con Michelle”), la de Matthei lo hace desde una de la posibilidad (“Sí se puede”). Estos usos, respaldados por isotopías relativas a los programas de gobierno (derechos vs. elección) y a sus perfiles en cuanto mujeres (cuidado vs. autoridad), permiten reconocer los imaginarios tradicionales de cada sector: una centro-izquierda estatista y una derecha de inspiración neoliberal.

BEYOND HEARTH AND HOME: FEMALE LEGISLATORS, FEMINIST POLICY CHANGE, AND SUBSTANTIVE REPRESENTATION IN MEXICO*

The dramatic increase in women’s numerical presence in legislatures across Latin America raises the possibility that qualitative improvements in policy and governance will follow. These expectations are grounded in normative discourses that see women –by virtue of their deferent social positions and roles– as introducing new perspectives to policy debates: the more diverse the legislative body, the more responsive and inclusive the decisions.

In the words of Argentine activists who supported the electoral quota law that compelled parties to nominate women, “With few women in politics, women change, but with many women in politics, politics changes” (Marx, Borner, and Caminotti 2007:61). For scholars of gender and politics, this connection is studied as the link between women’s descriptive representation (that is, women’s numbers in legislative office) and women’s substantive representation (that is, women’s policy interests). Researchers have explored whether Latin American female legislators are more likely than male legislators to support policies related to women’s interests, conceived as women’s rights policies or social policies such as education and health. Generally, findings have been positive: female legislators do change politics by supporting equal rights legislation and social welfare policies (Franceschet and Piscopo 2008; Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013; Miguel 2012; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). Yet none of these studies have included the Mexican case, despite a highly successful electoral quota law that has raised women’s descriptive representation to over 30 percent. This study offers the first quantitative assessment of the descriptive-substantive connection in the Mexican Congress. The Mexican case also provides an opportunity to answer some outstanding theoretical and methodological questions. First, how can scholars parse the causal effects of gender identity versus party membership? Scholars have debated whether women’s policy preferences can be attributed to their sex or to their adherence to party platforms (Htun and Powers 2006; Piscopo 2011a). In the case of Mexico, two of the major three parties have staked clear, consistent ideological positions: the Partido Acción Nacional (PAN) on the right, advocating economic neoliberalism and social conservatism, and the Partido Revolucionario Democrático (PRD) on the left, advocating state-led social welfare regimes that benefit the working class and other marginalized groups. Looking at substantive representation within the Mexican political parties offers an opportunity to explore whether rightist women (female panistas) still stake out progressive positions on women’s issues. Second, and related, how can scholars measure women’s substantive representation without neglecting the diversity of identities and preferences within women as a group? Celis and Childs (2012) have asked what scholars of women’s substantive representation should “do” with conservative women. That is, the standard conceptualization and operationalization of women’s interests has examined feminist policy change, ignoring instances wherein female legislators support policies that restrict women’s rights or protect male privilege.

Yet under a strict definition of women’s substantive representation –that women’s interests are advocated for in policy debates– there appears no reason to exclude, *ex ante*, conservative visions. After all, as a female panista commented in an interview, women who identify as housewives have interests in economic policies that support women’s domestic –as opposed to formal sector– work.

This paper thus takes a “values-neutral” approach to substantive representation, comparing female legislators who represent feminist policy change (proposals that would advance women’s rights and roles beyond those associated with hearth and home) to female legislators who represent non-feminist policy change (policies that shape women’s rights and roles in relation to hearth and home). And, finally, can male legislators substantively represent women? The causal factor linking descriptive representation to substantive representation is legislators’ gender identity. Consequently, male legislators are not typically theorized as advocates for women’s interests. Yet this theoretical formulation confronts an empirical reality: male legislators’ may represent women less than female legislators, but they do not neglect women’s interests all of the time (Htun, Lacalle, and Micozzi 2013; Piscopo 2011a; Schwindt-Bayer 2010). When, then, are men considered women’s interests advocates? This paper explores this question by attending more carefully to the frequencies of men’s and women’s advocacy of feminist versus nonfeminist policy proposals, as well as proposals related to child wellbeing. This paper thus uses the Mexican case to address outstanding questions about which legislators undertake substantive representation and which policies count as substantive representation. I ask the following research questions: Does women’s descriptive representation enhance women’s substantive representation? Does gender identity (as proxied by sex) or party ideology best explain legislators’ policy preferences on women’s interests? Finally, how much evidence exists for substantive representation that is non-feminist and/or undertaken by men, and what are the theoretical implications of these trends? I focus on substantive representation as process, which Franceschet and Piscopo (2008) conceptualize as alterations to the legislative agenda (as opposed to substantive representation as outcome, which consists of policy change). I operationalize substantive representation as bill introduction, using quantitative data from the Mexican Chamber of Deputies between 1997 and 2012. I supplement the statistical analysis with qualitative data from ten elite interviews conducted with female legislators from Mexico’s three largest parties in December 2009. At the time, interviewees were current members of the Chamber of Deputies or Senate, or had served at least one term in either chamber between 1997 and 2009.² Consistent with other studies from Latin America, I find that electing women indeed adds women’s interests to the legislative agenda. While right parties are less likely to represent women overall, female deputies from the right and left are more likely than their male colleagues to represent women’s interests. Moreover, the overwhelming majority of substantive representation is feminist.

Related, my coding scheme for women’s interests shows that researchers must untangle the complicated nexus between women, hearth, and home. When feminist proposals are separated from non-feminist proposals, and non-feminist proposals are divided between women, on the one hand, and children, on the other, significant differences between male legislators’ and female legislators’ bill introduction emerge. Male legislators, particularly those on the left, do propose some feminist bills, but many male legislators abandon an

explicit focus on women in favor of an explicit focus on children. This abandonment is most notable among men on the right.

These findings suggest that previous studies, which have not divided women's interests in this way, may have over-estimated the participation of male legislators in feminist substantive representation. That is, when a single "women's interest" measure includes proposals addressing women and children, deference's in female legislators' and male legislators' approaches to substantive representation are overlooked. I build this argument as follows. First, I present background data on women's descriptive representation and legislative politics in Mexico. Second, I analyze overall trends in women's substantive representation, followed by an examination of the bills' content – that is,

whether substantive representation means the advocacy of feminist proposals, non-feminist proposals, or proposals focused on children. I conclude that female legislators are largely responsible for placing feminist women's interests on the agenda.

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*Data was first analyzed as part of author's Ph.D. Dissertation, "Do Women Represent Women? Gender and Policy in Argentina and Mexico" (2011), University of California, San Diego. ** Assistant Professor of Politics, Department of Politics, Occidental College, Los Angeles; piscopo@oxy.edu.*

1 Interview with former PAN legislator, December 7, 2009.

All interviews took place in person, in Mexico City.

Resumen:

Este artículo utiliza el caso mexicano para explorar temas pendientes en la conexión entre la representación descriptiva de las mujeres (es decir, la presencia numérica de las mujeres en la legislatura) y la representación sustantiva de las mujeres (es decir, las políticas que responden a los intereses de las mujeres). De acuerdo con trabajos previos sobre América Latina, encuentro que la elección de mujeres hace que la agenda legislativa sea más diversa, y también que las legisladoras –más que los legisladores– presenten propuestas que se sustentan en perspectivas feministas sobre los derechos y roles de las mujeres.

Estas tendencias se mantienen a través de todos los partidos políticos mexicanos que se organizan ideológicamente, indicando que las activistas feministas deben preocuparse por que se elijan representantes de izquierda y mujeres. Es decir, las mujeres de derecha son aun más progresistas que los hombres de derecha. Para concluir, planteo la necesidad de desentrañar la relación entre las mujeres y el hogar y de eliminar la fusión de “intereses de las mujeres” con la niñez.

Tabla X. Mujeres y hombres, aspirantes y candidatos independientes registrados en elecciones para Gobernador (2015-2020)

NE	2015	ACI	M	H	CI	M	H	NE	2016	ACI	M	H	CI	M	H	NE	2017	ACI	M	H	CI	M	H	N	2019	ACI	M	H	CI	M	H
1	Baja California Sur (1)	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	Aguascalientes (10)	1 (d)	0	1	1	0	1	1	Coahuila (22)	3	0	3	2	0	2	1	Baja California (33)	4	0	4	0	0	0
2	Campeche (2)	1 (a)	0	1	1	0	1	2	Chihuahua (11)	1 (e)	0	1	1	0	1	2	Nayarit (23)	3	0	3	3	0	3	2	Puebla (Extraordinaria) (34)	5	0	5	0	0	0
3	Colima (3*)	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	Durango (12)	1 (f)	0	1	1	0	1	3	Estado de México (24)	2	1	1	1	0	1	T	ACI/CI	9	0	9	0	0	0
4	Guerrero (4)	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	Hidalgo (13)	0	0	0	0			T	ACI/CI	8	1	7	6	0	6	N	2020	A	M	H	C	M	H
5	Michoacán (5)	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	Oaxaca (14)	3 (g)	1	2	0			N	2018	ACI	M	H	CI	M	H								
6	Nuevo León (6)	1 (b)	0	1	1	0	1	6	Puebla (15)	7 (h)	2	5	1	0	1	2	Guanajuato (26)	0	0	0	0	0	0								
7	Querétaro (7)	0	0	0	0	0	0	7	Quintana Roo (16)	0	0	0	0			3	Puebla (27)	3	0	3	0	0	0								
8	San Luis Potosí (8)	2 (c)	0	2	0	0	0	8	Sinaloa (17)	1 (i)	0	1	1	1	0	4	Tabasco (28)	1	0	1	1	0	1								
9	Sonora (9)	0	0	0	0	0	0	9	Tamaulipas (18)	1 (k)	0	1	1	0	1	5	Chiapas (29)	4	0	4	1	0	1								
								10	Tlaxcala (19)	1 (l)	0	1	1	0	1	6	Yucatán (30)	4	2	2	0	0	0								
								11	Veracruz (20)	1 (m)	0	1	1	0	1	7	Veracruz (31)	2	1	1	0	0	0								
								12	Zacatecas (21)	2 (n)	1	1	2	1	1	8	Morelos (32)	7	1	6	1	0	1								
								13	Colima (3**)	0	0	0	0			T	ACI/CI	21	4	17	3	0	3								
T		4	0	4	2	0	2		T	19	4	15	10	2	8																
T		ACI		M	4	H	11	T	Elecciones	35	T		CI	21	M	42	H		58												

Notas: ACI= Aspirantes a Candidatos Independientes; CI= Candidatos Independientes; M= Mujeres, H= Hombres; NE= Número de elección; T= Total; (a) Luis Antonio Che Cu, dirigente del Frente Campesino Independiente “Emiliano Zapata” (FRECEIZ); (b) Jaime Heliodoro Rodríguez Calderón “El Bronco”; (c) Enrique Suarez del Real Díaz de León y José Alfredo Loredó Zarate; (d) Gabriel Arellano Espinoza; (e) José Luis Barraza González “Chacho”; (f) Alejandro Campa Avitia; (g) Juan Manuel García López, de Transformar Oaxaca 2016 A.C; Zenén Ávila Elena, de Confederación Nacional Revolucionaria de los Pueblos Dinámicos de México A.C; y Matías Romero Solano, de Matías Romero Solano A.C.; (h) Ricardo Jiménez Hernández, Ricardo Villa Escalera, Marco Antonio Mazatlé Rojas, Ana Teresa Aranda Orozco “La Doña”, Rubén Hernández Pérez, Leodegario Pozos Vergara “El Tigre de la Sierra” y Carolina López López; (i) Ana Teresa Aranda Orozco “La Doña”; (j) Francisco Cuauhtémoc Frías Castro; (k) José Francisco Chavira Martínez; (l) Jacob Hernández Corona; (m) Juan Bueno Torio; (n) Alma Rosa Ollervides González y Rogelio Soto Acuña. Fuentes: elaboración propia con datos de (1) IEEBCS, 2016; (2) IECC, 2016; (3*) IECCO, 2016 y (3**) Elección extraordinaria; (4) IEPCEG, 2016; (5) IEM, 2016; (6) CEENL, 2016; (7) IEEQ, 2016; (8) CEEPACSLP, 2016; (9) IEEPACS, 2016; (10) IEEA, 2016; (11) IEECH, 2016; (12) IEPD, 2016; (13) IEEH, 2016; (14) IEEPCO, 2016a; (15) IEEP, 2016; (16) IEQR, 2016; (17) IEEES, 2016; (18) IETAM, 2016; (19) IETLAX, 2016; (20) IEV, 2016; (21) IEEZ, 2016; (22) IECC, 2020; (23) IEEEN, 2020; (24) IEEM, 2020; (25) IEPD, 2020; (26) IEEG, 2020; (27) IEEP, 2020; (28) IEPCT, 2020; (29) IEPCC, 2020; (30) IEPD, 2020; (31) IEV, 2020; (32) IMPEPAC, 2020; (33) IEEBC, 2020; y (34) IEEP, 2020.

Tabla X. Identificación de mujeres y hombres, Aspirantes y Registrados a Candidatos Independientes por año de elección

2015

	ACI (M)	ACI (H)	CI (M)	CI (H)
Baja California		Benjamín de la Rosa Escalante y Jorge Luis Godines Orozco		Benjamín de la Rosa Escalante
Campeche		Luis Antonio Che Cu		Luis Antonio Che Cu
Colima		Gabriel Salgado Aguilar		Gabriel Salgado Aguilar
Guerrero				
Michoacán		Mariano García Vázquez		
Nuevo León	Ma. Silvia De Jesús Ordoñez Hernández	Jaime Heliodoro Rodríguez Calderón		Jaime Heliodoro Rodríguez Calderón "El Bronco"
Querétaro		Alberto Marroquín Espinoza, Omar Oswaldo González Aceves y Rolando Augusto Ruíz Hernández		
San Luis Potos		Enrique Suarez del Real Díaz y de José Alfredo Loredo Zárate		
Sonora				

2016

	ACI (M)	ACI (H)	CI (M)	CI (H)
Aguascalientes		Gabriel Arellano Espinoza		
Chihuahua		José Luis Barraza González "Chacho		
Durango		Alejandro Campa Avitia		
Hidalgo				
Oaxaca	Zenén Ávila Elena	Juan Manuel García López. Francisco Toledo.		
Puebla	Ana Teresa Aranda Orozco "La Doña",	Ricardo Jiménez Hernández, Ricardo Villa	Ana Teresa Aranda Orozco "La Doña".	

	Carolina López López.	Escalera, Marco Antonio Mazatle Rojas, Rubén Hernández Pérez, Leodegario Pozos Vergara "El Tigre de la Sierra"		
Quintana Roo				
Sinaloa		Francisco Cuauhtémoc Frías Castro		
Tamaulipas		José Francisco Chavira Martínez		
Tlaxcala		Jacob Hernández Corona		
Veracruz		Juan Bueno Torio		
Zacatecas	Alma Rosa Ollervides González	Rogelio Soto Acuña.		
Colima				

2017

	ACI (M)	ACI (H)	CI (M)	CI (H)
Coahuila		Germán Maltos Reyna, Javier Guerrero García, Luis Horacio Salinas (Lucho)		
Nayarit		Víctor Manuel Chávez Vázquez, Antonio Ayón Banuelos e Hilario Ramírez Villanueva		
Estado de México	Teresa Castell de Oro Palacios	Isidro Pastor Medrano	Teresa Castell de Oro Palacios	

2018

	ACI (M)	ACI (H)	CI (M)	CI (H)
Jalisco				
Guanajuato				

Puebla		Enrique Cárdenas Sánchez, José Jorge Morales Alducín e Israel de Jesús Ramos González		
Tabasco		Jesús Alí de la Torre		Jesús Alí de la Torre
Chiapas		Jesús Alejo Orantes Ruíz, Lenin Ostilio Urbina Trujillo, Jorge Aramando Padilla Valvidia y Horacio Culebro Borrayas		Jesús Alejo Orantes Ruíz
Yucatán	Sofía Castro Romero, Margarita Torres Sansores.	Felipe Neri Espinoza Herrera, Edwain Palomino Sulub.		
Veracruz	Marisol Hernández Gómez	Simón Soto Hernández		
Morelos	Yolanda Gutiérrez Neri	Fidel Demédis Hidalgo, Ariosto Genel García, Mario Rojas Alba, Luis Sergio Hernández Coronado, Edgar Francisco Flores Miranda y José Antonio Sandoval Tajona		Fidel Demédis Hidalgo

2019

	ACI (M)	ACI (H)	CI (M)	CI (H)
Baja California		Temoc Ávila Hernández, Sergio Arturo Fernández Herrera, Arturo Marín Corona y Felipe Daniel Ruanova Zarate		

Puebla (Extraordinaria)		Israel de Jesús Ramos González, Erick Martínez Salazar, Miguel Ángel Ocampo Hernández, Juan Alejandro Amorós Herrera y Raymundo López Ortiz		
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**“Democracia y Autoritarismo en Tiempos de Pandemia:
¿Un Nuevo Ciclo de Transiciones?”**

Acapulco de Juárez, Guerrero, México

Asunto: Aceptación de ponencia

A QUIEN CORRESPONDA:

El que suscribe, Jesús Tovar Mendoza, Presidente de la Junta Nacional Directiva de la Asociación Mexicana de Ciencias Políticas (AMECIP), por la presente permiten notificar que la ponencia titulada **Participación de las mujeres en las candidaturas independientes a las gubernaturas locales en México (2015-2020)** presentada por **Ivonne Maya Espinoza** de la Institución **Universidad Tecnológica de la Mixteca**, fue evaluada positivamente y aceptada por el Comité Científico del IX Congreso Internacional de Ciencia Política, para participar en eje temático **Estudios de Género, Participación Política y violencias contra las mujeres** dentro de la modalidad **Virtual**.

Por lo tanto, deberá complementar el proceso de pago de inscripción y subir la ponencia en extenso dentro de la fecha límite, requisito indispensable para aparecer en el programa final del Congreso. Le rogamos atender las fechas establecidas en el cronograma (<https://congreso.amecip.com>).

Finalmente, no queda más que agradecer su interés en nuestro congreso.



Dr. Jesús Tovar Mendoza
Presidente de la AMECIP

Pago Congreso AMECIP

Congreso AMECIP <congreso@amecip.com>

Mié 17/11/2021 16:35

Para: ivonne-7776@hotmail.com <ivonne-7776@hotmail.com>



Estimada Ivonne Maya Espinoza

Se ha generado su referencia correctamente. Los datos para su pago son los siguientes:

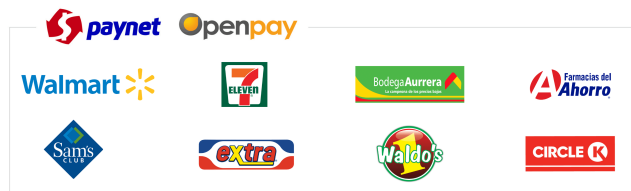
Referencia: 1422286

Fecha: miércoles, 17 de noviembre de 2021 16:35:22

Monto Total: \$2,000.00 MXN

Método de pago: Tienda

Puede realizar su pago en cualquiera de las siguientes tiendas:



También puede descargar el documento PDF con toda la información para el pago en el siguiente enlace:

[Ver datos para el pago](#)

Puede revisar la información de su pago desde su perfil.

<https://congreso.amecip.com/micuenta/perfil>



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