
This item was submitted to Loughborough University’s Institutional Repository by the/an author.

Additional Information:

- This Thesis consists of copies of separate publications. It has been redacted for reasons relating to the law of copyright. For more information please contact the author.


Metadata Record: https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/33834

Publisher: © Monica Threlfall and the assignees

Rights: This work is made available according to the conditions of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives 4.0 International (CC BY-NC-ND 4.0) licence. Full details of this licence are available at: https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/

Please cite the published version.
University Library

Author/Filing Title .... Tracey, Monica

Class Mark ..... T

Please note that fines are charged on ALL overdue items.

REFERENCE ONLY

0403191645

Monica Threlfall
Department of Politics, International Relations and European Studies

Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of PhD by Publications.
ABSTRACT

Feminist Public Activism and its Impact on the Democratisation of Spanish Politics (1970-2003), being a Loughborough Thesis by Publication, is a collection of journal articles and book chapters written by the author over a twenty-five year period. The chapters in Part I cover the presence of women in formal politics, voting preferences, office-seeking, candidate selection and gender-balanced representation in parties, and fall within an established tradition in political science of exploring electoral choices, patterns of parliamentary representation, and party membership. Part I presents findings regarding the process of candidate selection and the representation of women in parliament and party leadership, and culminates in an exploration of the reasons why Spanish parties have been incorporating ever more women into party politics, changing the landscape of formal political representation. The chapters in Part II are devoted to studies of the Spanish women's movement, and emphasise the significance for the nature of Spanish democracy of feminism's impact on the transition, its relationships with parties, penetration of public administration, and its major achievements in advancing the status of women via legal reform and new service provision. Part III concludes with an assessment of gender relations in Spain and with a reflection on the future of feminist politics in the northern hemisphere.

Key words: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS DEMOCRACY PARTICIPATION POLITICAL CHANGE GENDER PARITY SPAIN TRANSITIONS

Monica Threlfall

Chapter 1. Introduction

PART I. WOMEN IN FORMAL POLITICS: VOTING PREFERENCES, OFFICE-SEEKING, AND GENDER-BALANCED REPRESENTATION IN PARTIES

Chapter 2. The voting preferences of women in the 1979 parliamentary elections

'El socialismo y el electorado femenino', Sistema Revista de Ciencias Sociales, Issue 32, 1979, pp 19-33

Chapter 3. The gender of candidates in the parliamentary elections of 1977-79 and intra-party discrimination in candidate selection

'Presencia de la mujer en las elecciones legislativas', Zona Abierta, Issue 19, 1979, pp 56-70


Chapter 5. Explaining the adoption of the gender parity concept in the 1990s; the party renewal factor

'Towards party representation in party politics', in M. Threlfall, C. Cousins and C. Valiente (2005), Gendering Spanish Democracy, London Routledge, pp 125-161
PART II. THE SPANISH WOMEN’S MOVEMENTS’ IMPACT ON POLITICS

Chapter 6. Gendering the transition to democracy: women’s activism


Chapter 7. The nature and achievements of the early women’s movement to 1984


Chapter 8. Socialist feminism, policy reform and social change in the PSOE era to 1995


Chapter 9. Reflections on the strategy of Spanish feminists: state feminism or party feminism?


PART III SECURITY RELATIONS IN SPAIN AND BEYOND

Chapter 10. Gender relations in Spain: an assessment


Chapter 11. Reflections on the prospects for the women’s movement in the northern hemisphere

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The studies contained in this thesis could not have been written without the author’s extensive contact with Spanish women’s rights advocates and the support of a variety of institutions. I would like to give thanks first to Carlota Bustelo, friend and mentor, who introduced me to the Mujer y Socialismo group in 1977, to Carmen Rodríguez, Angeles Yañez, Luis Yañez and Enrique Gomáriz for my early engagement with the PSOE, and to Carmen Rodriguez again, as well as Carmen Martinez Ten, Ludolfo Paramio, Mayte Gallego, Covadonga Balbás and Judith Astelarra for their ongoing hospitality, friendship and good company from 1976 onwards. The role of Fernando Claudín, endlessly supportive as Director of the Fundación Pablo Iglesias and much missed since his untimely death, is recognised with gratitude, as is that of José María Maravall for appointing me to such a stimulating job in the first place, and to my successor as coordinator of its activities, Duca Aranguren, for maintaining my links and inviting me back.

Ever since, a number of institutions have been instrumental in the provision of information for my research in various ways: the Instituto de la Mujer and Centro de Documentación de la Mujer and Dirección de la Mujer de la Comunidad de Madrid, Instituto Vasco de la Mujer-Emakunde, Institut Catalá de la Dona, Dirección de la Mujer del Principado de Asturias, the Comisión de Investigación de los Malos tratos a la Mujer launched by Alicia Herrera with Purificación Gutiérrez, Asociación de Mujeres Juristas-Thenis, Centro de Ayuda a las Víctimas de Agresiones Sexuales run by Tina Alarcón, Mujeres Jóvenes and Fundación Mujeres launched by Elena Valenciano, Centro de Investigación y Formación Feminista, Federación de Asociaciones de Mujeres Separadas, Seminario de Estudios de la Mujer of the Universidad Autónoma, particularly María Angeles Durán, Pilar Folguera; the former Ministerio de Asuntos Sociales presided by Ministers Matilde Fernández and later Cristina Alberdi; the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas, particularly Pilar Alcobendas, the Consejo Económico y Social, especially Lucia Ruano, the Fundación Dolores Ibárruri and the trade union confederations Unión General de Trabajadores and Comisiones Obreras; the PSOE, PCE, Izquierda Unida and Partido Popular parties.

Special thanks are due to the Spanish women’s movement activists who launched the whole process of women’s emancipation in Spain and welcomed my participation in their activities, thereby illuminating Spanish politics for me. It is they who ultimately provided the reason for writing these articles. In addition to those already mentioned, I wish to thank, with affection, Inés Alberdi, Isabel Alberdi, Jimena Alonso, Celia Amorós. Elena Arnedo, Merche Comabella, Rosa Conde, Perla Hamovich, Henar Corbi, Violeta Demonte, Mabi Díaz, Pilar Escarho, Concha Fagoaga, Paz Felgueroso, Carmen García Matrán, Anabel González, Pilar González, Patrocinio de las Heras, Esperanza Illán, María Izquierdo, María Jesús Izquierdo, Plinusa Llopis, María Jesús Miranda, Kika Muñoz, Felician Orquín, Mari Carmen Pena, Empan Pineda, Milagros Rodríguez Marín, Isabel Romero, Fini Rubio, Paloma Saavedra, Beogóña San José, Marina Subirats, and Francis Tarrazaga. Further insight and information were derived from Mariano Aguirre, Joaquín Arango, Delia Blanco, Susana Brunel, Juan Delval, María Dolores Calvet, Mila Candela, Purificación Causapié, Rosa Cobo, Teresa Domingo, Ana-Inés López-Accotto, Mary Nash, Micaela Navarro, María del Carmen Pardo, Lola Sánchez, Geraldine Scanlon, Julia Sevilla, Constanza Tobio, Amelia Valcárcel and Blanca Ullate.

Lastly, I am very grateful for the support received during the process of putting together this thesis from my supervisor Professor Linda Hantrais (beyond the call of duty), and also from Professor Mike Smith as director of research, Professor David Allen as head of department, and Audrey Pridmore as departmental secretary, and, as always, from my husband David Metz, great friend and cook.
Chapter 1. Introduction

The publications in this thesis are submitted for the higher degree of PhD by Publications for staff of Loughborough University. It contains ten items published between 1979 and 2005 in scholarly works and journals on the theme of the dynamics of gender in Spanish politics, set out in thematic, rather than chronological order. The details of the publication are given at the start of each chapter, along with an abstract, followed by a photocopy of the original publication. Two chapters were written by the author in Spanish and published in Spain and are submitted in the original version accompanied by a full summary in English, in accordance with the terms of the agreement between the Research Student Office and Head of Department of Politics, International Relations and European Studies.

The sections that follow address the University’s Notes for Guidance for Higher Degrees by Research concerning the Thesis by Publications (paragraphs B1-3).

Publications on a common theme
The wide time span of the publications reflects the University’s requirement that the thesis should contain only publications on a common theme. The author’s various other publications, on topics ranging from social movements in Latin America, to the social policies of the EU, and the interpretation of employment statistics and trends, are not included in this submission.

All the items submitted here fall within the field of women and politics in Spain. The first set of chapters in Part I cover the presence of women in formal politics, and fall within an established research tradition in political science of exploring voting preferences, office-seeking and candidate selection, parliamentary representation, and party membership and leadership. The chapters in Part II are to a greater extent grounded in the discrete field of study of women’s movements, in this case the Spanish women’s movement, treated not as an example of social movement theory, but as an example of the kind of feminist politics that operates in the public arena with the intention of advancing women’s status through the medium of political and social change. Part III concludes with
an assessment of gender relations in Spain and with a reflection on the future of feminist politics in the northern hemisphere that allowed the Spanish case to be placed in a wider context. The terrain of Parts II and III is interdisciplinary insofar as it lies at the confines of the study of women's history, policy studies and social movements.

Originality
The publications in the thesis provide an original contribution to knowledge in a variety of ways. The work reported in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 (published in 1979, 1979 and 1984 respectively) constitutes some of the very earliest research carried out on women's political participation in Spain. Despite the growing interest in feminism, women's history, and the sociology of women's work, there was virtually no political science attention to gender at that time. Furthermore, Chapter 7, published in 1985, was only the third article (after Rague 1981 and Matsell 1981) -- and the first substantive research-based one -- ever published in English on the new Spanish women's movement of the 1970s and early 80s. As only two further publications on this topic can be traced (Durán and Gallego 1985, Moxon-Browne 1987) until the mid-1990s, it remained the chief source for nearly a decade. Chapter 5, published in 2005, lays claim to be original insofar as it presents comprehensive statistical trends of the presence of women in elective and party politics in Spain, as well as an explanation of the adoption of the gender parity representation principle by the parties, and reaches significantly different conclusions to the only other analysis of the Spanish case (Jenson and Valiente 2003). Chapter 6, published 2005, can claim to be the most comprehensively researched account and interpretation of the role of feminist politics in the transition to democracy. Chapter 8, published in 1995, remains, along with Brooksbank (1997), one of only two English-language analyses of the gains of the women's movement during the period of accelerated social modernisation that followed the consolidation of liberal democracy in Spain. Chapter 9, published in 1997, made an original contribution to the debate about state feminism launched by Stetson and Mazur (1995), by introducing the role of political parties into the debate for the first time. Lastly, Chapter 10, published in 2005, presents an original assessment of gender relations in Spain insofar as it adopts a multi-disciplinary approach – using perspectives from politics, policy studies, and social policy – for analysing the systemic changes that are required
for achieving gender equity within a single polity. This holistic approach permits an analytical reconciliation of the more commonly found different angles and facets of gender relations. Further arguments regarding the originality of the material submitted are contained in the discussion of individual chapters.

Evidence of training in the application of research methods appropriate to the field of study

This section provides the context for understanding how some of the material published was generated, and how training in research techniques took place in natural surroundings outside of the academy, through a number of political situations and experiences. The author was introduced to fieldwork by being commissioned to interview shanty-town dwellers in Bogotá, Colombia, in 1971 without any prior training, a mode perhaps more akin to anthropological and ethnographic traditions than to those of sociology or political science. She learnt from being in the field rather than by following a structured approach, and was forced to make her own interpretations at an early stage, even while attached to conventional research institutions. At the time this was not unusual, as the attention to the design of research and to methods was not as well developed then as it is today. The early experience of conducting interviews in difficult surroundings and of experiments with action-research led to the adoption of critical perspectives on methods that enabled the author to develop innovative methods, highlighted below, as well as critiques of conventional approaches to employment statistics, in publications not presented here.

Another characteristic of the author's approach to the material is that it was inspired by her former status of direct participant and participant-observer. This is clearly not to suggest that personal experiences are recounted, but that direct experience of activism and campaigning provided a political and sociological training ground; and that, later, the subject of investigation was often deliberately designed so that it might enlighten and extend understandings of feminist politics.

The author began her research training outside of academia, firstly as a press library archivist and research assistant at the Royal Institute of International Affairs, London, in an environment of practitioners, policy-makers and
journalists as well as scholars. It involved the creation, in the world-renowned archive of newspaper cuttings, of the collection on Latin America, Spain, and Portugal, including sole responsibility for the decisions over items to preserve or to discard, and which speeches and communiqués to record. Sensitivity to the value of archival material, and to issues of veracity and falsification in the reporting of events and the generation of primary and secondary sources, was thus generated.

Training in fieldwork as an interviewer and an action-researcher was gained in an academic setting at the universities of Los Andes in Bogotá, Colombia, and Católica de Chile in Santiago. As the work involved interviewing shanty-town residents and workers in industrial zones during politically turbulent periods in the 1970s, the research training was accompanied by multiple political insights, and led to a questioning of traditional methods and an awareness of the perils of disengaged, 'objective' research. Some illustration of this process is provided in the ensuing paragraphs, as it helps to set the context for the author’s choice of live political processes and participant-observer research for the case of the women’s movement in Spain to accompany the more conventional data-gathering methods used in other chapters.

The issue of how to interview subjects in low-income, materially deprived settings, who are engaged in a continuous struggle for their livelihood with meagre educational and skill resources, is still relevant today. Researchers at the University of Los Andes in 1971 planned a study of selected public subsidised housing schemes for low-income neighbourhoods of Bogotá. The first scheme was in Las Colinas, a sprawl of shacks over outlying hillocks that the government had targeted for ‘urbanization’. The interviewers anticipated some difficulties, but these turned out to be insignificant in comparison to the thorny unexpected ones. The residents were reputed to be ‘marginals’ without steady jobs, which led the researchers to expect doors shut in their faces, being enjoined to leave the area, or having their watch and handbag snatched, as was common in the centre of town. Instead, the residents were perceived as ‘normal’, ‘friendly’, or ‘indifferent’. Some seemed to maintain a noble demeanour in the face of adversity, others an equitable resignation, and some seemed veritable heroes battling to survive with their families against the severest poverty. Their stories were almost invariably sad and sometimes heart wrenching. The housing scheme
soon struck the interviewers as poorly conceived and fundamentally unhelpful to the beneficiaries. Low interest loans had been offered to the shack-dwellers for them to rebuild it in brick. Only a handful had managed to get four walls and a roof erected before running out of credit. The rest were left with two or three walls and no roof, and constant anxiety about a debt that they were unlikely ever to be able to repay.

The experience was rich in lessons for the researcher. It is difficult to select a random sample of the ‘every fifth house/third street’ type when there are only winding alleys, dwellings are tucked away behind other buildings with no obvious front doors, and it is impossible to tell how many family units there are in what looks like a house. The concepts of ‘interview’, ‘questionnaire’, and ‘survey’ were often incomprehensible to the subjects, as were ‘research’ and ‘evaluation’, even ‘university’, because they were simply unheard of. A research issue identified by Harrison (2001: 94) as the practical problem of ‘cognition’ and ‘the understanding gap’. In Las Colinas, strangers wandering around with paper and pencil (i.e. us) were taken to be government officials and either fawned over before any questions were asked, presumably in the hope of preferment for whatever was in store, or shunned. Simply having interviewers going into their home evidently caused embarrassment or shame, as they had to stand on mud floors or sit on broken chairs while the rain dripped in through an improvised roof, and grubby children hung about staring. In a telling example of how being ‘well-organised’ can backfire, when an interview time was booked in advance, a near-destitute mother of two changed into her best torn pink dress and brought in the neighbours to show that she had been ‘chosen’, as if she had won the lottery and her life was about to change irrevocably. Questionnaires, even open-ended, were hard to stick to as stories poured out, and the housing scheme was so complex in practice that the interviewers blushed at not having read the small print that had tripped up or entrapped the so-called beneficiaries. In short, what purported to be an early version of a micro-credit scheme (now highly regarded in development circles), and a naive attempt at researching the end-user experience of a policy, had both failed miserably, as far as the two interviewers could see.

This conclusion was reinforced by the interviews done at the other housing schemes. In one, the beneficiaries had received, some time back, for little or no
money, a just-habitable shell of a house, and evidence of progress was found. Though some were still living in the shell, others had completed it out of their savings over time. They had had more money to start off with, and it seemed they had therefore received more for their money as well. In another scheme, the beneficiaries had taken it in turns to build the houses themselves as a community group, thereby avoiding entering into individual debt. Ultimately, the interviewers concluded that those with more capital, time, building skills, or social resources had been able to take part in a more advantageous way. The experience seemed to exemplify the bitter maxim 'to those who have, more shall be given'.

The important lesson for researchers, gained from this experience, concerned the interviewer/interviewee relationship, and how far the interviewer/interviewee situation is an inequitable exchange. The question is raised, who is working for whom? And how do the power relations between the two affect the content of the answers? Firstly, the interviewer is being paid, while the interviewees give their time for free, for the 'cause' of the study. They are doing a kind of voluntary work without asking many questions about its purpose. It is the interviewer who owns the information about the uses of the interview. The interviewees will remain, if not in the dark, at least in the shade. They are acting on trust, trusting that their effort is worthwhile. In addition to giving of their free time in this way, they are giving away information that is of value to the interviewer. In addition, the interviewers receive benefits on top of pay, such as in the Las Colinas case: a free education on housing, poverty, social attitudes, human behaviour, social psychology, and politics; a rare opportunity to talk freely to people they would otherwise never meet; training in social and communication skills; on-site language lessons; some interesting photographs; and a fuller CV. As far as could be judged from the lack of specific beneficial outcome of the research project, those interviewed gained nothing; at most they might have enjoyed the attention. They might also have lost out due to one or the other of the following: time that could have been spent on eking out their living, therefore money; a reinforced sense of shame or failure; dashed expectations and loss of trust in 'them up there' (_los de arriba_, as they called them).

The advantage of having a second ‘comparative’ experience to set against the first has been a fundamental tenet of the social sciences, especially political
The author obtained a comparable interviewing job in outlying areas of Santiago de Chile. This time the subjects were community leaders in the municipality of La Florida. They were heads of Neighbourhood Associations and Mothers’ Centres, organisations promoted by the previous Christian Democrat and current Popular Unity governments to reinforce community wellbeing in low-income areas and squatter camps. The housing was similar, a mixture of old shacks, new brick dwellings and the government’s emergency ‘matchbox’ wooden prefabs delivered off the back of a lorry to new squatter-camps. The striking thing for the researcher was how similar physical surroundings and income levels could lead to such qualitatively different demeanours and attitudes of the Chilean residents, when compared with those in Bogotá. Possibly this was because those interviewed were minor leaders, albeit of small organisations. There was also the fact that the political parties had been working in most outlying poor neighbourhoods of Santiago, and some of the interviewees were members of a party and had thereby received some political awareness training. Yet this merely reinforced the researcher’s conclusions, namely that the major difference with the Bogotá residents was the behaviour of the government in power. Addressed directly by President Allende as respectable citizens and workers, the inhabitants exuded greater self-respect and respect for others; treated with dignity by a government that sent out new wooden shack to the homeless instead of the riot police, their demands were expressed assertively but without violence. This was the case not only with government supporters but also with sympathisers of the opposition Christian Democrats and with independents. Interviewers were treated without special deference, ushered into modest homes without shame, offered a broken stool to sit on without a blush or excuse, or told levelly that this was not the right time. The message ‘we are all equals now, compañera’ was palpable, and echoed the government’s message that could be heard on the radio and through cheap television sets being produced at a nearby factory, and also through contact with neighbours, since all interviewees were members of a local organisation such as a Mothers’ Centre. Responses to the formal questionnaire, even though the questions were more complex and impersonal than in Bogotá, being about their organisation rather than their personal plight, were much more to the point and coherently expressed.

1 A four language internet search returned over 31,000 pages for ‘comparative sociology’ but 447,000 for ‘comparative politics’
After these experiences, a further stimulus was provided by an innovative form of research, ‘politically-relevant’ action-research as part of a Masters course in urban studies at the Urban Development Research Centre (CIDU) of the Catholic University of Santiago. It was an experiment to see if academics could put themselves at the disposal of working-class organisations so that these could set the research agenda instead. In factories concentrated along an industrial belt, trade unionists and shop-floor leaders were making contact along the belt, cutting across divisions in manufacturing sectors and trade union demarcations, in a new attempt to create a spatial power base, that was seen as either complementing or being in competition with the local municipality, depending on the political party. The university-based researchers were asked to provide local information to support the setting up of one such industrial belt coordination committee in Cerrillos-Maipú. The task of reporting on strike activity in the locality fell to the author, who discovered that the only source was the local police station files. Once again, reality confounded expectations. Instead of the imagined police cells teeming with the latest wave of beaten-up strikers moaning in pain, the researcher found a quiet bureaucratic office with policemen happy to throw open their files; a reflection of the new government’s orders and, presumably, the fact that they had nothing to hide at that point, one year away from General Pinochet’s coup.

Yet, the archive material on local strikes proved to be a disappointment from the researcher’s point of view. Despite the detailed police reports, they would not aggregate to a complete picture. The format did not fit, and they could not provide the straightforward answers that the factory-activist masters of the project wanted. And, as no government strike statistics were disaggregated by municipality, there was no alternative source. In the end, the academics’ report on the industrial belt proved very testing to compose and took far too long for action-research, as the action in question moved ahead fast. At the time, it felt like improvised research done on the hoof, but today it could be labelled ‘end-user driven’. It carried the thrill of being ‘useful’ to live organisations, and of overcoming the barriers between scholars and their subjects, but was also a relevant training for the author’s future, more conventional, research.
Such experiences as a researcher forcefully marked the author's approach to political research, moulding a preference for starting from an empirical base and following up questions put forward by practitioners and policy advocates that responded to their needs, and using archives of material about events that had occurred. From this starting point, academic publications would be scrutinised only as a second step, in a search for interpretations that would provide a filter for the material or a framework for interpreting it, instead of starting from published research and then moving on to frame an area for fieldwork to test a hypothesis.

Another way in which the author came be driven into a particular course of investigation is by living through violent historical events. As is well known, the Popular Unity government of Salvador Allende was overthrown by a military coup headed by General Augusto Pinochet on 11 September 1973. The generals closed down the universities' social science departments and banned all political activity, especially any by the unorthodox, challenging urban social movements that had been the subject of the action-research experience. These were all forced to disband under pain of death in the immediate aftermath of the coup. The academic leader of the action-research, Eder Sader, had to leave the country swiftly, the factory belt workers' leader Santos Romeo was executed by soldiers along with other workers; many CIDU staff and students were exiled, most universities' sociology and politics courses closed with students expelled, and suspects tortured, imprisoned without trial, and even killed.

Such events gave the author a motivation to rescue events from impending historical obscurity. A literate researcher, handy at the craft of piecing fragments together to create an account, could honour those who had made a bid to change their lives and been punished for it. This prompted the author's first book, *Pan, Techo y Poder: el Movimento de Pobladores en Chile 1970-73* (1974 - not submitted), written with Ernesto Pastrana, with additional material by Jill Hamberg, after being forced into exile. The title 'bread, a roof, and power' referred to three urban social movements for food rationing, housing and the industrial belt coordinating committees. It attempted to rescue for the historical record some ephemeral political events and organisations led by people engaged in an idealistic national project in a period of political openness and tolerance that was violently curtailed
On returning to the UK, the author planned to build on *Pan, Techo y Poder* by undertaking doctoral research on the role of trade unions in Chilean politics at the Institute of Latin American Studies, Glasgow University, encouraged by its publication in Portuguese and of a chapter-length treatment of the shanty-town movement in English (Pastrana and Threlfall 1975, Threlfall 1976 - not submitted). The Chilean labour movement was the postgraduate research topic, chosen partly on the grounds that, unlike the shanty-town movement, it had records, a history in print, and a public role reported in the media. It was not anticipated that the Pinochet dictatorship would last for long enough to render fieldwork in Chile impossible. Progress on the thesis came to depend on far more contacts with trade unions organisations than could be mustered, as they were now persecuted and difficult to access, as well as on elite interviews, the prospect of which receded fast as leaders were underground or scattered across three continents. Along with other researchers, the author was advised not to visit any archives or newspaper libraries in Chile after a prominent press report on the book *Allende’s Chile* (edited by Philip O’Brien) containing the above-mentioned contribution by the author appeared in the leading newspaper *El Mercurio*, charging the contributors with besmirching the country’s image abroad. With hindsight, all this might have been anticipated at the time, but many found it difficult to accept that General Pinochet’s rule would last, and in any case, the author had been awarded an SSRC grant. Later, an attempt was made to shift the research topic to the role of the trade unions in Spain. In the end, it was the intellectual stimulation provided by the discovery (re-discovery, strictly speaking) of feminist thought and the possibility of returning to action-research and of engaging in research that could feed into ongoing political processes in Spain, that provided the impetus for the research embodied in the Chapters submitted.

The research context and methodological considerations: Spain in the 1970s and 1980s

The research context of the early publications submitted is also relevant, given their methodological implications. From 1975, Spain experienced a period of heightened political turmoil. General Franco died in November, and the Monarchy was restored with King Juan Carlos as Head of State. From July 1976
the newly appointed Prime Minister, Adolfo Suárez, sought political support for legislative measures to introduce a democratic system, and succeeded in obtaining support for his Law of Political Reform from the Francoist, rubber-stamping legislature. It was ratified by popular referendum in December 1976. As a result, the government negotiated a new electoral law with the previously persecuted, now tolerated, opposition parties. The most active party in the anti-Franco struggles up till then had been the Communist Party of Spain. Its leader, Santiago Carrillo, was a founder of Euro-communism, the parliamentary road to socialism that a group of European Communists pledged to follow. Spain’s oldest democratic party, the PSOE, had revived and reorganised itself sufficiently to hold its first party conference on Spanish soil since the Republican era in December 1976. Long recognised as the fraternal Spanish party of the Socialist International, it enjoyed the backing of well-regarded European leaders such as Olof Palme, Willy Brandt, François Mitterrand, and Bruno Kreisky. In the first, long-awaited parliamentary elections of 1977, the PSOE became the leading opposition party in parliament, after gaining a 27% share of the vote. These two were the main parliamentary parties that took up women’s rights issues, while the UCD conceded significant measures. Though the extra-parliamentary far Left, the conservative right and the regional-nationalist formations played a range of roles in the transition to democracy, they remained either too small, in the case of the far Left, or too reluctant to take on the ‘woman question’, to have a significant impact on gender politics in the longer term. For this reason, the PSOE and the PCE are the parties that feature prominently in several of the submitted chapters, other parties are brought into the frame where it is merited.

While such events unfolded, a number of women had become active in women’s liberation activities. Feminist politics opened a new intellectual and theoretical horizon, and therefore feminist-inspired research could provide the deep hinterland to events that were unfolding. Many questions were being raised that were not being discussed by the small academic research community. Politicians and activists devoted energy to reading and debating, yet could often not find the time for research. The earliest articles in this submission, Chapters 2 and 3, published in 1979, were researched with the aim of filling that gap. Despite not being part of the academic community at that point, the author was stimulated by the opportunity of researching for a ready audience of practitioners and policymakers. This context also provided a compass for the themes investigated.
Nonetheless some important methodological constraints governed the research undertaken for some of the publications submitted. It is important to take into account the limited access to English-language publications on feminism experienced by the researcher working from within Spain. Feminist thought was principally published in English and French in the 1970s and access to it was limited, since the author was not attached to any university or other library with collections on contemporary feminism or gender politics. Political science and sociology degrees had not been validated until the end of the Franco era, and so university libraries were relatively poor. The Biblioteca Nacional was mocked for employing attendants who confidently asserted that since no one could read more than one book at a time, they had no need to fetch so many from the stacks.

Anglo-Saxon feminist books circulating in the 1970s in Spain were few and far between, owing to Spain's acculturation in French as a second language. Such fundamental initial texts such as Germaine Greer's *The Female Eunuch* and Kate Millet's *Sexual Politics* were therefore not well known. But Simone de Beauvoir's *The Second Sex* (Gallimard 1949), Shulamith Firestone's *The Dialectic of Sex* (1971), and Sheila Rowbotham's *Hidden from History* (1974 2nd ed.) and *Women, Resistance and Revolution* (1973, 1974) did form part of the feminist 'curriculum'. Margaret Randall had edited a translated collection published in Mexico that had reached Spain (*Las Mujeres* 1973 3rd edn.) and included Juliet Mitchell's article 'The longest revolution' (originally 1966). Christine Delphy's work on materialist feminism had circulated in French. As to women's work, Viola Klein's *L'Emploi des Femmes* (1965) and Evelyne Sullerot's *Histoire et Sociologie du Travail* (1968) had been published in translation (Klein's in 1967). Therefore, in terms of feminist theory, the available referents were the French- and English-language publications that could be bought if they happened to have made their way into Spanish bookshops. Consequently, feminism developed in an environment of received ideas and the preoccupation of feminists was not to critique these but to internalise them - rather uncritically, one could add - in an effort to understand the Spanish situation.

In addition, there was a scarcity of locally-generated research. Given the previous lack of political freedom, research of any kind was under-developed in Spain.
Studies of women’s participation in politics (such as in associations, public actions, and voting) and attitudes towards politics did not even begin until the late 1970s when the first two chapters of this thesis were written. The first comprehensive bibliography (Iglesias de Ussel 1980) covering the 40 years from 1939 to 1980 only mentions 49 publications of any kind, including magazine articles, on any political topic related to Spanish womanhood, an average of about one per year.

Another issue concerns the researcher’s distance or closeness to their object of examination. Feminist research is mostly carried out by women who are sympathetic to feminism, so the researcher has a personal identification with the notion that women are, or have been, oppressed. In the case of this thesis, there is no denying that some of the research was inspired by political convictions, and that some normative assumptions are made. On the other hand, it can be argued that identification permits the kind of insight and understanding that would otherwise not have taken place. Furthermore, in the case of a ‘bias towards equity’, arguably the bias has been put to the service of re-balancing previously unrecognised, un-admitted, biases towards the male view that had gone unchallenged.

A further opportunity, arising out of the greater access obtained from identification with the subject, is the possibility of gaining a participant-observer status. Much invaluable and essential information was gathered by accompanying the informants in their travails. The author, being active in the women’s movement, was able to note and record observations while participating in events and, importantly, to discuss them with other participants. This position has the advantage of allowing for an insider perspective, affording the participant-researcher privileged insight and specialist knowledge. A vivid illustration was the 1979 sit-in at a Court of Justice in Madrid (in solidarity with women arrested for having, and performing, abortions in Bilbao) when the police, on orders from the PSOE Councillor in charge of security, José Barrionuevo, forcefully dislodged the women by hitting them with their batons.

While the author’s participant-observer status came to an end in 1983, before the bulk of the thesis materials were written, the ‘insider’ status was maintained in terms of relatively privileged access. The new constraint that emerged after

17
returning to the UK was of course distance, and scarcity of time and research funds.

Another particular characteristic of the fieldwork contained in this thesis is that the information was gathered in an environment of oral communication. While it is not possible to draw on any research that proves that Spanish culture is more oral, as opposed to written, the period of the transition to democracy was rich in political discussion that engrossed male elites, rank and file groups and feminists alike. This was not chiefly interpersonal discussion, nor indeed the rhetoric of campaign rallies and long speeches, although both these were often useful sources. Rather, verbal discussion was part of the intelligentsia’s way of conducting the battle of ideas. Every day _El País_ would list its lectures of the day and prospective and current opinion-formers would gather there to... form their opinions. Indeed, for the best part of three years (1980-82) the author contributed to the sum total of debate by dint of being the organiser of public meetings at the Fundación Pablo Iglesias. The point to note is that the major way members of the political class communicated with each other was neither by writing nor by reading each other’s thoughts (except those in the daily papers), but by talking face to face.

It would be academic - or anglosajón as Spaniards would say - to presume that such debate was superficial just because it was not written down. As is known from educational learning strategies, talking is a learning tool, and ideas, theories, and abstract concepts can be communicated and clarified in discussion in a different way than by reading about them. In Spain, talk was inter-active even when formally organised around a public lecture, and played an important role in information gathering, as well as in the intellectual development of Spanish feminism. Ironically, it was itself a legacy of the authoritarian era, with its press censorship and limited television programming, where talking politics could be done in trusted gatherings. The author found such training in evaluating oral communication was to provide unusual insights.

---

2 Twenty years later, London has developed a similar habit, with _Prospect_ magazine offering readers a monthly listing of public lectures.

3 In the mid-1980s the contrast between an organisation such as the Fundación Pablo Iglesias and the Fabian Society was plainly seen: the latter published much more than it talked, and the former talked much more than it published.
Adopting a research perspective that kept faith with previous political and life experiences was also an issue for the author. Although path-breaking feminist texts provided Spanish women with explanations of how and why women were oppressed and with accounts of the admirable struggles of British and US women, they could not directly shape the form of engagement that the early feminists chose for the Spanish context. This was partly because many had been active in socialist politics - and some under repressive and risky conditions of clandestine work - before taking on feminist thought, and had to reorient their perspectives from classic socialist theory towards feminist approaches. Faced with an apparent choice between three strands of feminism, radical feminism seemed insufficiently political and liberal feminism too conservative, while socialist-feminism struck the author at the time as their natural home. This selection of socialist-feminist politics allowed her insider status to be of maximum use as a research tool. It was also grounded in a literature on international socialism that was known to her from working in Latin America.

A further question concerns the consequent adoption of a positivist approach and of a degree of normative thinking. It was not just the past that influenced Spanish feminists’ choice of perspectives. Being already associated with legal parties meant that from the start there was a tension between feminist theory that satisfied feminists on an intellectual level, and the need to sustain a dialogue with male political interlocutors. Above all, given that all were living in a period of swift change and ideational effervescence, the imperative was to act now in order to change women’s lives (Camblando la vida, changing life, was a slogan of the time). This led to a research focus on empirical data regarding the activities of women; on tracing changes over time within a developmental framework; on the socio-political movement towards institutional reform; and on policy innovation and implementation. Inevitably, this thesis does not claim to give an account of the whole of Spanish feminism. Other research perspectives might have focused, for instance, on the roots of women’s oppression in Spain within the context of feminist theory, or on the activities of radical feminists who did not engage with public institutions, or on working-class women’s struggles at work, or even on the long history of women in the Spanish Communist Party before its severe decline. Indeed, Brooksbank Jones (1997) later showed that such perspectives could be fruitful.
As to normative issues, the consistent search in the submitted chapters is for evidence that illustrates whether the position of women is advancing or falling back in terms of their political participation and representation, impact on public affairs, and policy innovation. In this search, the process of sorting, retaining and discarding was guided as much by the criteria embedded in the international benchmarks and normative agreements of the UN Conferences and Decades on Women (for example United Nations 1980, 1995), as by the theoretical contentions of the academic literature. Within the parameters of the former, there is no questioning of whether any evidence exists that actually shows that having ‘more women’ in positions of political power is beneficial to the advancement of the gender as a whole, nor whether feminist actions demonstrably accelerate positive outcomes, nor whether further legal reforms augur effective change, nor whether ever more policy and service interventions are likely to lead to testable improvements. The author acknowledges that feminist-oriented research in general probably does not recognise the extent to which it is based on norm-laden assumptions arising from an emotive, often inflamed, political struggle whose claims have to a large extent been taken on board and become the new norm, even when they have changed over time. The demands made by the women’s movement had been voiced by communities of organised women for several decades before approaches such as evidence-based policymaking became widely accepted among researchers. This normative frame of feminist research is mainly in evidence in Part II of the thesis.

Regarding the choice of geographical perspectives, the thesis analyses women’s activism and participation mainly at the national level. This reflects firstly, the level at which it chiefly took place in the periods under consideration, as well as the level of coordination from Madrid that the women’s movement itself manifested; secondly, the topics chosen for the studies, such as the responses of party elites and governments to feminist demands; and thirdly, the intention to provide the research community with the kind of nationwide view of Spain required for comparative studies (relevant for Chapters 7, 8, 9, 11). Nonetheless, relevant regional references were included where information was available and appropriate. Chapter 3 discusses the distribution of electoral candidates at provincial and regional level and their presence in nationalist parties. Chapter 4 comments on the nationalist parties’ presence in parliament. Chapter 5, while also commenting on the regional nationalist parties, analyses the distribution of elected
women by geographical tiers (see tables 6.8 and 6.9), and emphasises the role of the PSOE's federal structure in achieving leadership positions for women throughout the regions. In Part II, Chapter 6 and 7 on the women's movements' public activity focus on the location where they were most active and put pressure on parliament and the parties, namely the capital city (the Autonomous Communities had not been fully set up at that stage). Chapter 8, while studying central government achievements, provided an early analysis of the Instituto de la Mujer's deployment of resources around the autonomous communities, and discussed Catalonia and the Basque Country in relation to domestic violence, Andalucia and Extremadura in relation to training; and a variety of regional assemblies with regard to women deputies. Chapter 9, while chiefly deploying a comparative analysis of the construct 'state feminism', argues that the very existence of sub-national governance undermines any attempt to posit a single state feminism, since decentralisation of responsibility for women's policy can, on the contrary, lead to 'diverse multi-tiered feminisms' (p.88 of the original), an argument based on an acknowledgment of the impact of Spain's quasi-federal structure on a key concept of feminist political science.

The publications in context: theory and methods

In their well-established early study Women and Politics: the invisible majority Baxter and Lansing remark the following about the state of research in the USA:

Readers looking for the “theory” tested in this book will be disappointed.... The topic of women and politics is too new for any theory-building and theory-testing research to have been done.... Most topics studied by social scientists are first pursued through exploratory investigations attempting to discern the major concepts and themes. ....Descriptive studies are undertaken to document the pervasiveness of the themes .... Only after empirical groundwork has been laid can the formal hypothesis-testing characteristic of explanatory research begin. (Baxter and Lansing 1980: 184)

This seemed highly appropriate for the Spanish case at that time, and especially for the realm of politics. Baxter and Lansing’s observations may serve as a caveat regarding this thesis. It contains intense explorations and data-gathering exercises
that have permitted detailed descriptions and full conclusions, yet have on the whole eschewed comparative theorising and the testing of specific hypotheses. Part II in particular relied on the sort of inductive approach mentioned by Baxter and Lansing, in which the subject was ‘discovered’ through participation and rediscovered in a second phase of scholarly research and interpretations. Thus, the thesis makes strong claims to originality for its findings and observations, and can build a convincing case endorsing the peculiar effectiveness of the author’s situation vis-à-vis the object of research. It can also defend the research methods deployed in the published studies to deal with the absence of an established literature on women and feminist politics in Spain and its regrettably slow accretion over time.

Nonetheless, the thesis engages with feminist and gender politics theories in a number of ways. There is no single strand to feminist ideology and theorising. On the contrary, there is a proliferation of perspectives, which are not fully reconcilable. This thesis is devoted to the study of feminist activism, policy advocacy and reform, and political participation, in formal party and institutional politics. Within this political frame, it is relevant to pay attention to feminist thought and feminist political science. Engagement with theories from these traditions is reflected first, in Part I chapters, where theories of women's conservatism, women's political passivity as voters and candidates, the electoral gender gap, the tactic of quota representation, the strategy of gender parity, and the theory of gate-keeping elites are discussed. In addition, a theory of elite-driven party renewal through gender-based recruitment is advanced. Secondly, engagement with feminist thought is reflected in Part II chapters, where the political strategies derived from the feminist renewal of Marxist thought, and liberalism, as espoused by the institutionally-oriented parts of the movement, are discussed. In addition feminist theories on the absence of women from accounts of transitions to democracy, on the political boundaries to 'feminist' movements, on 'female' versus feminist consciousness, on the place of the male-female contradiction in the struggle for socialism, on the uses of double militancy, on the democratisation of gender power relations, and on the problems of state feminism are analysed. Furthermore, the thesis advances new perspectives in feminist thought, such as multi-tiered feminist policy in federal structures and the facilitating, as opposed to constraining, role of political parties. Lastly, in the Conclusions it was relevant to apply certain feminist sociological perspectives
and social policy research to build a multi-dimensional analysis of women's socio-economic and political gains in Spain. It extends feminist thinking on how policy and status gains are achieved within nation states by proposing a 'disjunctive' movement containing, in the case of Spain, the paradox of salient political representation. The final chapter added to feminist thought by proposing seven themes to identify the key, future challenges for the wider international women's movement, grounded in the work of the established thinkers contributing to Mapping the Women's Movement.

PART I WOMEN IN FORMAL POLITICS VOTING PREFERENCES, OFFICE-SEEKING AND GENDER-BALANCED REPRESENTATION IN PARTIES

Chapter 2, 'The voting preferences of women in the 1979 parliamentary elections', addressed one of the main theories about women in politics that prevailed internationally for several decades, both in Europe ever since Duverger's influential Unesco-commissioned 1955 study on The Political Role of Women, in the US (Currell 1974), in Chile (eg. Chaney 1974), and in Spain, as well as more recently (eg. Sassoon 1996). This is the theory of women's conservatism and relative passivity in politics compared to men, at least in Catholic countries. Events in the Second Republic had left a potent ideational legacy in this respect, derived both from deeply held beliefs of 1930s politicians and from a politically contested interpretation of the behaviour of women in the 1933 elections (Campoamor 1936/1981) Even the women Republican deputies such as Victoria Kent had believed it (Kent 1979:177-184), Clara Campoamor being the exception.

The view, passed down through the political generations to the democratic period, was that women had used their newly gained vote to favour the conservative parties and thereby caused the centre-left Republican coalition to lose the 1933 election. Women's conservatism became an entrenched political notion, and this alleged electoral 'precedent' came to serve as a model --or rather an anti-model, a caveat, a dangerous portent of things to come in the next democracy. The conservatism of women was an article of faith over which both Spanish political circles and international research converged. According to
Jacquette (1974) among others, the dominant model was, more precisely, that in protestant countries the ideological gender gap was small and narrowing, whereas in Catholic countries it was considerable and likely to remain significant.

Chapter 2 sets out to explore the validity of the received wisdom for the new democracy and found it to be demonstrable (as far as electoral behaviour is ever ascertainable) but in need of considerable qualification. Women’s choices could be interpreted as an expression of their fairly rapid socio-cultural progress during the transition to democracy, and posed a challenge for the left-wing parties. This new thesis was supported by a further interpretation, based on survey data, positing that a crucial distinction could be made between women with relatively informed opinions and those with little political knowledge, or who were unable to answer. The article concluded that women in Spain were in a position to follow a rather more ‘protestant’ model of behaviour.

In terms of the methods used, this article was based on primary sources, with the raw data taken from the dataset of an unpublished survey to which access had been obtained, supplemented by further survey data. Tables breaking down the vote by party and gender that had hitherto been published were considered unsatisfactory because of the way they handled the large number of undecided voters in pre-electoral surveys and the distortion that arises in post-electoral surveys. Therefore, an innovative method was devised to overcome this, which had not been tried before. In the final section on the implications of the findings for political communication, the analysis was grounded in knowledge obtained from participant observation during three electoral campaigns and numerous feminist movement meetings with women.

Chapter 3, ‘The presence of women in parliamentary elections and intra-party discrimination in candidate selection’, published in 1979, complements the groundwork of Chapter 2 as it establishes the parameters of women’s political involvement in the new democracy. The first election of 1977 returned 21 women deputies, but the second only 20, baffling the optimists. This piece of research investigates how members of parliament get selected and become elected, concentrating on the composition of candidate lists and on internal party dynamics. It argued that, on the one hand, becoming a deputy requires being
fielded by a party on an electoral list, and party decision-makers, both at higher and lower levels, are the selectors of such candidates. On the other hand, the competition for prominence inside the party between its members creates an internal dynamic that is gendered and affects their chances of selection. Together they provide the bulk of the explanation for the gender imbalance of members of parliament. The article sought explanations for these findings, and posed a model of internal party mechanism of discrimination. It posed the novel argument that office-seekers are selected not from the rank-and-file, but from among the activists, and there were probably relatively more activist women than rank and file. The popular argument that there are 'too few good women to choose from' was undermined at the conceptual level. It also posed the novel idea that, even if women voters leaned to the Right, this did not have to mean that there was a scarcity of women activists inside Left parties, and thus challenged the received wisdom about women's conservatism at the level of party activism.

As did Chapter 2, the piece reflected the contemporary debate about how women get into politics and particularly how they get selected, a concern that has continued to enjoy prominence in the field of gender politics (see, among many, Kelber 1994; Tilly and Gurn 1990, Lovenduski and Norris 1993, 1996, Nelson and Chowduri 1994, Corrin 1999, Alwood and Wadia 2000). However, until Lovenduski and Norris's 1993 book, very little had been written about the internal dynamics of parties regarding gender.

As to methods used, apart from one publication, no research had been done on the gender of candidates for 1977 or for 1979. Resort was made to the primary source of the proclaimed candidate list published in the official gazette (Boletín Oficial del Estado) and, in the absence of the candidate's sex being mentioned in the gazette, personal knowledge of the gender of first names was used. This was not a fail-safe method, but when the sex of candidates was recorded several years later, the percentages were not significantly altered, so the outcome of the findings was unaffected. In addition the notion of internal party discrimination against women office-seekers was approached by creating a hypothetical model, based on the insights gained from participant observation, in the absence of available empirical data. Modelling an original idea enabled the projection of an argument that was politically potent, and it was found to be sustainable after relevant hard data were published two years later (see Chapter 4)
Chapter 4 on voting patterns, party membership and office-seeking expanded on some of themes of Chapters 2 and 3 and subjects them to further empirical investigation through the analysis of new evidence available in the first years of the 1980s. It argued that the small gender gap in turnout was insufficient to confirm stereotypes of political passivity and apathy often attributed to women, because it could no longer be said that a majority of women voted for the Right and of men for the Left. In 1982, for the first time in Spain's history, the Left was strongest among both sexes. In terms of party membership, the article revealed - for the first time - that the right-wing parties could boast more members than the parliamentary Left, and that the PSOE was the party with the lowest female membership of all, and that revealingly, female party membership was highest among the far Left. Regarding women in public office, the chapter critiques the lack of further progress made in representation in 1982. It predicted that the PSOE's substantial though not majoritarian popularity with the female electorate would not be sustained if it merely kept to its election manifesto, since this was patchy and low-key on women's issues. Women's situation was found to be somewhat paradoxical: they were with the process of change, but not properly part of it. This theme was taken up by the PSOE and by all the social democratic parties in the 1980s, and in 1988 the PSOE announced that it would introduce quotas for women candidates for office and seek to increase its female membership.

In terms of methods, Chapter 4 used both primary data from government agencies and internal, semi-confidential data obtained from the parties. The main government source was a large, commissioned survey of voters that asked questions about male and female preferences around the 1982 parliamentary election. While the existence of the government database (Base de Datos, Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas) was known, there were no researchers using it at the time in order to study gender politics, and the first publication to do this did not appear till IDES's 1988 study. The chapter was able to present a short longitudinal (1976-1982) view of women political self-perceptions (Table 1); the very first table showing the changes in the women's vote (Tables 2 and 3); and the gender composition of the parties vote in 1982 (Table 4). For the 1982 data in Table 3, the same novel method of calculation was applied as in Chapter 2, for consistency and comparability.
This chapter was also based on a second major original source, the very first private study commissioned by the PSOE to establish the characteristics of its party members, to which the author was able to gain access. An attempt was made to complement this with similar information from other parties, but none had surveyed their members. Various party offices provided both estimates and harder data regarding their members’ gender breakdown, as well as data on women in party leadership positions. All in all, the attempt to break through the barrier of secrecy that political parties put up with regard to membership issues was moderately successful, as the proportions of female members for parties between 1978/9 and 1981/2 was published for the first time (Table 5). As Gallagher, Laver and Mair (2001:274) stated twenty years later ‘It can be difficult to pin down exactly how many people really do belong to parties [....] some parties are simply not sufficiently centralised for anyone in a party to know how many members it has’.

As a result of these methods, the chapter’s data on women party activists also provided evidence to underpin the model constructed in Chapter 3 on leadership recruitment, showing that a stratum of active women members with some political experience existed, who could have been selected for leadership or to stand for office.

Chapter 5 ‘Explaining the adoption of the gender parity concept in the 1990s: the party renewal factor’ returns to the subject of participation from a different perspective. Published twenty years later, it was fully able to establish empirically the trajectory of women’s participation in parliament and in party decision-making for each of the three main democratic parties. Its purpose is explanatory: firstly, it seeks to identify the key turning points in the trend towards greater participation, and secondly, it puts forward an explanation for the rise of women in party politics. After discarding social and economic modernisation factors, the conditioning influence of the electoral systems is also found to have insufficient explanatory power. It then looks at institutional party-political explanations and the adoption of new party-constitutional provisions to apply.

---

4 This piece of research became the only source on Spain for the Council of Europe’s study on The Situation of Women in the Political Process in Europe, Part II Women in the Political World in Europe, commissioned from Marianne Sineau and Janne Mossuz-Lavau of the Maison des Sciences de l’Homme (their acknowledgement to the author is on p 9)
gender parity. In a further explanatory level, the chapter analyses why the realization of intra-party reform was effective in the case of the PSOE, discussing, firstly, its internal party structures and dynamics, and secondly its need for renewal in the face of political sclerosis and public criticism, concluding that increased women's representation became an instrument of renewal.

In terms of methods, Chapter 5 used three approaches. Firstly it sought to collect, compare and interpret the empirical data on major forms of institutional and partisan participation from 1977 through to 2001. Through this, it was able to establish numerically the coincidence of the adoption of quota policies and the immediate increase in proportions of women in parliament and party leadership. Secondly, it carried out an analysis of various factors to narrow down any explanation of women's increased involvement. In this it was supported by face-to-face interviews and participant observations at the PSOE party conferences of 1988 and 2000. The investigation of the internal political life of parties in general is an under-researched area, as seen by the limited number of publications (Gallagher, Laver and Mair 2001: 297-9), the fact that the main journal *Party Politics* was launched only in 1995, and the absence of chapters on the subject in most politics textbooks. While the PSOE's contemporary behaviour in the ideological and institutional realm has been analysed by Heywood in various publications and its internal evolution by Gillespie (1988), little has appeared on its organisation. Though Méndez Lagos (2000, in Spanish) studies its organisational strategy, gender issues are ignored.
In the second part of the thesis, three themes are examined. Firstly, women's political participation in Spanish non-institutional settings, as individual and collective activists for democracy, as campaigners for women's rights, as members of feminist organisations and as feminists within parties. The purpose of the articles was to establish empirically the presence of women's voices and demands in the political arena so as to make them visible in the historical process, and thereby contribute to the research base upon which historical and political accounts of Spanish politics in the 1975-1995 period would be drawn.

The second theme concerns law reform and the development of policy to improve gender equality. This starts in the early days of the transition to democracy because, as the account shows, gender relations were a key area of the Francoist system that needed to be reformed in a new democracy. The theme is developed in the post-transition period, focusing in particular on the PSOE's extensive period in government. The chapters analyse the extent to which state and government agencies at local, regional and central state level progress equality policy and implement services to support women in order that they may achieve a re-balancing of power in their personal, reproductive, employment, civic and family environments.

The third theme of the thesis, which emerges strongly, is the role of political parties in advancing measures designed to benefit women and re-balance power. This is mainly examined from the perspective of feminist party outsiders becoming party insiders in order to gain influence on party policy and government in the three tiers, including taking responsibility for running branches of public administration as executive directors or cabinet ministers. The most consistent case examined is that of the PSOE, on account of it being the largest and most powerful party that provided a variety of responses to the calls for gender equity.

Chapter 6 ‘Gendering the transition to democracy: reassessing the impact of women’s activism’ (published in 2005) leads the section because it focuses fully on the transition period up to 1982, while Chapters 8 and 9 (published 1996 and 1997) refer to later periods. Chapter 6 establishes empirically the extent to which
gender issues played a part in the political process of regime change, and argues that, with their voices, women's organizations augmented the volume of opposition against the dictatorship and of pressure on the transitional governments of the UCD. They not only swelled the mass of opposition but also extended its reach by bringing to light a form of oppression that political elites were almost wholly unaware of at the time. The transitional political agenda was transformed as a result. In particular, the struggle for women's equality created a new sense of identification with the democratic project in millions of potential voters and provided them with experiences of transformative political learning. As a result, women did not become the force for conservatism that they were anticipated to be: when the PSOE lost power in 1996 soon after this work was published, it remained women voters' favourite party, whereas the PP had become the preferred party among men (Aizpeolea 1996: 4). Ever since, governments have found it to their advantage to develop gender equality policy

In terms of methods, Chapter 6 'Gendering the transition to democracy' reconstitutes a historical account of women's activism from a wide variety of mainly primary sources, consisting of documents, pamphlets and newspaper cuttings of the 1976-1982 period contained in the author's personal archive. In addition, the author's collection of books on women published in Spain from the 1970s onwards proved invaluable. Two sets of recollections containing personal accounts and interviews by and of feminist activists of the period, recently compiled by researchers in Spain, were searched for relevant material. The goal of establishing a new account of women's activism was constrained at its outset. It was not feasible to carry out new fieldwork on the period, neither in newspaper libraries nor in Spain, nor could a set of clarificatory interviews with the actors of the period be conducted. Nonetheless, while by no means claiming to be exhaustive, this account of the Spanish women's movement can boast of having a broader archival base and a more detailed history of the public activities of women and on behalf of women than any other published so far in any language.

Chapter 7. 'The nature and achievements of the early women's movement to 1984', was written in 1984 in the UK after two field trips to Spain to observe developments in the women’s movement, carried out as part of a Vicente Cañada Blanch Senior Fellowship and with funding from the Nuffield Foundation Small Grants Scheme. It consists of one of the very first attempts (whether by a UK-
based or by Spanish researchers) to characterise the new Spanish women's movement in the democratic era and covered the period of the mid-1970s up to 1984. Lovenduski and Hills had published *The Politics of the Second Electorate* in which the chapter on Spain by Matsell (1981) offered some information up to 1979 but did not chart the development of the women's movement as such. Randall (1982) had produced a political science comparative study that offered very little information on Spain. The movement as a subject of scholarly research had been investigated from sociological perspectives, such as by Freeman (1975) and from historical perspectives such as Rowbotham's path-breaking *Hidden from History* (1974) and Bridenthal and Koonz's *Becoming Visible* (1977), which included Temma Kaplan's article on Spanish women in 1930s anarchism. In Spain, the emerging feminist academic research was also led by historians, as witnessed by the proceedings of the First Interdisciplinary Research Conference on New Perspectives on Women (1982, 2 volumes). However, one volume was devoted entirely to the pre-1930 history and the second contained no papers on the women's movement.5

Chapter 7 was written in the context of ongoing debates taking place in Spain about feminist theories on the nature of women's oppression, and the socialist-feminist perspective on women's liberation. Spanish socialist-feminism's theoretical preoccupations centred on the problem of fitting women's oppression into the critique of capitalism prevalent on the Left. The texts considered most enlightening in the early 1980s were Zillah Eisenstein's *Capitalist Patriarchy and the case for Socialist Feminism* (1979), Hartmann's *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism* (translated into Spanish), Delphy's ideas on materialist feminism (versions of the French text *L'Ennemi Principal*) and Hamilton's *La Liberación de la Mujer Patriarcado y Capitalismo* among others. The debate progressed from capitalist patriarchy to the feminism of difference versus the feminism of equality, and this became a divisive debate, briefly recounted in Threlfall (1980) [not submitted]. Later, Hester Eisenstein's *Contemporary Feminist Thought* aided the reconciliation of various strands by attempting to go 'beyond the impasse of difference' (H. Eisenstein 1984: 103,106).

5 The author's paper on 'La ideología política de la Mujer' [The political ideology of women - not submitted] was the only political science contribution.
Spanish women activists that were the subject of the author’s participant-observation were primarily concerned with the relations between Marxism and feminism and the relations between feminism and socialist and social-democratic politics, in order to establish the most fruitful alliances with ‘the labour movement’, as it was generally called. Rowbotham’s essay on ‘The women’s movement and organising for socialism’ in Beyond the Fragments (2nd ed. 1980) reflected the Spanish movement’s preoccupations, as did Mouffe’s contributions to the strategy of socialist-feminism (1982, 1984). An intellectual coming together led to a 450-page volume in which an array of ideas was distilled and elaborated for the Spanish case (see Jornadas de Feminismo Socialista, 1984). However, although all these were rich with theoretical considerations and policy prescriptions, none attempted an account of the Spanish movement apart from one short (6pp) section containing, as the author put it, ‘a very schematic analysis [...] on account of lack of data’ (Astelarra 1984:147).

Chapter 7 reviewed the context in which the women’s movement had grown up, highlighting the inappropriateness of simple comparisons with the US or British cases. It posed that it was something of a paradox to find improvements in the lives of Spanish women being achieved by a movement that was numerically weak and unable to boast of any strong organizations of its own, a paradox that could be explained by the movement’s skilful management of a favourable political climate. The overhaul of the political system offered scope for the creation of new institutions, practices and laws, and provoked a readiness on the part of the political elite to accept fresh ideas. The pragmatism displayed by the movement was also highlighted. The Chapter also attempted to characterise the social bases of feminism. Addressing the two strategies advocated by feminists, it concluded that ‘independent’ feminism and the ‘institutionalist’ wing could be viewed as a workable division of labour despite the different theoretical underpinnings of each. It concluded that Spanish feminism was unusual in that it had not arisen as part-and-parcel of a surge of women into the world of work. This view, based on activists’ reports, was later corroborated when the exceptionally high female unemployment in Spain was repeatedly highlighted in European Commission data after Spain had joined the EU in 1986 (see also Threlfall 2000 [not submitted], Bermeo 2000, Vaiou 1996:64).
In terms of methods, Chapter 7 attempted to put into practice a socialist-feminist approach - the hinterland of the author - while foregrounding facts and actual events. It deliberately did not entertain the illustration of any theory, since it relied on the author's experience of involvement with the actors and activities of the movement to offer an account that provided detailed information to illustrate realistically how the socialist-feminist movement saw its role.

Chapter 8, 'The nature and achievements of the women's movement in the PSOE era to 1995', published in 1996, partly updated the account of the article in Chapter 7 on the women's movement, hence the repetition of several paragraphs at the start. But it also considers the longer-term policy impact of feminist policy advocates on a government that professed to be sympathetic to them, and illustrates one of the key themes of the thesis, namely the advantages of the institutional strategy deployed by Spanish feminists for achieving progress in the social and political position of women. An article published at the same time was directly entitled 'institutional feminism in Spain' (Valiente 1996). Chapter 8 was also singled out in a review article by Beckwith (2000) for illustrating the successful institutionalisation of a movement. The issue of women's movements' relations with different states has received significant cross-comparative attention, such as in Stetson and Mazur's *Comparative State Feminism*, and in the recent *Women's Movements facing the Reconfigures State* edited by Banaszak, Beckwith and Rucht (2003), in which the Spanish case is analysed by Valiente citing this chapter.

Chapter 8 argued that the Spanish experience provides an exceptionally well-developed example of a relationship between feminism and social democracy, and analysed the terms 'institutionalization' (following Lovenduski and Randall 1993), 'femocracy' (H. Eisenstein, 1984) and 'state feminism' used in various countries. It also underscored the role of feminism in the development of the incipient Spanish welfare state. Finally, the question of its sustainability was addressed. The conclusion was that this positive first assessment had to be set in the context of uncertain developments.

In terms of methods, Chapter 8 'The nature and achievements of the women's movement in the PSOE era' uses straightforward empirical methods of data-gathering, which are then evaluated in terms of the standard claims made by the
women's movement for control over the body and reproductive choices, freedom from enclosure in abusive family situations; access to public resources and to decision-making. It notes the lack of a single analytical perspective appropriate for analysing 'women's advancement' – a theme that is taken up in the next two chapters.

Chapter 9 'Spanish feminism: a case of state feminism or party feminism in government?' built on Chapter 8, taking the problem of identifying appropriate analytical perspectives with which to assess women's advancement to task, by critiquing the literature on 'state feminism' for discursively transforming the committed activists of the pre-institutional period into 'state bureaucrats' and 'femocrats'. It constituted a refutation of aspects of Stetson and Mazur's (1995) perspective in Comparative State Feminism, on the grounds of the observable discontinuities, rather than permanence, in policy for women that can be found between central and regional state, and between different governing parties.

In terms of methods, Chapter 9 developed the analytical framework of 'state feminism' by devising a typology and constructing a matrix to illustrate it. The Spanish case was then distinguished from these by use of designations such as 'multi-tiered' and 'party feminism' and further terminology inspired by Gelb (1989).

PART III. REFLECTIONS ON GENDER RELATIONS IN SPAIN AND BEYOND

The third section of the thesis contains two chapters that stand outside of the context of empirical research that has characterized the two previous sections on individual political participation and on collective protest and policy-reform in Spain.

Chapter 10 'Gender relations in Spain: an assessment', moves beyond the realm of politics to offer a multi-disciplinary perspective on systemic changes that would support gender equity. Chapter 10 is the conclusion to the co-authored book Gendering Spanish Democracy published by Routledge (2005) This conclusion was signed by Monica Threlfall and Christine Cousins and the order
of the signatures is indicative of the overwhelming input by the former, agreed to be 75%.

The book’s methodological approach was to apply a multi-disciplinary, holistic perspective to gender relations within a single polity, so as to establish women’s advancement from different angles. The political aspects of the system analysed highlighted women’s contributions to the transitional process so as to establish the imprint of feminism on the constitutive story of Spanish democracy, and then traced the steps towards the adoption of gender parity in political representation of women in elective office. The policy studies perspective looked at gender-specific new policies affecting the domestic and the employment arenas so as to judge the chances of transformative policies requiring altered social behaviour for their implementation. The working of the socio-economic system with regard to how people earn their living and receive state protection from the major life risks was dealt with from a social policy and labour market studies perspective. Lastly the private yet institutionalised arena of domestic life was approached in term of the inter-personal division-of-household tasks.

While such an exercise can be done with some degree of thoroughness, the conclusion [submitted here as Chapter 10] purposely entitled ‘from progress to resistance’ attempted to use concepts deployed by feminist and modernisation scholars to interpret the findings. In the absence of major paradigms for assessing gender transformation from a political development viewpoint, the concepts of ‘patriarchy’ and ‘citizenship’, ‘Difference’ (with a capital D) and ‘autonomy’ were essayed. This led to the conclusion that Spain had not reached a state befitting the characterisation as a ‘public’ or a ‘welfare state’ patriarchy; nor had social citizenship for women been achieved. In terms of the pace and movement of change, Beck’s (1994) view of the women’s movement carrying out a silent yet steady and effective advance was examined, along with Watson’s (2000:103, 1996) term ‘the reconfiguration of asymmetries of power’ and Beck’s preference for a notion of a multilevel process with contrary tendencies and structures.

Chapter 10 highlighted the overt and effective way in which feminism had established itself in the realm of politics more successfully than in the economic or the inter-personal sphere. It analysed advances towards gender equality in terms of Difference and different sets of rights, of autonomy, and of the
separateness of practical from formal constitutional autonomy. It made certain normative affirmations in agreement with propositions arguing that women’s autonomy needed to be constituted as such, rather than remain a contingent result of women managing to set themselves up by their own volition in an improvised and insecure position within the gender system. Chapter 10 endorsed this conception as it reflected the essence of the parity democracy project in the longer term, and therefore concluded that the latter had not been adopted as a norm in Spain. Thus, Chapter 10 brought together a number of concepts from a broad literature that could be used as criteria for evaluating the state of gender relations in a given polity in a way that was appropriate for dealing with the multi-faceted nature of women’s subjugation and liberation.

Chapter 11 ‘Reflections on the prospects for the women’s movement in the Northern hemisphere’ is, as its title suggests, a reflection on the gains, losses and challenges facing the international women’s movement. It is the Conclusion to the author’s edited volume *Mapping the Women’s Movement: Feminist Politics and Social Transformations in the North*, which included nine country studies by different authors. Adopting a broadly socialist-feminist perspective, the volume charted the transformations in public policy and social trends occurring since the 1970s in countries of the northern hemisphere: the United States, Ireland, Britain, France, Spain, Italy, Poland, Eastern Europe and Japan.

In terms of methods, Chapter 11 purposely avoided using the comparative method between the nine countries discussed in *Mapping the Women’s Movement*, offering instead a comprehensive, thematic and synthetic analysis of the major idiosyncrasies of the women’s movement’s impact on public life and on women’s situation at the end of the 20th century. Such an exercise faced certain pitfalls, yet a number of issues that are still relevant today are encapsulated by it. There have been few attempts to provide such a synthesis since. As Bull, Diamond and Marsh (2000) remarked, comparative studies remain a relatively unexplored area and their volume on women’s movements provides scholarly analyses of feminist thought and theorising, but does not deal with the outcomes of practice. Rowbotham’s *A Century of Women* is a history of women that confines itself to Britain and the United States. Its conclusion (1997 574-580) nevertheless touched on similar themes to those in Chapter 11, while
reflecting on ways of writing women's history. Molyneux's *Women's Movements in International Perspective Latin America and Beyond* in effect does not deal with the Northern hemisphere; yet, significantly, her chapter on gender and citizenship in Latin America, concurs with Chapter 11 in singling out the general move from the margins to the mainstream and the engagement of the women's movements with the state, as well as their vitality and success (Molyneux 2001: 204).

Banazcak, Beckwith and Rucht (2003: 2) theorise that this move represents a major change in women's movements since the 1970s: they no longer confront the state, but have been 'interactively engaged' with a 'reconfiguring' state in a 'relational interaction', and this has transformed them. Women's movements have also contributed to state reconfiguration, both by facilitating and resisting it (2003: 3) Interaction with the state has become established as an expectation of women' activism, in contrast to earlier reticence about any such engagement.

**Concluding Remarks**

Thus, it can be claimed that the studies of the Spanish case presented in this thesis, together with the analysis of the international environment in Chapter 11, contributed to establishing what is now a strong theme in the discipline of women's movement studies. It is a theme that also allows the movements, and feminist politics generally, to be discussed as a sub-discipline of politics rather than of sociology. Furthermore, three overarching processes identified in the thesis' Chapters, namely how women's movements can transform a democratisation process, how institutional feminism can renew policy in a young democracy, and how parties can revitalise themselves through women's participation and the gender parity project, all reflect exciting international phenomena and bring new life to the discipline of politics. Lastly, the book *Gendering Spanish Democracy*, of which three chapters are submitted here, reveals the extent to which gender equality in a new democracy can advance on the political front independently of other facets, a phenomenon that has not been well understood hitherto. The strength and appropriateness of the book's conclusions were endorsed by Prime Minister José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero's appointment of a gender-balanced cabinet in March 2003 after an election that
saw even more women become members of the Cortes, to the point where Spain currently ranks seventh in the world for gender balance in national parliaments.

References

Astelarrra, J. (1985) 'Feminism and democratic transition in Spain', Canadian Woman Studies, issue number unobtainable, pp.70-73.
Klein, V. (1967) *La Mujer entre el Hogar y el Trabajo*, Barcelona: Sagitario Ediciones.
PART I

SPANISH WOMEN’S PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL POLITICS: VOTING PREFERENCES, OFFICE-SEEKING, AND GENDER-BALANCED REPRESENTATION IN PARTIES
PART II

THE SPANISH WOMEN'S MOVEMENT'S IMPACT ON POLITICS
PART III CONCLUSIONS