

Ignorance is Bliss?

Tracing the Process of Democratic Transition in Argentina with a Gender
Perspective

Josefin Pehrson

Abstract

This bachelor thesis focuses on the democratic transition in Argentina in the beginning of the 1980s and aims to expose several variables within this political development by using a method of process tracing. What many scholars have failed to notice is the role that women's movements in Latin America have had in this process. The authoritarian regime in Argentina also failed to acknowledge this by continuously underestimating women's political agency. This made it possible for women's movements to grow and enabled a more public opposition within the country, which, provided for a unique arena for protests. Interacting with other factors, such as the economic crisis and Argentina's defeat in the Falkland war, this eventually led to the complete de-legitimization of the regime. Theories on political participation, civil society and public/private are used to analyze the process. The aim of this study is thus to trace the process of democratic transition, stage by stage, and analyze the interacting causal variables using a gender perspective using secondary sources. The conclusion drawn is that the women's movements had a central role among the variables resulting in the breakdown of the authoritarian regime and the opening towards democracy in Argentina.

Key words: Democratic transition, women's movements, Latin America, Argentina, gender perspective

Words: 10 015

Table of contents

1 Women – as Political Actors?	1
1.1 Statement of Purpose and Research Question	1
1.2 Method.....	2
1.2.1 Most-Likely Case	2
1.2.2 Selecting the Case Extensively.....	2
1.2.3 Process Tracing.....	5
1.3 Material and Source Criticism.....	7
1.4 Disposition and Limitations.....	7
2 Theoretical Approach.....	9
2.1 Theoretical Definitions	9
2.1.1 Democracy and Democratization	9
2.1.2 Gender and Politics.....	10
2.1.3 Gender and Development	11
2.2 Transition to Democracy	12
2.3 Civil Society and Women’s Movements	13
3 Background	15
3.1 Contemporary Argentine History	15
3.2 Women’s Movements in Latin America.....	15
4 Analyzing the Women’s Political Status in Latin America.....	17
5 Tracing the Transition	19
5.1 First and Second Stage of Transition.....	20
5.1.1 The Defeat in the Falklands Islands	20
5.1.2 The Economic Crisis and Las Mujeres Populares	21
5.1.3 The ‘Dirty War’, Las Madres and Other Human Rights Organizations.....	22
5.1.4 The Authoritarian State and the Feminists	23
5.2 Third stage leading to de-legitimizing.....	23
5.2.1 Creating Political Space.....	23
5.2.2 International and National Awareness and Pressure	24
5.2.3 Spreading democratic ideals – ‘the right to rights’	25
6 Concluding Statement	26
7 References.....	28

1 Women – as Political Actors?

3.30 pm. Buenos Aires. Women in white scarves with fading photographs in their hands or diapers on their heads. Every Thursday afternoon the remaining parts of Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo march around the square to honor the memory of the ‘disappeared’. They continue the quest for the truth behind the old military regimes so called ‘dirty war’ in which they lost their children and grandchildren.

They act within their roles as women and mothers. An identity that the authoritarian regime in the 1980s did not credit with any significant political status. Their ignorance proved to be a blunder. Las Madres and other human rights groups gave rise to opposition both within and outside the country. Together with housewife’s, organizations and feminist groups they came to play an important role in dismantling the legitimacy of the military government.

1.1 Statement of Purpose and Research Question

The examinations of the causal factors behind democratization have been many and varied. The theories include everything from the size of the country to social capital. Remarkably little notice has been taken on a gender focus on the area and very few of the presented analyses include gender equality and women’s movements as explanatory variables (Waylen 1994: 327). This thesis will consist of an in-depth case study and the choice of case will be founded on the results from an extensive pre-study on gender equality and democratization.

The main focus of the extensive pre-study was to change perspective and examine in what ways gender equality could be perceived as an active contributor to the process of democratization. Regarding gender equality as an emerging influence, this paper intends to discuss its instrumental value, signifying the ability to contribute to the creation of another value - in this case democracy. The point of departure is that gender equality has a value of its own and the pre-conception is that it can have effects on the process of democratization.

The in-depth study will operationalize gender equality in the form of political participation of women’s movements. This will be further discussed in the section covering the theoretical approach of the thesis. The pre-study previously conducted was aimed at answering the following question:

What impact does gender equality have on the process of democratization?

After analysing the results from the extensive pre-study, and accounting for the reasons why Argentina was chosen as a country for the in-depth case study, the research question slims down to:

What part played the women's movements in the democratic transition in Argentina?

The aim is to contribute to the development of transition theory by tracing the Argentine transition with a gender perspective.

1.2 Method

1.2.1 Most-Likely Case

This thesis puts use of both extensive and intensive measures, demonstrating an awareness of the limitations of both methods while making the most of their advantages. According to Teorell and Svensson, combining extensive and intensive methods is a desirable approach to strive for (2007: 273). The research design for this paper will take this into account by selecting the case through extensive methods and perform the in-depth case study using process tracing for the selected country.

A fruitful effect of combining the two methods is the possibility to ensure the validity often put aside in sole extensive studies (*ibid.* 275). The case is chosen from the results of the regression analyses made in the pre-study. To see if there is any substance behind the extensive co-variation the strategy is to select a case close to the regression line and henceforth match the explored co-variation. The reasons for selecting such a country is the ambition to enter deeply into the causal chain that seems to fit with the expected results, a so-called "most-likely-method" (*ibid.* 275-276). Applying this method when choosing the case is a way to maximize the probability of reaching a certain result.¹

1.2.2 Selecting the Case Extensively

¹ Even without the results of the extensive study in mind, Latin America appears as an interesting part of the world for studying these matters. It is a region where women's movements have been participating actively in politics and where those movements have been studied.

The results of the pre-study will be presented shortly with two variables in each graph and a regression line drawn through the scatter plot. The R-square will also be presented, this number indicating the variation in the dependent variable that can be contributed to the independent variable.

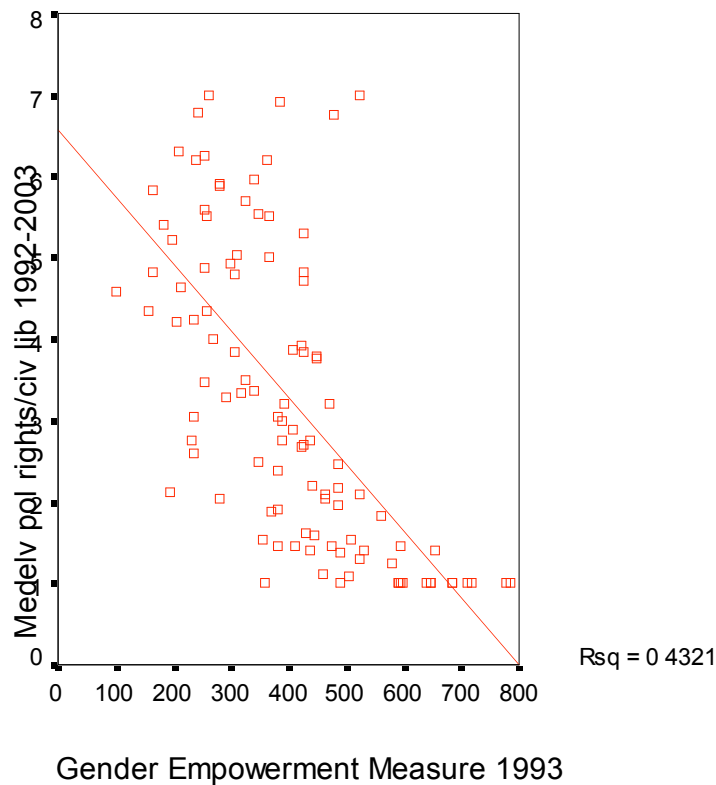


Figure 1. The graph is from the pre-study “Can gender equality influence democracy?”. The independent x-variable represents the Gender Empowerment Measure in 1993 from UNDP², high numbers indicate less inequality. The dependent y-variable shows the sum of Freedom House ratings on political rights and civil liberties in the years 1992-2003. Low numbers indicate higher levels of freedom. (All data from Johanssons Länderdatabas 2009).

The coefficient of determination (rsq) in Figure 1 is 0,4321 for the total population, which means it has a 43 percent of the variation in y can be said to be explained by x. This does not prove that gender empowerment stimulates democracy, but it does show that the two factors correlate. Since the correlation is relatively high this can be seen as an indication of either an explanatory relationship or a third element, such as improving economic welfare, that affect

² United Nations Development Program, UNDP, launched Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) in the Human Development Report of 1995. GEM is a measure of the difference between men and women when it comes to political participation, decision-making power, economic participation and command over resources (UNDP 1). This agency-centered measure is helpful when using a feminist approach to democracy since it accounts for the actual possibilities to participate and take part in decisions.

both of the factors simultaneously – or most likely a combination of a spurious and an actual correlation.

Figure 3. Gender Equality and Democracy. $r = .82, N=55, p < .000$

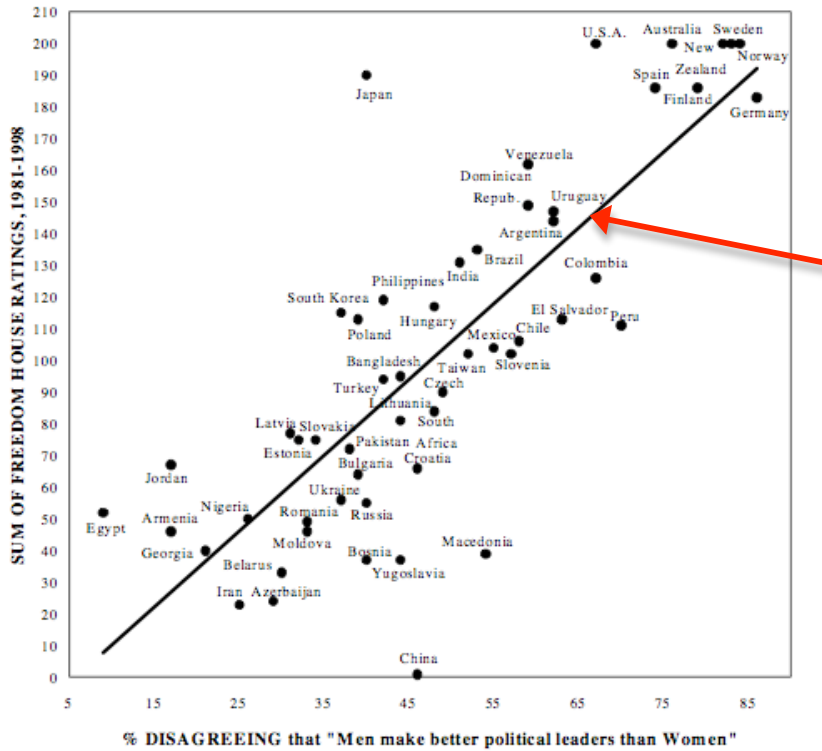


Figure 2. The graph is taken directly from a study by Inglehart et al. It compares the percentage of the population disagreeing with the statement “Men make better political leaders than women” (from World Value Survey) with the sum of Freedom House ratings 1981-1998. The scale is inverted so that the higher ranks means that the country is freer. Usually Freedom House presents their results the other way around. The arrow points out Argentina on the regression line.

Inglehart et al analyze the relation between different measures of gender equality as the independent x-variable and democracy as the dependent y-variable. The most significant results are found in the part of their study examining political attitudes. They find that countries where people disagree with the statement “Men make better political leader than women” have much better values on public rights and civil liberties than countries agreeing with the statement (Inglehart et al. 2002: 6). The result remains significant even after controlling for many other possible explanations.

Their main theory is that gender equality is the most central component of the cultural values. They argue that attitudes towards gender change the values in society that make a change in the political system possible (Inglehart et al. 2002: 12-16). This way of measuring the correlation adds perspective of how attitudes can change society.

Argentina is one of the countries that fits well with the regressions line and thus can constitute a ‘typical case’ to concentrate on. A first glance on the

literature confirmed the idea that Argentine women's movements contributed to the process of democratization in the early 1980s (Waylen, 1994: 339).

1.2.3 Process Tracing

Since the ambition of this case study is to focus on the causes of transition the method of process tracing appears to be useful. Process tracing evaluates the historical process between cause and effect. It is necessary to point out the central mechanisms and to sort out observable implications of these mechanisms (Teorell–Svensson 2007:247).

“The process-tracing method attempts to identify the intervening causal process—the causal chain and causal mechanism—between an independent variable [or variables, ed note] and the outcome of the dependent variable.” (George–Bennet 2005: 206). Teorell and Svensson refer to McKeown and compare process tracing to judgment processes in court and also to the work of a private investigator (2007: 247). The different possible causes of the investigated situation can be compared to the individuals on trial for the crime.

First of all one must ascertain that the investigated phenomenon is one of the causal factors, the next step being to *explain* why it had this effect. Searching for the mechanism is the same thing as searching for the answer to the question: *Why* did it happen? (*ibid* 245-246).

George sets out three conditions for a theoretically based case study (*ibid.* 236):

- 1) *The counterfactual alternatives of the outcome have to be specified.* The first condition is actually based on asking the question: What would have happened if it were not for this factor? Here, Teorell and Svensson points out why outcome should be seen as one of many possible values of the dependent variable – as an expression of the counterfactual variation. It is significant to find this alternative outcome, the “something else” which could have occurred and ask why, for example, the democratic transition took this certain path instead of another (*ibid.* 237).
- 2) *The different supposed explanations and outcomes must be specified in a way that turns them into general and equally comparable variables.* If one wants to contribute to the development of theory it is constructive to utilize a more abstract definition of the explanatory variable so that it can be compared with other cases. Instead of using the definition “The autonomous feminist’s organization in Argentina fighting for democracy” one could use “Women’s movements”. It is important not to lose focus even if one at the same time has the ambition to make the results of the study susceptible to generalization, in order for them to be applicable in and comparable to other studies. If the concept is to widely stretched one might miss a crucial part of the explanation (*ibid.*).

- 3) *All of these explanations have to be attached to theories.* The key is to find the answer to the question: What is this case a case of? The answer will determine which theories to attach (*ibid.*). This case-study focuses on describing and explaining the democratic transition in Argentina, and analyzing gender depicted in the form of women's movements engaging in the democratic process. The theories used will therefore focus on transitions to democracy and on the political role of women's movements.

As Teorell and Svensson advises – this study will have a probabilistic approach to causality. It means that one should only try to find proof for a changed *probability* of y when x occurs (*ibid.* 241).³ When dealing with only a few cases, or as in this study only one case, it is problematic to rely on this single case to explain the covariance.

Process tracing allows and imposes on the researcher to take *equifinality* into account (George–Bennet 2005: 207). In other words it has to be considered that many different causes and paths have the potential of explaining an outcome. George and Bennett emphasize how the usefulness of complementing a large-N analysis with process tracing since there is always a risk that the statistical analysis fails to notice the possibility of equifinality and thereby not seeing the whole process and all of the possible intervening causes (*ibid.* 215).

There are as many different ways to do a process tracing, as there are causal processes. It is of great importance to use a version of the method that fits and can be adapted to the phenomenon being investigated (*ibid.* 213). The simplest form is to study a direct chain of events as a linear causality. The investigated process of democratic transition does not fit into this simplified form. Like the majority of interesting phenomenon's in international relations, it is much more complex. It should rather be described using *interacting causal variables*, in the sense that those are not independent of one another. This *interdependent* version of the method will be used for this study (*ibid.* 212).

This choice also affects one of the requirements mentioned by Teorell and Svensson. The interdependency makes it very difficult and also less important to construct and analyze *counterfactual* variables (*ibid.* 231). Since this study does not try to prove or show only one cause as the explanative variable but rather as chains connected to each other it is neither easy nor necessary to formulate such counterfactual alternatives.

Another decision is the level of abstraction in the analysis. If one decides to move up the famous ladder of abstraction it is not needed to do an exact detailed tracing of each step in the process (*ibid.* 211). Even if the method is often used in that way, process tracing does not have to focus on decision-making on the individual level (*ibid.* 212).

There is always a risk for the researcher to focus too heavily on the hypothetical process chosen as the main subject of the study. While conducting process

³ Accordingly one disaffiliates the alternative deterministic definition of causality – where there has to be proofs of a definite linkage of x resulting in y.

analysis it is important to be aware of this peril and be attentive to alternative hypotheses formulated by other scholars (George-Bennet 2005: 217).

To demonstrate the version of process tracing that will be used for this study the illustration where process tracing is compared to the process in court can be used. Instead of seeing the possible causes as individual suspects, the judge will operate from the pre-conception that all of the suspects probably have been interfering in the crime and that there are most likely other suspects who are not yet in the courtroom.

1.3 Material and Source Criticism

The basis of the material will be constituted by secondary sources in the form of books and articles. As more than twenty years have passed since the democratization in Argentina there is quite a big amount of academic writings on the subject. Most of this literature has failed to encompass the gender perspective, which narrows the possible sources of facts and analyses in the focus area. The scholars who have written about it often refer to one another. As Teorell and Svensson points out this is a problematic matter considering the dependence of the sources (2007: 106). Emphasis will however be put on when scholars use someone else's discussion or when they draw their own conclusions. Hence it is still possible to value their statements.

The literature mainly covers all of Latin America in the same chapters – a condition that makes it difficult to have an in-depth focus on Argentina but allows us to analyze the process from a higher level of abstraction. In this way the Argentine example will be seen in the context of the contemporary democratizations in the region. Neither is it the Argentine case itself that is of most interest – rather it can be seen as a good example of the that role women's movements can play in democratic transitions.

As shown above in section 1.2.3, the selection of the case is based on statistical data from sources such as Freedom House and World Value Survey. For the purpose of world covering data in political matters those are among the most renowned sources of information. Even though their way of measuring always can be discussed their credibility appears to be trusted by many scholars.

1.4 Disposition and Limitations

The first part of the thesis describes how the research question came about and the purpose of the study. It also shows how and why Argentina was selected for an in-

depth study. The method of process tracing is presented with a few examples on how it can be applied in this certain case.

In the second part the theories of democratic transition, civil society and women's movements are explained. The theoretical definitions are comprehensively depicted. Part three gives a brief background on the Argentine politics and a classification of the different types of women's movements in Argentina and Latin America. The analysis begins in part four where women's political status through the Latin American and Argentine political history is examined. In the fifth part the process tracing method is used for sorting out the instrumental causes in the Argentine transition. This will be a qualitative analysis where each stage in the process is taken into account. The sixth and last part concludes the results of the process tracing and summarizes the discussion.

This thesis is driven rather by the theories than by the case itself and the focus will therefore lay on the theories and how to operationalize them practically in the methods used. Argentina will serve as an example for how these theories can be applied to Latin America.

The term democratic transitions can and have been used in different ways. This study aims to analyze the period leading up to the transition and will not go in-depth with the actual breakdown or the first stages of democracy after the military regime. It is the transition from the authoritarian government run by the military junta until 1983 that will be examined.

2 Theoretical Approach

2.1 Theoretical Definitions

Democracy and gender are conceptions that can be filled with different meanings. The words can be used in many contexts and there is no common agreement on the right and correct use of them, neither in everyday language nor among academic scholars. It is therefore necessary to explicitly present the theories and the discussion underlying the use of these concepts within this study.⁴

A problem with the immensely varied use of ‘democracy’ and ‘gender’ is that the literature employed as secondary sources sometimes use different definitions. This makes it difficult to compare lines of reasoning in those matters. Among the authors who profess to a more feminist approach the general view is however similar. They tend to define democracy in a rather maximalist way, and to pay attention to the lack of gendered perspectives in the political analysis of democratic transition.

The traditional scholars within the field of democratic transition have a tendency of using a more liberal and minimalistic view of democracy. Most of these scholars have overseen the gender perspective since there is no room for it within in the definitions used.

2.1.1 Democracy and Democratization

This study attempts to take a middle-way when defining the view on democracy. It will be neither a minimalist nor an all-including maximalist approach. The analytical focus on political participation makes it relevant to discuss democracy in terms of ‘formal’ or ‘substantive’. Karl illustrates his choice of a middle-way definition by describing how he manages to avoid both the Scylla of “an overly

⁴ Methodologically, the exact definition of what type or level of democratization that occurred in Argentina in the beginning of the 1980s is not important for this study, since it is only the events leading up to the transition that are to be discussed. Nevertheless, it still is important to state what approach the study takes - considering the theoretical schools of democracy, democratization and gender.

narrow reliance on the mere presence of elections” and the Charybdis of “an overly broad assumption of social and economic equality” (1990: 2).

This comparison can speak also for this study even if Karl’s extended use of Dahl’s ‘polyarchy’ definition is still more formal than the one used here. The opinion withheld is to avoid an extremely maximalist definition to not water down the significance of democracy. A too utopian definition of democracy and democratization becomes impractical, since there would be no countries to study if “a perfect society” and democracy had the same significance (Grugel 2002: 5).

Real distribution of power is taken into account, in order to be able to study the political participation. This study will argue there is yet another devastating creature for the Ulyssarian democratic quest to avoid. It is not actual social or economical (-or gender) equality as an *outcome* that should be integrated within the definition of democracy, but rather the *equal possibilities* to participate and have real political agency. The definition of democratic citizenship ought to entail such possibilities.

Minimalistic approaches should also be avoided if the aim is to encompass gender in the analysis. Waylen argues that the use of institutional definitions of democratization fail to encompass its “interactions with gender relations” since it seldom includes wider transformations of the society (1994: 335).

The methodological definition of democracy used in the extensive pre-study is PRCL, which is a combination of the ratings of Political Rights and Civil Liberties made by Freedom House. At first glance the Freedom House definition of democracy may seem minimalist since it embraces a liberal position but at the same time it is more inclusive than the definition that for example Schumpeter used (Vreeland, 2003: 4). The combined measure of political rights and civil liberties is a way of measuring democracy, as Freedom House phrases it “The survey does not rate governments or government performance per se, but rather the real-world rights and social freedoms enjoyed by individuals” (Freedom House 1).

Since Freedom House’s operationalization captures more than just the political system it should be viewed neither as a minimalist nor a maximalist definition, but rather as something in between (Grugel 2002: 5-7). A strictly formal and liberal measure of democracy would have been hard to put in context with a gendered perspective (*ibid.* 25-26). But the definition of democracy that is used for the measures made by Freedom House actually includes substantive factors and is therefore compatible, even though many feminist scholars would argue that it is still not inclusive enough (Tickner 2001: 97). This definition could be used also for the case study since it embraces a substantive and participatory standpoint.

2.1.2 Gender and Politics

The feminist theory is based on the understanding of and the intention to change the women’s subordination to men (Pettman 2005: 973). The theoretical foundation has grown out of a reaction against more traditional schools. Feministic researchers claim these theories are applied in ways that make it

difficult to understand women's contribution to society. One of the most central aspects is to reveal the forgotten or hidden parts of the descriptions and discussions. In democratic theory, gender does seem to be one of these forgotten parts.

To be able to study gender in a single case study it has to be more closely operationalized. It is hard to find any concrete equivalent of gender equality, instead the focus can be changed to a more material measure: the political participation of women. Latin America has had strong women's movements through out its political history and consequently it can suit as the object of analysis.

Gender equality is defined in a way that emphasises not only the institutional framework, but the actual distribution of power and real possibilities to effect and participate. Even if women have the formal possibility to vote, there are no guarantees that this possibility exists in reality. Considering the political agency of women it becomes even clearer how big the difference of possibilities can be. In a more traditional culture women are less reluctant to run for office even though they have the same formal possibilities as men to do so, and if they do they tend to not gain sufficient support (Inglehart et al. 2002 :3).

The central interpretation of gender equality is based on equality of preconditions and not on the outturn. Still it will be focusing on the preconditions as substantial possibilities and not only formal systems.

By women's movements this study refers to both the organizations depicting themselves as actual women's movements but also movements where the majority of participants have been women. Not all of this study's groups strive for women's rights or even call themselves women's movements and even less feminists. While some are explicitly fighting for gender equality others call themselves human rights organizations and do not focus primarily on women's situation.

In order to be able to have a gendered perspective to the analysis this study will use the word "women's movements" for all of the movements where women are the major participants and act in their social role as women. One of the important reasons to take gender into consideration is the manner in which women participate politically in their social roles – a role often connected to their gender identity as mothers or household providers (Waylen 1994:334).

Since so many scholars have failed to even notice the role of women in those movements it seems relevant to make the gender perspective clearer by categorizing them as women's movements.

2.1.3 Gender and Development

Even though the idea of gender equality influencing democracy is not widely spread the idea exist in relation to other societal developments. There are quite a few scholars who have theorized about the influence of women on economic

development. It was actually from some of their research that the idea for this study derived.

An interesting scholar within this area of research is Nobel-prize laureate and economist Amartya Sen. Even though he is primarily an economist he also writes about human freedoms and democracy, which, together with his focus on gender issues makes his theories interesting for this study. He claims that the agency focus has helped to make a change in the way that women issues are perceived. Women are not only seen as passive receivers of help but can also – in a descending degree - be active agents of change, as dynamic contrivers for social transformation that can change the life both for women and men (Sen 1999: 267).

He separates intrinsic from instrumental values, the first with an inherent significance and the latter as important for its influential role (*ibid.* 55). Gender equality can be seen as an intrinsic value but also as an instrumental. The instrumental role plays a big part in this study.

2.2 Transition to Democracy

The agency approach within transition studies is very useful to capture the aspect of participation. This school is also called the ‘transition approach’ differing from modernization or structuralism. Within transition studies a successful transition is most commonly explained by agreements between political elites -when they manage to cooperate and compromise it leads the way to democracy (Grugel 2002: 58-59).

An important notion is the extreme focus on the political elite within transitions studies from the 1980s. By limiting the analysis to the “upper institutional echelons”, politics becomes completely dominated by the political participation of men since women were more or less excluded from the political elite (Waylen 1994: 333). This view sidelines the importance of other political spheres such as social movements – spheres where women did have a political agency (*ibid.*). It is probably here that one could find the reason why women are left out of the analysis of political actors. The weakness of the common transitions studies is the narrow focus on elites as the only relevant political actors. This focus on agency could however be combined with the civil society and the women’s movements. Even if they are not elites they do act as collective actors.

Karl argues that the theoretical focus has changed from the search for democratic prerequisites withheld by Rustow to a more agency-centered and process-oriented approach. He also adds the desire for developing an interactive approach, which could “relate structural constraints to the shaping of contingent choice” (1990: 1). This study aims to attend Karl’s idea while tracing the actions within the democratization in order to see how for example an economic crisis can burst popular movements to become collective actors in the politics. When taking the whole spectrum of possible actors into account the picture becomes much more complex and interesting.

2.3 Civil Society and Women's Movements

Ever since Waylen (in 1994) wrote: “scholars are beginning to investigate whether civil society is reconstituted and popular movements begin to emerge *prior* to the transition rather than, as is commonly held, as a result of it” (334), the democratization field has changed. She claims that the bottom-up focus was ignored until recently and that the political activity of grassroots had no room among democratization theorists. What Waylen also points out is the complete lack of gender perspective within the literature (*ibid.*).

The latter notion has remained relevant even in more recent literature. Even when the popular movements are analyzed, no notion is taken to the fact that the majority of the participants are women (*ibid.* 335). Avritzer is one of the authors writing explicitly about transformation in public space without taking any notice to the fact that these argentine organizations whose claims “created a field of conflict with the authoritarian regime” (2002: 88) is constituted by women.

The relative significance of the elites and the civil society in undermining the legitimacy of authoritarian regimes has been debated in the literature on democratic transition in Latin America. Even though scholars have different opinions in the relative contribution of political elite versus civil society, the latter has been given recognition while women's movements was not acknowledged to begin with. It was feminist scholars such as Jaquette and Wolchik who first began to identify the contribution from women's movements as a special part of the social movements. (Molyneux–Craske 2002:4).

Waylen revises the literature on democratization, mostly from the 1980s, and comes to the conclusion that that even though there are significant examples of the role that women's organisations have played in different processes of democratization “this literature makes no mention of gender issues” (1994:330). The explanation she finds is the formal definition of democracy used among the scholars. According to her, analysts such as Diamond and O'Donnell often consider inclusive definitions of democracy where the concept of real distribution of power is included as illegitimate more (*ibid.* 332). The result is that political citizenship, and particularly gender issues, are put aside.

Kauffman describes the way women's and men's political participation differ from one another, and states that participation is definitely not something theoretical and abstract. It can be observed and is clearly defined in “specific institutions, processes, and ideological and cultural factors.” (Kauffman 1997:153). The structure of participation will reflect all the social and cultural patterns of society (*ibid.*).

Embedded in feministic political research is the approach to the politics as being something that takes place both in the public and in the private. One of the first feminist writers to question the division of public and private was the pioneering author Mary Wollstonecraft. She argued that the families' patriarchal form should be reformed and that this new egalitarian arrangement could be a basis for changed structures in other human spheres (Wollstonecraft 1792: *passim.*).

The study of politics has however traditionally been focused on the public arena. Rai discusses Pateman's theories on the 'public man' - most often seen as the natural political actor within the society of liberal democracy. The discussion of the public sphere contra the private sphere becomes an important issue while analyzing these matters (Rai 2000: 6-7). Since politics are commonly considered as activities within the public sphere, which women are often excluded from, they are not thought of as political agents.

3 Background

3.1 Contemporary Argentine History

The 20th century was a turbulent period in the Argentine history. Tingsten describes how the country seemed to be on the way towards a stable and somewhat democratic order (1950: 27). Argentina started off as one of the wealthiest nations in the world but suffered heavily from the depression in the 1930s. The century was filled with military coups, economical crisis and weak governments. The famous general Juan Perón governed the country from 1946-55, was thrown over by the military junta and returned for a short period in 1973-1974. In 1976 the military regime was back in governing position. (NE 1).

In the middle of the 1970s the military mounted an armed repression of the Peronist and Marxist left wing. This was a response to a longer period of guerilla war against the military rule. It came to end in a blood bath and the disappearances of thousands of dissidents or people claimed to be dissidents. Tens of thousands of people died or disappeared. (*ibid.*). These events have been called the ‘dirty war’.

In the beginning of the 1980s, the losses of legitimacy for the military regime led to a breakdown and a transition towards democracy. In 1982 the government made a failing attempt to recapture the Falklands islands, also called Las Malvinas from the British. The following year democracy was reintroduced. (*ibid.*). It is the causes leading up to this transition that will be further investigated in the analysis.

3.2 Women’s Movements in Latin America

The political situation and transformation in many Latin American countries were similar and so were also the situation of the women’s movements (Jaquette 1994: 4). Many of the authors make the same division of the movements, parting them into three distinctive sectors: human rights movements, popular sector survival organizations and feminist movements (Franceschet, Waylen, Molyneux–Craske,

Feijoó–Nari). Below follows the three different types and examples of organizations and groups in each category.⁵

1) Women in human rights movements

Some of the human rights movements have more or less only female members, others a majority of women. The mothers and the grandmothers of the ‘disappeared’. Every Thursday that march at La Plaza de Mayo, carrying pictures of their relatives (Waylen 1994: 336).

- Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo
- Las Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo

Mixed human rights organizations:

- The Permanent Assembly for Human Rights
- Families of the detained and disappeared
- The Ecumenical Movement for Human Rights
- The Serve of Peace and Justice

2) Las Mujeres Populares

This type of women’s movements was pressing social and economic issues and struggled to guarantee minimum resources for their families to survive, they were mainly constituted by housewives in defense for standard of living. It was a part of the popular urban community-based movement focusing on the demand for raised living standards and the majority of the participants were women (Waylen 1994: 336).

- Argentine Women’s Union (UMA)
- Housewives League (LAC)
- General Union of Housewives (UGAC)
- National Housewives Movement (MACP)

3) Feminist movements

Women fighting for women’s interest from a feminist perspective. Mostly educated middle class women. They describe themselves both as women’s movements and feminists struggling for women’s rights and gender equality.

- Conciencia
- The Argentine Feminist Union (UFA)
- Movement for Female Liberation (MLF)
- Argentine Women’s Liberation Association (ALMA)
- Argentine Women’s Social Studies Center (CESMA)

⁵ The list is primarily based on the division made by Feijoó–Nari and also by Jelin. According to them there is no doubt that “all these groups participated in the opposition to the dictatorship, creating and helping shape the transition to democracy after Argentina’s military defeat” (Feijoó–Nari 1994: 112).

4 Analyzing the Women's Political Status in Latin America and Argentina

In the Human Development Report from 2008 Argentina is ranked as number 25 out of 108 countries when rating the Gender Empowerment Measure (UNDP 2). The situation has apparently changed a lot in the past decades given that the women gained the right to vote in 1947 (Chant–Craske 2003: 28).

To be able to describe the role of the women's movements in Argentina one has to go back to the time of military dictatorship and even the Peronist era. In the second Peronist era the participation and representation of women rose remarkably. In the 1960s the system of education had expanded greatly, resulting in rising levels of education also among women. This period was important in changing the role of women in the private sphere and they became much more incorporated in the labor market. (Feijoó 1998: 31-32).

After Juan Perón's sudden death in 1974 the Peronist right wing started to control the government and "antifeminist measures were adopted", for example contraceptives were forbidden (Feijoó–Nari 1994: 110). When the military junta took power in 1976 they changed the Argentine society. Free health service, education and other social services were eliminated or reduced. The living standard for many people hastily declined which struck the women hard. In their reproductive role they were accountable for the welfare of their families (*ibid.*).

Despite the junta's social restructuring, which set back the position of women, the mobilization of women groups emerged at this time. This actually provoked a strengthened commitment in social matters. This engagement took place outside of the traditional institutions such as political parties; instead it unified women from different backgrounds into a social consensus with common goals. (*ibid.*).

The political participation of women was not a new phenomenon in Latin America. They had been organizing in many political matters such as campaigning for women's suffrage, participating in the wars of independence and in miners' strikes (Jaquette 1994: 2). This political role has however been neglected in the bulk of literature. Even if it is not widely remembered it was actually the Latin American Inter-American Commission of Women (IACW) which insisted the United Nations should include the "equal rights of men and women" in the UN Charter in 1947. (*ibid.* 2-3).

In the 1970s, feministic organizations started to emerge within the awakening interest for human rights and democracy and women's movements in Latin American were intensively building up an international and transnational network. While the Cold War was ending, and the strict bi-polar world was politically re-

organizing, the international conferences gained influence and could support democratization (Molyneux–Craske 2002: 8).

As Molyneux and Craske depict it, women's movements in Latin America have partly common backgrounds but also vary through out the region. (Molyneux–Craske 2002: 5). The very visible argentine human right's organization Las Madras de la Plaza de Mayo are and were an explicitly feminine movement, while similar organizations in Chile did not portray themselves as women's movements (Franceschet 2007: 7). Women's movements as Las Madres de la Plaza de Mayo became an important part of the struggle for democracy and also in gendering the politics. An interesting phenomenon in the Latin American women's movements' discourse is the rejection of feminism that many organizations express (Jaquette 1998: 5). Earlier feminism had mainly been seen as an imperialistic invention imposed from the west and the Marxist movement regarded gender to be of less importance then the class struggle. (Feijóo 1998: 31-33).

The regular role women in Latin America upheld was formed by the idea of Marianismo – the feminine purity of women. As representatives of the Argentine nation they had the responsibility to defend the morality of the society. General Perón has described the argentine women as “a moral reserve of Argentineness” (Bonner 2005). Also the military regime emphasized the importance of the family and in particular women's task as responsible for the household and children.

This role of sublimed maternity is often strongly connected to a nations identity. The women are mothers not only to their own children but also to the whole country – a female ‘nationhood’ (Yuval-Davis 1997: 1-7). It is a complicated position to maintain. The military managed to punctuate their own sacred value of motherhood by raping women in prisons in front of their children or taking their children away and give them to military friendly upper class (Jaquette 1994: 4). Interestingly enough, many of the women's movements struggled for their causes within these given social roles.

The women's movements in Latin America were remarkably effective in “delegitimizing the military and reconstructing civil society” and succeeded in applying their perspectives in this process (*ibid.* 1-2). Feijóo and Nari divide the women's commitment against the argentine junta in two categories. The first had the ambition to defeat the lethargy in the institutions, which had remained since prior to the rule by the junta. The second aimed to arouse a mass support to generate organizations and new responses (1994: 112).

Through out the political history, women in Latin America have suffered a second-class citizenship. In private areas, such as the household, women had already gained much more equality through a long struggle deriving back from the late nineteenth century when the demand to be treated as ‘equals not slaves’ was heard from the feminist and socialist movements (Molyneux–Craske 2002: 3). But in the public area the progress has been less impressing. This has resulted in a perplex combination of having an active part in the civil society and a somewhat growing position in the public sphere in a society still marked by inequality and a very definite distinction between women and men. (Molyneux–Craske 2002: 3).

5 Tracing the Transition

The background of the transition is that of a military government whose fall left room for democratic development. The question is - how did this change come about? This essay argues, in line with many other analyses, that the major factor was the de-legitimization of the authoritarian military. What it also advocates is the need for including a gendered perspective on how the process of de-legitimization occurred.

The ambition is to contribute to the theory development by adding the gender perspective while tracing the loss of legitimacy. The presumption includes the idea of a significant and instrumental role played by the women's movements. Theorists such as Jaquette have been discussing the factors providing the women's movements with "motives and opportunities to become vocal and visible political actors" (1994:3-4). The aim is to find and trace those factors by creating a process tracing model, found in Appendix 1. The developed model are to be found in Appendix 2.

The analysis will start off in popular theories of the loss of legitimacy in Argentina: the defeat in the Falklands/Malvinas war, the economic crisis and the 'Dirty War'. Those are all found in the first stage of the model. But the question of *how* this actually caused the loss of legitimacy still remains. It will show step-by-step – or rather stage by stage – how the military government lost its legitimacy.

It will follow the process in order to trace the causing steps of the final breakdown. The process is not a linear one and neither is the analytical tracing of it. Instead the analysis will follow the interacting causes of the transition. The alternative theories of explanations are to be discussed as well. The first part of the analysis will discuss the first and second stage in the model and the second part will analyze how the third stage led into the fourth – the fall of the regime.

The three different types of women's movements together enforced important pre-requisites for the transition. The most significant being: spreading the awareness -nationally and especially internationally, spreading democratic values and providing a political space for the opposition. The different movements are represented in the boxes in the second stage of the model and the pre-requisites in the third.

The women's movements' inputs in the process were of several different kinds: a contribution to an autonomous civil society, encouraging humanitarian and democratic values, and gaining awareness and support for the political opposition internationally. Molyneux and Craske describes the role of the women's movements by stating that they were "a vital force in the transition and helped to create some of the conditions for revitalizing democratic life" (2002: 4).

5.1 First and Second Stage of Transition

Grugel describes three major causes of the waning trend of authoritarianism in Latin America in the 1980s. Firstly, how the economic crisis undermined the governments position as stable organizers of the society; secondly the revitalization of the opposition spread by human rights groups, churches and unions; and last but not least an international context promoting democratization (2002: 169). Those are all to be found in the boxes in the first stage of the model.

Yet another general explanation for the loss of legitimacy and popular support is defeat in war. Even the authors who aim to gender the perspective do not leave the Falklands war out of the picture, also in this model it is found among the variables in the first stage. Franceschet describes the sudden breakdown of the military government as largely due to the devastating attempt to reclaim the Falklands islands and to the economic crisis (2007: 7). At the same time she emphasizes the importance of the role played by the women to discredit the authoritarian state and its actions.

5.1.1 The Defeat in the Falklands Islands

According to many scholars, the Argentina military rule collapsed as a result of their defeat in the Falklands war. General Galtieri and the authoritarian regime saw an invasion of the islands as a chance to re-establish the respect for the military and their sovereignty (Viola–Mainwaring 1985: 202). When the economic emergency was a fact the government had to do something in order to restore trust from their subjects. The endeavor to take the islands was a sudden attempt to regain such legitimacy and loosing the war meant an even greater loss of legitimacy than before (*ibid.* 207).

Other researchers have speculated around the possibility that even a victory at the Falklands would not have been enough for the military regime to remain in place (Munck 1998: 143). It has been argued that a military government is expected to win armed conflicts meaning that it does not necessarily give them any extra credit. If taking a counterfactual discussion into consideration one has to ask the question: Would the transition towards democracy have taken place even if Argentina had won the Falklands war? According to this process tracing the answer is –yes. Just as Munck points out, it is important to pay attention to the reasons for the invasion, namely the economic crisis. The invasion itself was a rather hopeless attempt “with little chances of success” (*ibid.* 142). Even if the plan had worked out, the reasons for the invasion would have lingered.

What this study argues for is the catalyst effect of the defeat. One can henceforth link the box 'The Defeat in the Falklands' to 'Military regime falls' to signify this effect. If the government had won the war they might have been able to stay in power for a little longer. But considering the other unstable circumstances within the country, such as the economic situation and the government's violations on human rights, it could not have preceded for any longer time. Bearing these circumstances in mind, the failed invasion was disastrous in its timing for the regime and fueled the opposition to act towards a political change.

5.1.2 The Economic Crisis and Las Mujeres Populares

The period investigated - of the event leading ahead to democratization - could be sorted under Rustow's *preparatory phase*. He emphasizes the importance held by economic factors in many of the world's transitions to democracy and also discusses the fact that it is not necessarily the fight for democracy that is the original aim for the successful struggle (1999: 27-28). This can be reflected in the women's reaction to the economic crisis in the early 1980s.

It was a combination of very varied preconditions that made it possible for the women's movements to emerge and become visible as political actors. When the oil-crisis set off the abrupt economic decline in 1973 the government had to cut their spending in social services. The poor – and especially the poor women – were particularly exposed for the economic problems rendered (Feijóo–Nari 1994: 111). Facing the severe situation of unemployment and repression, urban popular movements emerged to handle the question. These movements could operate easier than the political parties and the trade unions. They campaigned for their own rights to improved living conditions. (Waylen 1994:337). In the mid-1970s Las Mujeres Populares, the urban lower class women, started to organize in order to demand help from the state to be able to survive in their daily lives (Feijóo–Gogna 1990: 95).

In the 1980s, the Latin American continent faced a new level of economic crisis. The demand for Argentine raw material decreased, many companies were bankrupted and the financial elite faced a deep crisis and lost all confidence in the junta. Both the bankrupted elite and the suddenly unemployed average citizens began demanding a change of regime (Schofield–Levinson 2008: 257). It was neighborhood associations, communal kitchens and mother's clubs together with more established women's unions and housewives leagues who arranged active opposition.

In 1982 massive purchasing strikes were initiated to protest against rising prices. Leaflets encouraging people to 'lose their fear' were distributed and they promoted confrontation with the government. (Feijóo–Gogna 1990: 95-96). Consulting the model one can follow the interdependent variables and see how the economic crisis led to protests through Las Mujeres Populares but also directly undermining the legitimacy of the government.

5.1.3 The 'Dirty War', Las Madres and Other Human Rights Organizations

In the years from 1976 to 1982 tens of thousands of people were imprisoned, killed and abducted by the military junta in the so-called 'dirty war'. The exact number of disappeared varies a lot but human rights organizations claim it to be more than 30 000 people (Jaquette 1994: 111).

The military action provoked the human rights group *Las Madres de Plaza de Mayo* to form in April 1977. Their goal was to protest against the disappearance of their sons and daughters. They emerged within a mobilization for human rights as a response to the government's violence against political dissidents (Jaquette 1994: 3). Las Madres and similar groups can be placed in the first category of women's movements. Their common goal was their struggle for human rights by making open protests against the authoritarian regime. Argentina was not the only South American country where people 'disappeared', but mainly due to Las Madres this is the most common known example (Molyneux-Craske 2002: 3).

In Argentina, just as in other parts of the world, civil society played a vital role in the road to democracy. The military regime aimed to weaken the civil society since it was seen as a threat to the junta. At the time when Las Madres and other human rights groups were organizing, the civil society in Argentina was diminishing due to the government's quest of spreading distrust and fear (Feijoó-Gogna, 1990: *passim*). The mere fact that these groups emerged despite the disadvantageous conditions gave hope and inspiration to the civil society and henceforth to further democratic opposition. Jaquette even argues that only the women took charge and gave up their personal safety to act politically, and managed to awaken a society scared to silence by the oppressing authoritarian rule (1994: 112).

Jaquette expresses her wonder over Las Madres effectiveness against the military power, but also sees the way they politicized their role as mothers as remarkable (*ibid.* 4). They used their specific position in society – as symbols of motherhood - initially given by the state (Yuval-Davis 1997: 111). Their specific message was delivered through this position and their symbolic status also made the protests more difficult to handle for the government. Grugel describes it as using "the cloak of motherhood" in a political environment where women stayed in the family and the family stayed out of politics (2002: 101). Historically they had been given the responsibility for the children of the nation. Their symbolic feminine weakness became their weapon when entering the public space in their private role (Feijoó 1998: 34).

Hawkesworth discusses why these women's movements should be analyzed separately within transition studies, and emphasizes how their political role most often is formed as a collective actor – as a member of a family or some other type of group (2001: 229). The emergence of the human rights organizations are directly connected with the governments actions in the 'dirty war'.

The fact that the discrediting of the military was so complete made the transition 'open' rather than 'pacted' (Franceschet 2007: 7). Since the women's movements played a central role in the process of delegitimizing the regime, one

can argue for the conclusion that they had an impact also on the form of the transition.

5.1.4 The Authoritarian State and the Feminists

The third type of women's movement that re-emerged was the activist feminists movement, with the goal to make gender a political question (Jaquette 1994: 4). Re-emerged groups of feminists reacted to the authoritarianism practiced by the military government and saw a link to the authoritarianism exercised within the households. Connecting the relationship between men and women with the military rule they saw "their task as a struggle against authoritarianism in all its forms" (Waylen 1994:337). This link can be drawn directly into the model, adding yet another trace to follow.

When the second wave of feminism spread internationally in the 1970s, many feminist movements re-emerged in Latin America, demanding women's rights. International conferences on women's questions were held all round in Latin America and especially the feminist groups and *Las Mujeres Populares* established networks with each other. (Jaquette 1994:4).

The feminists struggled both for democracy and for the incorporation of gender equality in the democratization. One of the organizations formed directly in connection to the quest for democracy was the Association for the Work and Study of Women. It was founded in 1982 with the aim to contribute to the "creation of a democratic society" but also for the achievement of an Argentine compliance with the 1980 United Nations Declaration Against All Forms of Discrimination against Women (Feijoó 1989: 80).

5.2 Third stage leading to de-legitimizing

5.2.1 Creating Political Space

Waylen refers to Alvarez and her conclusion that one of the most significant causes for the de-legitimizing of the authoritarian regime was their unintended gift of *political space* given to the women by the authoritarian government. This meant that the women could provide an arena for political opposition. Here there could be a line drawn from the authoritarian regime to political space –continuing to the regime fall, showing how they indirectly undermined their own status.

The reason why the regime did not react upon women's political involvement was the mere fact that they were women and therefore considered as creatures of

the private sphere upholding their traditional roles as housewives and mothers. (Waylen 1994: 338).

Since women did act within these roles it confused the government, which “often did not see women’s activities as dangerous enough to warrant repression” (Waylen 1994: 338). Las Madres even accelerated their traditional role by using it as a linchpin in their protests. The division of public and private was violated when the women left the domestics and started to take place in the politics (Feijóo 1990: 91-92). At this time political parties were banned together with all types of conventional political activities such as trade unions (Waylen 1994: 338). This meant that the arena of political interaction shifted from the institutional to the community-based and more informal, increasing the importance of creating alternative political arenas.

With the military regime as a common enemy the women could unite opposition. While the military government banned political meetings among men, they did not know how to react when women organized meetings and remained passive to the gatherings held by women (Jaquette 1994: 4). Due to the governments lack of political recognition for the women their movement’s was given “greater prominence and significance” (Waylen 1994: 339).

Authoritarianism actually gave space to women to mobilize and within this room they invented new ways of running politics. (Waylen 1994: 339,352) This made it possible for women to form public opposition and draw large audiences. In this early stage of the transition those meetings managed to open up political space to debate and organize political alternatives. (Jaquette 1994:4). Waylen states that the roles of these movements were different in the varied stages of transition but that it clearly was “very important in bringing about the initial breakdown and opening, as the political initiation lay outside the conventional political arena” (Waylen 1994: 339).

5.2.2 International and National Awareness and Pressure

In many cases through out Latin America the women’s movements were the first to organize and initiate protests against the authoritarian regimes. In Argentina Las Madres was the first significant voice to raise protest and generate the “end of fear” (Waylen 1994: 339). The protest led by the housewives organizations shed light on the personal aspects of the economic crisis and awakened the urge to protest openly and demand change.

The international influence from women’s movements was used in three different ways according to Molyneux and Craske: First, by using the international network and arena to ‘harness resources’, to build ‘organizational capacity’ and ‘coordinate campaign strategies’. Second, the achieved instruments were used for informational education campaigns on human rights, for both men and women. Third, the international awareness was used while putting pressure on the government to be held accountable (Molyneux–Craske 2002: 8).

Las Madres managed to spread their message of motherhood all across the globe and also established links to other human rights organizations, within and outside the country. They were able to use the international pro-democratic setting in the 1980s. According to Grugel who refers to Martin and Sikkink their group was the most internationally noticeable one of all the oppositional movements and the violation of the human rights were widely noted because of this (2002: 102). All of these achievements can be analyzed within the model. One can see that all of the women's movements together contributed to the causal factors in the third stage.

5.2.3 Spreading democratic ideals – ‘the right to rights’

In a region where authoritarian rule had restricted people's lives and freedoms for decades, the women's movements managed to instigate a struggle for the “restoration of the rule of law, democracy and basic civil liberties” (Molyneux–Craske 2002: 1). The goal was not only a formal change of society but also the achievement of substantive rights. The activity of the women's movements reconstructed the idea of democratic governance as something that could lead to a more humane society (Jaquette 1994: 5).

Conciencia is an example of an organization that has been working actively in spreading democratic ideals at the grass root level in the country since 1982 with the aim to “turn the passive subjects of authoritarian rulers into mature citizens” (Martini–Pinedo 1992: 139). Another example of women's engagement in the protests against the military rule is the political actions made by individual women outside of the movement. One of these women is the Argentine novelist and playwright Griselda Gambaro. She was exiled from Argentina because of her plays, which were written as critiques against the military government (Puga 2004 :419). The young director Geirola, who produced the first version of her critical play “El Despojamiento”, have described how explosive the discussions after the show could be. According to him it, opened up for an “intense release of long-suppressed thoughts”. (Puga 2004: 420).

The spread of democratic values and hope for democracy draw a nail in the coffin for the legitimacy of the authoritarian regime and the government started to be openly challenged.

6 Concluding Statement

The Argentine transition to democracy was a combination of many intervening causes. While tracing the process one finds that most of these causes are dependent of one another and interacting throughout all the stages towards democracy. First of all this study aimed to shed a light on an overlooked causal variable within theories in democratic transition- in order to do this a gender perspective was applied.

The conclusion from the process tracing is the notion that the women's movements indeed played an important role. Even though women and the women's organization in Argentina may not have been the most influential cause of the transition, it would have taken another path without them. Since they constituted a political arena ignored by the military government they allowed political interaction to find an alternative space where opposition and political alternatives could take form.

Las Madres and other human rights group, most of them constituted or set of by women, definitely played a big part in acknowledging the government's crimes against its own citizens. Their commitment and critical voices sparked more protests both within the country and internationally.

It is clear that in Argentina and many other countries the most significant role of the women's movements have taken place in the early stages of democratic transition.⁶

Waylen refers to Safa and concludes that elemental changes in gender relations are taking place in Latin America as a result of the decreasing gap between the public and the private – a development that the women's movements themselves represent (Waylen 1994: 353). One of the pre-requisites for the existence of women's movements was a certain level of gender equality that came with a historical legacy of female political agency. This legacy was earlier

⁶ An interesting analysis made by Waylen and others (Fransheschet et al.) is the notion of what happens within transition politics as soon as a non-authoritarian rule has become an alternative (Waylen 1994: 341-343). Even though it will not be further discussed in this study it is interesting to mention the loss of influence that the women's movements suffered as soon as the traditional politics as the political parties started to re-organize. It is clear that their significant role in the transition is absolutely no guarantee for any influence over the outcomes neither in terms of gender politics nor other matters.

described when analyzing the women's political history and can be found in the model represented by the yellow box.

For future research this study of Argentina can serve as an alternative example of how to analyze democratic transitions and the transitions in Latin America in particular. As for the type and timing of the democratization in Latin America, much can be gained from comparing the processes of different countries. The Argentine case is in some ways similar to Chile, Uruguay, Peru and Brazil, in that democracy emerged from the political forces within the countries (Jaquette 1994: 7). Further research could thereby apply the same methods for studying these countries as well.

The process tracing revealed a web of interdependent causes that were exposed one after the other. While there are other chains of effect as well, the women's movements showed to have contributed to three of the major causes of the authoritarian breakdown. Interacting in different ways they broke ground for an alternative political arena, the spread of democratic values and awareness both internationally and nationally.

7 References

- Avritzer, Leonardo, 2002. *Democracy and the Public Space in Latin America*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Bonner, Michelle D, 2005. "Defining Rights in Democratization: The Argentine Government and Human Rights Organizations, 1983–2003", *Latin American Politics & Society* 47.4 , 55-76.
- Chant, Sylvia–Craske, Nikki, 2003. *Gender in Latin America*, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Craske, Nikki–Molyneux, Maxine (ed.), 2002. *Gender and the politics of rights and democracy in Latin America*, Hampshire and New York: Palgrave.
- Feijóo, María del Carmen, 1989. "The Challenge of Constructing Civilian Peace: Women and Democracy in Argentina" in Jaquette, Jane S. (ed.), *The Women's Movements in Latin America. Feminism and the Transition to Democracy*, Winchester: Unwin Hyman Inc.
- Feijóo, María del Carmen, 1998. "Democratic Participation and Women in Argentina" in Jaquette, Jane S.–Wolchik, Sharon, L. (ed.), *Women and democracy. Latin America and Central and Eastern Europe*, Maryland: The John Hopkins Press.
- Feijóo, María del Carmen–Gogna, Monica, 1990. "Women in the transition to Democracy" in Jelin, Elizabeth (ed.). *Woman and Social Change in Latin America*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Feijóo, María del Carmen, with Nari, Marcela María Alejandra, 1994. "Women and Democracy in Argentina" in Jaquette, Jane S (ed.), *The Women's movements in Latin America. Participation and Democracy*". Colorado, Oxford: Westview Press. Second edition.
- Franceschet, Susan, 2007. "Democratization, Transnationalism, and Gender Politics in Argentina and Chile". Paper Prepared for the 2007 Annual Conference of the Canadian Political Science Association, Saskatoon, Saskatchewan.
- <http://www.cpsa-acsp.ca/papers-2007/Franceschet.pdf> (2009-05-12)
- Freedom House 1: Freedom in the world, Methodology, Freedom House: http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=351&ana_page=341&year=2008 (2009-04-10)
- George, Alexander L. – Bennet, Andreas, 2005. *Case studies and Theory. Development in the social sciences*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Grugel, Jean, 2002. *Democratization. A critical introduction*. New York, Hampshire: Palgrave MacMacmillan.

- Hawkesworth, Mary E., 2001 "Democratization: Reflections on Gendered Dislocations in the Public Sphere" in Kelly, Rita Mae-Bayes, Jane. H-Hawkesworth, Mary. E.-Young, Brigitte (ed.), *Gender, Globalization & Democratization*, Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Inglehart, Ronald - Norris, Pippa - Welzel, Christian, 2002, "Gender Equality and Democracy" in *Comparative sociology*, Vol 1, Nr.3.
- Johansson, Leif, "Länderdatabas" 2009 i SPSS.
- Jaquette, Jane S, 1994. *Introduction: From Transition to Participation – Women's movements and Democratic Politics* in Jaquette, Jane S (ed.), "The Women's movements in Latin America. Participation and Democracy". Colorado, Oxford: Westview Press. Second edition.
- Jelin, Elizabeth, 1990. "Introduction" in Jelin, Elizabeth (ed.). *Woman and Social Change in Latin America*. Geneva: United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- Karl, Terry Lynn. 1990. "Dilemmas of Democratization in Latin America" *Comparative Politics* 23 (1): 1-21.
<http://www.jstor.org.ludwig.lub.lu.se/stable/pdfplus/422302.pdf?cookieSet=1>
- NE 2: <http://ne.se.ludwig.lub.lu.se/lang/argentina/117497/117515>
- Kauffman, Michael-Alfonso, Haroldo Dilla (ed.), 1997. Community power and grassroots democracy. The transformation of social life. Ottawa: The international Development Research Center.
- de Martini, María Rosa S. – de Pinedo, Sofia L., "Women and Civic Life in Argentina", *Journal of Democracy*, Vol. 3, No. 3, July 1992.
- Munck, Gerardo L., 1998. *Authoritarianism and democratization: soldiers and workers in Argentina, 1976-1983*, Pennsylvania US: Pennsylvania State Press.
 NE 1: Nationalencyklopedin, "Argentina: Historia"
http://ne.se/argentina/1064806/1041907?i_whole_article=true
- Pettman, Jan Jindy, 2005. "Gender issues", p. 669-687 in Baylis, John-Smith, Steve (red.), *Globalisation of World politics: An introduction to international relations*. Third edition. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Puga, Ana Elena, "The abstract Allegory of Griselda Gambaro's *Stripped (El despojamiento)*", *Theatre Journal* 56 (2004), The Johan Hopkins University Press. Pp 415-428
- Rai, Shirin M. "International Perspectives on Gender and Democratisation" in Rai, Shirin M. (ed.), 2000. *International Perspectives on Gender and Democratisation*. New York: St.Martin's Press. pp.1-15
- Rustow, Dankwart A., 1999. "Transitions to Democracy: Toward a dynamic model" in Anderson, Lisa (ed.), *Transitions to democracy*, West Sussex: Columbia University Press.
- Sen, Amartya, 1999, *Utveckling som frihet*, Göteborg:Daidalos.
- Schofield, N-Levinson, M, 2008. Modeling authoritarian regimes in *Politics, Philosophy & Economics*, Volume 7, No. 3, pp, 243-283.
- Teorell, Jan-Svensson, Torsten, 2007, *Att fråga och att svara*, Malmö: Liber.
- Tickner, J. Ann, 2001, *Gendering World Politics: issues and Approaches in the Post-Cold War Era*, New York: Columbia University Press.

- Tingsten, Herbert, 1950, *Revolutionernas Arvtagare. Sydamerikanskt perspektiv*, Stockholm: Albert Bonniers förlag.
- UNDP 1: Gender Empowerment Measure, United Nations Development Programme, Human Development Report:
(http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/indices/gdi_gem/)
- UNDP 2: Human development reports UNDP 2008
http://hdrstats.undp.org/en/2008/countries/country_fact_sheets/cty_fs_ARG.html
- Viola, Eduardo–Mainwaring, Scott, 1985. ‘Transitions to Democracy: Brazil and Argentina in the 1980s’ in *Journal of International Affairs*, Volume 38, No. 2
- Vreeland, James Raymond, 2003, *A Continuous Schumpeterian Conception of Democracy*, Yale University,
<http://se1.isn.ch/serviceengine/FileContent?serviceID=47&fileid=D5F6F975-1320-CFC9-01B2-333FD8890DAC&lng=en>
- Waylen, Georgina, “Women and democratization. Conceptualizing Gender Relations in Transition Politics” in *World Politics*, vol, 46, No 3, 1994, The John Hopkins University Press.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary “A vindication of the rights of women” in *Political Writings*. 1994. Oxford University Press. (1792)
- Yuval-Davis, Nira, 1997. *Gender & nation*, London: SAGE Publications Ltd.