

THE LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM



Number 208

**OPENING NEW PATHS: RESEARCH ON WOMEN IN
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN**

Edna Acosta-Belén
State University of New York at Albany

WORKING PAPER SERIES



WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS
WASHINGTON, DC 20523



Number 208

**OPENING NEW PATHS: RESEARCH ON WOMEN IN
LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN**

Edna Acosta-Belén
State University of New York at Albany

with comments by
Asunción Lavrin
Howard University

Copyright 1994

This publication is one of a series of Working Papers of the Latin American Program of the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The series includes papers in the humanities and social sciences from program fellows, guest scholars, workshops, colloquia, and conferences. The series aims to extend the Program's discussions to a wider community throughout the Americas, to help authors obtain timely criticism of work in progress, and to provide, directly or indirectly, scholarly and intellectual context for contemporary policy concerns.

Single copies of Working Papers may be obtained without charge by writing to:

Latin American Program Working Papers
The Woodrow Wilson Center
1000 Jefferson Drive, S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20560

The Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars was created by Congress in 1968 as a "living institution expressing the ideals and concerns of Woodrow Wilson, symbolizing and strengthening the fruitful relations between the world of learning and the world of public affairs." The Center's Latin American Program was established in 1977.

LATIN AMERICAN PROGRAM STAFF

Joseph S. Tulchin, Program Director
Gary Bland, Senior Program Associate
Allison M. Garland, Program Associate
Bernice G. Romero, Program Associate

Preface

The Latin American Program is pleased to publish the following work as part of its occasional Working Paper series. This paper by Dr. Edna Acosta-Belén, Professor and Director of the Center for Latin America and the Caribbean at the State University of New York at Albany, is one of three commissioned by the Latin American Program for the workshop, "Contemporary Gender Studies in Latin America: An Interdisciplinary Perspective," held at the Wilson Center on October 29, 1993. Comments were provided by Dr. Asunción Lavrin, Professor of History at Howard University.

The project, "Contemporary Gender Studies in Latin America: An Interdisciplinary Perspective," was designed to promote a greater exchange of ideas among scholars in various disciplines concerned with the study of women and gender. As we consider contemporary gender studies in Latin America, it becomes evident that various disciplines are involved, that their approaches vary significantly, and that there is a wide divergence among practitioners on how to carry out their work. Many scholars clearly recognize this divergence and are seeking to further the study of gender by promoting an interdisciplinary exchange.

In response to this concern, the Woodrow Wilson International Center's Latin American Program initiated a project to test the hypotheses that different perspectives are of value to one another and that, like women's studies programs in many universities in the United States, an interdisciplinary approach would enrich our understanding of the general problematique. Our project aimed to review major issues, methods of research, and new work in the field of Latin American gender studies from the perspective of three disciplines. Dr. Sara Castro-Klarén, Professor of Latin American Literature and Culture at Johns Hopkins University, was commissioned to write a paper examining gender studies from a literary perspective; Dr. María Patricia Fernández Kelly, Research Scientist and Associate Professor of Sociology at the Johns Hopkins University Institute of Policy Studies, was asked to write a paper providing a political economy point of view; and Dr. Edna Acosta-Belén, of the State University of New York in Albany, was asked to write a paper examining gender studies from a historical perspective. Each author was asked to discuss the evolution of gender studies in her field, examining major issues, research methodologies, and supporting literature.

In the paper, "Opening New Paths: Research on Women in Latin America and the Caribbean," Dr. Acosta-Belén reviews the major research trends and scholarship on women in Latin America and the Caribbean over the last two decades. The paper summarizes the evolution of women's studies from an effort to gain the recognition and inclusion of women in traditional disciplines to the current focus on the social construction of gender and its links to class and ethnicity. In her review of the major literature on Latin American women, Dr. Acosta-Belén points out the unique contributions and challenges of feminist research, mainly the use of interdisciplinary approaches and the analysis of testimonies to give a "voice

to the voiceless." Dr. Acosta-Belén also suggests areas that need to be addressed further, including commonalities between the subordination of women and that of people of color within the capitalist mode of production, the development of interdisciplinary approaches within a global framework, and the study of "Latinas" in the United States.

In her commentary, Dr. Asunción Lavrin discusses how the development debates of the 1970s resulted in the current surge of analyses of women's roles in popular movements, revolutions, and the democratization process. Dr. Lavrin outlines topics that are essential to the current study of gender in Latin America: the increased mobilization of women around political and economic issues in the last two decades, the participation and protagonism of women in addressing issues of special concern to them, and the growing feminist consciousness among Latin American women as they respond to economic, social, and political discrimination based on gender. She emphasizes the need to address the continued underrepresentation of women in political office. Dr. Lavrin also points out the practical focus of Latin American feminists who tend to concentrate on labor, family, and economics rather than on theoretical debates. She comments on the danger of applying theoretical models developed outside of the region to the Latin American case, and urges scholars to look at how Latin American women conceptualize their own reality.

The following two essays provide a useful overview of what has been done in the field of gender studies as well as what areas remain to be addressed. They represent an important contribution to the analysis of contemporary research on women in Latin America.

OPENING NEW PATHS: RESEARCH ON WOMEN IN LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN

Introduction

In recent decades the growth of feminism and women's movements in Latin America, the Caribbean, and other parts of the world has been formidable as women from diverse countries, cultural and racial backgrounds, and socioeconomic conditions give testimony to their experiences, establish their own organizations, conceptualize their own research and scholarship, and define their own agendas for confronting their subordination and empowering themselves. Concomitantly, bridges and alliances that go beyond the boundaries of solidarity into the realm of theoretical and practical knowledge have emerged among women, leading to new discoveries and reformulations of the visions and strategies that will contribute to the advancement of knowledge and promote significant social change and more egalitarian human relations.

For women in Latin America and the Caribbean, the growing field of women's and gender research is opening new paths and revitalizing traditional approaches to the study of these regions. The large body of scholarship that has been generated during the past two decades across many disciplines and fields is the best evidence of this intellectual movement aimed at transforming and transcending the limitations of conventional research conceptualizations and pedagogical practices.

Translation of major works into Spanish or from their Spanish original into English still remains a challenge. The Latin American Studies Association (LASA) Women in the Americas Project, a multiyear project funded by a grant from the Ford Foundation, is attempting to improve the availability of English, Spanish, and Portuguese translations of groundbreaking texts about Latin American and Caribbean women published during the last two decades. However, few commercial presses have responded to the call for more translations and this will continue to be the case until they are persuaded that it constitutes a profitable endeavor.

This essay provides a comprehensive review of the major research trends and scholarship dealing with Latin American and Caribbean women and gender issues produced during the last two decades, both in the United States and in these regions, and outlines a general theoretical framework for the historical analysis of women's condition.

Major Research Issues

Most scholars of Latin America and the Caribbean would agree that the U.N. Decade for Women (1975-1985) served as an important catalyst in creating awareness of women's conditions worldwide and in generating research, scholarship, and activism on a large scale. The 1975 International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City and many other conferences and *encuentros* since then have

underscored the different viewpoints, needs, and concerns of women from different classes and races in the developing nations when compared to those from the highly industrialized countries. Women's research has gradually moved from an initial concern with overcoming the invisibility to which women had been relegated within the scholarly canon, or their absence from it, and challenging the biased assumptions of the traditional disciplines with respect to women to reconceptualizing and redefining new perspectives and research paradigms. Scholarly research now has reached a stage characterized by more complex analyses regarding the social construction of gender, its interconnectedness with other categories of difference--such as ethnicity/nationality, race, and class--and how it is constituted in relation to specific historical, socioeconomic, cultural, and political relations, within the context of both specific national and global realities.

K. Lynn Stoner's major bibliography, *Latinas of the Americas* (Stoner, ed. 1989), identified over three thousand scholarly titles mostly published since the 1970s. Since Stoner's exhaustive bibliographic compilation, the proliferation of research and scholarship has continued at a steady pace promoted in part by the emergence of women's research and service centers, institutes, organizations, academic programs, journals and newsletters, and the increasing interest from publishing houses for material dealing with women, both in the United States and abroad.

A more recent publication, the edited volume *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean* (Acosta-Belén and Bose, eds. 1993) attests both to the large corpus, trends, and directions of more recent research and to the need to expand our knowledge and understanding of the key determinants of women's subordination, socioeconomic survival, and empowerment. The book is intended as a major reference tool and a state-of-the-art assessment of a wide range of scholarship testifying to the many creative ways in which women are confronting the problems facing their impoverished nations. More importantly, it broadens our understanding of the commonalities and differences among women from the various Latin American and Caribbean countries and their multiplicity of identities and oppressions, underscoring the global connections and comparative perspectives that will ultimately enhance research on all women. Some of the chapters in this edited volume also incorporate provocative theoretical discussions regarding the experiences of women of color in less-developed countries vis-à-vis those of women in the dominant Western nations.

One commonality shared by the studies in *Researching Women* is the increasingly interdisciplinary character of gender research and how it is both challenging and extending the boundaries of traditional fields of inquiry often requiring a broad knowledge of areas outside the researcher's specialty. Gender research in general and feminist analysis of women's condition in particular have been driven to a large extent by inquiry into topical issues rather than strictly by disciplinary questions. Some of the chapters in *Researching Women* are more discipline-oriented while others focus on topical issues that have stood out in the

reconstruction and articulation of a more inclusive account of women's multiple contributions, roles, and realities.

When dealing with Latin America and the Caribbean, as well as with other areas of the developing world, it is inevitable to allude to their conflictive historical, socioeconomic, and political experiences. These regions are the dramatic setting for encounters between the powerful and the disenfranchised, the poor and the wealthy, the traditional and modern, the rural and urban. They exemplify class conflicts, oppression, and exploitation at their worst, since nowhere are the differences and separations between the privileged and the dispossessed, whites and people of color, and men and women so persistently expressed and felt. The overgeneralized nature of these dichotomies emphasizes the risks of discussing these regions without enough qualification as to what constitutes the complex mesh of problems and divergent national needs. However, as Sen and Grown (1987) argue, despite the apparent differences in processes and consequences of development among Third World nations, actual differences are minimal. These authors identify a narrow spectrum of patterns that bind these countries together: (1) their unfavorable structural position in the global economy; (2) their economic vulnerability to the changes in the world market and flow of capital; (3) their internal inequalities in income, employment, land tenure, and control of resources; and (4) their majority populations' destitution and lack of basic necessities, such as food, housing, health care, and other essential services (pp. 28-29).

Thus, survival problems remain historical constants in these regions' daily existence, ranging from hunger and malnutrition, displacement and homelessness, unemployment and underemployment, disease and high mortality, political repression and violence to the destruction of natural resources and the environment. In many ways these chronic conditions determine the levels of internal conflict, social and political unrest, and government stability in many Latin American and Caribbean nations and thus figure in the relationship they maintain with the dominant industrialized nations. But these conditions also need to be viewed as the historical outcome of the cumulative effects of the unequal and dependent relationships maintained for centuries between the colonizing Western nations and those of the Third World. Historically, the uneven development of the Third World has mostly benefitted the industrialized nations, and most development strategies and policies designed for these regions have been formulated from the latter's ideological perspectives and economic interests. These policies generally are applied across the board with little attention paid to the specific national needs and realities of the territories they are intended to transform or the people they are trying to help. Furthermore, for many years these policies also tended to ignore the needs of women.

Within this context, the feminist critique of development paradigms has been a major factor in the proliferation of scholarly research on Latin American and Caribbean women and other gender-related issues (see Acosta-Belén and Bose, eds. 1990). The international call for integrating women into development, made in

1975 during the International Women's Year, was more a denunciation of the male biases in development policies and programs and of the invisibility to which official agencies had relegated women's participation and contributions than an acknowledgement of the fact that women had not been active and productive participants in their countries' economies as, indeed, they had been. The underlying assumption or pervasive idea that men were the primary earners within the family unit frequently led to the formulation of development policies that excluded or diminished women's productive roles and thus their status, or added extra hours to their double burden, particularly if they had to replace men engaged in wage labor in the subsistence activities that were performed collectively before.

The varied effects of development on the status of Latin American and Caribbean women and the conceptual evolution in the study of women and development has led researchers to pay more attention to the collective lives of those previously ignored sectors of working women who play an essential role in their nations' formal and informal economies, such as street vendors, domestics, craftswomen, and other kinds of unskilled workers. But at the core of this effort there is the underlying assumption that the history of humankind is constituted by a totality of interconnected processes and that the white and male-centered Western tradition had claimed history as its own, assigning a lower historical status to women and to those peoples and nations subjugated by the colonialist enterprise. Thus a complete history of European or North American colonial domination worldwide could no longer ignore the perspectives of those to whom history had been denied--the "people without history" as Wolf (1982) calls them--those nations, peoples, or sectors of societies subjugated by conquest and colonization, slavery, and other forms of economic exploitation. This ongoing project of historical reconstruction of the roles of all women and men of color and their participation in the building of their respective societies is now providing a voice to those sectors of society previously deprived of the power for formulating and transmitting knowledge.

One of the first Latin American researchers to look at the historical particularities of women's oppression was Heleieth I.B. Saffiot in her groundbreaking work *Women in Class Society* (1978), a translation of her *A mulher na sociedade de classes* (1967). This major study uncovered the historical and material bases of women's condition and of their class and status within the colonial and neocolonial relations that are characteristic of Latin American countries. Although focusing on women in Brazil, this study established important linkages between the historical marginalization and oppression of Latin American women and the shaping and control of the economies of colonial countries by the core capitalist nations.

The importance of considering the interconnections of gender with other factors such as class and ethnicity was also the focus of June Nash and Helen Safa's pioneering book *Sex and Class in Latin America* (1980), which grew out of a 1973 conference of scholars interested in women's research (organized by Nash and Safa

and held in Buenos Aires, Argentina, under the sponsorship of the Joint Committee on Latin American Studies of the Social Science Research Council). This conference also influenced the publication of one of the first collections of essays on Latin American women published in Spanish, María del Carmen Elu de Leñero's *La mujer en la América Latina* (1975). Ann Pescatello's *Female and Male in Latin America* (Pescatello, ed. 1973), the first of such anthologies to appear in English, was primarily the result of a panel presented at the 1971 Latin American Studies Association (LASA) professional meetings. This pattern of publication became the norm within the emerging field of women's studies and the area of women's research during the 1970s and continues to this day.

Nash and Safa's volume was later followed by their *Women and Change in Latin America* (1986), which introduced new scholarship, assessed theoretical and methodological progress of women's research, and documented the productive and reproductive roles and contributions of women and their strategies for political action during the 1980s, a decade characterized by a devastating economic crisis and increased repression by military governments. This particular period is of crucial importance in terms of women's increased visibility and the proliferation of women-focused centers and institutes, academic programs, and professional as well as grass-roots organizations.

The periodic assessments of research and scholarship on Latin American women continue to be quite useful in identifying neglected areas of research and the directions in which they are moving during a particular period. In addition to the scholarly contributions already mentioned, been several other bibliographic compilations and review essays have guided researchers into areas in need of further study: Knaster 1976, 1977; Navarro 1979; Lavrin 1984, 1993; Hahner 1985; Nash 1986; Zabaleta 1986; Stoner 1987.

In looking at the 1980s economic crisis in Latin America, the effects of which have been compared to that of the Great Depression, some scholars have underscored the impact of the new economic relationship being forged between the highly industrialized and less developed countries during this period. This relationship is primarily based on the geographic dispersion of the various stages in manufacturing production by large multinational corporations. In *Women, Men, and the International Division of Labor* (1983), June Nash and Patricia Fernández-Kelly argue that transnational corporate capital is radically altering the worldwide workforce and show how these changes are also causing substantial transformations of families and community structures. These corporations are attracted to Third World nations by low-cost labor, tax exemptions, and lax production restrictions. Nash notes that the growing integration of the world system of production is no longer based on the exploitation of Third World countries' raw materials or primary sources, but on offshore production or the transfer of assembly plants in areas such as textiles, apparel, and electronics from core to peripheral countries. Fernández-Kelly uncovers many of the "hidden aspects" of offshore production in the so called "export processing zones" (EPZs). Her now classic study of *maquiladoras*, the

subsidiaries of multinational corporations on the U.S.-Mexico border, establishes that these companies increase sexual segregation of the labor force and exacerbate unemployment and underemployment. They provide no job security, offer minimal possibilities of advancement, frequently expose workers to hazardous conditions, and have contributed to the growing proletarianization of Third World women.

The effects of development specifically on the sexual division of labor in Latin American rural societies has been the focus of Benería's (1982) work, which calls for designing strategies to counteract the undervaluation of women's work in survival activities or in the informal sectors of the economy traditionally excluded because they are not considered wage labor (Bose 1992). This is particularly true among Latin American rural women. Deere and León (1987) have shown that Latin American women play a significant role in agricultural production primarily through the family farming system. In the division between reproductive and productive activities, rural women bear a heavier burden than urban women, but the gendered division of labor within the productive sector is still extremely heterogeneous. The authors examine the effects of macrolevel agricultural development policies on women and conclude that few countries have designed strategies to translate incorporating women into development goals into actual policies or programs that benefit women. They also corroborate that women's increasing involvement in social production does not automatically produce a feminist or gender consciousness.

A great portion of the feminist scholarship and gender research produced by Latin American and Caribbean researchers has tended to focus on case studies or specific countries, issues, or events rather than on broad theoretical discussions. Action-oriented research intended to influence governments, institutions, and the formulation of public policy has occupied center stage and is a natural extension of the activism of those individuals or organizations that produce it. The bulk of this research has also emerged from within the work of independent centers and institutes or organizations committed to the advancement of women and not strictly from within the academy. Quite frequently, the women who produce this research play multiple roles, blurring the lines between basic and applied research or between the scholar and activist. Bolles (1993) finds this to be a pattern within the Caribbean region, where the emergence of several self-determined activist groups engaged in development projects or women-focused research has been the product of women acting as concerned citizens, members of government agencies or private institutions, members of political parties or other groups, or as scholars committed to social change. Most of the pioneering work usually has been published by women themselves in edited anthologies, some of which are now considered classic references.

More than a decade and a half ago, Asunción Lavrin (1978) opened a major path to ending women's historical anonymity and to creating an independent historical field for the study of women's experiences in her *Latin American*

Women: Historical Perspectives. The essays in this book attempted to end the stereotypical view of women as passive elements in their societies by documenting women's participation in and contributions to Latin America's historical development from pre-Columbian times to the present. Indigenous, European, Black, and Creole women, nuns, teachers, activists, revolutionaries, writers, and artists began to be appropriately contextualized. In a more recent historical assessment, Lavrin (1993) stresses the important point that most of what is written today about women is intended as a committed literature that raises consciousness and empowers women as much as it advances knowledge. She sees the majority of recent studies as emphasizing issues related to the domestic sphere, such as the process of family formation and the economics of the family, cultural values and gender relations, women's work, and women's participation in social movements.

In recent years particularly, the area of women's participation in social movements is yielding the majority of scholarly contributions, underscoring a significant trend in gender research and also providing valuable individual country or subregional case studies. Norma Stoltz Chinchilla (1993) examines the new literature on women activists in revolutionary, popular, social, political, and feminist movements, noticing the sudden explosion of scholarly interest in this topic. Her analysis corroborates that movements focused on women or on "practical gender interests" (Molyneux 1986) mobilize women to struggle against institutions or governments that they believe are responsible for the conditions that affect their carrying out of their basic responsibilities as women. Although Latin American and Caribbean women always have been active participants in a wide variety of movements, Chinchilla correctly argues that they have been ignored until recently because their contributions have been undervalued or judged as so nontraditional as to be treated as "honorary men," ultimately undermining the significance of their contributions for understanding the lives of ordinary women.

Available research has documented extensively that women's participation in social and political movements and the emergence of feminist or women's movements in Latin America are part of these regions' respective histories and not a contemporary phenomenon. One of the facts that has received considerable corroboration in most of the historical research of the last two decades is the persistent but generally untold presence of women from all classes and groups in forging the history of their own countries and their active involvement in the struggle for social justice and social change. During different historical periods, women from diverse social sectors have come together around a common cause or there actually have been parallel movements of working-class and middle- and upper-class women around similar issues. The existence of these parallel movements can be documented in most individual Latin American countries during the nineteenth-century independence movements, once again in the battles for women's suffrage and unionized labor struggles during the early part of this century and, in more recent decades, in the women's organized opposition against authoritarian military regimes.

The contemporary stage, commonly referred to as the "second wave" of the Latin American and Caribbean women's movement, is still challenging the patriarchal order of things and advocating increased rights, but searching more deeply than ever before into the historical roots of women's oppression and the social constructions of gender, segregated sex roles, and double standards of sexuality, and denouncing the many forms of violence that women confront daily in both the domestic and public spheres.

Several key works dealing with the role of women in social movements and organizations are deserving of consideration: Elizabeth Jelin, *Women and Social Change in Latin America* (1990); Jane S. Jaquette, *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy* (1989); and Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy* (1992). Jelin's edited volume was the result of a research project on popular participation that examined the organized efforts of marginal social groups, such as peasants, urban dwellers, and ethnic groups, to empower themselves and to enhance "their control over resources, decision-making processes, and the regulative institutions of society at large" (p. ix). Questions were posed regarding the nature and extent of the role of women in social movements and participatory organizations being studied, and how their participation affected their own role in society. Jaquette's collection focuses on the role of South American women and of feminism in removing authoritarian regimes and promoting a democratization process in Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Peru, and Uruguay during the 1980s. The essays in this volume provide case studies of ways in which women organized to increase civilian pressure against military rule and human rights violations. Escobar and Alvarez's recent volume attempts to conceptualize social movements in the region and examines their role in the making of collective identities and in the articulation of innovative political resistance strategies toward democratization. A great deal of attention is given to the fundamental role of women in these movements and in to their success in promoting much needed social and political reforms.

The ways that Latin American women have come together in building public consensus for the restoration of democracy, in effectively lobbying and using the national and international media, in demanding government accountability, and in civic education was recently documented in Dorrit K. Marks's *Women and Grass Roots: Democracy in the Americas* (1993). Women have demanded public services, such as running water or electricity, organized self-help collectives to prepare food or provide childcare, or risked their lives confronting repressive regimes for their widespread disregard for human rights. The basis for this collective action is not necessarily the emergence of a feminist consciousness, but frequently is an extension of women's traditional roles, since their advocacy is usually for the survival or well-being of their own families.

Human rights abuses against women worldwide had been systematically overlooked by international agencies. It was not until the 1970s and 1980s that the

issue began to gain prominence as a result of the many reigns of terror that were uncovered in Latin American countries, characterized by forced disappearances, death squads, mass executions, imprisonment, torture, rape, and other forms of physical violence. In *Surviving Beyond Fear: Women, Children, and Human Rights in Latin America* (1993), Marjorie Agosin offers a compelling panorama of how torture, rape, and threats against children and families are common methods used by military regimes to strip women, both physically and psychologically, of their culturally valued sense of virtue, and thus of their ability to care for and protect their offspring and relatives.

The feminist reconceptualization of human rights struggles and political and domestic violence against women is the focus of *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice* by Francesca Miller (1991). In this volume, the editor confirms the argument that women's activism in Latin America obviates what is "feminist," that is the understanding of their subordinate position within the family or society, in order to bring women together against a larger political or social issue, such as state political repression and violence. In addition to providing a historical account of the Latin American women's movement as a profoundly ethical movement in which the struggles for social and political justice for women are also viewed as part of larger societal struggles, Miller clearly establishes that Latin American feminism has a character of its own, responds to specific national and regional realities, and is not necessarily shaped by women's movements in other parts of the world.

In a previous volume, Miller and other scholars had focused on recording women's intellectual, political, literary, and pedagogical activities. *Women, Culture and Politics in Latin America* (Bergmann et al. 1990) compiles the results of scholarly discussions in an ongoing seminar on feminism and culture in Latin America at Stanford University. This kind of working-group activity attempts to pose new forms of scholarship and activism stemming from feminist collective practices.

As a research area, women's participation in social and political movements continues to yield many important country- and subregionally-focused studies about the transformation of women's roles and lives under the specific military regimes of the 1980s. Jo Fisher's *Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance, and Politics in South America* (1993) tells the stories of women coming together through trade unions, communal kitchens, and organizations of relatives of the disappeared to confront military repression and violence in Southern Cone countries. Her previous study, *Mothers of the Dissappeared* (1989), provided a poignant portrait of the activism and influence of the Madres de Plaza de Mayo in removing the Argentine military regime and impelling the democratization process. A great deal of emphasis also has been given to the ways poor women confront their lack of resources for the survival of their families. For instance, in the volume *Trabajo, poder y sexualidad* (1989), Orlandina de Oliveira gathers several essays about the

different paths of action and survival strategies that Mexican women developed in response to the country's 1980s economic crisis.

Regarding anthropological and more culturally focused research, Lynn Stephen (1993) identifies five major research trends that, in my opinion, are also applicable to other disciplines and fields of study: (1) a change from studying women to studying gender issues; (2) a new examination of the relationship of gender to ethnicity and class; (3) the placing of gender in a global economic and political context; (4) a new interest in women's participation in social movements; and (5) new ways of representing women's voices (pp. 77-78). She concludes that a majority of anthropological work on Latin American women focuses on issues related to women's oppression both at national and international levels. Stephen also argues that "gender" has been substituted for "women" as a primary category of analysis. This is exemplified by integrative studies that attempt to understand the varied ways in which the gender categories of "male" and "female" interact with other factors, such as indigenous ethnicity and class (see Arizpe 1975; Bourque and Warren 1981; Stephen 1991).

This integrative approach is best illustrated by works such as Susan Bourque and Kay Warren's *Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns* (1981). In this study the authors called attention to Andean women's subordination as influenced by class and ideological factors of a cultural and social nature. In another groundbreaking study, *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean* (1989), which also recently appeared in Spanish (1993), Elsa Chaney and Mary García Castro describe the contemporary search of household domestics workers for a class identity. It also documents their demands for respect for their labor, which accounts for almost twenty percent of paid work in these regions, and for legal rights in a profession with the lowest income and prestige outside of prostitution and begging. Ximena Bunster and Elsa Chaney's *Sellers and Servants* (1985) provides another good example of the integrative approach through a study of rural, mostly indigenous women in Peru who migrate to the cities and towns. In these new contexts they find their greatest employment opportunities as street vendors and servants, two occupations that in the case of Latin America, account for more than one third of all employed women (p. 10). Introducing a new methodology, the authors used open-ended interviewing with the collaboration of a photographer to produce what they have called "talking pictures" or illustrations of the many facets of daily life among the marginally employed in their struggle to survive.

In her forthcoming book, *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner: Women and Industrialization in the Caribbean* (1994), Helen I. Safa challenges feminist theories that locate the sources of women's inequality in the home or within the family and shifts the focus to the workplace and state policies. Her analysis, based on data collected among industrial workers in Cuba, the Dominican Republic, and Puerto Rico, demonstrates that women have been more successful in challenging their

subordination on the homefront than in the workplace, the political arena, or the state.

Regarding women in the public sphere, Elsa Chaney's early work (1979) on women and politics in Latin America has been crucial in denouncing the subordination of women in public life and the prevailing image and ideology of the public woman as the equivalent of a *supermadre*. The *supermadre* concept took hold in the analysis of women in the male-dominated world of Latin American politics and Chaney's book is now a classic and one of a handful of works on Latin American women translated into Spanish. Although the term was used by the author in reference to the political participation of middle-class women in Chile and Peru, the concept is often generalized as the prototypical role expected of women in Latin American public life. Later studies have shown the multifaceted roles and participation of women in the political arena (Jelin 1987; Jaquette 1989; Safa 1990; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992).

The historical reconstruction of the Latin American colonial world and the conquest and colonization enterprise to include the presence and participation of women has been an area extensively explored in some of the scholarship being produced in Latin America. Pilar Gonzalbo Aizpuru's *Las mujeres de la Nueva España* (1987) and Carmen Ramos, ed., *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México* (1987) are representative of this work. Creole women's colonial history has also been documented in Sylvia Arrom's *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857* (1985) and Luis Martín's *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru* (1983). There have been many anthologies and studies of women in individual countries, such as Edna Acosta-Belén's *La mujer en la sociedad puertorriqueña* (1980) and *The Puerto Rican Woman* (1986); Yamila Azize's *Luchas de la mujer en Puerto Rico, 1889-1919* (1979); June Hahner's *Emancipating the Female Sex* (1990) and *A mulher brasileira e suas lutas sociais e políticas, 1850-1937* (1981); and Lynn Stoner's *From the House to the Streets: The Cuban Movement for Legal Reform, 1898-1940* (1991). These works confirm a first-wave organized women's movement that covered the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of this century, in which women began to demand some of the most essential rights of citizenship, such as the right to vote, be educated, hold property, and other legal issues regarding marriage and the family, while participating in some of their countries' political struggles. Most of these books are restoring women to the history of individual countries and give due attention to the kinds of organized struggles that women have carried out for their status and rights as citizens, as workers, and within the family.

The issue of sexuality and marriage and the shifting sexual politics of the Church and the state and other private and social dimensions of relations between the sexes are explored in Asunción Lavrin's *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lavrin, ed. 1989). As a whole, the essays in this book attempt to establish a link between individual and institutional aspects of sexual behavior, showing patterns of marriage, divorce, and other types of relationships and laying

the foundation for constructing a more personal history of people during the colonial era.

Cultural concepts that underlie the bipolar construction of male and female roles and the socialization of Latin American women and men, such as *machismo* and *marianismo*, have received a great deal of attention since Evelyn Stevens's pioneering essay (1973). Women's confrontations against their traditional roles within the family unit and with the Church and other state institutions on issues such as birth control and abortion are producing some of the most heated public debates.

The issue of sexuality, however, remains basically excluded from the scholarly literature. Although some work has been done about the subject of prostitution (Guy 1991, Rago 1991), little attention has been paid to the gay and lesbian population. Two of the few available studies are Edward MacRae's (1992) analysis of the construction of homosexual identities in transitional Brazilian politics and Margaret Randall's conversation with lesbians in Nicaragua (1993).

Another neglected area that is beginning to receive its due attention is the historical analysis of women and slavery. Marietta Morrissey's *Slave Women in the New World* (1989) introduces important theoretical discussions about the enslavement of women and provides data on work at plantations, gender ratios, household economics, and the comparative treatment of male and female slaves; it corroborates that the traditional gender-based divisions of labor were often subverted to the demands of large-scale cash cropping. In another major work in this area, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838* (1990), Barbara Bush confronts the historical myths about black women, the context of their lives, their reproductive and productive roles, and the ways they resisted their oppression. What is perhaps more important about this research is the authors' ability to bring to the surface the essential humanity of those brutalized by enslavement and racism and to open a path to comparing the experiences of enslaved women with those of their male counterparts.

Theoretical Approaches and Research Methodologies

Feminist research has introduced the use of innovative interdisciplinary approaches and techniques that were not generally used in the past by traditional researchers and that are challenging the patriarchal model of Western scholarship. The use of oral histories, letters, diaries and journals, talking pictures, interactive video, popular cultural expressions, and other nonarchival sources are yielding a wealth of new information. Even in the use of more traditional quantitative methods, efforts have been made by organizations, such as the International Research and Teaching Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW, an autonomous institution of the United Nations), to improve statistics and indicators on women's contributions to development, and to eliminate gender biases in the methods for collecting data and compiling social indicators on the situation of women and in the concepts that guide these methods. For instance, the use of

household surveys to improve indicators on women has been emphasized in several INSTRAW-sponsored publications. Deere and León (1987) have suggested that "the UN Decade for Women in Latin America could well be called the 'decade of measurement'" (p. 3), as researchers were determined to demonstrate quantitatively the significance of women's work.

The impact of feminist research on promoting the identification, elimination, and prevention of sex bias in both quantitative and qualitative research and in language use has permeated most of the disciplines. Primary and derived sources of bias, such as androcentricity, overgeneralizing from research that did not take women into consideration or that ignores gender as a significant variable, and the use of sexist language, have been criticized extensively since they affect research design, concepts, methodology, data interpretation, and the formulation of policies (see Eichler 1988).

Those scholars using marxist, socialist, world system, or feminist approaches have been among the most influential in establishing the links between class and gender within the context of the development process in Latin America. Postmodernist theory has had a significant impact on the study of women, especially in the fields of anthropology, history, literature, and ethnic, cultural, and gay and lesbian studies. Postmodernist emphasis on power relations and the formulation and transmission of knowledge about subaltern groups and its rejection of "master discourses" within the Western intellectual tradition have added a new perspective, particularly to the analysis of oral histories and testimonies.

There is perhaps no other contemporary genre that has been as useful to researchers from all disciplines than testimonial literature, which is giving a voice to the "voiceless," serves as a counterpoint to the official versions of history, and challenges conventional representations of subaltern peoples (see Gugelberger and Kearny 1991; Saporta Sternbach 1991). According to George Yúdice (1991), the *testimonio* "has contributed to the demise of the traditional role of the intellectual/artist as spokesperson for the "voiceless" (p. 15). The power of testimonial text to integrate or give specificity to the intensely human and personal experience and carry it to the level of collective denunciation and resistance has been unequivocal. There is no better example of how the testimonial voices and activism of women and other oppressed groups are reaching a worldwide audience than the recent recognition given to Rigoberta Menchú, recipient of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize (see Burgos-Debray 1984).

The increased visibility of all forms of women's writings, represented in the proliferation of anthologies and translations of major women writers, is discussed by Margarite Fernández Olmos (1993). She highlights the development of a new authentic voice that is both distinctly female and Latin American, as well as the use of new approaches (e.g., humor, eroticism, new language forms, testimonial narratives), the reevaluation of literary conventions, and the recovery and revitalization of genres and new forms of critical analysis.

Trying to define a common ground between feminist theory and Latin American culture in women's writing is the focus of Jean Franco's *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico* (1989). The struggle for women's interpretative power is found, as the author has so ably demonstrated, in noncanonical genres--such as letters and life stories--that have now become so essential to the feminist reconstruction of reality. These efforts have made available inaccessible or unknown texts by women from different sectors and occupations--nuns, suffragists and labor leaders, writers and artists. Franco attempts to provide a feminist understanding of Mexican cultural history by analyzing the different discursive positionings of the category Woman and the state's discourse on women, and by tracing those moments "when dissident subjects appear in the social text and the struggle for interpretative power erupts" (p. xii). The nuns' works have been of particular interest since they were usually subjected to the scrutiny and censorship of the religious authorities. The ways in which these women stood by their convictions, affirmed their own identities, and skillfully manipulated the male hierarchy is also captured in the volume *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in their Own Works* (Arenal and Schlauf 1989).

Feminism and rapid social change are also reshaping artistic expression and creativity in the popular crafts and fine arts and giving increased visibility to women. *Compañeras: Women, Art, and Social Change in Latin America* (La Duke 1985) not only pays attention to professional painters and sculptors, but validates the increasing importance of weavers, potters, and workers in other popular art forms. Special attention is given to the work of the *arpilleras*, the "embroideries of life and death" that emerged among Chilean working-class women in response to the reign of terror initiated after the assassination of President Allende by the Pinochet military regime; their compelling story also has been recorded in Marjorie Agosín's *Scraps of Life* (1987).

The usefulness of all of this research in the efforts to develop a more inclusive curriculum that integrates Latin American and Caribbean women also has surpassed the initial "additive" approaches. Feminist pedagogy has called into question traditional practices of historical representation by rethinking the teaching of history through a new optic that views gender as a constructed social category that converges with other social relations and identities (Acosta-Belén and Bose, eds. 1991; Gross and Bingham 1985; Jiménez-Muñoz 1991; Organization of American Historians 1988). This process has entailed the transformation of conceptual categories that have been male-focused and not reflective of an integrated human experience and thus have ignored women or treated them as anomalies. Teaching modules, course outlines, bibliographies, and other kinds of curricular materials and resources are becoming increasingly available to educators.

In an attempt to encourage more integrative theoretical discussions, Acosta-Belén and Bose (1993; Acosta-Belén and Bose, eds. 1990, 1993) have argued that the most useful theorizing about women of color must, on the one hand, separate us from the patriarchal and ethnocentric conceptualizations and paradigms that

dominate the Western intellectual tradition, but, on the other hand, must connect us with the historical analysis of colonialism, slavery, imperialist domination, and the neocolonial relations that still prevail among the core and peripheral nations. Those theories that analyze the commonalities between the subordination of women and the colonial subjugation of people of color within the global capitalist mode of production are getting closer to defining the roots of women's subordination. Acosta-Belén and Bose build upon the work of German feminists Maria Mies, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen and Claudia von Werlhof (1988) that views the patriarchal character and power relationships that historically developed between the colonizing nations and their colonies, and men and women, as still being recreated through contemporary forms and mechanisms. Within this framework, the structural positions of women and colonies are found to resemble each other since both groups have played a major role in the capital accumulation process and thus in the development of the dominant industrialized nations.

Following this analysis, Acosta-Belén and Bose press for the decolonization of gender relations and knowledge about women and people of color that have been based on the underlying assumption of their natural subordination. This process entails profound reformulations and restructuring of the existing power relations between women and men at the domestic and societal levels. The extent to which this project can be advanced within the dominant capitalist system of production and the social relations that emerge from it should frame any future analysis of women's condition. Workers in both developed and developing countries continue to struggle for their survival or well-being on a daily basis within a system of wealth accumulation and distribution still characterized by tremendous inequalities, erratic growth, intensification of conflict and competition, declining wages, a great number of vulnerable or marginal workers, and a general polarization of labor.

The interdisciplinary nature of women's studies and the potential for cross-fertilization with other innovative interdisciplinary areas, such as ethnic and area studies, is an issue that I discuss more extensively in another essay (see Acosta-Belén 1993). Here, I try to outline a theoretical common ground for encouraging scholars in these fields to use more integrated and historically contextualized global and comparative approaches regarding the interconnectedness and dynamics of gender, race, class, and cultural differences. The primary aim of these global approaches is to build a comprehensive framework in which the particularities of each subaltern group experience are viewed in reference to the historical analysis of gender, class, and racial oppression, and as part of a global system of socioeconomic and macroeconomic relations among nations and groups. As part of this analysis I also emphasize the importance of looking at the multiple marginalities and compounding layers of oppression that are so characteristic of the experience of women of color worldwide.

What I am suggesting here is that any discussion of the realities faced by women of color must be framed within a global understanding of the dynamics,

interactions, and historical impact of colonialism, imperialist domination, the enslavement, economic exploitation, and marginalization of women and populations of color worldwide, and the historical flows and shifts in the international division of labor and in labor migration. Decades ago, marxist and world systems theorists and more recently feminist, postmodernist, subaltern, and minority discourse theorists, to mention only the most prominent, have led the way in this type of integrative analysis. However, in the application of a global theoretical framework, we should be mindful and cautious of the use of essentialist categories of analysis that may obfuscate or obliterate crucial differences among women or people of color. The key is to try to define and emphasize a common ground based on discovering the fundamental historical interconnections and power relations that perpetuate the group inequalities without losing perspective of the many different oppressive realities that women confront.

Chaney (1993) makes a related point in describing the emergence of women and migration as a new field over the last twenty years. It is not only necessary to look at how women migrants adapt to change or at the impact of migration on the household, but at the wider effects of migration on the international division of labor. She also concludes that in this growing field most studies have been empirically driven and that there is not yet enough theory-focused work, stressing the need to link the individual perspective drawn from migration case studies to research on international movements of capital from the perspective of both the sending and receiving nations.

This leads to another growing area of research and scholarship that, from my point of view, must not be separated from the overall study of Latin American and Caribbean women: the condition of Latinas in the United States. With the tremendous increases in the U.S. Latino population during the last few decades and the future demographic projections for population growth, the field of Latin American Studies can no longer avoid looking into the transnational sociocultural realities and interconnections between the Latino immigrant/migrant populations and their countries of origin and at approaches that compare the experience of Latinos to other immigrant/migrant groups in U. S. society (see Sutton and Chaney 1987; Du Bois and Ruiz 1990; Amott and Matthaei 1991; Mohanty, Russo, and Torres 1991). This transnational system is influential in shaping, for example, Caribbean immigrant identities in large metropolitan centers such as New York City, challenging older notions of immigrant assimilation and replacing it with a new sociocultural dynamic characterized by bidirectional exchanges, circular migration patterns, and reciprocal influences between the countries of origin and U.S. ethnic communities (Bonilla and Campos 1986; Sutton 1987).

I have extracted from the large corpus of women and gender research and scholarship generated during the last two decades some general questions that in my opinion have guided the efforts to unveil the ideological historicity of women's subordination as a continuum rather than in terms of transhistorical abstractions and, ultimately, to decolonize and transform knowledge about women's condition:

(1) How has the capitalist mode of production historically articulated a system of hierarchical relations based on gender, race, and class differentiations, perpetuating the prevailing differences between white men and women, nonwhite men and women, and among women of different classes, races, and nationalities? (2) What are the macrostructural and internal dynamics of these compounding layers of dominance and subordination that shape intersecting relations differentiated by gender, class, race, and cultural factors, both within the metropolitan centers as well as in the developing nations? (3) In what ways can the patriarchal Western vision of the colonized or people of color (i.e., those who have been historically victimized by imperialism, colonialism, and slavery), be transformed to integrate their world views and standpoints?

It is impossible, now more than ever, to ignore how the new technological advances of the postmodernist era have transformed the world we live in into a closer resemblance to a "global village." Computers, satellites, and information systems and networks allow us to communicate instantly and to witness "live" the conflicts, struggles, and accomplishments of our neighbors, from the metropolitan centers of the highly industrialized nations to the most remote areas of the planet. The increasing trend towards what is being referred to as the "globalization" process, impelled by the late 1980s collapse of the Soviet Union, the attenuation of the ideological conflict among the communist and capitalist powers, and the predominance of a more competitive global market economy, is leading to new regional and national configurations among nations--a "new world order"--a world moving towards economic restructuring and regional integration as alternatives for dealing with the current cyclical crisis of the dominant world system of capital accumulation. It continues to be a rapidly changing world; one that confronts us with the need to search for alternative ways of dealing with global hegemonic economic and cultural practices, and increased population diversity within nations in order to be in tune with the realities confronted by those nations and groups experiencing social and racial estrangement.

Within the context of this complex and more interconnected and interdependent global society and presumably, of this "new world order," as we reexamined the cultural and historical implications of the Euro-American encounter during the 1992 quincentennial commemoration, our understanding of the construction of "otherness" and the diversity of the human experience becomes more fundamental to the preservation of democratic goals and principles. These new understandings will help advance efforts to produce a truly emancipating knowledge and a "multicultural democracy"--a more inclusive space in which we listen more carefully to all the unspoken or marginal voices and unveil the hidden pages of history as we try to understand the past and shape the future.

REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acosta-Belén, Edna. 1980. *La mujer en la sociedad puertorriqueña*. Río Piedras, PR: Ediciones Huracán.
- , 1993. "Defining a Common Ground: The Theoretical Meeting of Women's, Ethnic, and Area Studies," in E. Acosta-Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 175-186. Boulder: Westview.
- , ed. 1986. First edition 1979. *The Puerto Rican Woman: Perspectives on Culture, History, and Society*. New York: Praeger Publishers.
- Acosta-Belén, Edna and Christine E. Bose. 1993. "Women in the Development Process in Latin Americaa," in E. Acosta-Belén and C. E. Bose, eds. *Research Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 55-76. Boulder: Westview.
- Acosta-Belén, Edna and Christine E. Bose, eds. 1990. *Women and Development in the Third World*. Special issue of *Gender & Society* 4(3).
- , 1991. *Integrating Latin American and Caribbean Women into the Curriculum and Research: Perspectives and Resources*. Albany: Center for Latin America and the Caribbean and Institute for Research on Women.
- , 1993. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Agosín, Marjorie. 1987. *Scraps of Life: Chilean Arpilleras*. Trenton: Red Sea Press.
- , ed. 1993. *Surviving Beyond Fear: Women, Children, and Human Rights in Latin America*. Fredonia, NY: White Pine Press.
- Alvarez, Sonia. 1991. *Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements and Transition Politics*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Amott, Teresa L. and Julie A. Matthaei. 1991. *Race, Gender, and Work: A Multicultural Economic History of Women in the United States*. Boston: South End.
- Arenal, Electa and Stacey Schlauf, eds. 1989. *Untold Sisters: Hispanic Nuns in their Own Works*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Arizpe, Lourdes. 1975. *Indígenas en la Ciudad de México. El caso de las Marías*. Mexico: SepSetentas.
- Arrom, Sylvia M. 1985. *The Women of Mexico City, 1790-1857*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.

- Azize, Yamila. 1979. *Luchas de la mujer en Puerto Rico: 1889-1919*. San Juan: Graficor.
- Babb, Florence. 1989. *Between Field and Cooking Pot: The Political Economy of Marketwomen in Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Benería, Lourdes. 1982. *Women and Development: The Sexual Division of Labor in Rural Societies*. New York: Praeger.
- Bergmann, Emilie, et al. 1990. *Women, Culture, and Politics in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Bolles, A. Lynn. 1993. "Doing It for Themselves: Women's Research and Action in the Caribbean," in E. Acosta-Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 173-174. Boulder: Westview.
- Bonilla, Frank and Ricardo Campos. 1986. *Industry and Idleness*. New York: Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños.
- Bose, Christine E. 1992. "Informal Economic Activities of Women," in *Pro-Mujer, Mujer y estadísticas: Memorias del primer seminario*. Cayey, P.R.: Pro-Mujer.
- Bourque, Susan and Kay Warren. 1981. *Women of the Andes: Patriarchy and Social Change in Two Peruvian Towns*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Bunster, Ximena and Elsa M. Chaney. 1989. First edition 1985. *Sellers and Servants: Working Women in Lima, Peru*. Granby, MA: Bergin and Garvey Publishers.
- Burgos-Debray, Elizabeth, ed. 1984. [1983] *I... Rigoberta Menchú*. New York: Verso.
- Bush, Barbara. 1990. *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Chaney, Elsa M. 1979. *Supermadre: Women and Politics in Latin America*. Austin: University of Texas Press. Trans. *Supermadre: La mujer dentro de la política en América Latina*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1983.
- , 1993. "Research on Migration and Women in Latin America and the Caribbean," in E. Acosta-Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 99-134. Boulder: Westview.
- Chaney, Elsa and Mary García Castro. 1989. *Muchachas No More: Household Workers in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Chinchilla, Norma Stoltz. 1993. "Gender and National Politics: Issues and Trends in Women's Participation in Latin American Movements," in E. Acosta-

- Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 37-54. Boulder: Westview.
- Deere, Carmen Diana and Magdalena León, eds. 1987. *Rural Women and State Policy: Feminist Perspectives on Latin American Agricultural Development*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Du Bois, Ellen Carol and Vicki L. Ruiz, eds. 1990. *Unequal Sisters: A Multi-Cultural Reader in U.S. Women's History*. New York: Routledge.
- Eichler, Margrit. 1988. *Nonsexist Research Methods*. Boston: Allen & Unwin.
- Elu de Leñero, Marie del Carmen, ed. 1975. *La mujer en la América Latina*. Volumes I and II. Mexico: SepSetentas.
- Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez. 1992. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America: Identity, Strategy, and Democracy*. Boulder: Westview.
- Fernández-Kelly, María Patricia. 1983. *For We Are Sold, I and My People: Women and Industry in Mexico's Frontier*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Fernández Olmos, Margarite. 1993. "Women's Writing in Latin America: Critical Trends and Priorities," in E. Acosta-Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 135-152. Boulder: Westview Press.
- and Lizabeth Paravisini-Gebert, eds. 1991. *El placer de la palabra: Literatura erótica femenina de América Latina*. México: Editorial Planeta Mexicana.
- Fisher, Jo. 1989. *Mothers of the Disappeared*. Boston: South End Press.
- . 1993. *Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance, and Politics in South America*. London: Zed Books.
- Franco, Jean. 1989. *Plotting Women: Gender and Representation in Mexico*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Gonzalbo Aizpuru, Pilar. 1987. *Las mujeres en la Nueva España: Educación y vida cotidiana*. México: Colegio de México.
- Gross, Susan Hill and Marjorie Wall Bingham, eds. 1985. *Women in Latin America*. Volumes I and II. St. Louis Park, MN: Glenhurst Publications.
- Gugelberger, George and Michael Kearney. 1991. "Voices for the Voiceless: Testimonial Literature in Latin America." *Latin American Perspectives* 18(3): 3-14.

- Gutiérrez, Ramón. 1991. *When Jesus Came, the Corn Mothers Went Away: Marriage, Sexuality, and Power in New Mexico, 1500-1846*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Guy, Donna. 1991. *Sex and Danger in Buenos Aires: Prostitution, Family, and Nation in Argentina*. Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press.
- Hahner, June. 1981. *A mulher brasileira e suas lutas sociais e políticas, 1850-1937*. Sao Paulo: Editora Brasiliense.
- . 1985. "Recent Research on Women in Brazil." *Latin American Research Review* 20(3): 163-179.
- . 1990. *Emancipating the Female Sex: The Struggle for Women's Rights in Brazil, 1850-1940*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- , ed. 1980. *Women in Latin American History: Their Lives and Views*. Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Jaquette, Jane S., ed. 1989. *The Women's Movement in Latin America*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Jelin, Elizabeth, ed. 1987. *Ciudadanía e identidad: La mujer en los movimientos sociales latinoamericanos*. Geneva: UNRIDS/United Nations Research Institute for Social Development.
- . 1990. *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. London: Zed Books.
- Jiménez-Muñoz, Gladys. 1991. "The Crossroads of Gender and History: Incorporating Latin American and Caribbean Women into the Curriculum," in E. Acosta-Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Integrating Latin American and Caribbean Women into the Curriculum and Research*. Pp. 112-120. Albany: Center for Latin America and the Caribbean and Institute for Research on Women.
- Knaster, Meri. 1977. *Women in Spanish America: An Annotated Bibliography from Pre-Conquest to Contemporary Times*. Boston: G.K. Hall.
- . 1976. "Women in Latin America: The State of Research, 1975." *Latin American Research Review* 11: 3-102.
- La Duke, Betty. 1985. *Compañeras: Women, Art, & Social Change in Latin America*. San Francisco: City Lights.
- Lavrin, Asunción. 1978. *Latin American Women: Historical Perspectives*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press. Trans. *Las mujeres latinoamericanas: Perspectivas históricas*. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1985.

- , 1984. "Recent Studies on Women in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* 19 (1): 181-189.
- , 1992. "Women's Studies," in P.H. Covington, ed. *Latin America and the Caribbean: A Critical Guide to Research Sources*. Pp. 743-754. New York: Greenwood Press.
- , 1993. "Women in Latin America: Current Research Trends," in E. Acosta-Belén and C.E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 7-36. Boulder: Westview Press.
- , ed. 1989. *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America*. Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press.
- MacRae, Edward. 1992. "Homosexual Identities in Transitional Brazilian Politics," in Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, eds. *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview.
- Marks, Dorrit K., ed. 1993. *Women and Grass Roots: Democracy in the Americas*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Martín, Luis. 1983. *Daughters of the Conquistadores: Women of the Viceroyalty of Peru*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.
- Mies, Maria, Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen and Claudia von Werlhof. 1988. *Women: The Last Colony*. London: Zed Books.
- Miller, Francesca, ed. 1991. *Latin American Women and the Search for Social Justice*. Hanover: University Press of New England.
- Minnich, Elizabeth Kamarck. 1990. *Transforming Knowledge*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Mohammed, Patricia and Catherine Shepard, eds. 1988. *Gender in Caribbean Development*. Mona, St. Augustine, Cave Hill: The University of the West Indies.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade, Ann Russo, and Lourdes Torres, eds. 1991. *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Molyneux, Maxine. 1986. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, State, and Revolution," in Richard R. Fagen et al., eds. *Transition and Development: Problems of Third World Socialism*. Pp. 280-302. New York: Monthly Review Press and Center for the Study of the Americas.
- Morrissey, Marietta. 1989. *Slave Women in the New World: Gender Stratification in the Caribbean*. Lawrence: University of Kansas Press.

- Nash, June. 1986. "A Decade of Research on Women in Latin America," in J. Nash and H.I. Safa, eds. *Women and Change in Latin America*. Pp. 3-21. South Hadley: Bergin and Garvey.
- . 1989. "Gender Studies in Latin America," in S. Morgen, ed. *Gender and Anthropology: Critical Reviews for Research and Teaching*. Pp. 228-245. Washington, D.C.: American Anthropological Association.
- Nash, June and María Patricia Fernández-Kelly, eds. 1983. *Women, Men, and the International Division of Labor*. Albany: SUNY Press.
- Nash, June and Helen I. Safa, eds. 1976. *Sex and Class in Latin America*. South Hadley: J.F. Bergin Publishers.
- , eds. 1986. *Women and Change in Latin America*. South Hadley: Bergin and Garvey.
- Navarro, Marysa. 1979. "Research on Latin American Women: Review Essay." *Signs* 5(1): 111-120.
- Oliveira, Orlandina de. 1989. *Trabajo, poder y sexualidad*. México: Colegio de México.
- Organization of American Historians. 1988. *Restoring Women to History*. Bloomington: Organization of American Historians.
- Pescatello, Ann. 1972. "The Female in Ibero-America: An Essay on Research Bibliographies and Research Directions." *Latin American Research Review* 7(2): 125-141.
- . 1976. *Power and Pawn: The Female in Iberian Families, Societies, and Cultures*. Westport, CT: Westview Press.
- , ed. 1973. *Female and Male in Latin America*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Rago, Margaret. 1991. *Oz prazeres da noita. Prostituição e códigos da sexualidade feminina em Sao Paulo (1890-1930)*. Sao Paulo: Paz e Terra.
- Ramos, Carmen, ed. 1987. *Presencia y transparencia: La mujer en la historia de México*. México: Colegio de México.
- Randall, Margaret. 1993. "To Change Our Own Reality and the World: A Conversation With Lesbians in Nicaragua." *Signs* 18(4): 907-924.
- Safa, Helen I. 1994. *The Myth of the Male Breadwinner*. Boulder: Westview.

- , 1990. "Women's Social Movements in Latin America." *Gender and Society* 4(3): 354-369.
- Saffiot, Heleith B. 1978. *Women in Class Society*. Trans. by Michael Vale. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Salas, Elizabeth. 1990. *Soldaderas in the Mexican Military: Myth and History*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Saporta Sternbach, Nancy. 1991. "Re-membering the Dead: Latin American Women's Testimonial Discourse." *Latin American Perspectives* 18:3 (1991): 91-102.
- , Marysa Navarro-Aranguren, Patricia Chuchryk, and Sonia E. Alvarez. 1993. "Feminisms in Latin America: From Bogotá to San Bernardo." *Signs* 17(2): 393-434.
- Seminar on Feminism and Culture in Latin America. 1990. *Women, Culture, and Politics in Latin America*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Sen, Gita and Caren Grown. 1987. *Development, Crisis, and Alternative Visions*. New York: Monthly Review Press.
- Silverblatt, Irene. 1987. *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Stephen, Lynn. 1991. *Class, Ethnicity, and Gender in the Lives of Zapotec Women*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- , 1993. "Anthropological Research on Latin American Women: Past Trends and New Directions for the 1990s," in E. Acosta-Belén and C. E. Bose, eds. *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Pp. 77-98. Boulder: Westview.
- Stevens, Evelyn P. 1973. "Marianismo: The Other Face of Machismo in Latin America," in Ann Pescatello, ed. *Female and Male in Latin America*. Pp. 89-102. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press.
- Stoner, K. Lynn. 1987. "Directions in Latin American Women's History, 1977-1985." *Latin American Research Review* 22(2): 101-134.
- , 1991. *From the House to the Streets: The Cuban Movement for Legal Reform, 1898-1940*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- , ed. 1989. *Latinas of the Americas: A Source Book*. New York: Garland Publishing.

- Sutton, Constance R. 1987. "The Caribbeanization of New York City and the Emergence of a Transnational Socio-Cultural System," in C.R. Sutton and E.M. Chaney, eds. *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*. Pp. 15-30. New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- Sutton, Constance R. and Elsa M. Chaney, eds. 1987. *Caribbean Life in New York City: Sociocultural Dimensions*. New York: Center for Migration Studies.
- United Nations. 1988. *Improving Statistics and Indicators on Women Using Household Services*. New York: U.N. Department of International Economic and Social Affairs and INSTRAW.
- Wolf, Eric R. 1982. *Europe and the People without History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982.
- Yúdice, George. 1991. "Testimonio and Postmodernism." *Latin American Perspectives* 18(3): 15-31.
- Zabaleta, Marta. 1986. "Research on Latin American Women: In Search of Our Political Independence." *Bulletin of Latin American Studies* 5(2): 97-103.

COMMENTS

Asunción Lavrin
Howard University

The last two decades have brought about significant changes in the status and social roles of Latin American women, the result of both historical developments and a growing awareness among women of all social classes of the need to question their gender roles when they mean the continuation of patterns of legal and social subordination within a tradition of patriarchal dominance. Relatively few academicians in this country are aware of the surge of publications on women and by women in Latin American countries, despite recent anthologies and state-of-the-art reviews published by several scholars. Hopefully, sessions such as this will help to further awareness of those changes and their perception by academia. I understand that it is a Wilson Center first, and I hope it is not the last.

Along with several other scholars, some of whom are here today, I have been a witness to the publication growth and an interested participant in its assessment. I have written four essays on the topic and several review essays in the last six years. Professor Acosta Belén has done a good job of a difficult assignment; from personal experience I know that having to assess the contours of a field is always a "process" and never an "accomplishment."

Gender studies are dominated by sociologists and economists, and while I do not argue with Dr. Acosta Belén's statement that it is interdisciplinary in spirit, a numerical analysis of any bibliographical list will indicate the predominance of these two disciplines. I would rather say that the perception and the approach of women's studies centers in this country as well as in Latin America is interdisciplinary, but personal academic and non-academic writing remains attached to traditional disciplines. This is by no means a liability. Women's studies in Latin America reflect the development of a new social and intellectual phenomenon: the presence of exceptionally gifted and socially sensitive--mostly female--scholars, who have brought out of the closet the role played by women in the political economy of the nation and the family, and the growing importance of gender relations as a basis for the design of demographic and health policies. These academics have a counterpart in innumerable social activists interested in community affairs, some of whom provide information for formal studies, while others are simply interested in social reform. Neither of these two prototypes emerged from a vacuum. The relevance of gender analysis began to make sense in the mid-1970s as a result of developmental policies, and has since been strengthened by the analysis of women's roles in popular movements, revolutions, the return to democracy in several key South American countries, and the reassessment of psychological and cultural factors that shape gender roles and gender relations in society. The study of gender relations at those multiple levels of analysis is a child of our times, and as such is mostly concerned with the present, with policymaking, and with troublesome aspects of Latin American societies. Dr. Acosta Belén notes the same features in her work. I want to add that for the first time in history there is a consistent output of

intellectual non-literary work by women on women. At the turn of this century men used to speak on women and for women. Today we see the opposite situation and, while we must celebrate women's access to self-expression, it is also necessary to encourage a dialogue between the sexes to construct a true understanding of the intellectual and social meanings of gender.

I see the rich production of today as the mine from which historians will elicit a very exciting view of the late twentieth century. However, because we cannot wait for that future we must begin to reassess today. In my own attempt to follow the writings and activities of Latin American women in the last fifteen years, I see several themes that, as a historian, I consider of critical importance because they are of overriding interest in understanding the bulk of work, its relation to the immediate present, and its relation to the past; they are mobilization, participation, *protagonismo*, and *feminismo*. These elements are correlated with each other, except for *feminismo*, which is not always acknowledged as such, but in my opinion is the underlying foundation of the other three.

The Cuban Revolution signaled the entrance of women into politics as a mass to be mobilized in the pursuit of social and economic change. Thirty years' perspective allow us to see the influence of Cuba on the mobilization of women in Chile, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Argentina, Chile, Brazil, and Uruguay. Although dissimilar in political orientations, the participation of women in the political events of these countries is extraordinary and a significant change from the concept of female participation prior to World War II. This is not to deny that women's mobilization by *peronismo*, to cite a notable example, was extremely significant for Argentina at the time. However, *peronista* reverses in the late 1950s carried also a reversal of many gains for Argentine women. On the other hand, I see a greater continuity in the process of female mobilization at many levels since the 1960s which, although still dependent on economic and political crises, looks unlikely to stall.

We need not only cite great political upheaval to appreciate this mobilization. It is visible in the activities of a variety of local neighborhood efforts such as *ollas populares* in Peru--housewives' committees organized in the poor neighborhoods of several capital cities to solve immediate problems of inflation and survival and demand services from the government, or in the organization of public protests to demand reproductive rights or make a statement against the impunity of crimes of passion against women. At another level, the meeting of hundreds of women in Inter-American feminist meetings since the late 1970s is another expression of mobilization. Thus, mobilization may be carried out from the top, as in the case of Cuba, or from below, as spontaneous reaction to a political regime or an economic situation.

In the mobilization from below I see one of the most genuine expressions of change among Latin American women in the last twenty years. I would like to tie this phenomenon to a change in mental attitudes described by leading women as

protagonismo. *Protagonismo* means to live one own's role, to speak for oneself, and take account of one's own actions. It can be a personal or a social experience. *Protagonismo* began to take a political shape in the early 1970s after leading writers--academic as well as non-academic--began to realize the permanence of gender constraints on women's daily experience resulting from legal structures that perpetuated social and gender subordination. *Protagonismo* allowed women to translate their experiences into collective political consciousness and political participation. *Protagonismo* can be read in testimonial studies, in the publications of numerous centers for the study of women, in the analyses of academicians, and in the activities of *Casas de Mujer* and other activist centers in several capitals. It serves as a venue for women to recognize themselves and to reach other women, for identifying and revising the objectives of female organizations, and for measuring the state's response to the needs of women in the formulation of policies.

Protagonismo is the key to the theme of feminism, in its theoretical and pragmatic facets. *Feminismo* makes possible the transition of what is personal (i.e., poverty, sexual violence at home, the need for equal wages, the loss of a male relative to political murder, health and child care) to what is political; that is, the concern of politics and the state. Feminism has a long and not well-known history in the area. Latin American men and women have always had a love-hate relationship with the term feminism but in the last decade a significant degree of female activism has been based on feminist concepts, openly acknowledged as such.

During the first decades of this century, when feminist groups were founded in most Latin American countries, gender was the catalyst for the organization of groups and definition of activities and strategies. Once suffrage and basic reforms in the civil codes were obtained, gender lost its momentum and significance. In the 1950s the politics of development monopolized the attention of women interested in structural changes. Class was the overwhelming tool of analysis. Revolutionary and socialist experiences have been reluctant to grant women equal participation in high-level political posts; military regimes have denied it altogether, in addition to reinstating patriarchal and male-dominated state mechanisms. Reacting to this situation, small feminist groups began to question all expressions of authoritarianism and to stand for a broad understanding of human rights. Human rights, in fact, reactivated the militancy of women as mothers, sisters, daughters, and wives. One need not be a feminist to take a *protagonista* role in this broad struggle for democracy; one need only be a woman. Gender was reactivated again, and under quite different conditions from those of North America or western Europe, where women lived under political systems that allowed their free expression and did not threaten their lives.

As they questioned political oppression, women began to question and stretch the meaning of democracy itself to reassess the internal structures of feminist groups, the relationship between poor women and middle-class women, the hierarchical relationship of men and women in the home, and men's interpretation

of equal responsibilities and rights for the two sexes. A very telling Chilean cartoon of the early 1980s depicted a man writing the word "democracy" on a wall. He was followed by a woman who added "and at home too." The study of patriarchy as the cultural environment within which gender relations are carried out has added diversity and depth to previous rigid understandings of class struggle without gender consciousness. Contemporary studies do not, however, remain insensitive to the place of female labor within the national and the macro-economic systems. The articulate Peruvian feminist, Virginia Vargas, notes that the specificity of Latin American feminism lies in its hopes to understand how women suffer sexual subordination as well as other types of oppression. To patriarchal logic must be added capitalist logic, which further oppresses women by converting them into an undervalued source of labor and turning them into consumers who defend the very system that is imprisoning them.

My main concern about the study of women and gender relations in Latin America is its provenance. For this and other reviews I have relied greatly on works written in Latin America by Latin American women. I have also paid serious attention to works written by North American scholars who have given us much pause to think about such topics as *machismo*, *marianismo* and the *supermadre* syndrome. I have attempted to read the genuine concerns of the many women and the few men involved with gender issues, not just in writing, but by living them as social workers, sociologists, economists, anthropologists, and literary writers. The topics that I see most often discussed in Latin American writings are labor, family, and the economy. There is a concerted effort to demonstrate the key role of women in the economy, whether in the agricultural, industrial or service sector, and to tie it to the economy of the home or the household. Rural and urban anthropologists have delved into the sexual division of labor and gender-typed occupations that cast a pervasive influence on deeply rooted discrepancies in male and female earnings. Closely related to works on labor are studies of demographic movements focusing on state population policies and migration patterns, both of which must include women as members of the labor force. With regard to the family, one of the topics that most preoccupies women scholars and activists is the female-headed household, which contradicts the older patriarchal model and explains the feminine face of poverty, and the need for female labor, migration and employment. What social scientists are doing is deconstructing social reality and breaking away from marxist structuralism in pursuit of a knowledge derived from reality itself, and not from theoretical premises.

I see much less academic interest in women's participation in traditional politics. The most dynamic studies have come from those countries recently freed from military regimes and from women who are disappointed with their status quo in the post-military state. (Some of this analytical work has been carried out by North American political scientists interested in the process of redemocratization). This scarcity reflects reality. Despite the election of deputies and the appointment of a few women to ministerial posts, women remain absent from the highest levels of decision-making. Their non-traditional form of carrying politics at a local level has

not opened leadership in political parties or national politics for them. States have remained culturally male oriented and effectively male dominated. If gender studies could help in any field, the need is greatest in this. As a challenge to historians and social psychologists, the fact that *la política* remains *cosa de hombres* is open for theoretical analysis. Policymaking in health, welfare, education, and the development of resources has definite consequences for women and should not remain in the hands of men alone.

This brief review, based on Spanish or Portuguese titles, serves the purpose of explaining my concern about the use of theoretical models originating outside Latin America, which make global generalizations based on polarized concepts of Western and non-Western, people of color versus white people, or colonialism and imperialism versus unredeemed exploitation and subordination. To place gender issues in Latin America within such antinomies distorts a reality that is much too complex to be understood by such harsh delineations. I am encouraged by Dr. Acosta-Belén's remarks that "we should always be mindful and cautious of the use of essentialist categories of analysis," and would like to suggest a closer look at those Latin American texts generated by women themselves to find how they conceptualize their reality, what are the issues that move them into action, and what are the means they use to be heard and be counted. Each country in Latin America has its own set of problems: class, ethnicity, and gender mixed with diverse political, cultural, and economic conditions to create a special situation for each one of them, and in turn, different from Asia or Africa. Before we venture to state whether or not women in Latin America qualify in toto for the category of the so-called "women of color" in relation to others and under the exploitation of capitalist countries, we must investigate exactly how indigenous women relate to *ladino* women or to the descendants of migrants from Europe and Africa, and under what conditions gender as a category interrelates to class or ethnic consciousness within each country to create oppression of women by women, and subjection of all women to male-designed social and economic structures. Are the policies of most Latin American states oriented towards the eradication or the perpetuation of these disruptive factors? Is not the state, as a male-dominated entity, the great patriarch, the ultimate *macho*, the real object of reform, assuming that reform must begin at home before we can fix the rest of the world?

I end with these questions hoping that some of them will be taken up during our discussion period, and reassuring Dr. Acosta-Belén that her review and thoughts on the state of the art in gender studies will continue to be appreciated as an important marker in future dialogues on the topic.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Alvarez, Sonia. Engendering Democracy in Brazil: Women's Movements in Transition Politics. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
- Andrade Ester, and Ana María Portugal. Ser mujer en el Perú. Lima: Ediciones Mujer y Autonomía, 1978.
- Arenal, Sandra. Sangre joven. Las maquiladoras por dentro. México: Editorial Nuestro Tiempo, 1986.
- Arizpe, Lourdes. "Democracia para un pequeño planeta bigenérico." In Diez años de periodismo feminista, 327-335.
- Brandel, Silvina et al. Feminismo y política. Contribución al debate en el feminismo argentino. Buenos Aires: n.p., 1985.
- Campos Carr, Irene. "Women's Voices Grow Stronger: Politics and Feminism in Latin America." NWSA Journal, 2:3 (Summer 1990): 405-463.
- Casas, Nelly. "Situación actual de las mujeres en la Argentina y estrategias para el cambio." In Participación política de la mujer en el Cono Sur, 1:43-51.
- Crispi, Patricia, ed. Tejiendo rebeldías: Escritos feministas de Julieta Kirkwood. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer and Casa de la Mujer La Morada, 1987.
- Delpino, Nena. Saliendo a flote. La jefa de familia popular. Lima: Fundación Friedrich Naumann, 1990.
- Filippini, Mabel. "Una experiencia de trabajo con mujeres de los sectores populares." In Participación política de la mujer en el Cono Sur. 1:53-68.
- Gálvez Thelma, and Rosalba Todaro. Yo trabajo así . . . en casa particular. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1985.
- _____. "La segregación sexual en la industria." In Mundo de mujer: Continuidad y cambio. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1988, 279-320.
- García, Ana Isabel and Enrique Gomáriz. Mujeres Centroamericanas: Efectos del conflicto. 2 Vols. San José: FLACSO, 1989.
- Jaquette, Jane, ed. The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy. Boston: Unwyn Hyman, 1989.

Kirkwood, Julieta. "Chile: La mujer en la formulación política." Santiago de Chile: Documento de Trabajo, FLACSO, 1981.

_____. "El feminismo como negación del autoritarismo." Mimeo. Santiago: FLACSO, 1983.

_____. "La formación de la conciencia feminista en Chile." Santiago de Chile: FLACSO, 1980.

_____. "Women and Politics in Chile." International Social Science Journal, 98: 625-638. (1984).

_____. Ser política en Chile: Las feministas y los partidos. Santiago: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, 1986.

Lavrin, Asunción. "La mujer en México: Veinte años de estudio, 1968-1988. Ensayo historiográfico." In Memorias del Simposio de Historiografía Mexicanista. Mexico: UNAM, 1990, 545-557.

León, Magdalena and Carmen Diana Deere, eds. La mujer y la política agraria en América Latina. Bogota: Siglo Veintiuno Editores, 1986.

León, Magdalena. "La medición del trabajo femenino en América Latina: Problemas teóricos y metodológicos." In Elsy Bonilla C., comp., Mujer v familia en Colombia. Bogota: Plaza Janes Editores, 1985, 205-22.

Lora, Carmen, et al. Mujer: Víctima de opresión, portadora de liberación. Lima: Instituto Bartolomé de Las Casas, Rimac, 1985.

Molyneux, Maxine. "Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's Interests, the State and Revolution in Nicaragua." Feminist Studies, 11:2 (Summer 1985): 227-54.

Montecino, Sonia. Mujeres de la tierra. Santiago: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1984.

_____. Quinchamalí. reino de mujeres. Santiago: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1986.

Montecino, Sonia, Mariluz Dussuel and Angelica Wilson. "Identidad femenina y modelo mariano en Chile." In Mundo de mujer: Continuidad y cambio. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1988, 500-522.

Mujer\Fempres. Monthly magazine published in Santiago, Chile.

- Mujer y política: América Latina v el Caribe. Santiago de Chile: Naciones Unidas, 1989.
- Mundo de mujer: Continuidad y cambio. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1988.
- Muñoz Dálbora, Adriana. "Fuerza de trabajo femenina: evolución y tendencias." In Mundo de mujer: Continuidad v cambio. Santiago de Chile: Centro de Estudios de la Mujer, 1988,185-278.
- Murguialday, Clara. Nicaragua, revolución y feminismo (1977-89). Madrid: Editorial Revolución, 1990.
- Osterling, Jorge P. "La mujer en el comercio ambulatorio en Lima metropolitana." Congreso de Investigación Acerca de la Mujer en la Región Andina. Lima: Asociación Perú-Mujer, 1982.
- Portugal, Ana María. "¿Qué es ser feminista en América Latina?" Isis Internacional 5 (1986): 9-14. Washington, D.C.: Catholics for Free Choice, 1989.
- Portugal, Ana María, ed. Mujer e Iglesia. Sexualidad y aborto en América Latina.
- Rodríguez, Ileana. Registradas en la historia: 10 años del quehacer feminista en Nicaragua. Managua: Centro de Investigación y Acción para los Derechos de la Mujer, 1991.
- Sojo, Ana. Mujer y política: Ensayo sobre el feminismo y el sujeto popular. San José, Costa Rica: Departamento Ecuménico de Investigaciones, 1985.
- Torrado, Susana. "La libre determinación en materia de procreación." In Las mujeres y la reforma constitucional. Buenos Aires: Fundación Arturo Illia and Fundación Plural, 1987,4975.
- Valdes, Ximena, et al. "Sinópsis de una realidad ocultada (Las trabajadoras del campo)." Santiago de Chile: CEM and PENCI, 1987.
- Valenzuela, Maria Elena. La mujer en el Chile militar. Santiago: Ediciones Chile y America, 1987.
- Vargas F. Rosemary. "Jornada sobre feminismo y política." In Feminismo y política, 45-66.
- Vargas, Virginia. "Movimiento feminista en el Perú: Balance y perspectiva." Mimeo, Lima, 1984.

_____. "Vota por ti, mujer." In Movimiento feminista: balance y perspectivas. Isis Internacional, 5 (5 June, 1986): 60-71. Políticas públicas dirigidas a la mujer. Buenos Aires: Fundación Arturo Illia, 1987, 45-56.