

**Reconceptualizing Feminisms and Social Movements:
praxes of resistance and theories of conjuncture
in Latin America**

© David Ast

a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts in
International Development Studies
Saint Mary's University, Halifax, Nova Scotia

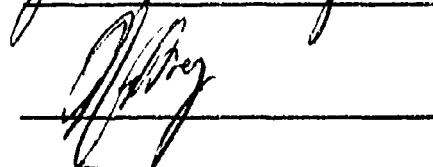
May 1995

Signatures of the Examining Committee

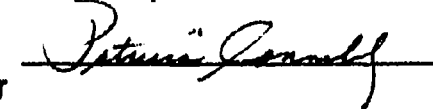
Dr. Jane L. Parpart:
Supervisor

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Jane L. Parpart", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Henry Veltmeyer:
Reader

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "H. Veltmeyer", written over a horizontal line.

Dr. Patricia Connelly:
IDS Coordinator

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Patricia Connelly", written over a horizontal line.



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

THE AUTHOR HAS GRANTED AN
IRREVOCABLE NON-EXCLUSIVE
LICENCE ALLOWING THE NATIONAL
LIBRARY OF CANADA TO
REPRODUCE, LOAN, DISTRIBUTE OR
SELL COPIES OF HIS/HER THESIS BY
ANY MEANS AND IN ANY FORM OR
FORMAT, MAKING THIS THESIS
AVAILABLE TO INTERESTED
PERSONS.

L'AUTEUR A ACCORDE UNE LICENCE
IRREVOCABLE ET NON EXCLUSIVE
PERMETTANT A LA BIBLIOTHEQUE
NATIONALE DU CANADA DE
REPRODUIRE, PRETER, DISTRIBUER
OU VENDRE DES COPIES DE SA
THESE DE QUELQUE MANIERE ET
SOUS QUELQUE FORME QUE CE SOIT
POUR METTRE DES EXEMPLAIRES DE
CETTE THESE A LA DISPOSITION DES
PERSONNE INTERESSEES.

THE AUTHOR RETAINS OWNERSHIP
OF THE COPYRIGHT IN HIS/HER
THESIS. NEITHER THE THESIS NOR
SUBSTANTIAL EXTRACTS FROM IT
MAY BE PRINTED OR OTHERWISE
REPRODUCED WITHOUT HIS/HER
PERMISSION.

L'AUTEUR CONSERVE LA PROPRIETE
DU DROIT D'AUTEUR QUI PROTEGE
SA THESE. NI LA THESE NI DES
EXTRAITS SUBSTANTIELS DE CELLE-
CI NE DOIVENT ETRE IMPRIMES OU
AUTREMENT REPRODUITS SANS SON
AUTORISATION.

ISBN 0-612-00919-X

Canada

Name DAVID AST

Dissertation Abstracts International is arranged by broad, general subject categories. Please select the one subject which most nearly describes the content of your dissertation. Enter the corresponding four-digit code in the spaces provided.

SOCIOLOGY GENERAL

SUBJECT TERM

0626

SUBJECT CODE

U·M·I

Subject Categories

THE HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

COMMUNICATIONS AND THE ARTS

Architecture 0729
Art History 0377
Cinema 0900
Dance 0378
Fine Arts 0357
Information Science 0723
Journalism 0391
Library Science 0399
Mass Communications 0708
Music 0413
Speech Communication 0459
Theater 0465

EDUCATION

General 0515
Administration 0514
Adult and Continuing 0516
Agricultural 0517
Art 0273
Bilingual and Multicultural 0282
Business 0688
Community College 0275
Curriculum and Instruction 0727
Early Childhood 0518
Elementary 0524
Finance 0277
Guidance and Counseling 0519
Health 0680
Higher 0745
History of 0520
Home Economics 0278
Industrial 0521
Language and Literature 0279
Mathematics 0280
Music 0522
Philosophy of 0998
Physical 0523

Psychology 0525
Reading 0535
Religious 0527
Sciences 0714
Secondary 0533
Social Sciences 0534
Sociology of 0340
Special 0529
Teacher Training 0530
Technology 0710
Tests and Measurements 0288
Vocational 0747

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE AND LINGUISTICS

Language
 General 0679
 Ancient 0289
 Linguistics 0290
 Modern 0291
Literature
 General 0401
 Classical 0294
 Comparative 0295
 Medieval 0297
 Modern 0298
 African 0316
 American 0591
 Asian 0305
 Canadian (English) 0352
 Canadian (French) 0355
 English 0593
 Germanic 0311
 Latin American 0312
 Middle Eastern 0315
 Romance 0313
 Slavic and East European 0314

PHILOSOPHY, RELIGION AND THEOLOGY

Philosophy 0422
Religion
 General 0318
 Biblical Studies 0321
 Clergy 0319
 History of 0320
 Philosophy of 0322
Theology 0469

SOCIAL SCIENCES

American Studies 0323
Anthropology
 Archaeology 0324
 Cultural 0326
 Physical 0327
Business Administration
 General 0310
 Accounting 0272
 Banking 0770
 Management 0454
 Marketing 0338
Canadian Studies 0385
Economics
 General 0501
 Agricultural 0503
 Commerce-Business 0505
 Finance 0508
 History 0509
 Labor 0510
 Theory 0511
Folklore 0358
Geography 0366
Gerontology 0351
History
 General 0578

Ancient 0579
Medieval 0581
Modern 0582
Black 0328
African 0331
Asia, Australia and Oceania 0332
Canadian 0334
European 0335
Latin American 0336
Middle Eastern 0333
United States 0337
History of Science 0585
Law 0398
Political Science
 General 0615
 International Law and Relations 0616
 Public Administration 0617
Recreation 0814
Social Work 0452
Sociology
 General 0626
 Criminology and Penology 0627
 Demography 0938
 Ethnic and Racial Studies 0631
 Individual and Family Studies 0628
 Industrial and Labor Relations 0629
 Public and Social Welfare 0630
 Social Structure and Development 0700
 Theory and Methods 0344
Transportation 0709
Urban and Regional Planning 0999
Women's Studies 0453

THE SCIENCES AND ENGINEERING

BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES

Agriculture
 General 0473
 Agronomy 0285
 Animal Culture and Nutrition 0475
 Animal Pathology 0476
 Food Science and Technology 0359
 Forestry and Wildlife 0478
 Plant Culture 0479
 Plant Pathology 0480
 Plant Physiology 0817
 Range Management 0777
 Wood Technology 0746
Biology
 General 0306
 Anatomy 0287
 Biostatistics 0308
 Botany 0309
 Cell 0379
 Ecology 0329
 Entomology 0353
 Genetics 0369
 Immunology 0793
 Microbiology 0410
 Molecular 0307
 Neuroscience 0317
 Oceanography 0416
 Physiology 0433
 Radiation 0821
 Veterinary Science 0778
Zoology 0472
Biophysics
 General 0786
 Medical 0760
EARTH SCIENCES
Biogeochemistry 0425
Geochemistry 0996

Geodesy 0370
Geology 0372
Geophysics 0373
Hydrology 0388
Mineralogy 0411
Paleobotany 0345
Paleocology 0426
Paleontology 0418
Paleozoology 0985
Palynology 0427
Physical Geography 0368
Physical Oceanography 0415

HEALTH AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCES

Environmental Sciences 0768
Health Sciences
 General 0566
 Audiology 0300
 Chemotherapy 0992
 Dentistry 0567
 Education 0350
 Hospital Management 0769
 Human Development 0758
 Immunology 0982
 Medicine and Surgery 0564
 Mental Health 0347
 Nursing 0569
 Nutrition 0570
 Obstetrics and Gynecology 0380
 Occupational Health and Therapy 0354
 Ophthalmology 0381
 Pathology 0571
 Pharmacology 0419
 Pharmacy 0572
 Physical Therapy 0382
 Public Health 0573
 Radiology 0574
 Recreation 0575

Speech Pathology 0460
Toxicology 0383
Home Economics 0386

PHYSICAL SCIENCES

Pure Sciences
Chemistry
 General 0485
 Agricultural 0749
 Analytical 0486
 Biochemistry 0487
 Inorganic 0488
 Nuclear 0738
 Organic 0490
 Pharmaceutical 0491
 Physical 0494
 Polymer 0495
 Radiation 0754
Mathematics 0405
Physics
 General 0605
 Acoustics 0986
 Astronomy and Astrophysics 0606
 Atmospheric Science 0608
 Atomic 0748
 Electronics and Electricity 0607
 Elementary Particles and High Energy 0798
 Fluid and Plasma 0759
 Molecular 0609
 Nuclear 0610
 Optics 0752
 Radiation 0756
 Solid State 0611
Statistics 0463
Applied Sciences
Applied Mechanics 0346
Computer Science 0984

Engineering
 General 0537
 Aerospace 0538
 Agricultural 0539
 Automotive 0540
 Biomedical 0541
 Chemical 0542
 Civil 0543
 Electronics and Electrical 0544
 Heat and Thermodynamics 0348
 Hydraulic 0545
 Industrial 0546
 Marine 0547
 Materials Science 0794
 Mechanical 0548
 Metallurgy 0743
 Mining 0551
 Nuclear 0552
 Packaging 0549
 Petroleum 0765
 Sanitary and Municipal 0554
 System Science 0790
Geotechnology 0428
Operations Research 0796
Plastics Technology 0795
Textile Technology 0994

PSYCHOLOGY

General 0621
Behavioral 0384
Clinical 0622
Developmental 0620
Experimental 0623
Industrial 0624
Personality 0625
Physiological 0989
Psychobiology 0349
Psychometrics 0632
Social 0451



TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Aknowledgements	i
Abstract	ii
Chapter One: Introducing The Narrative	
Framing The Question	1
Statement Of Problem	4
Statement of Purpose and Thesis	9
Approaches Towards A Beginning	11
The Point Of Departure	15
Chapter Two: Feminist Theories For Social Change	
Introduction	17
From Marxist To Socialist Feminism And Beyond	22
Third World Feminisms: Voices From The Margins	45
Conclusion	67
Chapter Three: Social Movement Theories	
Introduction	71
Social Movements: Setting The Context(s)	73
Social Movements: New Or Old?	82
The Natures Of New Social Movements	98
Conclusion	117
Chapter Four: The Latin American Context	
Introduction	121
Modernity And Development: Uneven Colonial Discourses	123
New Social Movements And Feminisms In Latin America	133
Vignettes Of Resistance And Conjuncture	138
Theoretical Reconceptualizations: Praxis Makes Perfect?	157
Women And New Social Movements: Theories Of Conjuncture	174
Conclusion	180
Chapter Five: By Way Of A Conclusion	184
Bibliography	192

The other does not exist: this is rational faith, the incurable belief of human reason. Identity=reality, as if, in the end, everything must necessarily and absolutely *be one and the same*. But the *other* refuses to disappear; it subsists, it persists; it is the hard bone on which reason breaks its teeth. Abel Martín, with a poetic faith as human as rational faith, believed *in the other*, in "the essential Heterogeneity of being," in what might be called the incurable *otherness* from which *oneness* must always suffer.

- Antonio Machado;
as cited in Paz (1985)

The feminist movement must know how to navigate between hope and disenchantment[; within] Latin America [it] is based on a plurality that needs to be expanded in all its dimensions. This is more feasible if it abandons the romantic and essentialist myths about women's condition and rejects the ghosts of old paradigms. It is essential to recognize at this stage of feminism that the movement cannot be based on a single dynamic or on an exclusive, privileged axis, but must be grounded in the articulation of differences, of the multiple and diverse rationalities already present within it.

- Virginia Vargas (1992)

The search for citizenship and the creation of an identity are both collective and active processes. The fact that we can currently study these aspects among women in Latin America is in itself an indication of who women (or at least some women) are. They are not passive beings taking refuge in privacy. They are there outside, building. But there is no guarantee of success. Moreover, the criteria of what constitutes "success" are also being shaped along the very course of history.

- Elizabeth Jelin (1990b)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study has encompassed the better part of my mind, body, and soul over this past winter, the extent of which was composed during a very difficult, cathartic, and surreal time in my life. As such, I would like to thank my advisor Dr. Jane Parpart for her understanding and patience during this period, as well as for her support throughout the writing of this thesis. The insights and perspectives on feminisms and postmodernism offered by her have proven invaluable, not only for this study, but also for me personally. Thanks is also extended to Dr. Henry Veltmeyer who provided both understanding during this important time in my life as well as critical perspectives on the notions of new social movements in Latin America. I would also like to thank Dr. Patricia Connelly for reading this study during her busy schedule as IDS Coordinator at Saint Mary's.

Finally, I offer my sincere gratitude to my family in Edmonton for their love and support, and to my sisters and brothers in Halifax and beyond for their kind friendship.

ABSTRACT

Reconceptualizing Feminisms and Social Movements: praxes of resistance and theories of conjuncture in Latin America

Within our postcolonial era, the contemporary crises of late-capitalism, modernity, and development have not only marginalized subaltern peoples throughout the world, but have also led to the alternative and eclectic challenges and imaginaries of these very same peoples to overcome these crises. It is understood by this study that within the theories of feminisms and social movements, there is a need to reconceptualize the notions of oppression and marginalization, of resistance and emancipation beyond a singular primacy or master-narrative. The concepts of identity, subjectivity, difference, plurality, and the political must also be reworked in order to make sense of contemporary struggles on the margins. Together, these reconceptualizations have come to manifest themselves in the perspectives of third world feminisms and new social movements.

Within the richness and diversity of Latin America, women have come to be engaged with and participate in third world feminisms and new social movements. It is through their collective identity, based on their lived subjectivities in the everyday social and cultural, that Latin American women are recasting the political. This takes its form in Latin American women's ideologies and collective actions for transformation, not only within the household, but also within society at large.

It is therefore through Latin American women's praxes of resistance where the conjuncture of third world feminist and new social movement theories occurs. This thesis argues that theories of conjuncture which stem from both the practical manifestations of women's new social movements and the theoretical reconceptualizations within feminisms and social movements, must begin to be addressed. Thus, the conclusions of this study will enter into the open-ended theoretical debates about this conjuncture, while at the same time avoiding grand generalizations across theory concerning women's participation in and engagement with new social movements and third world feminisms in Latin America.

David Ast
10 May 1995

CHAPTER ONE:

THE NARRATIVE INTRODUCED

FRAMING THE QUESTION

Our postcolonial world exists in the precariousness of time, place, and space; we are on the precipice of the most interestingly chaotic, the most dangerously profound, the most beautifully strange possible future(s) imaginable. Contemporary life exudes passion and discontent, it breathes dynamism and flux. The hegemonic natures of grand metanarratives as well as dominant (neo)colonial discourses and ideologies are all being called into question. Have the "enlightened" sensibilities of *truth and justice* been replaced by the "pastiche" vulgarities of *beauty and style*? Do contemporary theories allow us to make sense of what is occurring within a postmodern world? The "globalization of culture," the "manufacture of consent," the "coming anarchy," the "end of history," the "production of Babylonian processed cheese spread for the fast food masses;" resistance is futile, or is it? What are the possibilities for transformation and where do they lie?

With today's diffuse and multiple realities, the possibilities of absolute truths for this transformation have become problematic. The universal generalizations of old have been seen for what they are: inapplicable across history and context. The old school sounds of class-based revolution ring hollow and redundant. Notions of race, age, ethnicity, gender, culture, sexual orientation, colonialism, etc. have begun to inform the challenges and struggles

for multiple resistances and emancipations beyond those based on class. The struggles from the margins within all cultures for the creation and legitimization of their multiple realities is reaching center-stage.

As the so-called North/South divide has begun to blur, the distortions and crises of modernity and development in their various guises have had interesting and empowering repercussions. Voices of the subalterns, those who have been marginalized by the hegemony of (neo)colonialism, have risen up to question these structures and discourses which create and internalize them(selves) as the "other" and dictate which "enlightened" road they should follow. Peoples the world over have begun to travel their own imaginative paths, construct postcolonial, counter-hegemonic discourses, and create their own realities; yet, all these may in turn lead not only to societal transformation, but to its de(con)struction as well.

Our diffuse, plural, heterogeneous world shows us on an everyday basis that we must begin to question the singular "truths" of oppression and marginalization, of resistance and emancipation. However, enticing though the calls to rally around the binary opposite flags of "good" against "evil," of women against men, of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, of peoples of colour against whites, etc., may be, life is not that simple. Structural oppressions manifest themselves in varying degrees across different contexts and histories so that these oppressions work together to marginalize different groups of people depending on their gender, class, race, ethnicity, etc. Therefore, if we are to

make sense of our brave new world and the disorder that prevails within it, we must begin to seek out new ways of understanding what is occurring, new methods of transforming the situation, and new ideas about what will take its place. It is our task as students of international development to reconceptualize and recast our theories as well, otherwise we will fail to come to terms with what is before our very eyes.

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the broader issues encompassing the central problem which this study seeks to address, as well as to introduce the working sets of ideas which will be used to elaborate upon this issue in the subsequent chapters. These ideas which direct and frame this study stand as an entry point into the specific problems the thesis will explore. Specifically, this study will attempt to explore the theoretical crises which exist within contemporary feminist and social movement theories for change. These crises are due to the changing nature of the myriad realities that exist within our world. Therefore, these theories have also begun to change, reconceptualize, and reformulate their analyses of these realities in order to better understand contemporary praxes. In fact, the thesis will strive to show that not only must these reconceptualizations occur, but that these theoretical perspectives must be articulated as theories of conjuncture. It is these theories of conjuncture between third world feminist and new social movement visions which will provide new means for understanding the praxes of resistance by Latin American women in new social movements, and as such point the way forward for transformation.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

This study is guided by the fact that within the contemporary discourse and scholarship on feminisms and social movements there exists multiple theoretical crises. While this thesis has already alluded to the implications of the broader theoretical crises within the contemporary world, this section will elaborate more specifically upon the crises within feminist and social movement theories for societal transformation. As well, it will attempt to problematise the three key issues which this study will seek to address in the following chapters.

First, a key problem within the debates on these issues rests in the focus of these theories on the primacy of subordination and emancipation. The tendencies of these theories towards universal reductionisms and generalizations have come to be seen as no longer applicable to the diverse and multiple realities of social actors across time, place, and space. Thus, these theoretical crises necessitate new visions and ideas about identity, culture, subjectivity, politics, ideology, and resistance. As such, both theory and practice must be recast due to the dynamic and heterogeneous natures which these notions have now come to occupy within the postcolonial world. What is crucial for feminist and social movement theories is the movement away from the dichotomous, binary opposites¹ of "enlightened"² discourse, and as such, their movement

¹ The notion of binary opposites has been considered extensively by postmodern, poststructuralist, and some feminist scholars. Derrida (1976), for example, states that the nature of binary opposites constructs dualistic terms based on the definition of the first through the definition of the second (its opposite or "other"), where the former is regarded always as superior to the latter.

away from the project of modernity. This study argues that there must be a shift towards a reconceptualization of and new levels of awareness and understanding about social movements and feminisms, including the synthesis or conjuncture of these perspectives. If this does not occur, we will fail to come to terms with what is occurring within our contemporary world and the possibilities for future transformation.

Within both feminist and social movement theories there has come to be a number of reconceptualizations about issues of differences, plurality, and heterogeneity. Northern feminist theorists have begun to not only question the relations between women and men, but those among and between women themselves (Hennessy, 1993; Fraser and Nicholson, 1990; Harding, 1992; hooks, 1984). These questions have also been raised by women in the South from a variety of third world feminist perspectives (Minh-ha, 1993; Mohanty, 1991; Ong, 1991; Spivak, 1991). It is these latter perspectives by third world feminists, as well as those of postmodern and African-U.S. American feminists, which have come to understand the need for more plural and heterogeneous

² The notion of "enlightened" discourse is bound up within the philosophical and ideological perspectives which arose during the period of 18th century Enlightenment. These liberal notions of a linear, progressive path to modernity and to the advancement of civilization, have permeated Western intellectual thought for the past 200 odd years, and have been the basis for the construction of our contemporary (post)modern society. However, postmodern and poststructuralist scholars have come to question the very basis of these enlightened perspectives and, in fact, question the very nature of modernity itself, arguing that we now exist within a contemporary postmodern world where enlightened discourses have come to be challenged, due to their inapplicability across time, place, and space. For a more in depth discussion of postmodernism and poststructuralism, see for instance: Feyerabend (1975), Foucault (1977), and Lyotard (1984).

visions of feminism which emanate from the identity and subjectivity of women themselves in their everyday lived experiences on the margins.

Social movement theorists as well have come to recognize the very "real" need for a reevaluation of theory (Calderón et al., 1992; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Melucci, 1988, 1990; Touraine, 1988). These reconceptualizations have been precipitated by the global crises in late-capitalism, modernity, and development as well as by the significant transformation in contemporary popular praxes of resistance in everyday day struggle on the margins. Within scholarship, both a deconstruction and critique of the past perspectives has occurred, along with the espousal of new ideas on social movements, so that within theory and praxis the very notion of "new social movements" has arisen. The debates within these diverse perspectives on social transformation are focused, as are third world feminisms, on the notions of identity and subjectivity of peoples on the margins and how these stem from their everyday lived experiences.

However, a second key problem still remains; how do these parallel theoretical and practical developments within third world feminisms and new social movements manifest themselves at the levels of both theory and practice within the postcolonial context of Latin America?

Latin American feminisms, which this study recognizes as examples of contextual third world feminisms, have in recent years begun to open up a critical dialogue among and between women concerning their different conditions

and positions within Latin American society (Chinchilla, 1992; Sternbach et al., 1992; Vargas, 1992). This has resulted in the realisation by Latin American women that they experience differences along class, ethnic, gender, and race lines. Women have thus begun to voice new, eclectic, and holistic visions of their multiple differences and subordinations from their engendered realities.

Within the new social movement debates in Latin America, there has been a marked change in their primary focus beyond that based solely on class (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Slater, 1985, 1994). Recent trends in analyses on social movements have come to be based on the awareness of the heterogeneity and the plurality of the actors involved beyond their identity and subjectivity as part of a socio-economic class. Equally significant, is the fact that these perspectives have begun to recast the political away from the traditional focus on the state towards the social and cultural levels of civil society (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Evers, 1985; Slater, 1985, 1994). This has both broadened the scope for understanding the multiple formation of collective identities and the multiple struggles of collective actions.

Since the early 1980s, the participation of women in new social movements in Latin America has increased significantly (Jelin, 1990; Vargas, 1992; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993). This participation has been engendered in both those organisations composed of women and men and in those led by and for women themselves. Women's increased participation is related to the dynamic political, social, and economic realities of the region. It has also grown

with the evolving theories and praxes of new social movements and Latin American feminisms occurring within the rich and diverse Latin American context. For this study, the possible expression within Latin America of third world feminisms together with new social movements (Jelin, 1990; Vargas, 1992; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1993) points to the direction of multiple emancipatory projects, which can only be understood if the corresponding theories undergo the necessary reconceptualizations alluded to above.

This then leads into the third key question which this study seeks to address; how can new social movement and third world feminist theories be reconceptualized and synthesized into a conjuncture of theories about the praxes of resistance within women's new social movements in Latin America? In other words, not only must these reconceptualizations within these two perspectives occur, but there must be an articulation and synthesis of these theories in order to make sense of the alternative and eclectic emancipatory projects of Latin American women who are struggling to meet the challenges of the postcolonial crises of modernity and development in the region. This question and the problem from which it stems are perhaps the most crucial for the analyses of women's involvement in new social movements in the region. As well, this question points to the future directions theory must take in order to make sense of Latin American women's contemporary feminist praxes of resistance on the margins.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE AND THESIS

In this study, a number of issues which stem from the scholarship on new social movements and third world feminisms will be addressed in the context of Latin America. *The purpose of this study is, in this context, to present the theoretical reconceptualizations of third world feminisms and new social movements in order to argue that within the praxes of resistance there is a conjuncture of these theories. Stemming from this, the thesis of this study argues that in order to better understand what is occurring within these contemporary praxes of resistance in Latin American women's new social movements, there must be the articulation of theories of conjuncture.*

While the notions of difference and heterogeneity presented and used in this study may be seen by some to pose certain problems, this study makes no claims of upholding the "truth" about the conjuncture of new social movements and third world feminisms in Latin America. Its purpose is not to generalize on the basis of these theories, but to present and use some new analytical tools to analyze and deconstruct the scholarship on three vignettes of women's new social movements within and across the rich diversity of Latin America. Therefore, the only "claim" made by this study that could be considered by some to be "general," takes from the thesis of Elizabeth Jelin and her work on the conjuncture of feminisms and new social movements in Latin America. As such, "they [women] are all involved in actions which through protesting, defending, and demanding, make them active subjects of social change" (1990:xvi).

With reference to this claim this study's thesis is advanced and argued to a four-fold purpose. First, the study will show that third world feminist and new social movement perspectives encompass significant reconceptualizations and that these new and eclectic visions point to new ways of understanding, analysing, and making sense of resistance and struggle in the late-20th century. Second, it will strive to overcome the textual invisibility in the scholarship on Latin American women's involvement in new social movements. As Caldeira (1990:47) and Schild (1994:60-61) argue, most studies on new social movements in the region have failed to mention women's role and if they have, they have only done so in a purely descriptive manner or else labelled them as apolitical. Third, it will attempt to show that a male student of international development can and should be involved within the debates of feminisms³ and women's new social movements since, as Verónica Schild argues, "gender [is] a key analytical category in the Latin American popular movement debate [it therefore] should be attended to by everyone and not only by women writing about other women" (1994:61-62). Fourth, it will strive to contribute to the

³ The debate of whether or not men can be feminists is intimately connected to the debate touched upon by this chapter. Sandra Harding believes that "the designation 'feminist' can apply to men who satisfy whatever standards women must satisfy to earn this label" (1987:12); however, the point of this discussion is not to dwell on the labels of who is a feminist, or who can be a feminist. The point of discussion rests on the notion of whether men can and should be engaged with feminism and whether they can and should conduct feminist social science research on/with/in cultures other than their own. However, for the purposes of this chapter and the limitations of space, this study suggests that men can be feminists if, and only if, they (we) begin to deconstruct the sexism, racism, classism, etc. that we have been socialized to in our various contexts and places across time and place. Within this deconstruction must come feminist visions for a more just and equitable society based on human dignity, social responsibility, and respect for others. For further discussion on this debate from varying feminist perspectives, see for example: Harding (1987), hooks (1988), Kremer (1990), Ramazanoglu (1992), and Seidler (1989).

ongoing, open-ended debates within feminisms and social movements.

Although this list is not exhaustive, it does point to some of the key issues the thesis will seek to address, and thus leaves itself open to the multiple possibilities that exist in the complex "realities" of the contemporary world. In conclusion, this thesis will seek to contribute to the dynamic and challenging theoretical and practical debates within scholarship on the conjuncture of third world feminisms and new social movements. This will be achieved through the presentation of some of the changing notions and ideas which have informed contemporary theoretical perspectives of feminisms and social movements. From this, it will be posited that the reconceptualizations of these frameworks is necessary due to the dynamic, plural, and heterogeneous feminist praxes of women within new social movements in Latin America. Therefore, in a sense, this thesis will provide more questions than answers to the fields of study in question; however, it will attempt to point to the future directions these fields must embark upon.

APPROACHES TOWARDS A BEGINNING

This study will make use of some of the theoretical perspectives within feminisms and social movements in formulating a set of guiding principles and ideas for making sense of and understanding the conjuncture of third world feminisms and new social movements in Latin America. Using these working sets of principles and ideas, this study will provide a discourse analysis and a

textual deconstruction of the scholarship on three vignettes of resistance and conjuncture on women's engagement with and participation in third world feminisms and new social movements in Latin America. This approach will enable the study to argue that within the discourse and scholarship on Latin American women's new social movements, there is indeed the articulation of theories of conjuncture.

The ideas of third world feminisms as new, eclectic and alternative ways of thinking will be discussed within the thesis. It will be posited that they seek to go beyond the old forms of feminist theorizing which neither paid general attention to differences among and between women, nor specific attention to third world women and their multiple differences. The ideas and concepts presented by various third world feminists have arisen not only out of the experiences and realities of third world women themselves, but have also shared notions with certain northern feminist, especially postmodern and African-U.S. American, perspectives, as well as some of the notions within postmodernism and poststructuralism generally. These ideas have both informed and been informed by third world feminisms and led to an expression not only of postcolonial critiques of western, mainstream hegemonic feminism, but also to the espousal of certain concepts central to third world feminisms.

The integration of the postcolonial critiques with the central concepts of third world feminisms will thus encompass the first half of this study. The postcolonial critiques of third world feminisms give their focus to the

deconstruction of the third world woman as a created, homogenized, and exoticized "other" (Minh-ha, 1993; Mohanty, 1991a; Spivak, 1992). This deconstruction rests upon the multiple differences of third world women, which in turn rest upon the everyday experiences and realities of these women. It is the plural and diverse nature of women's identity stemming from their subjective places of gender, race, class, and ethnicity, which inform their various feminisms and which seek a form of solidarity across these differences. The deconstruction also rests upon the dissolving of the binary opposites and dichotomies, in particular the public/private divide, which have rendered third world women as textually insignificant and invisible. This in essence turns the tables on the androcentric and paternalistic representation of third world woman as the *victim* and posits the view of third world woman as a *social actor*.

Taking the notions of class, race, and ethnicity differences among and between third world women, and third world women as social actors, these perspectives lead into a discussion of the central concepts bound up within third world feminisms. The notions of the gender division of labour and the public/private divide, ethnicity and race, as well as colonialism and imperialism all find articulation within the various third world feminist perspectives reviewed herein. These various notions maintain a certain degree of connectedness in that they impact upon third world women, yet manifest themselves differently across different contexts, histories, and times. Therefore, it is necessary to

incorporate these integrative concepts into any approach embarking upon the analysis of third world feminist perspectives.

New social movement perspectives are also seen as new, eclectic, and alternative ways of thinking which seek to go beyond the old notions of social movements and what constitutes resistance, identity, ideology, and politics. These perspectives as well look to the notions of differences, but more specifically to the heterogeneity and plurality of the actors involved in new social movements. Perspectives on these movements have arisen in the context of crises in modernity, late-capitalism, and development. As such, these "realities" have shaped the formation of these new understandings for contemporary times. These new understandings have within them both a deconstruction of the old perspectives, as well as an integration of central notions and concepts which inform the dynamic, plural nature of new social movements perspectives as well.

Two central areas where new social movements theorists have channelled their energies are to the issues of a movement away from a reduction to class (Slater, 1985, 1994) and a recasting of the political (Evers, 1985; Slater, 1994). Both of these notions are integral to each other in that the movement beyond the primacy of class as the basis for social action and the acquisition of state power as a central goal of the movement in turn recasts and broadens the analysis of what constitutes the political. It is thus not only class, but gender, race, and ethnicity, which give subjectivity to social actors. In turn, this informs their identity, which they formulate into collective action, struggle, and resistance from

their everyday realities beyond those of their class position. Although peoples' everyday realities are in the social and the cultural, they embark upon political action outside of working-class, party politics, and state-centered models. In effect, the social and the cultural become political as the actors strive for a redefinition and transformation of society from their everyday lives.

It is within these notions that the second-half of the approach used by this study forms its working ideas. These encompass the concepts of subject positions, which arise from the varied realities of everyday meanings and the creation of culture. From these subject positions, personal identity is formed, which in turn leads to the formation of collective identity of the social actors, which is then translated into fluid and dynamic ideologies. These ideologies are constructed in the everyday, and like the ideologies of third world feminisms, recast the personal to the political, to the social and the cultural, which is then directed and channelled into the various forms of collective action, struggle, and resistance on the margins.

THE POINT OF DEPARTURE

In conclusion, this thesis will utilize the approaches and perspectives introduced above in order to speak to the conjuncture and articulation of third world feminisms and new social movements, particularly how they manifest themselves in the richness and diversity of Latin America. To this purpose, *Chapter Two* situates the main theoretical debates within feminist visions for social change by

first reviewing the key themes and concepts of so-called northern feminist perspectives, and secondly by providing an account of the diverse critiques and eclectic visions of third world feminists. *Chapter Three* focuses on new social movements and the contemporary debates about these movements, the contexts in which they arose, their "newness," and finally, their myriad and pluralistic natures. *Chapter Four* seeks to contextualize the diverse nature and richness of Latin America and to synthesize the discourses of the preceding two chapters within this context through a discussion of the myriad ways in which third world feminisms and new social movements manifest themselves in the region. This chapter will provide a textual deconstruction and discourse analysis of the literature and research on three specific women's new social movements within three countries in Latin America. From this, the study will seek to understand how the scholarship on the praxes of resistance by women on the margins has influenced the theoretical reconceptualizations occurring within feminisms and social movements and how this in turn is leading towards theories of conjuncture about third world feminisms and new social movements.

To this end, this study now embarks upon the challenging and interesting journey through the theories and practices of women's engagement and involvement in and with third world feminisms and new social movements in Latin America, by first turning to the broader issues bound up within the literature on feminist theories for social change.

CHAPTER TWO:

FEMINIST THEORIES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

INTRODUCTION

Feminist theory over the past 200¹ years has sought to analyze, conceptualize, and systematize women's subordination through a number of different frameworks and approaches. Each feminist framework and approach operates from different underlying assumptions as to the root cause (or causes) of women's subordination. These underlying assumptions inform the different strategies to provide an analytical, conceptual, and systematic approach to women's everyday lived experiences. Feminist scholar, Jane Flax, argues this is the most important characteristic of feminist theory, and thus feminist theorizing entails "bringing [the] unconscious process [of women's everyday experiences] to a conscious level so it can be developed and refined" (1992:80).

Within the postcolonial world there is a reformulation occurring within contemporary feminisms: a shift away from a concern with primacy² and its

¹ The first sustained western feminist theory was Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792), inspired by the French Revolution and first published in 1792. There have been, however, statements made by women from many other different cultures around the world regarding women's rights, most of which has, unfortunately, gone unrecorded due to hegemonic patriarchal, racist, religious, and colonial discourses. For further discussion, see for instance: Stone (1984).

² Feminist theories at times focus on only one particular root cause of domination; a primacy of women's subordination. Primacies argue "the original cause of the subordination of women must be the deepest, as well as causally the most significant - and therefore also the most politically urgent" (Jagger and Rothenberg, 1992: 115). That is, the theory locates one specific structural oppression that impacts on women the most negatively and focuses

limitations. In fact, feminist theory today stands at a crisis; the very notion of feminist theory has become problematic. Contemporary feminism is undergoing a radical reformulation in both theory and praxis, which entails both a shift away from the concern with the primacy of women's subordination, and correspondingly, from the concern with the transformation of this root cause of women's subordination as the emancipatory goal of feminism. That is, the questions as to the primary cause of women's subordination and to feminism's primary emancipatory project have become redundant. Primacy is not only seen as irrelevant, but as illegitimate and false, since universal generalisations and metanarratives can no longer be applied to all women across all contexts.

This shift in feminist theory is the result of the various critiques and challenges to contemporary feminisms from women in both the North and the South from their myriad perspectives, informed by both postmodernism and postcolonialism. These feminists argue that the differences among and between women must be analyzed from their own specific cultural, historical, and socio-economic contexts, localities, and standpoints. Although feminism is undergoing these critiques and challenges, there are both constructive, as well as deconstructive elements. Jagger and Rothenberg comment that: "[e]ven as [these critiques and challenges] identify flaws in existing conceptualizations, they

its theoretical energy to explaining and analysing this root cause. Feminist theoretical frameworks that operate from this theory of primacy argue that the analysis of the primary structural oppression supersedes the analysis of all other structural oppressions; in fact, they at times disregard other structural oppressions altogether in their analysis.

also point, explicitly and implicitly, towards alternative ways of thinking" (1992:113).

This study argues that the articulation by third world women³ in both the South and the North of what can be termed loosely as third world feminisms⁴

³ The term "third world" is used with great trepidation within this study (as it has also been used within other studies written by Northern scholars; see for example: Connelly et al., 1994b:note 2; and Parpart and Marchand, 1995:note 1) as a means to refer to the regions of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, which although having similar (neo)colonial histories and exhibiting certain other similarities, are quite distinct and different not only between the regions themselves, but within the regions as well. However, this study recognizes that the term "third world" has been reclaimed by peoples in and from these regions stemming from their various positions, perspectives, and localities. As Trinh T. Minh-ha argues, "... If 'third world' is often rejected for its judged-to-be-derogative connotations, it is not so much because of the hierarchical first-second-third order implied, as some invariably repeat, but because of the growing threat 'third world' constantly presents to the western bloc the last few decades" (1989:98). Thus "[t]he third world to third world peoples'... becomes an empowering tool, and one which politically includes all non-whites in their solidarist struggle against all forms of western dominance" (Minh-ha, 1989:98). The terms South and North have been adopted (as they have been by others; see for example: Connelly et al., 1994b:note 2; and Parpart and Marchand, 1995:note 1) as a means of facilitating discussion within this study, where the South refers to those less industrialized economies, which (for the most part) form the geographic southern half of the globe, while the North refers to those more (over)industrialized economies in both the North and the South (particularly the NICs of Southeast Asia).

The term "third world women" is also seen by this study as problematic due to the limitations of definition and generalization within contemporary scholarship. Mohanty writes that, "... black, Latino, Asian, and indigenous peoples in [North America], Europe,... Australia, [and New Zealand], some of whom have historic links with the geographically defined third world, also refer to themselves as third world peoples" (1991a:5). While this does present what Mohanty terms as "a broad canvas" (1991a:5) it also tends to conflate some of the experiences of a diverse population of women all over the world. Therefore, for the purposes of this study the term "third world women" will be used herein as an analytical and political category to refer only to those women with birth or recent ancestry within the South, but who may now live in either the South or the North. The term "women of colour," proves to be problematic as well. The term itself is used by feminist scholars to refer to both those women in the North who comprise ethnic and racial minorities, but who were neither born nor have recent ancestry in the South, as well as to those women whom this study refers to as third world women. In order to avoid the almost impossible conflation of the terms, this study will only use the term women of colour when it itself is used by the feminist scholars reviewed herein and within the context of their discussion of third world women.

⁴ The term "third world feminisms" is also viewed as problematic. In her attempt to bridge the ontological and pedagogical problematics associated with a discussion of what constitutes third world feminisms, Mohanty argues that while, "[t]he very notion of addressing what are often internally conflictual histories of third world women's feminisms

represent some of these alternative ways of thinking. New, eclectic, and holistic visions of women's multiple differences, multiple subordinations, and multiple emancipatory projects have been expressed by third world feminists in their quest to make feminism relevant for themselves and to their everyday lives. As well, third world women have begun to espouse various feminisms from their own specific realities and consciousnesses within autonomous, heterogeneous, pluralistic new social movements (Jelin, 1990; Vargas, 1992). Thus, the struggle for women's emancipation is being expressed through feminist movements based on the ideal of an alternative transformation of society along class, ethnic, gender, and race lines. In this sense, theory is following the praxis of women on the margins who are struggling for their emancipation neither through revolutionary socialism, nor through hegemonic, western feminism, but rather through alternative third world feminist visions based on a commitment to social justice, conceptualized and articulated through their own consciousness, differences, and experiences.

under a single rubric,..., may seem ludicrous - especially since the very meaning of the term *feminism* is continually contested ... [it is necessary] to recognize and [explore analytically] the links among the histories and struggles of third world women against racism, sexism, colonialism, imperialism, and monopoly capital" (1991a:4). Therefore, for the purposes of this study, the term "third world feminisms" will be used to refer to the articulation of the multiple realities of race, culture, class, gender, ethnicity, etc. subordination that third world women (see Chapter Two, note 3) in both the North and the South experience in their everyday lives. The articulation of feminism within these different contexts, leads to a variety of multiple and diverse feminisms that arise out of third world women's experiences, and can thus be termed third world feminisms. However, those feminists of colour in the North, especially African-U.S. American feminists, are not "defined" by this study as third world feminists, since most of these feminists of colour in the North have neither been born nor have recent ancestry in the South (see Chapter Two, note 18).

This chapter will review the literature in the field of feminist theories for social change, by focusing specifically on the key theoretical debates and policy implications ranging from mainstream western feminist perspectives to the critiques and challenges posed by new, eclectic third world feminist visions in both the North and South. This will be achieved in the first section through a three part analysis: a review of the "unhappy marriage" between Marxist and socialist feminism, the consolidation of socialist feminism and its impact on liberal feminism, and a discussion of the theoretical movements beyond, including a look at materialist, standpoint, postmodern, and African-U.S. American feminisms. Within the second section of the chapter, a presentation of third world feminisms will be undertaken in order to gain an understanding of the major themes, concepts, and debates within third world feminist perspectives from both the South and the North. The five part analysis will focus upon the theoretical origins of third world feminisms, the postcolonial critique and perspectives of third world feminisms, the central themes and concepts within the discourse, and lastly the feminist visions of third world women. This chapter will argue that the articulation of these alternative, eclectic feminist voices from the margins pose direct theoretical challenges not only to western feminisms, but also to hegemonic neocolonial discourses. This has both important implications for third world feminist praxes and for the struggles of all peoples living on the margins in the postcolonial world.

FROM MARXIST TO SOCIALIST FEMINISM AND BEYOND

The "Unhappy Marriage"

The subordination of women due to the workings of the exploitive, capitalist mode of production was (and still is) the major tenet of Marxist feminist thought. Heidi Hartmann points out, "[m]ost Marxist analyses of women's position take as their [guiding] question the relationship of women to the economic system, rather than that of women to men, apparently assuming the latter will be explained in the discussion of the former" (1981:3).⁵ This posits class as the primacy in women's subordination and in essence ignores and subsumes all other forms of women's oppression. Marxist feminists incorporate this primacy into their theoretical framework, yet their analysis has tended to focus on women's domestic labour within the larger understanding of class relations (Acker, 1988; Armstrong and Armstrong, 1983; Hartmann, 1981; Mackintosh, 1984). However, this still does not explain why it is women's unpaid labour that is necessary for capitalism, nor why it is women that perform this work. Hartmann argues that Marxist feminism gives "no clues about why *women* are subordinate to *men* inside and outside the family ..." which leads her to conclude that Marxist feminism is "sex-blind" (1981:10-11).

Pat Armstrong and Hugh Armstrong echo Hartmann's conclusions. They argue that Marxist and Marxist feminist analysis of women's subordination have

⁵ For an in depth discussion of Marxism and the women question, see for instance: Engles (1972) and Zaretsky (1973).

"[failed] to recognize or explain how and why sex differences pervade every aspect of human activity" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1981:7). Their argument focuses on differences: differences between women and men, and therefore they critique Marxist and Marxist feminist assumptions of class as a homogeneous construct including women and men within the same relationship to the capitalist mode of production. This argument is reiterated by Gerda Lerner who goes on to posit that class is "generic," "that is, it is expressed and institutionalized in terms that are always different for men and women" (Lerner, 1992:240).

Armstrong and Armstrong proceed to review the domestic labour debate⁶ in order to further argue the point that women are subordinated differently than men within capitalism. Within their review and critique of the domestic labour debate, they focus on the gender division of labour by pointing out that:

[a] capitalist society, with its concomitant free wage labourer, seems to imply a separation, in some form, between the reproduction of workers and the production of goods and services. The separation seems also to imply a segregation, and denigration of women (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1981:28).

That is, a division of labour based on gender differences between women and men is essential to the capitalist mode of production, hence the analysis of women's subordination under capitalism must also look to women's gender

⁶ For an in depth discussion of the domestic labour debate, see for instance: Benton (1971), Delphy (1976), and Seccombe (1980).

subordination to men. Women's domestic, unwaged labour within the household is seen as necessary and intimately connected to capitalism by Armstrong and Armstrong, but that this is also an outcome of women's subordination to men under patriarchy.

This argument is also articulated by Maureen Mackintosh where she raises an important point in regard to women's subordination and the gender division of labour: "...if women's subordination within society predates capitalism, then surely we cannot hope to explain it solely in terms of the inherent logic of the capitalist system?" (Mackintosh, 1984:9). Mackintosh believes that in order to analyze women's subordination, feminist theory must move beyond Marxist analysis, since it neglects the fact that women are subordinated to men through patriarchy and the intersection of capitalism. While this is a very important point for understanding the shift from Marxist feminist to socialist feminist thought (through the analysis of patriarchy as articulated by radical feminism) Mackintosh argues that capitalism and patriarchy are two separate systems which intersect at particular moments to subordinate women.

Joan Acker critiques this approach to women's subordination because of the fact that "[p]atriarchy or the sex/gender system is analytically [viewed as] distinct from capitalism and its apparently gender-neutral class structure" (1988:474-5). For Acker, this type of analysis focuses only on women as subjects of gender subordination under the "gender-neutral" structure of capitalism, and that this "conceptual indifference to sexual differentiation can only

reinforce the pre-existing model of society built on the activities and consciousness of men alone" (1988:475). As well, Rita Gallin and Anne Ferguson argue that an approach which constructs capitalism and patriarchy as distinct systems, in essence locates women's oppression within either capitalism or patriarchy (Gallin and Ferguson, 1991:20). Essentially, this posits women's oppression back into one of primacy and not within a synthesized, interconnected analysis of capitalism and patriarchy.

The argument that capitalism and patriarchy are neither autonomous nor interconnected systems, but actually the same system is articulated by both Hartmann and Armstrong and Armstrong. The latter scholars believe that "women are simultaneously subject to capitalism, male dominance, and their bodies ... [and that as] integrated forms, they must be examined together" (Armstrong and Armstrong, 1983:29). Hartmann in her article makes the point that: "patriarchy is not simply a psychic, but also a social and economic structure ... that the accumulation of capital both accommodates itself to ... and helps to perpetuate ... " (1981:3). Thus, Hartmann believes that the synthesis between capitalism and patriarchy exists, and that therefore Marxist feminist analysis and its historical materialism combined with radical feminist analysis of the relations between women and men point the way forward for analysing women's subordination from a socialist feminist perspective.

With this theoretical shift away from the primacy of class in Marxist feminist analysis to a synthesized, more holistic view of women's oppression as

caused by the mutually interrelated and reinforcing systems of capitalism and patriarchy, comes a focus not only on the differences between women and men, but among and between women as well. Some Marxist feminists argued that women constitute a class on the basis of their domestic labour and the production of use values in the home.⁷ That is, women constituted a class based on their relationship to capitalism and to the larger class struggle. However, this analysis failed to see clearly how capitalism and patriarchy work to subordinate women, since it failed to recognize how women within the class struggle are also subordinate to men.

Radical feminism also sought to homogenize all women as a distinctive class, but this was based on their shared biology, not on their relationship to capitalism.⁸ This approach was clearly ahistorical and failed to recognize how women from different socio-economic positions face different material oppressions. As Maxine Molyneux argues: "[c]learly the wife of the bourgeois who employs servants to do the housework and to care for the children does *not* share in the *material* oppression of the less privileged woman..." (1979:14). Thus, early radical feminism with its primacy on patriarchy assumed all women were a class exploited by all men; it did not see how women's oppression cut across socio-economic class lines. This static approach, argue Gallin and

⁷ Some Marxist feminists who advocate women as a class are: Bentson (1971) and Dalla Costa and James (1972).

⁸ Some radical feminists who advocate women as a class are: Delphy (1976) and Firestone (1970).

Ferguson "leads to the assumption that women have uniform interests and concerns which revolve around problems emanating from their shared womanhood" (1991:20).

Armstrong and Armstrong argue that women do not constitute a class since there are socio-economic class differences among women. This is in direct relation to their assumptions, as well as those of Acker (1988), Gallin and Ferguson (1992), Hartmann (1981), and Molyneux (1979), who all believe that capitalism and patriarchy are one and the same system of oppression. For Armstrong and Armstrong, "[t]he oppression takes different forms for ... women. The consequences, nature and responses to male dominance vary from class to class" (1983:29). Therefore, women are not seen as homogeneous, but heterogeneous, where their differences are based on their socio-economic class differences.

Socialist Feminism Consolidated: Whither Liberal Feminism?

The concurrent critique and synthesis of Marxist feminism and radical feminism resulted in the formulation of the socialist feminist framework. The scholars thus far reviewed are all situated somewhere within the socialist feminist framework. Some, like Armstrong and Armstrong and Hartmann were at the forefront of the framework's original conception in the latter half of the 1970s, while others like Acker, Learner, and Molyneux carried forward the consolidation of the framework within western academe. Socialist feminism marked a progression away from

a primacy of women's subordination based on their homogeneity as a class (either within Marxist feminist or radical feminist analysis) to a more synthesized analysis of women's subordination and how this was articulated along both class and gender lines.

It is important to note that the concept of gender and its social construction are key elements of analysis within socialist feminism (Gallin and Ferguson, 1991,1993; Jaquette, 1982; Young, 1988). It rejects both biological determinism and essentialism; rather, it focuses on how gender is prescribed through both "sets of ideas and sets of behaviour - or, to put it another way, both ideology and material practices" (Young, 1988:1). This has important ramifications for the analysis of women's subordination because if women's work, roles, value, etc. are constituted from the social and not the biological, then their construction can also be deconstructed. Within socialist feminism, this deconstruction occurs through the analysis of gender relations, that is relations between women and men.

Socialist feminism also moved the analysis of women's subordination further through its focus on not only the difference between women and men within capitalism, but among women as well. This analysis is based on the underlying assumption that capitalism and patriarchy are mutually reinforcing systems of oppression and that women do not constitute a class based on their gender, nor on their socio-economic oppression. From this level of analysis, socialist feminists argue that since capitalism and patriarchy are part and parcel

of the same oppressive system, they therefore must be challenged simultaneously. With the consolidation of the framework, feminist scholars working from and within it began to present socialist feminism not only as a critique to western liberal feminism, but also as an alternative for both women's emancipation and for dramatic structural change within society, which they argued was not present within liberal feminism (Gallin and Ferguson, 1993; Jaquette, 1982; Young, 1988).

Liberal feminism⁹ itself "is rooted in the liberal philosophical tradition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which focused on the *ideals of equality and liberty*"¹⁰ (Connelly et al., 1994a:64) and as such, stresses that equal opportunity for both women and men must be provided within society. Liberal feminism as a theoretical framework posits that a distinction must be made between *sex* (biological differences between women and men) and *gender* (cultural, historical, and social differences between women and men) since women's subordination results not from biological sex differences with men, but from the practised gendered norms within society (Connelly et al., 1994a:64). Stemming from this, the framework also focuses its theoretical energy on the concept of the public/private dichotomy and the distinction between the two spheres. Liberal feminists argue that women should have the right to choose on

⁹ For a more in-depth analysis of the liberal feminist framework, see for instance: Jagger and Rothenberg Eds. (1992).

¹⁰ For more a more in-depth reading of the underlying philosophical traditions of liberalism, see for instance: Mill (1978).

issues within both spheres, which they remain committed to as a level of analysis, since the central emancipatory theme for women within the framework is based upon "women's equal participation within the existing system" (Jaquette, 1982:272).

While some of these aspects of liberal feminism mirror, to some extent, those of socialist feminism with its focus on gender and the public and private spheres of women's lives, it does not entail the same critical analysis and deconstruction of either as does socialist feminism. The overarching critique of liberal feminism by those feminists writing from a socialist feminist perspective lies precisely in the facts that it fails to challenge the unequal power relations between women and men, it fails to offer a materialist analysis to women's subordination under capitalism, and it fails to discuss the socio-economic class differences between women. In essence, liberal feminism seeks reform within the existing system and does nothing to question issues of power and structural subordination, which is seen by its socialist feminist critics as "integrationist and individualistic" (Jaquette, 1982:272).

Critiques & Reconceptualizations: Beyond Socialist Feminism

The critiques and reconceptualizations of socialist feminism have arisen due to the limitations of the feminist visions for social change reviewed above, which in effect have precipitated a general crisis in feminist knowledge and theory. The crises in feminism, but more specifically within socialist feminism, has led to

various feminist scholars from materialist feminist (Barrett, 1992; Hennessy, 1993), standpoint feminist (Harding, 1992), postmodern feminist (Flax, 1992; Fraser and Nicholson, 1990; Parpart and Marchand, 1995), and African-U.S. American feminist (Brown, 1991; Collins, 1992; hooks, 1984; King, 1992) perspectives proposing new directions for feminist theories. Since women differ by class, ethnicity, race, religion and any other number of categories, it is of utmost importance that feminist theories begin to understand these differences and reconceptualize their notions regarding the issues of subjectivity and the power of language in the construction of women's multiple identities.

These feminist scholars argue that even socialist feminism, with its focus on class and gender, looks only to women's socio-economic class differences; there has been no sustained articulation of other differences such as ethnicity, race, etc. This not only ignores differences, but women's multicausal oppressions based on these differences (for example racism and white supremacy). Women's multicausal subordination and their multiple differences, according to Gerda Lerner have begun to force feminist scholars and theorists to "question not only why certain content was previously omitted, ignored, and trivialized, but also to consider who decides what is to be included" (1992:237). She thus concludes that socialist feminism is an inadequate conceptual framework for dealing with differences, since "if one ignores 'differences' one distorts reality" (1992:238).

Materialist Feminism

Materialist feminism takes its theoretical emergence from the feminist critiques of Marxism and Marxist feminism in the late 1970s, and as such was bound up within the notions of a more general socialist feminist framework. However, materialist-feminism has now come to distinguish itself from socialist feminism due in part to the former's focus on the postmodern concepts of language and subjectivity¹¹ (Hennessy, 1993:xi, 5). The concept of difference and the movement away from the overarching totalities of generalization are also at the forefront of materialist feminist discourse. As Rosemary Hennessy points out, the challenge of materialist feminism is to "insist ... [upon the] critique of social totalities like patriarchy and capitalism ... without abandoning attention to the differential positioning of women within them" (1993:xii). In other words, Hennessy and other materialist feminists like Barrett (1980,1992) are attempting to articulate and integrate the macro-structural systems of oppression with the micro-level realities of the everyday as experienced by different women.

The key within these debates about the directions for feminist theories center upon the notion of history and how the need to conceptualize feminist discourse as ideology and a means to understand the materiality of power/knowledge relations must be contextualized with the need to historicize (Hennessy, 1993:100). What is at issue here for materialist feminists like Hennessy, is the need for feminists to realize and understand that theory is

¹¹ These points will be returned to shortly in the latter section on postmodern feminisms.

historical and that history itself "is one of the preeminent transmitters of hegemonic culture and tradition" (1993:100). The significance of this rests on the fact that western hegemonic liberal feminism has "served to legitimate standards of value and define the boundaries of intelligibility and subjectivity" (1993:100) and thus not only neglect, but disregard the plurality of women's subjectivities and multiple differences.

Since this diversity of women's experiences is constructed within the context of power, language, and knowledge, feminists writing from this framework argue that "it is through contestation among discourses and not by sheer self-assertion that social forms and institutions are shaped and emancipatory knowledges produced" (Hennessy, 1993:37). These emancipatory knowledges, as given voice to by materialist feminists, thus rest on the notions of difference, subjectivity, and language, all bound up within the context of history. It is these notions within materialist feminism which reconceptualize and synthesize the macro and the micro, and therefore point towards a movement away from past socialist feminist frameworks.

Standpoint Feminism

Standpoint feminism as well has begun to question the notions of women's differences and how these differences are grounded in the contextual experiences of women. These reconceptualizations stem, in part, from the movements within radical feminism during the 1980s, and thus have attempted

to go beyond the primacy of women's subordination at the androcentric hands of patriarchy and beyond the analysis of socialist feminism as well. Sandra Harding, writing from the framework of standpoint feminism, in essence argues that feminist theory has neglected specifically the notion of women as subjects grounded in their divergent every day experiences. Thus,

[i]f women and men can only be found in historically determinate races, classes, ethnicities, and sexualities, then a gender analysis - one that is from the perspective of women's lives - must scrutinize gender as it exists and from the perspective of all women's lives. There is no other defensible choice (Harding, 1992:180).

Harding argues that multiple differences and multicausal oppressions impact on everyone's lives and that these are articulated by and through our own subjective experiences and consciousness. By neglecting to focus on these 'differences,' socialist feminism has distorted not only the lives of women on the margins, but women at the center as well (1992:180). People cannot understand their own lives if they do not know how structural oppressions of classism, racism, sexism, etc. impact on them and how they benefit or are marginalized by these structures. For Harding, "women's lives [may not] just be different from each others', but structurally opposed [as well]" (1992:181). Thus, standpoint feminism emphasizes that women are subjects based in their own realities and standpoints, which are multivariate and diverse.

An analysis of racism and white supremacy is presented by Harding as she incorporates these perspectives into her framework of standpoint feminism.

'Racism is enacted in many different ways, and overt individual prejudice is just one of them. It is fundamentally a political relationship, a strategy that systematically provides economic, political, psychological and social advantages for whites at the expense of blacks and other people of colour'¹² and it is a dynamic relationship that is flexible enough to adapt to changing historical conditions (1992:179).

Harding sees an analysis of class and gender as essential to women's subordination; however, this analysis must include the interrelated aspect of race or else it will fail to explain all women's oppression. Socialist feminism, in her opinion, has thus failed in this regard.

Postmodern Feminisms: Discourse and Difference

The reconceptualization of women's differences and subordination marks a shift away from the strict socialist feminist analysis of class and gender to a more multiple and multicausal approach. Recently, the postmodern¹³ focus on

¹² D. Wellman (1977) Portraits of White Racism, New York: Cambridge University Press. As cited in, Harding (1992:179).

¹³ Postmodernism by its very nature is not readily definable. However, Parpart and Marchand attempt to provide an overview of its ideas as they too grapple with its multiple meanings. Thus, "[p]ostmodernism is not easily encapsulated in one phrase or idea as it is actually an amalgam of often purposely ambiguous and fluid ideas. It represents the convergence of three distinct cultural trends. These include an attack on the austerity and functionalism of modern art; the philosophical attack on structuralism, spearheaded in the 1970s by poststructuralist scholars such as Jacques Derrida, Micheal Foucault, and Gilles

difference has led to various feminisms being espoused that incorporate these more philosophical perspectives into feminist political projects which seek to avoid the essentialist trappings of universalist western feminism. These critiques not only point out the limitations of western feminism, but also are direct challenges to the modernist frameworks of western feminisms and to their "enlightened" perspectives.¹⁴ They posit new feminist visions, which engender women's multiple differences, contingent subjects¹⁵, and multicausal subordinations, and thus point the way for new feminist frameworks built upon multiple feminisms.

Deleuze; and the economic theories of postindustrial society developed by sociologists such as Daniel Bell and Alain Touraine [see also: Callinicos (1989)]. These various strands were first woven together under the rubric of 'postmodernism' by Jean-Francois Lyotard, in his book, *The Post Modern Condition ...* (1995:1-2). For a more in depth discussion of postmodernism and poststructuralism, see for instance: Feyerabend (1975), Foucault (1977), and Lyotard (1984).

¹⁴ It is argued that liberal, Marxist, and socialist feminists working within the traditions of their corresponding philosophical/ideological perspectives, which are embedded in the thoughts and ideals of 18th century Enlightenment, are thus themselves embedded the same thoughts and ideals.

¹⁵ The notion of the "contingent subject" is taken from postmodernism and poststructuralism and employed by postmodern feminists in their analysis of women's multiple realities and subjectivities. Postmodern feminism views "high poststructuralism's" refusal to validate the subjective experience of specificity as crippling in its capacity to make sense of change or theorise resistance. What some (de Lauretis, 1984; Goetz, 1988) thus suggest is that "the progression out of the political paralysis of poststructuralism lies precisely in the attention to the subjective experience of specificity, of the 'situatedness in the social' ... with the awareness that consciousness is never fixed, because its boundaries change according to the cultural discursive contexts within which the subject is located" (Goetz, 1988:491). In other words, subjectivity and the subject are contingent upon the place and context in which it is located, which thus produces the concept of feminist consciousness as "'a multiple, shifting, often self-contradicting identity made up of heterogeneous and heteronomous representations of gender, race, and class ...'" (de Lauretis, 1986:9; as cited in Goetz, 1988:491).

The articulation of feminism and postmodernism has particular relevance for the analysis of women's subordination. Both frameworks have sought to develop new paradigms of social criticism, with a focus on difference. As Jane Parpart states, " [it is] not [surprising that] the postmodern focus on difference has offered ammunition to women who felt excluded by the writings and preoccupations of white, western, middle class feminists" (1993:444). In their forthcoming book, *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*, Parpart and Marianne Marchand echo these realities:

Feminist theory produced by these [western] scholars generally 'explained' women as if their reality applied to women from all classes, races, cultures, and regions of the world. Feminist concern with female 'otherness' ignored the possibility of differences among women themselves¹⁶ (1995:5).

Postmodern feminisms see hegemonic feminisms as limited in their analysis of women's differences based, in part, on the postmodern perspective of what Jean-Francois Lyotard terms "an incredulity towards metanarratives" (1984:xxiii-iv,5).¹⁷ Stemming from these aspects of postmodernism, Parpart and

¹⁶ See also: Gilligan (1982) and Spellman (1990).

¹⁷ Bound up within the postmodern critique of metanarratives lay the ontological and pedagogical questions raised by postmodernists pertaining to the (mis)construction and (re)production of power through knowledge, language, and discourse and their claim of "who has the right to know." See for example, Foucault's (1976) emphasis on "truth" as a partial or localized version of "reality" and his claim that counter-hegemonic discourses which voice alternative versions of "reality" challenge the false power of hegemonic knowledge. Also see for example, Derrida's (1976) emphasis on binary opposites.

Marchand summarize in their introduction/conclusion what they believe postmodernism entails and thus offers to feminism:

... postmodern thinkers reject universal, simplified definitions of social phenomena, which, they argue, essentialize reality and fail to reveal the complexity of life as a lived experience. Drawing on this critique, postmodernists have rejected the search for broad generalizations. They emphasize the need for local, specific, and historically informed analysis, carefully grounded in both spatial and cultural contexts. Above all they call for the recognition and celebration of difference(s), the importance of encouraging the recovery of previously silenced voices and an acceptance of the partial nature of all knowledge claims and thus the limits of knowing (1995:3).

Nancy Fraser and Linda J. Nicholson argue that women's multiple differences and multicausal oppressions can no longer be subsumed under a grand theory of oppression because "scholarship has become more localized, issue-oriented, and explicitly fallibilistic" (1990:33). They focus on women's articulation of their unique, specific contexts and experiences and their critiques of western feminism. According to them:

the practice of feminist politics ... has generated a new set of pressures which have worked against metanarratives. In recent years, poor and working-class women, women of colour, and lesbians have finally won a wider hearing for their objections to feminist theories which fail to illuminate their lives and address their problems (1990:33).

The articulation of women's class, gender, race , etc. within new feminist visions, like postmodern feminism, has led to a challenge to western feminisms. This is because of their neglect of these multiple differences and, more importantly, because of their grand theories regarding women's subordination under the either/or dichotomies of capitalism and patriarchy. Thus, for Fraser and Nicholson: "a postmodern feminist theory would be non-universalist. When its focus became cross-cultural or transepochal, its mode of attention would be comparativist rather than universalizing, attuned to changes and contrasts instead of to covering laws" (1990:35).

Jane Flax also critiques western hegemonic feminism from a postmodern feminist perspective for its neglect of women's multiple differences. For Flax, the meanings and practices of "female" and "male" will vary by class, culture, gender, age, race, and time. Therefore, she argues that socialist feminism, "cannot assume *a priori* that in any particular culture there will be a [dual] determinant or cause of gender relations, much less that [it] can tell beforehand what this [dual] cause ... might be" (1987:630). Flax, like Fraser and Nicholson, believes that:

[f]eminist theories, like other forms of postmodernism, should encourage us to tolerate and interpret ambivalence, ambiguity, and multiplicity as well as to expose the roots of our needs for imposing order and structure no matter how arbitrary and oppressive these needs may be (1987:643).

The articulation of postmodernism and feminism together thus looks to women's multiple differences and multicausal subordinations and to the creation of alliances across these differences, in order for feminist theories to emancipate women from their multiple subordinations.

For Fraser and Nicholson the intersection and engagement of postmodernism and feminism allows for the "trading of criticisms" where, "[a] postmodern reflection on feminist theory reveals disabling vestiges of essentialism while a feminist reflection on postmodernism reveals androcentrism and political naivete" (1990:20). Stemming from this, they believe "postmodern feminists need not abandon the large theoretical tools needed to address large political problems" and that therefore,

[s]uch [critical] inquiry would be the theoretical counterpart of a broader, richer, more complex, and multilayered feminist solidarity, the sort of solidarity which is essential for overcoming the oppression of women in its 'endless variety and monotonous similarity' (1990:35).

African-U.S. American¹⁸ Feminisms: From Margin to Center

The above reconceptualizations have occurred within the privileged discourses of Northern feminism, where these feminist scholars, while not within the dominant framework of western liberal feminism, have enjoyed a certain level of

¹⁸ The term African-U.S. American is used to refer to peoples in the United States who are of African ancestry. Specifically the term U.S. American is used rather than "American" as this study views this term as quite U.S., centric since all peoples living in the "Americas" are "Americans," not just those who are nationals of the United States.

"comfortableness" due in large part to their class and race, being for the most part, white and middle to upper-class. However, these reconceptualizations are not only occurring within the more privileged discourses of feminism in the North, but within those on the margins of the North as well. In fact, these reconceptualizations from the center and the margins have come together at points in time to inform the various perspectives offered by these feminists.

Feminist scholars within the perspectives on the margins are mostly of African-U.S. American descent and write from the particular vantage point of what it means to be black and female, specifically in the United States, but more generally in the North. There has been a substantial body of literature from feminists writing from this perspective, with a major portion of this work focusing as a critique on white, hegemonic feminism and its neglect of the interrelated aspects of women's subordination.

In fact, Alice Walker (1983) an African-U.S. American author has consciously chosen to use the term "womanist" instead of "feminist" to describe herself and her work. This stems from the fact that she views mainstream feminism as too narrow to encompass her (and other women of colour's) multiple realities. However, this has not led to an outright rejection of the term "feminism" for most African-U.S. American women, who in one form or another have always been engaged with feminism in their everyday struggles against race, class, and gender oppression and marginalization. Thus, the scholars reviewed all share a commitment to and a refusal to give up the term feminism,

although they also do share a commitment to critiquing and challenging white, mainstream feminism and to reconceptualizing women's differences in order to posit new, feminist frameworks based upon their lived experiences as African-U.S. American women.

The focus on women's differences and how mainstream, western feminism has neglected race differences is the theme for Elsa Barkley Brown's article on women's history. She argues that "we need to recognize not only differences but also the relational nature of those differences" (Brown, 1991:86). That is, it is of utmost importance that feminism realize:

middle class women live the lives they do precisely because working class women live the lives they do. White women and women of colour not only live different lives but white women live the lives they do in large part because women of colour live the lives they do (1991:86).

What Brown is articulating is that feminists need to go further into the analysis of differences. Western feminism has neglected race; at times it has acknowledged it, but then ignored it and other differences among and between women, except for class and gender.

For Brown, "[t]his reflects the fact that we still have to recognize that being a woman is, in fact, not extractable from the context in which one is a woman - race, class, time, and place" (1991:88). It is held by Brown that women's multiple differences are impacted upon by the forms of their multicausal

subordination which she sees as polyrhythmic in nature - all interrelated and interconnected. In order to achieve a more holistic understanding of women's subordination, feminism must look to the multiple relational differences among and between women, which arguably, it has not done thus far.

The relational aspects of women's differences are articulated as well by bell hooks as she sees how "white women may be victimized by sexism [and classism] but how racism enables them to act as exploiters and oppressors of black people" (1984:15). Thus, the notion of the interrelatedness and interconnectedness of class, gender, and race oppression is again seen. The idea of women's "common oppression" is a false idea according to hooks, since it mystifies "the true nature of women's varied and complex social [realities]" (1984:44). However, hooks does not argue that the idea of sisterhood should be abandoned (1984:44). While it is true that common primary or dualist notions of women's subordination must be deconstructed, a new formulation of feminism based on differences, with an understanding of these differences, is the only means to present a united front in the struggle for all women's emancipation. The understanding of women's multiple realities with the concurrent articulation of solidarity between women, points the way forward for feminism as a movement, according to hooks.

Deborah King analyses these multiple experiences and consciousness of black women through the concept of "multiple jeopardy" (1992:225). That is, racism, sexism, classism, homophobia, etc. all compound each other in an

interactive and interdependent manner to oppress black women. Thus, the multicausal subordination of women is King's "multiple jeopardy." King critiques both the monist and dualist approaches to women's subordination and emancipation, and therefore challenges the invisibility of black women's experiences and their assimilation with those of black men and white women. According to King, "[western feminism has excluded and devalued black women's] experiences and interpretations of [their] own realities at the conceptual and ideological level" (1992:229).

For these reasons, King challenges western feminism by positing a black feminist ideology, which incorporates her assumptions of women's "multiple jeopardy." She holds that this ideology will "declare the visibility of black women," articulate their "self-determination," "challenge the interstructure of the oppressions of racism, sexism, classism, both in the dominant society and within movements for liberation," and finally "preserve an image of black women as powerful independent subjects" (1992:232). Although these multiple differences and multicausal subordinations "make the emergence and praxis of a multivalent ideology problematic," King argues, "they also make the task more necessary [in order] to work toward [the] liberation [of] blacks, ... the economically exploited, and ... women" (1992:232).

African-U.S. American feminist Patricia Hill Collins argues that a black feminist epistemology is necessary for black women in order to reclaim their voices which have been silenced by white, hegemonic feminism. The notion of

knowledge control is a key for Collins and she argues that it is imperative to construct knowledge from the fact that "the material conditions of race, class, and gender oppression can vary dramatically and yet generate some uniformity in the epistemologies of subordinate groups" (Collins, 1992:96). Thus, African-U.S. American feminisms are not only presenting critiques to western feminism, but challenges in the forms of new visions and new directions in the analysis of women's subordination and in the struggle for women's emancipation.

THIRD WORLD FEMINISMS: VOICES FROM THE MARGINS

Theoretical Origins

Thus far, this chapter has explored the variety of Northern and western feminist visions for change, as well as the responses to them. It is the latter responses of postmodern and African-U.S. American feminisms to the issues of identity and subjectivity, race and ethnic differences, and the hegemonic nature of Northern feminisms that are especially relevant to the discussions of third world feminisms and to the purpose of this chapter.

The debates concerning the relevance of feminisms to the lives and realities of third world women began to gain considerable ground in the mid-1970s, especially with the United Nation's declaration of an International Women's Decade in 1975. The resulting conference held in Mexico City that same year brought to the forefront the divergences that existed specifically between women from the North and women from the South. Third world women

questioned the domination of a hegemonic western feminism that they felt had little or nothing to do with their actual lives. As well,

[t]hey pointed to the specific problems of the South, particularly their disadvantaged position in the world economy and the destructive legacy of colonialism, racism, and imperial capitalism, and called for feminist research which would focus on women's lives in the specific context of Southern problems and possibilities.¹⁹

Increasingly women in the South began to focus on the specific realities of their lives on the "margins of the third world" as they have been impacted upon by global systems of inequity and subordination based on white supremacy, colonialism, capitalism, and patriarchy.

The writings from these early stages of third world feminist thought tended to adopt a political economy approach (Chowdry, 1995:53; Vargas, 1992:197) and thus synthesised to a degree the burgeoning articulation of third world feminisms with that of predominantly western, socialist feminism. Perhaps the best known and most frequently cited work that set the framework for this alternative feminist vision, and which contributed greatly to the Gender and Development (GAD) approach,²⁰ has come out of the DAWN²¹ collective.

¹⁹ Aline Wong (1981) "Comments on Mexico City." *SIGNS*. Vol.6. As paraphrased in Connelly et al. (1994:17).

²⁰ The GAD approach has been outlined by various scholars working from a socialist feminist framework in both the South and the North. It has focused as a critique to mainstream women in development (WID) and women and development (WAD) approaches and to their corresponding liberal feminist and Marxist feminist theoretical roots. For a more in-depth reading of GAD, as well as WID and WAD, see: Moser (1989), Sen and Grown (1987),

Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions (1987), written by Gita Sen and Caren Grown, focused its attention on third world women, feminism, and international development. Although these third world women offer critiques of both the mainstream, hegemonic discourses of development and feminism that emanate from the North, they also continued to focus on "poverty and the global process of capital accumulation, the complicity of states with the world capitalist system in controlling the productive and reproductive capacities of women, and the intersection of gender with class" (Chowdry, 1995:53). Thus, they attempted to bridge their experiences as women from the South within socialist feminist discourse, a position which has led recently to a critique by some feminist scholars from a postmodern perspective for its continued overemphasis on the "poor third world women" (Hirshman, 1995).

While there is merit in this critique of Sen and Grown, and other third world feminists who also write from this particular perspective, it does not negate the fact that Sen and Grown embarked upon an approach that sought to articulate alternative feminist visions which stemmed directly from third world women's experiences. The significance of their work lies in the fact that they moved beyond the discourse of western socialist feminism by arguing that third

Rathgeber (1989), and Young (1988,1995).

²¹ The DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era) collective, was formed in Bangalore, India, in August of 1984. It is a network of activists and researchers committed to developing new strategies and methods to attain social and economic justice, peace and development free of all oppression by gender, class, race, and nation (Sen and Grown, 1987).

world women in both the North and the South experience ethnic and racial subordination (through the structural oppressions of racism and white supremacy), class subordination (through the structural oppression of capitalism), and nationality subordination (through the structural oppressions of colonialism and imperialism) which Sen and Grown (1987:19) believe are inextricably linked to third world women's specific gender subordination (through the structural oppression of patriarchy). This leads Sen and Grown to argue that: "[t]here is and must be a diversity of feminisms, responsive to the different needs and concerns of different women, and *defined by them for themselves*" (1987:19) which, this study argues, provided in part the theoretical space for other alternative and eclectic third world feminist visions to come to the foreground of feminist discourse.

Postcolonial Critiques

Third world women in both the South and the North have raised a number of important critiques and challenges to western, mainstream, or hegemonic feminisms, which have both had an influence on and been influenced by the like-minded critiques and challenges postulated by the postmodern and African-U.S. American feminists reviewed above. These critiques and challenges have also been influenced by postcolonial²² thought and have drawn upon the scholarship

²² As Ashcroft, Griffiths, and Tiffin suggest in their work on postcolonial literatures, "[t]he semantic basis of the term 'postcolonial' might seem to suggest a concern only with the national culture after the departure of the imperialist power. It has occasionally been employed in some earlier work in the area to distinguish between the periods before and after

of deconstruction and the postcolonial critiques of discourse and literature, particularly that of Edward Said (1979,1993). Third world feminist voices have encapsulated some of these contemporary streams of thought into their critiques and thus argue that the dominant, western feminist theories for social change (thus reviewed in this chapter) have been posited mainly by white women from the North and have focused almost exclusively on the either/or dichotomies of monist and dualist primacies of women's subordination.

For third world feminists, these western feminist frameworks represent an ethnocentric bias, where feminist theories are articulated by and for white, middle-class Northern women and then espoused as the liberators of all women across all spaces and times (Minh-ha, 1989; Mohanty, 1991a,1991b; Ong, 1988; Sandoval, 1991; Spivak, 1987). Not only does this delegitimize, (mis)construct, and (re)create third world women's different consciousness, experiences, and multiple realities (which transcend class, culture, ethnicity, gender, race, and religion) as homogeneous, it also, in the words of Parpart, "creates third world women as an undifferentiated "other," (1993:444) as opposed to white, usually middle class women of the North.

Independence ('colonial period' and 'postcolonial period'), for example, in constructing national literary histories, or in suggesting comparative stages in those histories" (1989:1-2). The term has also been used to refer to only those writings on the South by people in the South and as a means to differentiate between these postcolonial writings and those which are neocolonial, that is those writings on the South by people in the North (Marchand and Parpart Eds., 1995). However, the term "postcolonial" is used within this study to refer to not only the discourse within literature, but to all those cultures affected by the colonial process within global imperialism and to those which experience forms of domination under neocolonialism within the postmodern world.

The fact that third world women have been defined as "the other" by white feminists in the North has resulted in the term *feminism* itself being questioned by some third world women (Mohanty, 1991a:7). According to Mohanty,

[f]eminist movements have been challenged on the grounds of cultural imperialism, and of short-sightedness in defining the meaning of gender in terms of middle-class, white experiences, and in terms of internal racism, classism, and homophobia. All these factors,..., have led to a very real suspicion of "feminism" as a productive ground for struggle (1991a:7).

However, the questioning of the relevance of the term "feminism," as it has been defined by white hegemonic feminists, has not lead to an outright rejection of it by third world women, but to a more activist involvement with it. As Trinh T. Minh-ha argues, "[h]egemony and racism are ... a pressing feminist issue; as usual the impetus comes from the grassroots, activist women's movement" (1989:86).

In her work, Minh-ha devotes considerable energy to the concept of difference and its relevance to feminism and third world women. She argues that female/ethnic differences, when analyzed from a western hegemonic feminist framework, presuppose a "kind of naive 'male-tinted' romanticism" and as such, "[i]f feminism is set forth as a demystifying force, then it will have to question thoroughly the belief in its own identity" (1989:96). The identity that Minh-ha speaks of is the identity of the universal, generic "woman" within western feminism.

Just as "man" provides an example of how the part played by women has been ignored, undervalued, distorted, or omitted through the use of terminology presumed to be generic, "woman" more often than not reflects the subtle power of linguistic exclusion, for its set of referents rarely includes those relevant to third world "female persons" (1989:97).

For Minh-ha, the idea of two illusory separated identities, one ethnic, the other woman, results in a perpetuation of western dualistic reasoning and its divide and conquer tactics, which has important political ramifications for the anti-racist and anti-sexist struggles of women, which she views as one in the same (1989:104). This leads her to conclude: "... to understand how pervasively dominance operates via the concept of hegemony or of absent totality in plurality is to understand that the work of decolonization will have to continue within the women's movements" (1989:104).

Third world women's homogenized experience, based on what Anne Marie Goetz claims is a "generalized extrapolation from and projection of the experience of women's subordination and gendered identity in the west" (1988:484), also informs much of Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's writings on postcolonialism and feminism. Spivak looks to the way in which hegemonic (neo)colonial discourse has neglected the heterogeneity of third world women and how this has resulted in a wrongful construction of women in the South. As she writes:

... today I see the object of investigation to be not only the history of "Third World Women" or their testimony but also the production, through the great European theories, often by way of literature, of the colonial object. As long as [western] feminists understand "history" as a positivistic empiricism that scorns "theory" and therefore remains ignorant of its own, the "Third World" as its object of study will remain constituted by those hegemonic First World intellectual practices (Spivak, 1987:81-82).

The argument here echoes that of Mohanty and Minh-ha in that her focus is a critique of the discourse of western feminism and its non-applicability to those third world women it claims to speak for. While this critique is useful in outlining some of the problems within mainstream feminism, it also argues that the realities of women on the margins in both the South and North must begin to be realized by feminist theory. Spivak, writing as a self-defined third world feminist (1987:133), in fact argues that the "heterogeneity of international feminisms and women's situations across race and class lines is one of the chief concerns of feminist practice and theory today" (1987:131) and that the importance of this is making these feminisms relevant to the every day lives of third world women.

Aida Hurtado, a *Chicana*²³/third world feminist, argues that mainstream, hegemonic feminists in the North have neglected and continue to neglect two central tenets of third world women's lives: namely; "that for women of colour,

²³ The term *Chicana* refers to women of mixed U.S. American and Mexican descent born in the United States.

race, class, and gender subordination are experienced simultaneously, and that their oppression is not only by members of their own group but by whites of both genders" (Hurtado, 1989:839). The significance of this is that white feminists have failed to grasp and understand how third world women are subordinated and how they, as white feminists, perpetuate this subordination through their neglect of third world women's lives and experiences.

Chandra Mohanty, in a further article on third world feminisms, also argues that Northern feminists' (although not a homogeneous group themselves):

... analysis of "sexual difference" in the form of a cross-culturally singular, monolithic notion of patriarchy or male dominance leads to the construction of a similarly reductive and homogeneous notion of what [she calls] the "third world difference"--that stable, ahistorical something that apparently oppresses most if not all of the women in these countries. And it is in the production of this "third world difference" that [Northern] feminisms appropriate and "colonize" the constitutive complexities of the lives of women in these countries (1991b:54).

Mohanty believes this homogenization of third world women's lived experiences neglects their multiple realities and differences, and that this impacts negatively on both the conceptual analysis of their subordination and the potential for their emancipation. In fact, it also places a teleological hierarchy on third world women's subordination and on their emancipation as well, since they must first overcome their "third world difference" of cultural, political, and socio-economic "backwardness" in order to be emancipated.

For Mohanty, third world feminisms must not only entail a critique of Northern, hegemonic feminisms, but also articulate new feminist visions based on the concept of difference. That is, Mohanty believes:

[any] discussion of the intellectual and political construction of 'third world feminisms' must address itself to two simultaneous projects: the internal critique of hegemonic [Northern] feminisms, and the formulation of autonomous, geographically, historically, and culturally grounded feminist concerns and strategies (1991b:51).

It is this formulation of autonomous, geographically, historically, and culturally grounded feminist concerns which constitute the theoretical perspectives of third world feminisms and which posit the ways forward for third world feminist praxis, and ultimately women's emancipation.

Aihwa Ong in her writings on third world women in postcolonial contexts argues in a similar vein that the third world woman has been homogenized by western feminism as a universal subject who shares an essentialist, sexist oppression with women all over the globe. It is this essentialist and universalist construction which Ong argues denies the eclectic diversity of third world women and invokes the construction of binary opposites between the traditional and the modern, which in her opinion, has direct implications for women's emancipation.

Ong believes that, "by using a traditional/modernity framework, these [western, liberal] feminists view the destruction of "traditional customs" as either a decline of women's status in a romanticized "natural" economy, or as their

liberation by western economic rationality" (1988:83). It is this either/or dichotomy which postulates that third world women can be emancipated only through a distinctively western liberal feminism entrenched firmly in western economic rationality that Ong and other third world feminists find so problematic.

For Ong, the lack of a historically and culturally informed specificity and contextual analysis of third world women's lives colonizes them as the "other," which makes it all the more implicit that third world women begin to formulate their own feminist visions grounded in their own localities.

Echoing the critiques and the challenges of the above third world women, U.S. third world feminist Chela Sandoval believes that "third world feminisms arose out of the very discourses denying, producing, and permitting difference" (1991:1). According to Sandoval, white, mainstream feminism "divide[s] the [women's] movement of resistance from within, for each of these sites tend to generate tactics, strategies, and identities which historically have appeared to be mutually exclusive under modernist oppositional practices" (1991:13). Sandoval thus views third world feminisms as representing new forms of "historical consciousness" (1993:1) that not only provide new ways of conceptualizing third world women's different consciousness, but also serve to align movements for social justice and decolonization throughout the world.

The new forms of historical consciousness, which third world feminisms represent for Sandoval, operate out of:

differential consciousness [which] represents the variant, emerging out of correlations, intensities, junctures, crises. What is differential functions through hierarchy, location and value--enacting the recovery, revenge or reparation; its processes produce justice (1991:14).

That is, third world feminisms are grounded in a "differential consciousness" which instills third world women "with the ability to read the current situation of power and of self-consciously choosing and adopting the ideological form best suited to push against its configurations" (1991:15). Therefore, there can be no one grand theory or metanarrative of third world feminism; it is composed of differential modes or ideologies of oppositional consciousness that stem from third world women's subjective experiences and their specific localities.

Themes and Concepts

Ethnicity and Race

Third world women's subjective experiences and specific localities are grounded not only in their differences among and between white women of the North, but also among and between themselves. The concepts of ethnicity and race are central to third world feminisms since they are two locations of third world women's subordination as impacted upon by the structural oppressions of white supremacy and racism. Cherríe Moraga a *Chicana*, lesbian/third world feminist describes what it means to be *Chicana* and to be a lesbian. According to her own subjective experiences, class, gender, race, and sexuality operated as

interrelated systems of subordination in her life, which she characterizes as the "simultaneity of oppression" (Moraga, 1992:211). Ethnicity and heterosexuality are but two of the integrated oppressors of third world women as argued by Moraga and this stems from the lived realities of daily life.

Gloria Anzaldua takes some of these themes up in her writings on "*mestiza*"²⁴ consciousness," which she argues is born out of the historical conjuncture of Spanish, U.S. American, and Mexican cultures and articulated in the everyday struggles of what it means to be *Chicana* (Anzaldua, 1987:78). According to Moraga, the reality of being *Chicana* or *mestiza* stems historically from Hernán Cortéz's conquest of Mexico, aided by his Aztec mistress, Malintzin Tenepal (*la Malinche*). "The sexual legacy passed down to the *Mexicana/Chicana* is the legacy of betrayal, [which] pivots around the historical mythical figure of [*la Malinche*]" argues Moraga (1992:204). As such, *la Malinche* and all those of women of mixed blood since, have been seen by *Mexicanos/Chicanos* as sell-outs to the white race; "[u]pon [their] shoulders rests the full blame for the 'bastardization' of 'the Mexican peoples'" (1992:204). Therefore, race and ethnicity play a central role in the lives of *Chicanas* and all third world women, and Moraga views third world feminisms as allowing third world women to "not only [look] outside of [their] culture, but into [their] culture

²⁴ The term "*mestiza*" is used generally to refer to women of mixed Spanish and Indigenous blood born within Latin America. However, for the context of this discussion the term is being used in reference to those *mestiza* women born in Mexico, who are also termed *Mexicanas*. While its use has had mainly biological and genealogical connotations, it is now also coming to be more recognized as a cultural term.

and [themselves] and from that place beginning to develop a strategy for a movement that could challenge the bedrock of oppressive systems of belief globally" (1992:208).

As well, Lourdes Torres sees ethnicity and race as key concepts within third world feminisms. For her, *Chicanas* (and all third world women) must struggle with the internal contradictions of their ethnicity and race. This must be done in order "to transform the interrelated forces which oppress all women and peoples of colour... [by analysing] differences and [using] them to enrich their analysis and develop strategies for change" (1991:283).

The Gender Division of Labour

As well as experiencing different lived realities due to their race and ethnicity, women in the South also experience different levels of subordination within and outside of the household. However, concepts such as the gender division of labour and the public and private spheres of women's lives are often used without reference to the specific historical and cultural contexts in which they arise (Goetz, 1988:483; Mies, 1986:45; Mohanty, 1991b:67; Young, 1988:4). Mohanty continues the critique of how the gender division of labour has been analyzed by mainstream feminism, by asking:

how is it possible to refer to "the" [gender] division of labour when the *content* of this division changes radically from one environment to the next, and from one historical juncture to another? At its most abstract level, it is the fact of the differential assignment of

tasks according to sex that is significant; however, this is quite different from the *meaning* or *value* that the content of this [gender] division of labour assumes in different contexts. In most cases the assigning of tasks on the basis of sex has an ideological origin (1991b:67).

Mohanty argues that the gender division of labour has been used in the past to subsume all women as oppressed within either the "public" or "private" spheres. As such, it has been used mainly as a descriptive category, not as an analytical concept that "indicates the differential *value* placed on 'men's work' versus 'women's work'" (1991b:68).

Third world women's lives differ greatly across all spaces and times, as does the differential value of their work and of themselves as women in relation to men and men's work. The gender division of labour is thus markedly different throughout various societies and cultures, and therefore when analysing the gender division of labour and the devaluation of both women's work and women themselves, the analysis must focus on particular local contexts. According to Mohanty:

[i]f such concepts are assumed to be universally applicable, the resultant homogenization of class, race, religion, and daily material practices of women in the third world can create a false sense of the commonality of oppressions, interests, and struggles between and among women globally (1991b:68).

Thus, third world feminisms are rejecting neither the descriptive nor analytical conceptual nature of the gender division of labour. What they are rejecting, however, is the ahistorical use of the gender division of labour and its universal applicability to all women.

The Public/Private Dichotomy

Bound up within the ahistorical, noncontextualized nature of the gender division of labour is the public/private dichotomy. It is an integral part of the gender division of labour, because it usually devalues women's work in the home and assigns a higher value to men's work in the public realm (Young, 1988:8). Geeta Chowdry comments that the public/private dichotomy (bound up within (neo)colonial discourse and western feminism) has (mis)represented third world women and subjugated them to the less valued private sphere, where "[t]he public sphere is the preserve only of men who define the structures and role of the private sphere" (Chowdry, 1995:39). While she acknowledges the fact that both western and third world women have been relegated to the household, she also raises the issues of power among and between these women.

Western women are deemed superior whenever the public--private divide and cultural conventions governing non-western women are different than those affecting their European counterparts. Third world women are monolithically and singularly represented as oblivious to the "real" world, their lives defined and circumscribed by a male dominated tradition and unquestioningly accepting their confinement (1995:39).

It is this (mis)representation of third world women as bound within the dichotomous public/private realm which Chowdry and other third world feminists attempt to deconstruct through their focus on the concept as a hegemonic western feminist construction, which homogenizes third world women within it.

Aída Hurtado, however, argues that the public/private dichotomy is only relevant to the white middle and upper classes of the North, mainly because in the North

[w]omen of colour have not had the benefit of the economic conditions that underlie the public/private distinction. Instead the political consciousness of women of colour stems from an awareness that the public is *personally* political. Welfare programs and policies have discouraged family life, sterilization programs have restricted reproduction rights, government has drafted and armed disproportionate numbers of people of colour to fight its wars overseas, and locally, police forces and the criminal justice system arrest and incarcerate disproportionate numbers of people of colour. There is no such thing as a private sphere for people of colour except that which they manage to create and protect in a hostile environment (Hurtado, 1989:849).

Hurtado argues that third world women are active participants in both the "public" and "private" spheres since they must not only work within the home, but within the paid labour force as well. However, Hurtado's analysis here tends to ignore the socio-economic class differences between third world women, since, for example, many elite women may hire the domestic services of lower class women. This therefore proves that any analysis of women's subordination must

encompass not only all of women's multiple differences, but the relational aspect of those differences as well, including class.

Despite her neglect of class differences among and between third world women, Hurtado does offer insight into third world women's multiple realities of "work." She believes that third world women focus much of their energy and effort on public, community issues such as racism and education (for those in the North) and access to potable water and health services (for those in the South) and as such, attempt to "cultivate an awareness of the distinction between public policy and private choice" (1989:850). This active involvement of women in community management has in fact been labelled a third sphere of women's work by Caroline Moser (Moser, 1989:1801)²⁵. Thus, a shift away from either/or dichotomies of women's work is essential for third world feminisms because of the involvement of women in multiple capacities and aspects of work in their every day lives, which varies across different historical, cultural, and social contexts.

Colonialism and Imperialism

The (re)creations of women in the South as undifferentiated others, bound up within the gender division of labour and the public/private dichotomy where their differences, such as race and ethnicity, have been homogenized, all stem from

²⁵ As Caroline Moser articulates in her article, there are three spheres or roles which women participate in within their every day lives; these being: the reproductive, productive, and community management spheres (1989:1801).

the impacts that colonialism and imperialism have had on the cultures of the South. Third world women have perhaps been affected the most negatively by colonialism and imperialism and their respective revisitations in the postcolonial world (Brydon and Chant, 1989; Mohanty, 1991a; Sen and Grown, 1987). Sen and Grown (1987) comment that "the colonial period created and accentuated inequalities both *among* nations, and between classes,..., genders,..., castes, ethnic communities, races, etc. ... *within* nations" (Sen and Grown, 1987:31). During colonial rule, hierarchical distinctions were drawn between the colonizers and the colonized, with white males seated atop this hierarchy. Mohanty states that "this definition of white men as 'naturally' born to rule is grounded in a discourse of race and sexuality which necessarily defined colonial peoples, men and women, as incapable of self-government" (Mohanty, 1991a:17).

Colonialism not only created racially and sexually differentiated classes, but also used these to its advantage in extracting economic surplus from the colonies (Mohanty, 1991a:18). The resultant commodification and privatization of land and the commercialization of the economy often reduced women's access to resources, which exacerbated their situation in colonial, patriarchal society. Thus, colonialism, capitalism, white supremacy, and patriarchy as an interrelated, interconnected system has marginalized third world women in various ways and continues to do so today.

However, it is important to realize, as third world feminists have, that third world women should not be portrayed as victims (Chowdry, 1995; Mohanty,

1991a). As Chowdry comments through a paraphrase of Mohanty: "the monolithic and singular portrayal of third world women as victims of modernization, of an undifferentiated patriarchy and of male domination produce reductive understandings of third world women's multiple realities."²⁸ Third world women's lived daily realities are viewed by (neo)colonial discourse as separate and distinct from the historical and the political, thus they are regarded as mere objects of these processes. What the postcolonial critiques and visions of third world feminists argue, however, is that women in the South are neither mere victims nor passive objects, but active subjects engaged in the struggles of the everyday against (neo)colonialism and (neo)imperialism in its many guises. It is for these very reasons that third world feminists insist an analysis of (neo)colonialism and (neo)imperialism must be present when discussing third world women's multiple differences, subordinations, and emancipatory projects. Mohanty concludes:

[c]olonial relations of rule form the backdrop for feminist critiques at both [the]... ideological, discursive level ... and [the] material, experiential, daily-life level ..., and it is the notion of the *practice* of ruling which may allow for an understanding of the contradictory sex, race, class, and caste positioning of third world women in relation to the state, and thus may suggest a way of formulating historically the location of third world women's feminist struggles (1991a:21).

²⁸ Mohanty (1991a) as paraphrased in Chowdry (1995:40).

Third World Feminist Visions

The central themes and concepts within third world feminisms discussed thus far, point to the formulation of third world feminist theoretical perspectives which have implications for both feminist praxes, and for resistance on the margins.

In delineating their views of third world feminist perspectives, Cherríe Moraga and Gloria Anzaldua (1981), although outlining some areas of concern for third world women in both the South and the North, do not articulate coalitions across differences between first world and third world feminists. Instead, they focus directly on the key areas of concern for the formulation of broad bases of action for third world women; these being:

1) how visibility as women of colour forms [their] radicalism; 2) the ways in which third world women derive a feminist political theory specifically from [their] racial/cultural background and experience; 3) the destructive and demoralizing effects of racism in the women's movement; 4) the cultural, class, and sexuality differences that divide women of colour; 5) third world women's writing as a tool for self-preservation and revolution; and 6) the ways and means of a third world feminist future (Moraga and Anzaldua, 1983:xxiv).

In essence, these *Chicana*/third world feminists outline what they believe to be the ideas central to third world feminist frameworks; ideas which run throughout a great deal of third world feminist perspectives and inform action at the margins.

Mohanty also provides a numerical list of what she believes to be the focus, and thus, the central ideas which make up third world feminisms:

(1) the idea of the simultaneity of oppressions as fundamental to the social and political marginality and the grounding of feminist politics in the histories of racism and imperialism; (2) the crucial role of the hegemonic state in circumscribing their/our daily lives and daily struggles; (3) the significance of memory and writing in the creation of oppositional agency; and (4) the differences, conflicts, and contradictions internal to third world women's organizations and communities (Mohanty, 1991a:10).

Thus, Mohanty articulates a view of third world feminisms and their emancipatory potential for all women. For her, third world feminisms are "imagined communities of women with divergent historical and social locations, woven together by the *political* threads of opposition to forms of domination that are not only pervasive but also systemic" (1991a:4). The notion of imagined communities for Mohanty stems from her belief in political alliances across divisive boundaries and hierarchies present in the Southern or "third world" context (1991a:4). According to Mohanty:

it is not colour or sex which constructs the ground for these struggles. Rather it is the way we think about race, class, and gender--the political links we choose to make among and between struggles. Thus, potentially women of all colours (including white women) can align themselves with and participate in these imagined communities. However, clearly our relation to and centrality in particular struggles depend upon our different, often conflictual, locations and histories (1991a:4).

Thus, the coalitions across differences that are sought by Mohanty are necessary for both the political analysis and the political action of women's

emancipation, and as such do not fall into the relativist trap of some postmodern, apolitical analyses.

The above passages from some third world feminists, each writing from their own divergent and multiple realities, in effect point to some central themes within third world feminisms and outline the political implications of these perspectives for feminist praxes and for resistance from the margins. Again, this does not mean that there is only one third world feminist perspective, but (as argued above) many different expressions of themes, ideas, and concepts. It is these concepts which form some thread of solidarity between third world women and allows them and other like-minded individuals (including this author) to speak of third world feminisms as theoretical perspectives. Thus, the multiple realities of third world feminist "theories" need to be recognized and respected when analyzing third world women's struggle for meaning and identity against hegemonic discourses and systemic oppressions.

CONCLUSION

This chapter explored the literature in the field of feminist theories for social change. Beginning with western-based, Northern feminisms and their reconceptualizations, it then moved to present the various feminisms which are arising within the South, both as critiques and as alternatives to hegemonic feminisms. As such, this chapter argues that the postcolonial critiques, themes and concepts, and visions for social change espoused by the variety of third

world feminists, entail the necessary theoretical reconceptualizations occurring within feminisms. These eclectic perspectives are needed to better understand the lived contextual realities of third world women. It has been seen that the reduction or primacy to only one or two systemic oppressions within women's lives, whether due to patriarchy, capitalism, or both, neglects and homogenizes women's interrelated differences among and between each other. What is of utmost importance therefore, is the movement beyond these simple answers and understandings, to more open-ended perspectives which are holistic in nature and look to women's multiple realities and experiences.

However, in the past, and even today, the development of third world feminisms as theoretical perspectives has met with resistance from mainstream feminism precisely because the development of feminist theories has a tendency to only be permitted within white mainstream feminism; "the only legitimate discourse" (hooks, 1984:9). For Sandoval, third world feminisms' "recognition will [therefore] require of hegemonic feminism a paradigm shift which is capable of rescuing its theoretical and practical expressions from their exclusionary and racist forms" (Sandoval, 1989:9).

Within contemporary feminisms, this is in fact occurring. Jagger and Rothenberg comment:

the issues raised by women of colour have moved from the margin to the center of feminist concern. Women of colour have moved from challenging their exclusion from [white] feminism to claiming

their right, as feminists, to define previous understandings of feminist issues and feminist theory (1992:113).

The fact that several western feminists from socialist feminist, materialist feminist, standpoint feminist, and postmodern feminist perspectives have concluded that existing mainstream theoretical frameworks are inadequate for dealing with women's multiple differences shows the effects that both African-U.S. American and third world feminist critiques and visions have had on western feminism. Therefore, it can also be concluded that there is a paradigm shift occurring within mainstream feminism towards that of multiple feminisms based on women's multiple realities and differences. This paradigm shift is occurring as third world feminist praxes further establish the theoretical bases of third world feminisms. In essence, this legitimizes what third world feminists already knew; third world feminisms are indeed new theoretical frameworks, which contextualize the lived experiences, conditions, and situations of third world women's multiple differences and articulate localised and specific means of praxis and resistance for both women's emancipation and larger societal transformation.

It is these aspects of third world feminisms, both as *postcolonial critiques* and as *alternative feminist visions and theories* incorporating the conceptual tools of *race and ethnicity*, *the gender division of labour*, *the public/private dichotomy*, and *colonialism and imperialism*, which inform this chapter; one half of the working sets of ideas of this study. The basis for the second half of the

working sets of ideas which inform this study will be presented in the following chapter on social movement theories. These two chapters will then be articulated in Chapter Four, in order to provide the theoretical contexts for the discussion of the conjuncture of third world feminisms and new social movements theories within the context of Latin America.

CHAPTER THREE:

SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORIES

INTRODUCTION

Social movement theories' foci on the notions of resistance¹, emancipation², and social change have been bound up within the Enlightenment project of modernity since the eighteenth century. Throughout this history, the nature of social movements and their role within resistance, emancipation, and social change has been theorized and "associated with a view of progress as a movement towards freedom and equality" (Pieterse, 1992:7). It is this view of progress, arising from western liberal thought, which recognized that collective mobilizations of social actors and marginalized groups was necessary in order for the emancipation of these groups to be realized.

¹ The concept of "resistance" has become problematic within recent discourse, although Pieterse argues that no matter how complex a register of notions the concept implies, it is "not simply negative but also affirmative," that it "may reflect a commitment to and defence of an existing 'moral economy' or notion of social justice and collective rights," and that it "derives from the legacy of anti-colonial struggles" (Pieterse, 1992:11-12). For a more in-depth analysis of resistance, see for instance: Bhahba (1994) and his notion of mimicry as resistance; Scott (1985, 1990) and his theories of everyday forms of resistance; and Gutmann's (1993) critique of Scott's theses.

² The concept of "emancipation," according to Pieterse, "has been used increasingly widely in recent years, possibly as a reflection on the limitations of class analysis in the face of collective actions which are not reducible to class, and on the limitations of postmodern discourse whose generalized indirection impairs differentiation among types of collective action" (1992:6). Despite its broad usage, Pieterse believes that "[e]mancipation is a matter of critique and construction, of which resistance represents the first step and transformation, in the sense of structural change the second. Resistance and emancipation are interdependent, ... , [w]hat sets emancipation apart from resistance is the proactive, transformative element, ... (1992:13).

While the modernist connections between social movements, resistance, and emancipation have become problematic in the postcolonial world, this study argues (as have others; Calderón et al, 1992; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Pieterse, 1992) that the contemporary discourse on social movements is not only based upon the critique of past perspectives, but also upon new forms of understanding about social movements. As Escobar and Alvarez believe, "[t]hese new forms of theoretical awareness have been fostered by equally significant changes in historical conditions and, more specifically, by changes in the popular practices of resistance and collective action themselves" (1992:2).

The contemporary discourse on social movements has thus accepted that a "significant transformation has occurred in both reality and its forms of analysis" (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:2). As such, these contemporary popular practices of resistance and collective action in everyday struggle on the margins have come to be known collectively within theoretical discourse as "new social movements." This is not to argue, however, that these new social movements are homogenous across places and contexts and can thus be generalized as such. Rather, they are "new" precisely because of their heterogeneity and differences across places and contexts and also because of their multiple character and their plurality of struggles. Therefore, the shift in theory on new social movements has occurred within the context of a theoretical impasse, as well as within the dynamic context of history and popular practice on the margins; that is, within new social movements.

This chapter will explore and review the theoretical dimensions within the discourse of new social movement theories in order to posit a working conceptual framework of ideas for the study. This will be achieved first, by setting the context in which new social movements have arisen, with specific attention to the contemporary postcolonial and postmodern realities and the concurrent impasse in the hegemonic theories of Marxism and functionalism. Second, the question as to what is "new" about new social movements will be addressed, specifically to provide answers to this question, but also to provide validity to the notion that there is indeed something "new" about these movements and that they can therefore in fact be termed, however loosely, "new social movements." Within this analysis, a focus on the retreat from class and a movement towards the plurality of identity and subjectivity, as well as on the recasting of the political will be undertaken. Lastly, this chapter will review the various natures of new social movements through a discussion of some of the various perspectives which attempt to explain them.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: SETTING THE CONTEXT(S)

The analysis and conceptual location of social movements in the contemporary era have come to "evoke controversy and engender new spheres of reflection" (Slater, 1994:11) especially in regards to the present crises in both the realities and the theories of and on social movements. The emergence of what have

come to be termed "new social movements"³ out of the recent historical developments within late capitalism and the crisis of modernity have furthered the shift in contemporary discourse and led to the culmination of a crisis in theories. David Slater observes that because of the focus on difference, heterogeneity, and pluralism within new social movements there is the "[potential] for highly diverse and multi-faceted ... social movements ... [to cause] ripple effects in both political and theoretical contexts" (1985:1). The ripple effects that Slater refers to are becoming realised in both theory and practice due to the reconceptualizations occurring about and within new social movements.

Schuurman and Heer (1992:12) argue this point as well; they see the crises in theoretical discourse precipitated itself by the crises and restructuring processes of the capitalist system and its many manifestations of postindustrialism and post-Fordism.⁴ As a result of these historical

³ New social movements have come to be identified with the anti-nuclear, environmental, feminist, human rights, and peace movements in the North and those parallel movements in the South, particularly those in India and Latin America (Falk, 1987; Slater, 1985).

⁴ Postindustrial society is a term that has come to be associated with those societies in the North experiencing significant transformations during an era of global restructuring within capital. It has also come to be associated with the concept of post-Fordism by some scholars (Connelly et al., 1994; Escobar, 1992a) as a means to describe the changes occurring in the realms of production, exchange, consumption, and politics. For example: "the replacement of mass production with flexible 'just in time' techniques; the growth of the financial sector and speculative activities; uneven and selective incorporation of regions worldwide; growing commoditization and a new informational culture of advertising and consumption; and forms of politics characterized by authoritarian populism, fragmentation, and the possibility for a progressive renewal in the form of new social movements. Women, ethnic minorities, and part of the proletariat are among those most affected by these changes" (Escobar, 1992a:85, note 13). For further discussion on postindustrialism and post-Fordism, see for instance: Harvey (1989), *Socialist Review* 21:1 (1991) issue on post-Fordism, and Touraine (1981, 1988).

developments and the increasing numbers of marginalized peoples rising in resistance to them, both authors argue that theorists have begun to "(re)discover the social movements" (Schuurman and Heer, 1992:12). Stemming from this, two central questions concerning social movements arise: first, what local, regional, and global factors have provided the context for the rise of contemporary movements; and second, what theoretical traditions have been called into question because of their inability to make sense of these contemporary movements.

The Crises of Modernity, Late-Capitalism, and Development

Some social theorists (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Evers, 1985; Mouffe, 1984; and Slater, 1985) see the "existence of new social movements as very much rooted in the contemporary social development of capitalist societies" (Slater, 1985:2; emphasis omitted). Chantai Mouffe argues this point further by analysing these movements as expressions of the antagonisms emerging out of the historical consolidation of a new hegemonic capitalism in the post-1945 era. This era has been typified, according to Mouffe, by intense periods of "commodification," "bureaucratization," and "cultural massification" which have both exacerbated old forms of subordination and created new forms over peoples in both the South and the North (Mouffe, 1984:139-143). For her, these forms of subordination and the resulting antagonisms which they create, have precipitated the rise of new social movements both as responses and

resistances to the increasing marginalization of peoples within late capitalist society.

Other scholars expand upon this "crisis of late capitalism" thesis through a discussion of postindustrialism and post-Fordism and the rise of new social movements in the struggle against the reforms occurring in the North (Harvey, 1989; Touraine, 1981, 1988). While others (Calderón et al, 1992; Escobar, 1992a, 1992b; and Escobar and Alvarez, 1992) focus on the effects of the global transformation of capital and the development era on the South, and the concomitant organization of peoples on the margins in forms of new social movements resisting these pressures. Although these various perspectives on the global/structural factors which contribute to the rise of these movements are contextual and varied, they also focus on the common factors of "social polarization, heterogeneity, and exclusion which have reached unprecedented proportions" (Escobar, 1992a:68) within contemporary societies and cultures the world over.

The response by citizens within these societies and cultures has itself been varied. However, again it can be seen that these responses are not just reactions to the "crisis," but motions towards redefinitions of their particular societies and cultures, and as such these movements share in their origins and roots the hint towards "different ways of seeing the relationship between capital, the state, culture, and the economy" (Escobar, 1992a:68). The crisis of

modernity, late capitalism, and development ⁵ (Escobar, 1992a, 1992b; Sachs Ed., 1992; Schuurman Ed., 1993) has resulted in "the challenge of social fragmentation and fracture [which in turn] is ... being met by the new social actors, to the extent that they question ... the existing mechanisms for the production of meanings, identities and social relations" (Escobar, 1992a:68). Therefore, the origins and roots of new social movements lay in both the global crisis of modernity, capitalism, and development on the one hand, and in these movements search for multiple (re)definitions of democracy and development within their own societies and cultures on the other. Escobar in his conclusion points out some central themes for future analysis:

[t]he task ahead is the construction of collective imaginaries capable of orientating social and political action. Epistemologically, this requires nonreductionist and nonteleological notions of politics and development; politically, the task is to foster the democratizing potential of the new subjects (1992a:68).

Marxism and Functionalism at an Impasse

The theoretical debates occurring within the scholarship on social movements have increased considerably over the past number of decades. This has been due, in part, to the crises in the contemporary world and the changing natures of new social movements at the level of practice. Ernesto Laclau argues that new social movements and the struggles embarked upon by them "bring about

⁵ This point will be returned to in Chapter Four through a discussion of the crisis of modernity and development within the context of Latin America.

a crisis of [the] traditional paradigm[s] in social sciences concerning the kind of unity which characterizes social agents and the shapes which conflict between them can take" (Laclau, 1985:27). In other words, postcolonial praxes at the margins, in the forms of new social movements, have had a significant impact upon the traditional theoretical paradigms which have attempted to make sense of social movements: namely, Marxism and functionalism within sociology (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:2; Melucci, 1980:199). In fact, these contemporary developments have exacerbated the impasse in which these two theoretical traditions have been located and submerged in recent years.

Marxism in general has undergone a wide variety of forms and manifestations since the publication of *Das Kapital*, from the rise of the Bolsheviks to power in 1917 Russia, to the revolutionary states of Angola, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Vietnam, to the collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and the retreat from class in Latin America. Equally, a wide variety of forms and manifestations regarding Marxist-based class analyses of social movements has taken place.

Within a classical Marxist political analysis of social movements, the prime concern "has been to define the preconditions of the revolution by examining the structural contradictions of the capitalist system" (Melucci, 1980:199). The investigation of this concern centers directly on the revolutionary party or vanguard as the key organizer of the working class for collective action and the eventual acquisition of state power as its first objective. "Every form of action

which [could] not be reduced to the model of the party [was] thereby diminished in value or considered marginal" (Melucci, 1980:199). In contrast, a less doctrinaire Marxism focused more on

[the] assum[ption] that classes have "interests" that result from the overall structure of class relations and therefore function, a priori, as the necessary basis for the mobilization of actors, divorced from any analysis of the varied constitution of the social subject or the dynamic of collective wills (Slater, 1994:13).

In this approach, class consciousness is as a result of one's class position, which is defined by the relationship of that particular class to the means of production.

Towards the end of the 1970s, however, these Marxist theoretical and philosophical approaches began to be challenged directly from within academia, according to Frans J. Schuurman and Helen Heer (1992:11), due to the crisis in leftist/radical social science. Alberto Melucci was one such theorist to critique and point out the limitations of classical Marxist political analysis. He argues that classical Marxism,

underestimated the processes by which collective action emerges, as well as the internal articulation of social movements (mobilization, organization, leadership, ideology) and the forms through which revolt passes in becoming a class movement ... [and that it also found] difficulty on the theoretical level [in] the separation of analysis of the system from analysis of the actors (Melucci, 1980:199-200).

Melucci's argument thus leads him to conclude that in order for Marxism to "extricate itself from this theoretical impasse" it must go beyond a structural analysis "towards a definition, first of class action, and then, of political action" (Melucci, 1980:200).

Although Melucci attempted to go beyond classical Marxist political analysis of the revolutionary party as vanguard (and thus an analysis based on social structures) towards an analysis based on the role of social actors, he remained attached to a more mainstream Marxist approach as he did not go beyond (at least in his earlier writings) the class content of social movements. Schuurman and Heer see this perspective as neo-Marxist in interpretation and go on to posit that neo-Marxists believe that "[i]f the class consciousness in social movements increased to a critical level they were supposed to be able to confront the hegemonic ideology and initiate a societal change at large" (Schuurman and Heer, 1992:12). These neo-Marxist perspectives, however, have become further entangled in the impasse that contemporary Marxism finds itself in. In essence, this is due to the changing practice and nature of new social movements on the margins. There has been a shift away from collective struggle based upon the consciousness of the working-class towards understanding the plurality of actors within new social movements. What is necessary, and is indeed occurring, according to both these authors, is a reformulation within new social movement theories and research in order to go

beyond this impasse and in order to make sense of the myriad natures and manifestations of contemporary social movements.⁶

The explanation of social movements from the functionalist school of thought within western sociology, has become problematic as well. Functionalism has sought to understand social movements through an analysis of collective behaviour;⁷ that is, the myriad ways in which social actors conduct themselves in groups and how their types of behaviour reflect their and the groups actions. As Melucci comments:

[s]tudies of collective behaviour thus constitute an obligatory point of reference; but, at the same time, they display the limitations of an approach which finds the key to the explanation of behaviour in the beliefs of the actors and which, above all, places on the same level phenomena whose structural significance varies immensely, for example, a panic and a revolution (1980:200).

Stemming from this, Melucci concludes that for functionalists, any type of collective action arising from social movements "is always considered to be the result of a strain which disturbs the equilibrium of the social system" (1980:200).

This analysis not only blatantly disregards socio-economic class relations and an analysis of the modes of production (which Melucci points out correctly) but also ignores other structural oppressions, such as white supremacy,

⁶ This chapter will return to this argument in the following section through a discussion of the retreat from class in the contemporary discourse on new social movements.

⁷ For a more indepth discussion of functionalism and collective behaviour analysis within sociology, see for instance: Goode (1992) and Turner (1972).

patriarchy, etc. As argued from a third world feminist perspective in Chapter Two, this type of approach also ignores the realities of the everyday lives of people on the margins, especially those multiple realities of third world women. As well, this approach sees social movements as reformatory and adaptive reactions rather than alternative and eclectic social transformations. In other words, functionalism views social movements as promoting "gradual modernization [within society] without rupture in the political and social systems" (Melucci, 1980:201) of that society and thus, it has never questioned the structures of society, nor the type of society itself. Since this chapter has established that new social movements in fact have alternative and eclectic visions of society bound up within their origins and roots, which grew out of the conjuncture of structural oppressions across different contexts, functionalism as a means of making sense of new social movements has severe limitations.

SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: NEW OR OLD?

By Way of a Distinction

Perhaps one of the central overarching questions within the theoretical debates about new social movements is precisely what is "new" about these movements (Fuentes and Frank, 1989; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Evers, 1985; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Slater, 1985). Slater, writing a decade ago, outlines what he believes to be some of the constitutive components of new social movements, which are essentially both aspects of the contemporary reconceptualizations in

the field and aspects of the differences between "old" and "new" social movements. Primarily, he sees new social movements as having begun to articulate "new forms of struggle [which have occurred] in relation to new forms of subordination and oppression in late capitalist society" (Slater, 1985:6). The emergence of these new forms of struggle have arisen on the one hand due to changing social realities, and on the other, due to the reconceptualizations of the very notions of resistance and emancipation.

Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez, in their writings on social movements, also attempt to distinguish between two types of movements: the "old" and the "new." For them, the notions of the "old" are characterized generally by language based in terms of modernization and dependency, by politics shaped through the struggles of the working class and revolutionary vanguards, and by the more or less immutable structures of class relations (Escobar, 1992b:31; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:3). In contrast, they see the notions of the "new" movements as characterized by an emphasis on *social actors* rather than on *social structures* (Escobar, 1992:31; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:3). In other words, the actors involved in contemporary movements need to be understood by theory as agents and subjects of social change, rather than objects within the fixed social structure of class, which constructs these people as unconscious actors moving with the tide of history. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the new social movements for these two scholars is:

[that i]n the new situation, a multiplicity of social actors establish their presence and spheres of autonomy in a fragmented social and political space. Society itself is largely shaped by the plurality of these struggles and the vision of those involved in the new social movements (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:3).

Bound up within their analysis (and that of this chapter) is the belief in a fundamental transformation in both theory and praxis regarding social movements, which they argue has arisen in conjunction with the concurrent changes in the contemporary world⁸; both of which have been outlined above.

The Retreat from Class: Towards Subjectivity and Identity

Perhaps the most significant aspect within both the theory and the praxis of subaltern groups can be found in the common denominator of all the new social movements, which according to Laclau and Mouffe (1985:159) is their differentiation from worker's or class struggles. The levels of both theory and practice within new social movements have been characterized by a "retreat from a class analysis and a declassing of the socialist project."⁹ As Chilcote states: "Debate on the nature of the capitalist mode of production no longer

⁸ In regards to the questions of old and new social movements, Escobar and Alvarez believe that "within the poststructuralist currents that inform much of theory today, including some of the [new social movements] theorists, it is impossible to appeal to empirical reality as the ultimate arbiter about the truth of a statement. This is because representations of reality are always open to debate and reinterpretation. What has to be examined is the constructed character of past and new understandings and their dependence on historical situations" (1992:15, note 8).

⁹ Ellen Meiksins Wood (1986) *The Retreat from Class: A New "True" Socialism*. London: Verso. As paraphrased in Chilcote (1990:4).

appears as important. Consequently, classes and class struggle are displaced by an emphasis on political pluralism, political organizations, and interest groups" (1990:6).

Scholars from this perspective (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Evers, 1985; Hellman, 1992; Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Slater, 1985, 1994; Westwood and Radcliffe, 1992) point out that class does not supersede other identities such as race, gender, ethnicity, etc. Rather, it is integrated and framed within the various constructions of everyday reference and meaning which form these various identities. Reflecting upon the discussion of third world feminisms in Chapter Two, for example, a lower class indigenous woman in Latin America may not only experience subordination due to her lower socio-economic class position, but due to her gender and ethnic identity as well. All three are interwoven and thus frame her identity. This perspective, however, does not entail a negation of class, but rather the negation of the primacy of her class identity and her struggle as a worker in the emancipatory projects of social movements. Theory, in other words, must move beyond the reduction of class to its crudest economic determinants in order to make sense of the actors involved in the new movements. Thus, social movement theories must seek to encompass a more open-ended understanding of the contemporary movements, movements themselves which are pluralistic and heterogeneous, and based on the multiple identities and subjectivities of the actors involved.

Laclau and Mouffe discuss this shift from class through the presentation of what they believe are the central aspects making social movements "new." They do not identify the movements with a pre-given social category of class, and therefore see different group identities, which are expressed in a number of different complex constructions beyond those of the relations of production, as integral in the formation of new social movements (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:160). In other words, and as third world feminists remind us, each social agent is inscribed within a heterogenous range of complex social and cultural relationships such as class, gender, race, ethnicity etc. and as such every social agent's identity and subjectivity are bound up within these and not simply reducible to one. Moreover, Laclau argues that the newness of new social movements lies in the fact that through them, some of the characteristics¹⁰ which have typified the traditional conceptualizations of social conflicts have become redundant. Laclau argues that, "it has become increasingly impossible to identify the group conceived as a referent, with an orderly and coherent system of *subject positions*"¹¹ (1985:28; italics added).

¹⁰ For Laclau, three main characteristics which have typified traditional conceptualizations of social conflicts: "the determination of the *identity of the agents* was given through categories given to the social structure; the *kind of conflict* was determined in terms of a diachronic-evolutionary paradigm; and the plurality of spaces of social conflict was reduced, in so far as the conflicts became politicised, to a *unified political space* in which the presence of the agents was conceived of as a 'representation of interests'" (1985:27).

¹¹ Laclau argues that "there has been a break with the category of the *subject* as a rational, transparent unity which would convey a homogeneous meaning on the total field of his/her conduct by being the source of his/her actions ... Instead of seeing the subject as a source which would provide the world with meaning, we see each *subject position* as occupying differential loci within a structure" (1985:31). Thus, Laclau and Mouffe use the term *subject position* to encompass the term *subject* in their work and thus see every subject position as a discursive position; it partakes of the open character of every discourse [and]

Using the example of the worker, he posits that with the transformation in the relations of production during the later part of the 20th century, the ties which linked the various identities of the worker as consumer, producer, etc. have weakened. This has had two results: one, "the social agents position has become autonomous - it is this autonomy which is at the root of the specificity of the new social movements -" and two, "the type of articulation existing among these different positions [has become] continually more indeterminate" (1985:28-29). In other words, the defining categories of social actors through their common position in the social structure has become less meaningful as a way of understanding the overall identity of social actors, especially as social actors become more autonomous from their social structures. As Laclau concludes: "[t]he concept of 'class struggle', for example, is neither correct nor incorrect - it is, simply, totally insufficient as a way of accounting for contemporary social conflicts" (1985:29).

Laclau also sees "newness" in the fact that, what he terms, the "diachronic theory of 'stages'" is at a crisis point. This is due to the collapse of the synchronic unity between the progression of various social stages and the different positions of the social actor within these stages. Laclau in essence paraphrases his own argument:

consequently, the various positions cannot be fixed in a closed system of differences (1985:115). This point will be returned to later in the chapter through a discussion of the central tenets of Laclau and Mouffe.

thus in the same way that a determinate subject position - in the example given above the position in the relations of production - does not automatically provide any necessary determination of the positions, it is impossible to refer to each single position to a rational, necessary succession of stages (1985:29).

As Castoriadis argues "[within Marxism, classes] are the agents of the historical process, but its [Marxism's] unconscious agents ... it is not [wo/]men's consciousness that determines their being, but their social being which determines their consciousness" (1987:29). In other words, the evolutionary scheme which prioritises the movement of history and social classes over the consciousness of the social actors involved has proven problematic. The actors involved in, with, and for new social movements are subjects of history, not mere objects as was once theorised within Marxist based class analysis of "old" social movements. The actors within new social movements in essence create and shape history, rather than being created and shaped by it in a linear, successive stage class model.

David Slater picks up on the above perspectives in his discussion of the movement away from the centrality of class within new social movements. Thus,

the major problem with Marxist class analysis ... concerns the failure to theorize subjectivity and identity. This failure is in its turn conditioned by the belief that what classes do is spelled out by their situation in the relations of production, which precedes them causally as well as logically (Slater, 1994:13).

The working class or proletariat has thus been conceptualized as a pregiven social construct where their identity and subjectivity stem from their socio-economic class position. This perspective, however, precludes any other propensity for meaning and action based on the heterogeneous collective identities and subjectivities of the actors themselves. Thus, for Slater, "the multiple points of identity within the space of the subject remind us of the impossibility of one fixed center for subjectivity" (1994:17).¹²

This in essence shows the complex nature of identity and subjectivity as it has come to be influenced by third world feminist, postmodernist, and poststructuralist thought and begs an interesting iconoclastic question (posed by Slater) which (he believes) undermines any facile view of the politics of identity: "What do a trade unionist, a racist, a christian, a wife-beater, and a consumer have in common? - they may all be the same person" (Slater, 1994:17). Stemming from this complexity of identity politics, Slater argues it can be seen "that an oppressed subject can also, simultaneously, be an oppressing subject" (1994:17), an example of which is articulated by Brown (1991) through her presentation of the relationship between a white, middle-class woman of the North and a lower-class woman of colour who may be in her employment.¹³ The former is in a definite position of power over the subordinate latter, in terms of class and race. However, the former and the latter are also subordinate to

¹² To see how this view fits with the postmodern feminist concept of the contingent subject, see Chapter Two, page 36, note 15.

¹³ See Chapter Two, pages 42-48.

other power structures based along lines of gender. This is a clear example of the struggle against sexism, racism, ethnocentrism, and classism within third world feminisms as presented in Chapter Two and one which this study argues must inform the discussion of new social movements as well.

Despite the views of the above authors in regards to the movement away from a primacy and reduction to class within new social movements, others, like Marta Fuentes and Andre Gunder Frank (1989) tend to fall back into the trap of what this study sees as a reductionism to a more or less class-based level of analysis. They see a "new" characteristic of these movements in the tendency of these movements to be more single class or stratum movements than those in the past (Fuentes and Frank, 1989:180). This characterization of the contemporary movements contradicts the perspectives of Laclau, Mouffe, Slater, etc. who posit that a central tenet of the new social movements is, in fact, their movement *away from* a strict class-based approach *towards* one of heterogeneity and plurality.

This view of Fuentes and Frank also directly contradicts their later claims that: "not unlike working-class and peasant movements before, these *popular* movements often have some middle-class leadership ... [and m]ore often than not, these *community* movements overlap with religious and ethnic movements ... " (1989:185; italics added). Here they seem to argue that these movements have a multi-class base as opposed to the single-class base they argued for earlier in their article. Moreover, they point out that the notions of locality,

occupation, race, etc. (they noticeably ignore gender) are both elements and instruments of domination and liberation and that "[s]ocial movements and the 'class struggle' they express inevitably must also reflect this complex economic, political, social, cultural structure and process" (1989:185).

It is here that Fuentes and Frank again fall back into the trap of reductionism, since they concede the fact that there is a heterogeneous, plurality of actors and identities in contemporary social movements (what other theorists and this study see as an integral part of the "newness" of these movements), yet they reduce and essentialize these differences to those of "class" by defining these groupings as class-based (women, indigenous peoples, etc. as a class for example) or by adding them on as an afterthought to their class-based analyses. They view social movements as based on the struggle and opposition of one class against another (dominant) class. Yet, as this study points out, the natures of the contemporary movements are broad and heterogeneous as are their struggles, which makes it impossible to prioritize struggle solely as against a dominant class.

Thus, Fuentes and Frank try to have it both ways: they acknowledge differences, but neither theorize nor conceptualize the role of differences in social movements. They speak of differences only as far as they fit into their existing Marxist-based framework, which prioritizes, essentializes, and reduces these myriad differences to those of class. This leads them to conclude that these movements are single class in essence and that there is nothing really

"new" about new social movements.¹⁴ Fuentes and Frank at one moment acknowledge differences beyond class, then at the next retreat back to class, which shows the inherent contradictions present within their argument. This study argues these contradictions in essence point out that there are indeed new social movements based on the heterogeneity and the plurality of the actors involved. Thus, there must be the movement away from a primacy and reduction to class both within theory and practice.

Recasting the Political

Beyond the trappings of class, the "old" Marxist notion of a unified political space based on the notion of the political sphere as a precise level of the social has also become problematic. This Marxist "internal frontier" of the social was couched in terms of a "different dividing principle," that of a class division (Laclau, 1985:37). This division, according to Marxist principles, could only be constituted in the economic sphere and yet could only reproduce itself in the political sphere at some future moment when class struggle reached its revolutionary zenith. The political was the arena in which class struggle was

¹⁴ Arturo Escobar and Sonia E. Alvarez posit that "those who argue that nothing or little has changed, ... , still function within a positivist epistemology, within which 'truth' about social reality can be given once and for all. They also treat the statement 'There is nothing new in [new social movements]' as an empirically testable proposition. This is their 'new' reality; in other words, what is new for them is the realization that the world was always different than we believed, say, ten years ago. Paradoxically, this very realization is made possible by the insistence of [new social movement] theorists that there is something new!" (1992:16, note 8).

waged; all other struggles were somehow not political and were thus seen as secondary to the political struggles of the working class (1985:37-38).

However, Laclau argues that within contemporary discourse, "if the identity of social agents is no longer conceived as constituted at a single level of society [that of socio-economic class, then] their presence at the other 'levels' can also not be conceived as a 'representation of interests'" (1985:29). What Laclau contends here is that with the movement away from the primacy of class within new social movements, "the political [has ceased] to be a *level* of the social and [has become] a *dimension* which is present, to a greater or lesser extent, in all social practice" (1985:29). Therefore, what he terms the "representation of interests model" has lost its validity as a result of the "increasing politicisation of social life" through new social movements, which have "shattered the vision of the political as a closed, homogeneous space" (1985:29-30). As well, Laclau and Mouffe argue that the multiplication of political spaces has led to the political becoming a dimension articulated and expressed within all social structures (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:161). New social movements, are therefore those which have gone beyond the focus on single identities based on class and shifted to an analysis of multiple identities and a recasting of the political in a more broad and open-ended framework which views struggle and resistance in multiple forms.

Slater (1985, 1994) takes from these perspectives and argues that the new social movements have broken away from a focus on economics (and thus

a primacy on class and modes of production) and its impact on the political. A new emphasis has been embarked upon by new social movements whereby politics and its mitigating factors are viewed in "more open and [pluralistic re]conceptualisations ... [and as such] ... social demands and concerns are articulated to different [political] discourses" (Slater, 1985:7). In other words, new social movements have moved beyond the linear relationship between struggle and socialist content; contemporary struggles engender multiple and eclectic emancipatory projects beyond revolutionary socialism.

In a more recent article, Slater furthers his analysis on the political by arguing that "there can be no single fixed function for the political[;] the political is not a 'level' split off and granted relative autonomy from other 'levels' ... (Slater, 1994:29). Within Marxism, the loci of politics centered on the state and the acquisition of state power, and thus often drew "a binary distinction ... between the realm of the political, bounded within the state, and political parties and the space of the social, framed around the family, the school, religion, the individual, movements, and so on" (1994:29). However, Slater emphasizes that this dichotomy must be dissolved, since "the very genesis of society is itself political" (1994:29). Again it can be seen that the feminist concept of "the personal is political" is essential to an understanding of new social movements and resistance. Yet, the "political" it must be noted, does not negate the social relations from which it arose; namely, race, gender, class, etc., but changes with each collective identity and subjectivity of the actors involved. Slater concludes

that new social movements can therefore "subvert" the traditional "given" of the political, while recasting "the political essence of the social" (1994:30) through "reverse discourses"¹⁵ (1994:29) to change the structures of domination and subordination.

Tiliman Evers, while stating that he does not know "definitely and precisely" what new social movements are, also sees one aspect of their newness in their effort, "to define themselves as new and distinctive with regard to traditional politics and to be the founders and wardens of their own traditions of social knowledge" (Evers, 1985:45). What Evers is in fact articulating is the movement away from not only the political in terms of the state and party politics, but from a closed vision of the political in general, one defined by class and manifested through the state. The basis of this redefinition of traditional politics, lies in essence with what Evers views as "the new way of doing politics" which is bound up with the "universal measure" of the concept of "power."¹⁶ Although power relations penetrate every aspect of social life, Evers also believes that

¹⁵ The notion of "reverse discourses" is used by Slater to refer to points of resistance and struggle which carry with them a plurality of emancipation and an imaginative "ethics of conviction *in* responsibility - for the environment, for human rights, for difference, for emancipation from oppression, exploitation, and subjection" (1994:30).

¹⁶ The concept of "power" and its application to international development, resistance, and new social movements has been discussed by Escobar in his work, "Discourse and Power In Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of his Work to the Third World." Here, Escobar argues, that for Foucault, "any strategy which overlooks this manifold structure of power is self-defeating. To the multiplicity of forms of power, we must respond with a multiplicity of localized resistances and counter-offenses. These localized resistances, however, must be of radical and uncompromising character if they are to confront the totality of power. Rather than a massive revolutionary process, the strategy must be aimed at developing a network of struggles, points of resistance, and popular bases. This does not mean, however, that global processes should be abandoned. Like power, the multiplicity of resistances may be integrated into global strategies" (Escobar, 1984-85:381).

every power relation is penetrated by social life and as such, he postulates as to whether "power is the only or most important potential for social transformation we can find in these movements and groupings" (1985:48).

This question in essence leads Evers' discussion to the conclusion that, "the 'new' element within new social movements consists precisely in creating bits of social practice in which power is not central; and that we will not come to understand this potential as long as we look upon it from the viewpoint of power *a priori*" (1985:48). Evers is of the opinion that new social movements are "new" because they neither question nor challenge a specific form of power, which he equates as state power, but rather question and challenge the centrality of the concept of power itself. In other words, new social movements in their resistances are not engaged in struggles to acquire power, but to deconstruct the very notion of power itself; to call into question the very basis of human oppressions. The uniqueness of these new movements (as opposed to the form the "old" movements took) is their popular and decentralising alternatives to the dominant traditional state power model, which Evers' views as having fallen into disrepute due to the general economic crisis and to the critiques of state domination (1985:63).

By Way of a Synthesis

It is perhaps fitting that this section now (re)turns to the works of Escobar and Alvarez in order to synthesize the discussion of the "old" and "new" social

movements. Despite the juxtaposition of "old" against "new" outlined above, Escobar and Alvarez realize that the theoretical and practical discussions within social movements are not simple either/or dichotomies between old and new, but rather that many continuities exist between these two forms. For Escobar and Alvarez, the recognition and acknowledgement of the complex nature of contemporary social movements is of utmost importance when looking at the forms and practices of these movements within their particular contexts.¹⁷ In other words, it is important to view contemporary social movements more holistically and not to categorize them as either completely different phenomenon from past movements as if some arbitrary theoretical point of departure severed their connections, or as containing nothing new and thus reducing them to the form of the old as Fuentes and Frank prefer.

However, "[t]o deny, on the other hand, that there is [indeed] anything new in today's collective action - in relation say, to the earlier part of the century - is to negate the changing character of the world and its history" (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:8). Thus, Escobar and Alvarez believe that as historical contexts change and manifest themselves over time (a point for discussion in the subsequent section), so do the theories that seek to explain and make sense out of the resistance and action, as well as the contexts in which they occur. With

¹⁷ Other social movement theorists who argue the importance of acknowledging the continuities between the old and new movements are: Cardoso (1987) and Mires (1987).

this in mind, this study speaks of most contemporary social movements as "new."¹⁸

THE NATURES OF NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Trends in Theories and Research

The crises in the postcolonial world, as well as the impasse in both Marxist and functionalist approaches and their subsequent limitations for making sense of new social movements (as outlined above) have resulted in a number of reconceptualizations within social movement theories. Jean Cohen, in her well regarded work on new social movements, argues that a distinction between social movement theories is necessary in order to locate the specific characteristics and natures of the contemporary movements. The two approaches which she comments upon are the "resource mobilization" theories and the "identity-centered" theories (Cohen, 1985:663).

For Cohen, all resource mobilization theories share similar assumptions such as collective action as conflict, organization and power, group strategy and rationality, recognition of the group, participation of the actors, etc.¹⁹ Thus, according to Cohen, "for the resource mobilization paradigm, the object of

¹⁸ Escobar and Alvarez state that the new social movements notion "should be treated as a temporary analytical construct that should give way to a clearer and more rigorous definition of contemporary collective phenomena" (1992:15, note 8). As such, this study uses the notion of new social movements in a similar vein; that they are neither rigid constructions of theoretical definitions, but working ideas used to try to make sense of the dynamic contemporary movements and the contexts they occur within.

¹⁹ For further discussion on the resource mobilization approaches, see for instance: Jenkins (1983) and Morris and Herring (1984).

analysis is not the social movement in this sense, but collective action between groups with opposed interests" (Cohen, 1985:676). Cohen argues that the identity-centered theories, on the other hand, purport to analyze the means in which "[c]ontemporary collective actors consciously struggle over the power to socially construct new identities, to create democratic spaces for autonomous social action, and to reinterpret norms and reshape institutions" (Cohen, 1985:690). In her view, not only are these levels of analysis neglected by the resource mobilization theories, they are also extremely important when theorising about new social movements. Thus, Cohen (1985:705) points out, the interaction between social movements and civil society²⁰ must not be ignored.

Escobar and Alvarez, writing on new social movements almost a decade later, pick up on some of Cohen's central themes and concepts. These two scholars tend to equate the identity-centered theories with what is more commonly known today as the "new social movements approach." This approach, in turn, is seen by these two scholars as having been influenced by the more recent trends within post-Marxist, postmodernist, and poststructuralist

²⁰ The concept "civil society" is quite broad and open to a number of different interpretations depending upon the place and context it is used. In general, it includes every form of daily human life and interpersonal interaction; in essence society as a whole. Carlos M. Vilas, sees the concept of civil society in Latin America as referring "to a sphere of collective action distinct from both the market and 'political society' - parties, legislatures, courts, state agencies. Civil society is not independent of politics, but clearly, when people identify themselves as 'civil society,' they are seeking to carve out a relatively autonomous sphere for organization and action" (1993:38). The distinction between social movements and civil society for him is bound up in the fact that "[t]he activation of civil society [is] fomented by social movements [which] broadens the concept of citizenship to include a social dimension" (1993:42). For further discussion of the concept "civil society" and how it pertains to the work of NGOs within international development, see for instance: Korten (1990).

thought. Escobar (1992b) argues that within this identity-centered perspective, "three of the most influential European conceptualizations of social movements in Latin America [are to be found in the work] of Alain Touraine, Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe, and Alberto Melucci" (Escobar, 1992b:35).

However, they caution that too quick a move from the "old" resource mobilization theories to the "new" identity-centered theories is problematic. Escobar and Alvarez propose, "a sort of 'cross-pollination' of research - between identity-centered and resource mobilization approaches, quantitative and qualitative methods, and endogenous and external theories" (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992:5-6). In fact, they deem it necessary. Therefore, they are arguing for a synthesis which moves beyond an either/or dichotomy, towards a more holistic perspective on new social movements. For the purposes of this study, this chapter will now turn towards a discussion of these conceptualizations, as well as those of Arturo Escobar, in order to provide a theoretical background and a working conceptual framework for the further discussion of feminisms and new social movements in Latin America to be discussed in Chapter Four.

The Historicity of Social Movements: Cultural Struggles

Within the scholarship on new social movements, there has been a current of rethinking and reformulating the relationships between everyday life, culture, and politics in order to better make sense of what is occurring within contemporary societies and cultures. Alain Touraine, throughout his influential work on social

movements, has argued that for the first time in history, postindustrial society has come to produce itself by a complex set of actions performed upon itself (Touraine, 1981, 1988, 1992). This stems from his belief (summarized succinctly by Escobar) that contemporary social action is "characterised by the presence of social actors who may have conflictual interests but who share certain cultural orientations, ... , [and not by] ... the result of some metasocial principal - god, reason, evolution, the economy, or the state" (Escobar, 1992b:36; capitals excluded). Therefore, for Touraine:

[a] social movement is the action, both culturally orientated and socially conflictual, of a social class defined by its position of domination or dependency in the mode of appropriation of historicity, and by the cultural modes of investment, knowledge, and morality toward which the social movement itself is orientated.²¹

The actions that social movements are engaged in and with are therefore the "work that society performs upon itself" and are not "dramatic events" according to Touraine (1981:29); they are struggles to control *historicity*²² and not the means of production, etc. Touraine argues that this in fact is the essential point:

²¹ Alain Touraine (1988) *La Parole et le Sang. Politique e Société en Amérique Latine*. Paris: Editions Odile Jacob. 68. As cited in Escobar (1992b:36).

²² The notion of "historicity" has been postulated by Touraine as "the set of cultural models that rule social practices" (1988:8) and as the "form[s] of thought which defined the social actor by [her/his] position in a social progress opposed by the forces of conservatism and of reaction" (1992:126).

it is surely impossible to dissociate the concept of social movement, thus defined, from the representation of social life as, simultaneously, a set of cultural representations through which society produces itself and all the aspects and consequences of a central social conflict. Thus, the notion of social movement, as used here, designates a general, representation of social life rather than a particular type of social phenomena (Touraine, 1992:125-126).

Touraine argues further that new social movements are based in cultural struggles against exclusion and for equality, yet these struggles remain separated from political action. That is, new social movements themselves are the products of the cultural industries of postindustrial society where debate is structured between the logic of power and accumulation (the marketplace) and the logic of individual liberty (1992:141). As such, they seek action by focusing on the subjectivity of the actors involved and thus establish a break between the "social sphere, becoming increasingly moral, and the sphere of the state and strictly political action, ... , [s]imultaneously, [new] social movements free themselves from the tutelage of a political party" (1992:142).

Touraine sees new social movements as speaking in the name of a social category defined by dominance and power and not as speaking in the name of a traditional political entity. In his words: "[t]he new social movements seem as pacific and as interested in consciousness raising as the others were violent and interested in the control of power" (1992:142). Within these movements pre-political expressions and debates, the themes of consensus and communication arise and lead to the realization of collective cultural orientations among the

group. Touraine concludes that this transformation of the relationships between social movements and political action defines new social movements in terms of the identity, consciousness, and subjectivity of the actors involved. In other words, new social movements association with democracy is no longer defined fully by institutional roles, but by the social actors themselves and their subjectivities (1992:143).

Touraine's argument "that conflict and action cannot be separated from culture is of utmost importance," according to Escobar (1992b:38) primarily because "[i]n the past, cultural orientations were not given due importance." Touraine's attempt to posit historicity as a source of struggle and action for new social movements which arise out of the cultural projects of society has indeed been influential in the discourse of new social movements; however, it has also become problematic as a level of analysis in regards to new social movements.

Escobar (1992a, 1992b) outlines what he sees as the two major critiques of Touraine's work. First, Escobar sees Touraine's inquiry as compartmentalizing reality, in that it envisions the social, political, economic, and cultural as autonomous spheres separated from each other, rather than integrated (1992b:37). This vision of social life is not only unholistic in nature, it also obscures the fact that the contemporary social movements are in fact based on the integration and articulation of these various spheres. The exclusion of cultural struggles from political action, based upon the absence of a collectivity among the movement, is one such example of where Touraine

seems to miss an important characteristic of the new social movements; that of an integration and collectivity across differences for political action. Beyond this, he posits too narrow a definition of political action, which not only ignores the processes of the personal as political, but also places a normative judgement on what political action is and what is not and thus falls into a binary trap.

Second, Escobar criticizes Touraine's notion of "levels of historicity" and his notion that "only those societies that have reached 'the highest level of historicity' (that of self-production) - namely, postindustrial or 'programmed' societies can be said to be characterised by social movements of this kind [as those outlined above]" (Escobar, 1992a:71). Escobar views this discourse as Eurocentric in nature, since those societies "other" than those postindustrial societies of the North (that is, the "third world") are represented "as lacking historical agency, or in the best of cases, as only having a diminished form of agency if compared with the European case" (Escobar, 1992b:37). For the purposes of this study, this Eurocentric reading of new social movements proves quite problematic, yet Touraine's contribution to the discourse need not be rejected outright because of its limitations; it will be taken in context and synthesized with the working conceptual framework posited by this chapter.

Collective Identity and Action: The Fluidity of Ideology

Alberto Melucci also takes issue with Touraine's understanding of new social movements, specifically because Touraine "does not explain the process by which actors build a collective identity through interactions, negotiations, and relationships with the environment."²³ For Melucci, new social movements raise two central questions for the reconstruction of conceptual models of collective action and mobilization; these being: "through which processes do the actors construct their collective action? When we observe an empirical collective phenomena, how is the unity which we observe formed?" (Melucci, 1992:47). Melucci believes the only way to answer these most important of questions is to abandon the dualistic assumptions which "attributed collective action [either] to the structural background or to the values, motivations, and ideologies of the actors" and that therefore, a circular relationship between the actor and the system must be established (1992:47).

He criticizes Touraine for not exploring these key questions and for taking the identity of the actor as an already established fact, and thus disregarding how collective identity is formed and maintained (Melucci, 1988a, 1992). For Melucci, collective identity and identity are processes, not facts or events, which construct the action systems of struggle from the identity of the actors involved (1988a:342). Regarding collective identity, Melucci states:

²³ Melucci (1988a). As paraphrased by Escobar (1992a:72).

[c]ollective identity is an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals and concerned with the orientations of action and the fields of opportunities and constraints in which the action takes place: by "interactive and shared" I mean a definition that must be conceived as a process, because it is constructed and negotiated through a repeated activation of the relationships that link individuals. The process of identity construction, adaptation, and maintenance always has two aspects: the internal complexity of an actor (the plurality of orientations which characterizes [her/]him), and the actor's relationship with the environment (other actors, opportunities, and constraints) (1988a:342).

Melucci argues further that those discourses which also describe collective action as a fact, rather than the process which it is, disregard the nature of the relationships that underlie collective action before, during, and after the action itself. As Escobar argues, "[t]he exclusion of this level from the field of analysis is of paramount importance because it is at this level that the creation of cultural models and symbolic challenges by the movements actually occurs" (Escobar, 1992a:73). Social action exists on the level of the networks submerged in the everyday life of the social and cultural and upon which people's commitment to act both conditions and actualizes this social action. "What nourishes it", according to Melucci, "is the daily production of alternative frameworks of meaning, on which the networks themselves are founded and live from day to day" (Melucci, 1988b:248). In essence what Melucci is arguing here is that the interpersonal and group dynamics (networks) that occur within our everyday lives (which we take for granted, and are thus submerged) inform and determine the

types of ideas and action for alternative social change. Put quite simply, Melucci is pointing to the role of ideology within new social movements.

The role that ideology²⁴ plays within this "submerged reality" is discussed at length by Melucci in a more recent article, which leads him to echo others, like Gramsci (1978), that it is "a key analytical level for the understanding of social movements" (Melucci, 1992:56). It is a key precisely because the "connection between the particularism of the actor and some general values [ideologies] (truth, freedom, justice, emancipation, etc.) is a key mechanism [as well] of the framing activity of a collective actor" (1992:57) and thus of the collective action of new social movements. This ideology not only integrates the movement, according to Melucci, it also has a strategic and political function in relation to the environment and context in which the movement arose.

In other words, "[i]deology is one of the resources that can be used to reduce the costs and maximize the benefits of action" (1992:60). Perhaps, most importantly for Melucci, "[t]hese constituent elements of the ideology of a [new] social movement take on different cultural contents and vary during the course of collective action" (1992:58). What Melucci's view of ideology suggests, is a movement away from a dichotomous "us" versus "them" situation in collective

²⁴ Here, Melucci is using the concept of "ideology" as a "set of symbolic frames which collective actors use to represent their own actions to themselves and to the others, within a system of social relationships. This symbolic production is a constituent part of these relationships, but at the same time, the actor tends to separate it from the system of which it is a part, turning it to the defence of his/her own particular interests. Hence, the interweaving of truth and falsehood that characterizes ideology because it reproduces real social relationships, but at the same time it hides and negates them" (1992:56).

identity and action to one of a more diverse and heterogeneous nature where ideology is fluid and dynamic and adaptable to changes in context and situation.²⁵

In these later writings of Melucci's there is a definite shift away from either/or dichotomies and class-based analyses towards an analysis which encompasses the plural and heterogeneous identity of the actors involved in new social movements, without the trappings of a reduction to class. This progression from his earlier neo-Marxist perspectives towards more inclusive discourse is seen clearly by his recent and contemporary discussion on the role and nature of collective action and identity within new social movements based on the open-ended notions of culture and ideology. As Melucci concludes:

The action of [new social] movements reveals that the neutral rationality of means masks interests and forms of power; that it is impossible to confront the massive challenge of living together ... without openly discussing the 'ends' and 'values' that make such cohabitation possible. They highlight the insuperable dilemmas facing complex societies, and by doing so, force them openly to assume responsibility for their choices, their conflicts, and their limitations ... By drawing on forms of action that relate to daily life and individual identity, contemporary movements detach

²⁵ In regards to the role that ideology plays in resistance and struggle, there is a need to go beyond the binary/dualistic divisions of the ally/enemy framework couched in Marxist notions of class. Michael Foucault writes that there is "no single locus of great refusal, no soul of revolt, source of all rebellions, or pure law of the revolutionary. Instead there is a plurality of resistances, each of them a special case: ... spread over time and space at varying densities, at times mobilizing groups or individuals in a definitive way ..." (1978:95-96). While Foucault argues that at certain points there may be "great radical ruptures" and "massive binary divisions," he sees these as "mobile and transitory points of resistance, producing cleavages in a society that shift about, fracturing unities and effecting regroupings, furrowing across individuals themselves, cutting them up and remoulding them, marking off irreducible regions in them, in their bodies and minds" (1978:96).

themselves from the traditional model of political organization, and they increasingly distance themselves from political systems. They move in to occupy an intermediate space of social life where individual needs and the pressures of political innovation mesh together... (1992:75).

Plurality and Subject Positions in New Social Movements

Ernesto Laclau and Chantal Mouffe (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985; Laclau, 1985, 1992; Mouffe, 1984) have written extensively from a post-Marxist²⁶ perspective, while drawing more explicitly from some aspects of postmodernism, about the agents of social change, the collective identity and action of the actors, and the nature of historical transformation. As Escobar (1992a:78, 1992b:38) states, their work "represents a significant departure from dominant political theories" on new social movements for two main reasons:

first, social practice is for them fundamentally discursive; it is a process in which the meaning of human action is constructed. Secondly, meaning cannot be permanently fixed; it is always changing such that even the recognition of identity relies on an ongoing process of articulation of meanings (1992b:38).

²⁶ The notion of post-Marxism may have its roots in the Eurocommunist and Eurosocialist developments of the 1970s and 1980s, but it will suffice to say that as a contemporary discourse it attempts to displace the primacy of class and class struggle through an emphasis on pluralism and heterogeneity. Chlicote outlines some of the central arguments of post-Marxist discourse: "the working class has not evolved into a revolutionary movement; ... ; a political force may form out of 'popular' political and ideological elements, independent from class ties so that feminist, ecological, peace, and other forces [new social movements] become effective in changing society; ... ; and that the struggle for socialism comprises a plurality of resistances to inequality and oppression" (1990:6).

The *discursive* and *articulatory*²⁷ nature of social and cultural life, according to Laclau and Mouffe is of utmost importance for understanding the formation of collective identities within contemporary social movements. Since both the *structure* of society and the *agency* of the individual are "laden with meaning, ... the only possibility of building collective identities [lies] through the *articulation* of [this] meaning."²⁸

This articulation of meaning is in essence the formation of ideology, which both authors argue must originate from the *subject position*²⁹ of the actors involved. In other words, the subject being equated with its subject position within a discursive structure, where the "social agent [is approached] as a plurality, dependent on the various subject positions by which s/he is constituted within various discursive formations" (Laclau, 1985:31-32) creates the meaning and ideology of everyday life. Laclau and Mouffe state that from this plurality of subject positions comes a plurality of meaning and ideology.

Only if it is accepted that the subject positions cannot be led back to a positive and unitary founding principle - only then can pluralism be considered radical. Pluralism is *radical* only to the extent that each term of this plurality of identities finds within itself the principle of its own validity ... And this radical pluralism is *democratic* to the

²⁷ For the context of their discussion, Laclau and Mouffe call "articulation" any practice establishing a relation among elements such that their identity is modified as a result of the articulatory practice. The structured totality resulting from the articulatory practice, [they] call discourse" (1985:105).

²⁸ Laclau and Mouffe (1985). As paraphrased in Escobar (1992b:78).

²⁹ See page 86, note 11.

extent that the autoconstitutivity of each one of its terms is the result of displacements of the egalitarian imaginary (1985:167).

Therefore, once the rejection of universally defining principles of a privileged political subject occurs, then, and only then, does it become possible to recognize the plural natures of these myriad subject positions, as well as their radical democratic potential within new social movements.

In essence, this offers a theoretical key to the discourse on new social movement theories and provides a significant insight into their nature. Thus, for Laclau:

[new social movement's] central characteristic is, ... , that an ensemble of subject positions (at the level of, the place of residence, institutional apparatuses, various forms of culture, racial, and [gender] subordination) have become points of conflict and political mobilisation (1985:32).

These points of conflict, as discussed here, are in essence the antagonisms created by the post-Fordist restructuring within late-capitalist or postindustrial society. This restructuring is an attempt to bring about a "new hegemonic³⁰ formation" (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:160) through the increasing

³⁰ Laclau and Mouffe view the concept of "hegemony" in regards to the "new logic of the social implicit within it, and [to] the 'epistemological obstacles' which, from Lenin to Gramsci, prevented a comprehension of its radical political and theoretical potential. It is only when the open unsutured character of the social is fully accepted, when the essentialism of the totality and of the elements is rejected, that this potential becomes clearly visible ... (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985:192-193). For further discussion of the concept of hegemony, see for instance: Gramsci (1978).

commodification, bureaucratization, and homogenization of social life, yet at the same time, it creates the space for the expression of forms of resistance to it, which "manifest themselves [frequently] through a proliferation of particularisms, and crystallize into a demand for autonomy itself" (1985:164). The autonomy here being the autonomy from state control in all its forms and the subsequent radical democratic freedom in the search for collective identity and action.

While this approach helps to explain the basis for identity formation and collective action within new social movements, Laclau and Mouffe argue that this process takes different forms within the North and South. They put forth the notion that within the North, the antagonisms spoken of earlier "permit the multiplication of democratic struggles, ... , [and thus] do not divide the political space into antagonistic fields" (1985:131). The South, on the other hand, is seen to have an element of popular struggle with a clearly defined center, and thus a separation of the political space in two, as well as a reduced diversity of democratic struggle (1985:131). This sharp distinction between the North and the South leads Escobar (1992a:79, 1992b:39) to conclude that Laclau and Mouffe, like Touraine, are mired in a decidedly Eurocentric perspective. Escobar, in his critique, asks:

... can we not argue that the post-[1945] hegemonic formation of development has also resulted, in the third world, in a multiplicity of antagonisms and identities - peasants, "urban marginals," "those belonging to the informal sector," "women by-passed by development," the "illiterate," "indigenous peoples who do not

modernize," etc. - that is, all those victims of development who are the subjects of recent forms of protest? (1992b:39).

Although Laclau and Mouffe furthered the discourse of new social movement theories into newer levels of awareness and understanding, Escobar sees their Eurocentric bias as masking the realities of pluralism, identity, and subjectivity within the South, which then becomes problematic when discussing the natures of new social movements, especially those in the South. It is for these reasons that Escobar calls for further perspectives on new social movements to be developed in order to move beyond the trappings of the various theories reviewed thus far in this chapter.

Culture and Everyday Meaning: Synthesized Perspectives

The concepts offered from the preceding review of the theoretical discussions of Touraine, Melucci, and Laclau and Mouffe are important steps in formulating new understandings and theories of new social movements. They all premise that the centrality of new social movements within contemporary discourse on collective action has arisen,

regardless of which perspective you adopt, ... [due to] a change in the structure of collective action. The fact is there, redefining a new space for theory and social action, the contours of which we

are beginning to visualize, even if we cannot yet fully explain them.³¹

According to Escobar, however, these must be articulated with the fact that "[s]ocial movements must be seen equally and inseparably as struggles over meanings as well as material conditions, that is, as cultural struggles" (Escobar, 1992a:69). Escobar argues that this aspect of *cultural politics* must be brought to light in order to "develop a coherent, albeit rudimentary and provisional, account of the cultural politics ... and a cultural theory of [new] social movements" (1992a:69). Here Escobar is integrating the ideas of culture and political action into a cultural politics of everyday meaning and struggle where his notions of ideology echo those of Melucci, Laclau, and Mouffe and where he goes beyond Touraine's compartmentalization of politics, culture, etc.

Stemming from these notions, Escobar points out that the domain of everyday life, the struggle and the practice of everyday life, is and are very important levels of meaning which are bound up with political practice, social relations, and (of course) cultural struggles (1992a:70; 1992b:30). For him, this is best expressed by Elizabeth Jelin:

If we study the meaning of political practice in daily life, the construction of identities and discourses, we do not do it assuming

³¹ Fernando Calderón and José Luis Reyna (1990) "La Irrupción Incubierta." *David and Goliath* 57. 19. As cited and translated in Escobar (1992b:29).

that these are determinant - or necessary - of practices at the institutional level. Neither do we assume the autonomy of democracy in relation to people's quotidian practices. The relationship between one and the other level are complex, mediated. Our intention is to point to a *field of construction of democracy* that, in the first place, is important in itself, that of the social relations of daily life ... We believe that *daily life and social movements are privileged spaces in which to study these processes of mediation*, since social movements are situated, at least in theory, in the intermediate space between individualized, familiar, habitual, micro-climactic daily life, and socio-political processes writ large of the state and the institutions, solemn and superior.³²

Furthering his theoretical perspectives of new social movements (and moving beyond those reviewed earlier, all of which tend to ignore an analysis of gender beyond its mention) Escobar echoes the conclusions of Jelin that this analysis may be demonstrated most clearly within the praxis of women's movements and of third world feminisms. He argues that "the fact that these [new social] movements seem to arise 'naturally' out of daily life does not imply that the action is less important or restricted" (1992a:70). In fact, these movements are precisely about living differently, asserting one's difference, and engaging in cultural innovation in order to give new meaning to politics. These are thus the eclectic natures of the new social movements; eclectic natures

³² Elizabeth Jelin (1987) "Movimientos Sociales y Consolidación Democrática en la Argentina Actual." *Movimientos Sociales y Democracia Emergente*. E. Jelin Ed. Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 11. As cited and translated in Escobar (1992a:70).

which are understood in terms of the concept of *culture*³³. Thus, "[w]hen people 'practice' their everyday lives, they are reproducing or creating culture" (1992a:70).

This (re)production of culture is a (re)production of the self, since in their everyday struggle and action, people "establish a distinct presence in their social and cultural environment" (Escobar, 1992b:44-45). New social movements, therefore, are described by Escobar as being *autopoietic*, because "they produce themselves and the larger social order through their own organizing processes, ... [and thus] create a social phenomenology, so to speak, in the very social forms they produce as autonomous entities (Escobar, 1992b:44). The notion of "history" and "tradition" are integral concepts within this approach as they both entail an interpretation over a reservoir of meanings which social actors then articulate to give shape to their struggles (1992a:71; 1992b:45). "Thus, movements would not merely be a reflection of the current crisis or any other principle, but would have to be understood in terms of their own rationality and the organization they themselves produce" (1992b:45), where this rationality and organization are multivaried and diffuse.

³³ For Escobar, "[c]ulture is not something that exists in the abstract; it is embedded in practices, in the everyday life of people. Culture *is* (made of) peoples practices. Encounters with others who are different from us intensify the awareness of our own culture and make us realize how we think and feel in some ways rather than others, that is, that we have a 'culture'" (1992a:70). In her discussion of the "creation of the cultural," Catherine M. Boyle states that: "Culture cannot be seen as an immutable solid apart from or pinned on to society, for it is integral to society, it grows from it and feeds it, it elucidates its day to day workings, and provides ways of talking about ourselves within our different contexts (1993:165).

Escobar, in some of his final thoughts on new social movement theories states:

Put in a more abstract and general manner, daily life is located at the intersection of processes of articulating meaning through practices, on the one hand, and macro processes of domination on the other. Struggles over meanings at the level of daily life - as [third world] feminists and others do not cease to remind us - are the basis of contemporary social movements. The implications of this realization for theory and methodology are enormous, as we are just beginning to appreciate (1992a:71).

In essence, what Escobar is calling for is a synthesis of the concepts introduced by the other scholars reviewed herein (while recognizing their problematics and trappings) with the concepts outlined in his discourse, namely culture and everyday meaning, so that conceptual tools can be created for exploring the diversity and eclectic natures of new social movements in their myriad forms the world over.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored and reviewed the theoretical dimensions within the discourse of new social movement theories in order to establish a working framework for the analysis of new social movements. It first presented the context(s) in which new social movements have arisen; that of a crises in late-capitalism, development, and modernity on the one hand, and of the theoretical impasse within Marxism and functionalism on the other. Of central importance

to this working set of ideas is the fact that there is indeed something "new" about these movements and that this "newness" manifests itself in various ways across contexts. It will suffice to conclude, however, that new social movements differ from the "old" precisely because they are not based on worker's or class struggles. The richness and diversity of the new movements lies in their plurality of identity and subjectivity, in the multiplicity of social actors and their collective visions for change, and in their recasting and opening up of the political. This is not, however, to argue that a clearly dichotomous, binary opposite between "old" and "new" forms the thesis of this chapter or of this study. The complex nature of new social movements and their eclectic forms continue to evolve as history itself unfolds and changes.

The discussion has provided some background to the natures of new social movements from which some of the central concepts of new social movement theories could be discussed. Upon reflection, it can be concluded that: Touraine's idea of *historicity* provides a foreground to the *cultural aspects* of new social movements, yet the trappings of compartmentalizing reality and the Eurocentric levels of his historicity prove problematic; the concepts of *collective identity and action*, as outlined by Melucci, allow this study to argue that the two refer to integrated processes whereby both are influenced by the *social structure*, the *agency of the social actor*, and the *fluidity of ideology* which arises from this conjuncture; and the notions of the *discursive and articulatory nature* of the movements as argued by Laclau and Mouffe, inform the perspective of a *plurality*

of subject positions which have become *conflictual forms of resistance*. What this chapter proposes is a synthesis of these key concepts into a set of working ideas which mirror those of Arturo Escobar, with his focus on culture and the everyday meaning of life bound up within the collective identity and action of peoples on the margins.

In summary, this working set of ideas entails certain key integrative assumptions which this study argues are necessary when analysing new social movements. The contemporary movements need to be seen as progressions away from the reduction and primacy of class, towards an understanding of the *plurality of identities and subjectivities* based on the class, gender, ethnicity, race, etc. of the actors involved. This plurality is formed upon what can be termed *subject positions* (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985) which themselves arise from the varied realities and experiences at the *levels of everyday meaning and the creation of culture* (Touraine, 1992; Escobar, 1992a, 1992b; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992). It is here where *collective identity* (Melucci, 1988a, 1992) comes to form and where this identity of meaning is then translated into an *ideology*, not of a binary "us versus them" nature, but of a fluid nature which varies across contexts and places. This fluid and varied nature of ideology within new social movements, as well as the above notions, in essence have *recast the political to the social and the cultural* (Touraine, 1992; Escobar, 1992a, 1992b; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992), that is to the personal and everyday, and opened up the space for *collective action* (Melucci, 1988b, 1992) beyond that of class struggle

and the acquisition of state power. This collective action manifests itself in various forms of *conflictual resistance and cultural struggle* at different points in time in both the South and the North. Importantly, these forms of resistance and struggle are integrative processes articulating meaning through praxis and macro-structural processes of domination in a historically dynamic postcolonial world.

It is with this set of ideas that this study now embarks upon the project of articulating the visions of third world feminisms and new social movement theories within the postcolonial context of Latin America. Through the discourse analysis and textual deconstruction of the scholarship on Latin American women's participation in new social movements, it will be shown that there is a conjuncture of these integrative perspectives within the region. As such, this study will make use of the themes and concepts discussed in Chapters Two and Three in order to try to make sense of the literature and research about what is occurring within women's new social movements in the region.

CHAPTER FOUR:

THE LATIN AMERICAN CONTEXT

INTRODUCTION

The diversity and heterogeneity of the Latin American region has been too often suppressed by colonial and neocolonial accounts, which have sought to construct a typical "Latin American reality" from a decidedly Eurocentric perspective. Within this homogenized and trivialized construction of "place," has come an equally homogenized and trivialized construction of the "subject," especially in regards to gender, race, and class. This neocolonial discourse has become hegemonic in writings on Latin America (Beverley and Oviedo, 1993; Escobar, 1992a; Quijano, 1993; and Richard, 1993) as well as in other postcolonial contexts. However, this discourse has not gone unchallenged. Increasingly within Latin America, subalterns, those peoples existing on the margins, have been struggling against hegemonic material and discursive systems of oppression from their diverse localities and identities through new social movements, particularly those representing various indigenous peoples, peasants, and women (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992).

Women espousing third world feminist perspectives as a challenge to mainstream Northern feminisms and as eclectic visions for social change, from the diverse realities of the Latin American context, have been at the forefront of these struggles (Jelin, 1990; Vargas, 1992). The espousal of Latin American

feminisms within these new social movements, based on the heterogeneity, plurality, and identity of the actors involved, are struggles over meanings as much as they are struggles over material conditions. Thus, it is these struggles of women over the everyday meanings of life which inform the discourses and articulatory politics of the contemporary new social movements in Latin America. As Virginia Vargas argues:

The development of the Latin American women's movement shows that it is no longer possible to speak of women's identity, anchored and built on their experiences as a subordinate gender. Instead we need to recognize the plurality of experiences, the possibility of multiple representations and identities. We are living in a time, not only in Latin America, characterized by the simultaneous emergence of new social subjects, multiple rationalities and identities, expressed in the [new] social movements (1992:196).

This chapter will examine the diverse nature and richness of Latin America in order to provide the context for the discussion of the ways in which new social movement theories and third world feminisms manifest themselves at the levels of both practice and theory within Latin America. This will be achieved first, through a discussion of the colonial and neocolonial discourses arising in Latin America, as well as the uneven character of modernity and development in the region. Second, stemming from this contextualization of the region, the discussion will turn to the presentation of the historical and contemporary natures of new social movements and feminisms in Latin America. This will be followed by a discussion of the practical conjuncture of new social

movement theories and third world feminist theories in Latin America, through the textual deconstruction and discourse analysis of the scholarship on three different "vignettes of resistance and conjuncture" from three different localities within this diverse and complex region. Fourth, the reconceptualizations occurring within the theoretical debates on Latin American new social movements and Latin American feminisms (seen by this study as examples of contextual third world feminisms) will be addressed. This will be discussed by focusing specifically on how the practical manifestations of women's involvement in new social movements, as analysed and discussed through the literature and research on the particular case studies, inform these reconceptualizations. Lastly, this chapter will comment upon the contemporary theoretical perspectives within the scholarship on the conjuncture of new social movements and third world feminisms within Latin America. The final discussions will draw on the evidence outlined through this analysis and discussion, as well as the ideas presented in Chapters Two and Three in order to make sense of women's participation in the new social movements of Latin America.

MODERNITY AND DEVELOPMENT: UNEVEN COLONIAL DISCOURSES

Latin America is an imaginary place ... it has become a monstrously distended Oz populated by Gauchos and mariachis, Aztec temples and Caracas skyscrapers, tropical forests and Patagonian plains. In the foreign imagination, an equalizing, all-embracing blanket covers this immense territory, and earnest cultural tourists try hard to find common traits in countries as

different as Paraguay and Bolivia, Argentina and Peru ... There have been changes in the stereotype, [however]: after years of believing that all Latin American countries look like a set for Carmen Miranda, many now imagine that they all resemble either Gabriel García Márquez's Macondo or El Salvador torn by war. Whatever the stereotype, its uselessness is due less to the fact that even in the case of Colombia or El Salvador these images are incomplete, than to the fact that the stereotype is applied to define a nonexistent entity (Manguel, 1986:1-2).

Latin America as a whole is comprised of many sub-regions, including a number of states and a multiplicity of diverse cultures within these political entities. Indeed, as Sallie Westwood and Sarah A. Radcliffe point out, these states have been

generated within diverse histories too often suppressed within colonial accounts and perpetuated among the current states largely independent since the 1820s and 1830s. Within these histories are diverse peoples brought together across different times and spaces ... [however, they have] ... been homogenized and trivialized by a Eurocentric construction of Latin America (1992:2).

Notions of culture, identity, society, history etc. have, for the most part, been viewed as uniform and described as such by colonial and neocolonial discourses which have sought to define Latin America as an undifferentiated other (Albó, 1992); an other opposed and subordinated to Europe, and since the early twentieth century, to that colossus of the north, the United States. These problematics of representation and difference continue to manifest themselves within the region due, in part, to three key factors. First, the social construction

of Latin American peoples as "others" has been framed generally by the ideology of a bloody, brutal, and genocidal conquest; second, they have been represented as "others" within colonial and neocolonial discourses; and third, they have been created through an exclusionary language privileging difference (Westwood and Radcliffe, 1992:3).¹

There have been, however, contradictions bound up within these discourses, some of which stem from the concept of what Hommi Bhabha terms *fixity* (1983:18).² Following this line of argument, Latin America although it has been homogenized as static and fixed culturally, socially, etc. has also been viewed as different from western "civilization" in that it is bound by a "backward tradition" and is a "turbulent, exotic" world which we will never be able to understand. The acknowledgement of difference between the "civilized, modern west" and the "uncivilized, backward South" manifests itself with the homogenization framework of (neo)colonial discourse, and thus provides two contradictory stereotypes of Latin Americans. On the one hand, images of conquered, defeated peoples embracing modernity throughout a homogeneous Latin America, juxtaposed on the other hand with images of the "exotic natives" untouched by "civilization" in the hinterlands of the region. These counter-

¹ These accounts of (neo)colonial discourse and the postcolonial critiques to them have been developed most elegantly by Edward Said (1979, 1993).

² The concept of *fixity* has both promoted and sustained stereotypes that remain part of contemporary western cultures, and as Bhabha notes: "Fixity as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic representation" (1983:18).

images thus produce a paradox within hegemonic discourses; however, this paradox is manipulated by these very same discourses in order to legitimate their hegemony. As such, they usurp the notion of difference in order to construct the "other" in what ever way benefits the maintenance and perpetuation of their hegemonic discourses and ideologies.

Within Latin America the hegemonic discourses which construct (neo)colonial "others" are not, according to Westwood and Radcliffe, "the exclusive property of the west, for like capital, they have been globalized and have been appropriated by sections of the Latin American white population [as well]" (1992:3). This point is crucial since these stereotypes have been both perpetuated and exacerbated by the dominant white elites themselves, as well as by the non-white, *mestizo* elites in the region. This has led to the continued construction of the "contradictory otherness" within their own societies and cultures, thus both homogenizing and exoticizing them even further. The appropriation of (neo)colonial discourses has also come to manifest itself as an internalization of its meanings by these dominant groups to the point where it has become the "truth" and "reality" of what Latin America is. It has also come to be seen as the "truth and reality" of what Latin Americans are and how they define themselves within the context of neocolonialism.

While this internalization of inferiority, difference, and otherness has deep roots within the societies and cultures of Latin America, it has come to be increasingly questioned through a concurrent reflection upon these differences

as well as the uneven character of modernity and development within the region. As Nelly Richard points out, "[t]he unfolding of cultural tendencies [within Latin America] has [in fact] not been uniform and the mixture of myth and history, ritual and progress, tradition and market, has taken root unequally among [Latin Americans]" (1993:157). Latin America, then is indeed heterogeneous, yet these differences must not be seen as an "exotic otherness." Richard argues further:

Celebrating difference as exotic festival ... is not the same as giving the subject of this difference the right to negotiate its own conditions of discursive control, to practice its difference in the interventionist sense of rebellion and disturbance as opposed to coinciding with the predetermined meanings of the official repertory of difference (1993:160).

There is a need to understand and deconstruct the paradoxical notions of difference that have characterized and constructed Latin America and its peoples; a need to go beyond the simple dichotomies and counter-images presented by the hegemonic discourses. It is asserted that this understanding and deconstruction must come through reclaiming and celebrating the richness and diversity of the region and its peoples; that is, by in fact focusing on these differences which have been perverted by colonialism and neocolonialism.

Arturo Escobar (1992a, 1992b) writes in a similar vein that the current crisis within Latin America is based upon the crisis of modernity and development within the region itself and throughout the world. For him, the

prescriptions³ to overcome this crisis arise from the very discourses which have created and exacerbated the contemporary crisis; that is, modernity and development.

The origins of modernity⁴ occurred simultaneously in Europe and Latin America, not only because of the existing communication between the two worlds, but also because they were experiencing similar sociohistorical processes: "the apogee of the mercantilism of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries" (Quijano, 1993:144).

The problem with Latin America, however, was that just when its modernity seemed to enter the phase of the demarcation of its specificity and maturity with respect to Europe, when it began to define itself as a new social and cultural possibility, it fell victim to its colonial relationship to Europe and was subjected to a literally Kafkaesque "metamorphosis" (1993:144).

³ These prescriptions as outlined by the IMF and the World Bank, have invariably focused almost exclusively on macro-economic conditions and the subsequent structural adjustment and stabilization programmes proselytised by these international financial institutions and their Northern governmental partners. For a more in-depth reading of these prescriptions and their impacts on the South and women, see for instance: Dianne Elson (1989) and Susan George (1985).

⁴ It is the belief of some scholars that the origins of modernity lay with the voyage of Columbus and the conquest of the Americas. Anibal Quijano posits that "[t]he history of modernity itself began with the violent encounter between Europe and America at the end of the fifteenth century. From then on, there followed, in both worlds, a radical reconstitution of the image of the universe" (1993:141). Escobar furthers this belief through his view that the conquest allowed Europe to complete its picture of the world with it "at the apex of history and inaugurating an unprecedented process of expanding and transforming the globe to fit the European image" (1992a:67). For further discussion on the origins of modernity and the conquest of the Americas, see for instance: Todorov (1984).

This metamorphosis of modernity in Latin America can be seen as one of the consequences of the colonial past and the neocolonial present where the project of modernization (in the European, "enlightened" sense) has perpetuated the hegemonic systems of power and domination which have reproduced Latin America as culturally, socially, and economically dependent on Europe and the United States.

Within Latin America, this "hegemonic discourse transformed the system through which identities were defined" (Escobar, 1992a:65) so that a dualism again occurred between the modern and nonmodern. However, as Quijano points out astutely:

This dualism cannot be simplistically explained by the opposition between the modern and nonmodern, as the apologists of "modernization" continue to attempt to do. Rather, it derives from the rich, varied, and dense condition of the elements that nourish this subjectivity, whose open contradictions also continue to fuse together in new meanings and consistencies that articulate themselves in new and different structures of intersubjective relations (1993:149).

Both Escobar (1992a:67) and Quijano (1993:149) see this metamorphosis in its entirety as a key to understanding the unique difference between the "modern" of Europe and the United States and that of Latin America. As Escobar states:

In Latin America, the differentiation of economic and cultural modes of production and the segmentation and transnationalization of cultural and economic systems presuppose and produce a mixture

of pre- or nonmodern, modern, postmodern, and even antimodern forms ... the cultural matrices that are not of modern origin (indigenous and African) and large groups of people who are to a greater or lesser extent marginalized from the dominant circuits of material and symbolic production ... Latin American modernity is therefore plural, contradictory and uneven (1992a:67).

Development discourse, as part and parcel of modernity, is grounded within the plural, contradictory, and uneven notions of modernity in Latin America discussed above. In fact, development has been forced upon Latin America (and the rest of the South) as the quintessential project of modernity for the saviour of these "nonmodern" societies.

[However, t]o the extent that Latin America continues to be seen in terms of the need for "development" based on capital, technology, insertion into the international division of labour, and so forth, the crisis will only continue to deepen, new forms of colonialism and dependence will be introduced, and social fragmentation and violence will become more virulent (Escobar, 1992a:64-65).

Some argue that development itself has been and continues to be the bane of Latin America in its struggle to free itself from neocolonial domination. However, it is this domination and control through the discourse of development which has also created "a vast landscape of identities" within the region; identities such as, the "illiterate," the "landless peasants," "women bypassed by development," and on and on. These have all been "created by the development discourse and catalogued among the many abnormalities that development would treat and

reform through appropriate 'interventions' (for instance, literacy campaigns, the Green Revolution, birth control, [etc.])" (Escobar, 1992a:65-66).

The hegemonic discourse of development, inherently bound up within colonial and neocolonial discourses, has both created and portrayed Latin America (and the entire South) in terms of "imperfect, abnormal, or diseased entities in relation to the 'developed' societies" (1992a:65). A context of binary opposites between developed and underdeveloped societies has been created to define these two types of societies and to produce certain "truths" about them; truths which serve to perpetuate the false dichotomies and realities between them. Again, according to Escobar, there have been two key factors contributing to the effective functioning and continuation of development: "the systematic production of knowledge about all aspects - economic, cultural, social - and the establishment of vast institutional networks at all levels - from the global to the very local" (1992a:66). Stemming from this, development discourse has produced what Escobar terms as an "efficient mechanism for producing the [South] economically, socially, and culturally; ... [one which] systematically links knowledge and power as it deploys each one of its strategies and interventions" (1992a:66).⁵ Therefore, the hegemonic discourse of development is not only economic, but social and cultural, which has important implications for the discussion of this study, since to analyze development within this context "is also to locate it in the soil and space of modernity" (1992a:66).

⁵ For further discussion of this link between knowledge and power within development discourse, see for instance: Escobar (1984-85).

The combination of the plural, contradictory, and uneven nature of modernity, together with the nature of the crisis of development within Latin America, are in fact striking signs of modernity's failure throughout the region.⁶ It is this failure of modernity and development which has led to the increased marginalization of the majority of Latin American peoples. However, these sites of marginalization are also sites of resistance. The failure of modernity and development has also led to the realisation among the peoples of Latin America that new "collective imaginaries" (Escobar, 1992a:68) must be constructed stemming from their own subject positions and identities. These collective imaginaries themselves must be capable of "orientating social and political action," giving "valorization of popular culture," and of "reworking the concept of class to take account of the salience of cultural production and social heterogeneity..." (1992a:68). In essence what Escobar, Quijano, and others (including this study) are describing and naming are the new social movements in Latin America; social movements which have at times been affected greatly by their conjuncture with a multiplicity of women's voices given space within certain manifestations of new social movements and third world feminisms.

⁶ For an analysis of the notions of modernity and postmodernity in Latin America, see for instance: Beverley and Oviedo (1992) and Larsen (1992).

NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND FEMINISMS⁷ IN LATIN AMERICA

Latin America in all its richness and diversity has perhaps been affected the most profoundly by the rise of new social movements than anywhere else in the South (Eckstein, 1989; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992). It is well acknowledged within the scholarship on social movements in Latin America that "[t]he collective forms of sociocultural production in [the region] today include an impressive variety of manifestations" (Calderón et al., 1992:20) from Rastafarians in the Caribbean (Turner, 1993), to the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo) in Buenos Aires (González Bombal, 1987), to the political union movements led by Chilean women (Gálvez and Todaro, 1990), to the indigenous movements in Colombia (Findji, 1992), to the struggle for homosexual identities in Brazil (MacRae, 1992). What these realities present is the heterogeneity of struggles within the rich diversity of Latin America.

The variety of new social movements are due, in part, to the uneven character of modernity and development within Latin America and the increasing marginalisation of the majority of Latin American peoples through the workings of what Tillman Evers terms "the plagues of present day capitalism, in its peripheral version" (1985:50). They are also due, in part, to the movement away from a primacy and reduction to class, towards the plurality of identity and subjectivity based upon the everyday meanings of race, class, gender, ethnicity,

⁷ The term "feminisms" is used as Sternbach et al. (1992) and as Latin American feminists themselves use it; it represents the different contexts and realities that women experience throughout the region, and as such how feminisms vary from context to context.

etc. as experienced by social actors (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Slater 1994).

Feminisms within Latin America have been at the forefront of these movements towards the plurality of identity and subjectivity, specifically with regards to Latin American women. In fact, they have grown steadily over the last two decades, so that today they now form "politically and socially heterogeneous [movements with] a broad social base built on long standing and intense interaction ... between grass-roots activists and feminists" (Navarro-Aranguren, 1992:137). However, during the late 1960s, at a time when second-wave feminism⁸ was struggling to gain a foothold in the region, the terms *Latin American* and *feminist* appeared to be almost contradictory according to Navarro-Aranguren (1992:138).

The New Left within Latin America dismissed feminism as a product of capitalist contradictions, attacked women espousing feminism as middle-class, bourgeois allies of neocolonial, Northern liberal feminists, and accused women of undermining the path to socialism.⁹ Although the hegemonic discourse of the New Left in Latin America curtailed the development of autonomous second-

⁸ The "first wave" of Latin American feminism existed from the late-nineteenth century until the late-1930s, and was identified with the writings and activities of professional women (doctors, lawyers, etc.) and with those of women in nationalist, socialist, and anarchist movements. "Second wave" feminism within Latin America began prior to the UN Conference on Women in 1975, and has since grown "into a multiplicity of forms and projects that now reflect greater race, ethnic, and class diversity than its North American and European counterparts" (Chinchilla, 1993b:45-46). For a more detailed reading of the history of Latin American feminisms, see for instance: Kirkwood (1986) and Lavrin (1985).

⁹ The notion among the New Left that Latin American women do not define themselves as feminists was in fact articulated by some Latin American women in the 1970s. See for instance: Chaney (1979), Nash and Safa Eds. (1976), and Stevens (1973).

wave feminisms within the region during the 1960s, this same discourse and the challenge it posed to the military dictatorships at the time, opened up a political space for women which eventually led to the formation of more autonomous feminisms.

Nancy Saporta Sternbach et al. argue that Latin American feminisms "were ... born intrinsically as oppositional movements" (1992:397). They argue that Latin American feminist praxis is distinct from that of feminist movements elsewhere because the realities of state repression and class warfare were instrumental in shaping the women's movement within the Latin American context (1992:397). This context resulted in women of all social classes denying their historical exclusion from politics and joining oppositional movements, especially in the Southern Cone and Central America. These oppositional movements were part of the New Left, and as such this second-wave of Latin American feminisms took from the left some of their central concepts (Chinchilla, 1993a:18; Sternbach et al., 1992:400; Vargas, 1992:199).

This inheritance led early Latin American feminists (referred to as *políticas*, who were middle-class, academic women) to privilege class struggle over gender struggle from a Marxist feminist perspective. However, as Irene Campos Carr (1990:460) and Sternbach et al. (1992:400) emphasize, these leftist movements were inherently male-dominated and sexist in their orientation, which eventually led women to break with the left organizationally, and formulate new, socialist feminist perspectives and autonomous organizations. Sternbach

et al. argue further that these new feminist visions were based on a "commitment to radical change in social relations of production -- as well as reproduction -- while continuing to struggle against sexism within the left" (1992:400) and as such constituted the beginnings of the women's movement in Latin America.

With this shift in focus, Latin American feminist movements began to push for universal equality and women's full citizenship, which entailed neutralizing the differences between the genders, according to Virginia Vargas (1992:200). The central goal was the universal emancipation of all women through the struggle against patriarchy, which was seen as the primary root cause of women's subordination. Yet Vargas argues this universal goal resulted in a form of reductionism within feminist theory and praxis in Latin America, since "[women's] differences were translated into the presumption of a feminine essence that united all women regardless of race, or class status" (1992:200-201). Thus, not only were women's differences homogenized, but also the causes of their subordination and the processes for their emancipation.

"In the last decade, however, Latin American feminist movements, or 'feminisms,' have grown steadily and undergone profound transformations, emerging today at the very center of international feminist debates" (Sternbach et al., 1992:394). Articulated together with the new social movements in the region, they are presenting new and eclectic challenges to the dominant, hegemonic discourses within society and struggling to create alternative visions for progressive transformation in Latin America.

However, this is not entirely "new." Throughout the varied history of Latin America, women have been present in many different ways within social movements and the struggle for societal transformation (Chinchilla, 1993b:37; Jelin, 1990b:184). Chinchilla posits that these movements have taken the form of "[resistance] against conquest and colonization, for independence, pro and anticlerical, for and against dictatorships, and movements with diverse ideologies (nationalist, anarchist, socialist ...) and social bases (workers, peasants, students ...)" (1993b:37), yet, as she argues, "the documentation and analysis of this participation have been, until recently, fragmentary and superficial" (1993b:37). However, with the rise of new social movements and the expansion of feminist voices in Latin America, there has been a subsequent increase in the participation of women, both in mixed-gender and women's only movements. There has also been a corresponding increase in the documentation and analysis of these movements (Fisher, 1993; Jaquette, 1989; Jelin, 1990; Kuppers, 1994; Radcliffe and Westwood, 1993), which has begun the process of rendering women's participation in new social movements as textually visible within scholarship. As well, women's participation in these new social movements, in their struggle for their multiple identities "as workers in trade unions, as housewives in squatter settlements, and as mothers defending human rights against state repression" (Safa, 1990:354) has been instrumental in presenting challenging alternatives to the status quo. As Lourdes Arizpe

believes: "It is highly probable that they pave the way to a different future, one whose outline we cannot yet discern" (1990:xiv).

VIGNETTES OF RESISTANCE AND CONJUNCTURE

This chapter now begins the task of presenting some of the myriad ways in which the *resistance and conjuncture*¹⁰ of third world feminisms and new social movements manifest themselves within the rich diversity of Latin America.

However, as Elizabeth Jelin cautions:

The wide variety of concrete situations manifested by women's collective actions poses considerable difficulties with respect to comparability and generalization. Each concrete historical situation is specific and it is therefore difficult to compare different situations or to generalize on the basis of just a few of the many varying experiences lived by women (1990:1).

Recognizing Jelin's point as extremely important and relevant, this study argues for the recognition of the specificity and difference of women's lived experiences.

¹⁰ It is posited by this study that the notion of *resistance* (as discussed in Chapter Three, page 71, note 1) is bound up with the integration and articulation of Latin American feminist visions and those of the new social movements in the region. The notion of *conjuncture* stems directly from this resistance and feeds back into it also, as women within the new social movements struggle for societal transformation from their everyday realities in the social and the cultural. It is these struggles which inform their various feminisms and thus create the multiple ideologies voiced by women's new social movements. In essence, the notions of resistance and conjuncture are integral to each other, since the resistance of Latin American women shows the theoretical synthesis and conjuncture of these two perspectives at the everyday levels of praxes. As such, practical resistance both creates and is created by theoretical conjuncture. Put even more simply, this study argues that the praxes of resistance by women in fact entail the conjuncture of theories (and that correspondingly, theories of conjuncture are necessary in order to better understand women's resistance of praxes).

It also argues that this diversity must be viewed within the specificity and difference of time, place, and space of a rich and varied Latin America. Therefore, this section purports neither to make assumptions about, nor to generalize across, these multiple differences.

This section will provide a textual deconstruction and discourse analysis of the scholarship on three vignettes of resistance and conjuncture within women's new social movements in order to show the diversity of realities bound up with these movements and to posit that these realities inform the open-ended, working sets of ideas presented in Chapters Two and Three. In other words, this study proposes that the plurality and diversity presented in the literature and research on women's new social movements points to the need for similarly nuanced types of analyses. It is to this crucial point which this study will return to subsequently in the chapter. This will be discussed through a presentation of the theoretical reconceptualizations occurring within new social movements and feminisms in Latin America, as well as of the current theoretical directions in which the discourse and scholarship on the conjuncture of these two perspectives is pointed.

Collective Identity And Struggle: Ecuador

Amy Conger Lind, in her research with popular women's organizations in Ecuador, outlines how the popular struggles in that country proliferated during the process of (re)democratization in the mid-1970s. During this period, social

actors from various places in the grassroots began to establish collective, pluralist spaces outside of the traditional political realm of parties, the state, and the development apparatus (Lind, 1992:139, 134). Women's organizations and feminist movements were at the forefront of this move towards autonomy and Lind asserts that such a move "has been key in shaping feminist frameworks and political strategies" (1992:142). In fact, through her research, she has witnessed Ecuadoran feminists building coalitions across working-class and middle-class women's organizations. This solidarity across differences has provided the "collective spaces in which poor and middle-class women could establish a dialogue and discuss similarities among themselves, as well as recognize forms of power in their everyday lives" (1992:143).

Perhaps most significantly, Ecuadoran women have recognized that "regardless of their economic class, race, and ethnicity ... they have particular 'needs' as women, needs derived from their gender identity" (1992:144). This gender identity, however, is not a static notion, but rather, a dynamic process "in which identity ... can change over time, according to the ways in which gender is represented at a societal level and embodied in the subject" (1992:138).

Gendered identity is bound up with the everyday of the sociocultural and the lived experiences of daily life which manifest themselves across ethnicity, race, and class. As women organize to build collective identities from their different realities, "poor women come to base their politics on their reproductive roles, [yet] they [in turn] challenge the meaning of ascribed gender roles, as well as the

implications these roles have in the reproduction of society" (1992:144). In other words, women are not only struggling over material resources, but also struggling to create identities based on their everyday meanings which both challenges dominant representations of gender and incorporates these identities and subject positions into the ideologies of their sociocultural, political struggles.

The context for this discussion stems from Lind's observations of the *Centro Femenino 8 de Marzo* or March 8th Feminine Centre¹¹, located in the district of Chillogallo, Quito.¹²

The *Centro* was established in 1985, by a group of local women who felt the three fold need to (1) gain a collective stronghold, as women, in the already existing community organizational structure, ... ; (2) learn practical skills and collectivize costs; and (3) form a group in which they could talk among themselves and discuss themes relating to their lives as women (1992:144).

In essence, what the women of the *Centro* have built for themselves and other women is a collective space where the transformation and politicization of gender identity that occurs through collective participation can be actualized and articulated through collective action (1992:144). The twenty or so women who participate on a regular basis buy food collectively in an effort to reduce household costs, yet their involvement goes far beyond this mobilization around

¹¹ As Lind notes: "The women collectively chose the name Centro Feminine 8 de Marzo ... because of its tie to International Women's Day" (1992:149, note 12).

¹² Lind's analysis is based on fieldwork conducted as a researcher and participant in the *Centro* during January 1989 and June through August 1989.

resources. Feminist workshops have been organized where issues of "sexuality, state and domestic violence, and employment skills" have been discussed and where "political tactics are discussed and agreed on" as well (1992:144). They have not only placed various demands on the city of Quito to improve the living conditions of their neighbourhoods, but are also in the process of struggling to gain legal representation of the *Centro*, which is a significant political move towards greater autonomy and power for the women in the movement.

This latter focus of the women in the *Centro* reveals the central feminist strategy of consciousness-raising as a method of support and politicization. While conscientization allows women to recognize their different identities and subject positions, as well as their unity across these differences, it also enables "women to struggle as groups of women [within new social movements] so that [their] political and ideological visions [which arise from their everyday realities] will impact society at large" (1992:146). In other words, these women have begun to politicize the everyday sphere, and thus begin the process of breaking down the dichotomy between the public and the private spheres, and in so doing, they have questioned the division between practical and strategic gender interests.

Such categories maintain a false barrier in our thinking about political and economic strategies of survival and resistance. It would be more useful to understand change as it occurs at the site of identity production, as well as at the societal level, as new conceptualizations of gender are re-presented (Lind, 1992:145).

Women of the *Centro* have organized based on both their material needs and their identity-based needs, which shows the synthesis of their practical and their strategic interests into a collective "challenge to authority as it is manifested in the everyday sphere" (1992:145). This synthesis is shown in the following testimonial statement:

I joined Centro Feminino 8 de Marzo because I wanted to leave the routine of the household ... Also, I wanted to make new friendships, learn new things that will help me as a women and as a mother. My biggest dream is to prepare myself more so that I can help other women like myself that need moral support so that they continue in the their struggle to make others respect our rights, and to make others value us as women who think and have dreams, faith, and hope ... For this reason we will shout, "Enough humiliations and discrimination against women! Long live organized women!"¹³

The struggle for collective identity through a synthesis of their interests as women are as much struggles to address their reproductive work, and gender, class, and ethnic relations, as they are struggles to empower themselves through the transformation and politicization of their identity stemming from their subject positions.

Women in [the] *Centro* recognize that power is inherent in people's daily actions, speech, language, and movements. They have recognized forms of power in their interpersonal and familial

¹³ Beatriz Ortega, excerpt from *Nuestra Voz*, March 1989; the newspaper of the *Centro*. As cited in; Lind (1992:146).

relationships and have made this politically visible by emphasizing 'democracy within the household' (1992:147).

This challenge within the household shows that the transcendence of the gender division of labour, which has been intricately connected to the binary private/public divide, is but one aspect of women's organizing strategies. Women's resistance takes place within the home and within society at large through their collective action in new social movements, which have formed themselves autonomously from the traditional politics of the state, political parties, and developmental organizations. As such, they have recast the political to the social and the cultural based on their collective identities and subjectivities experienced in their everyday realities. As Lind concludes: "Ultimately, [these women's new social movements] challenge the social organization of society" (1992:148) through their resistance to male domination within the household and to their struggle to valorize their roles and identities within the community.

Women Recast The Political: Chile

While women's involvement with popular organizations in their *poblaciones* or neighbourhoods in Chile was substantial during the 1960s and 1970s, with the overthrow of the Allende government in 1973, and the subsequent military dictatorship of Pinochet, women's popular movements became much more widespread, so that during the 1980s and today there has been "a veritable explosion of organizations" (Schild, 1994:59). However, as Verónica Schild

points out through her research with women's popular movements in Chile, the forms that these movements take are "new." This "newness," however, stems not from a class-based opposition to the enemy of the military state, but from the gendered participation among poor and working-class women from different ethnicities in cultural and political struggles from their lived experiences.

Through Schild's research with *pobladoras* or women from the *poblaciones* of the municipality of La Pintana, Santiago¹⁴, she found that these women decided to become involved in the community "out of economic necessity," "experience with political repression," or because "they felt isolated and bored at home" (1994:62). However, no matter the stated reasons for their involvement, most women ended up initially in handicraft workshops in their *poblaciones*. These women thus found themselves in neighbourhood income-generation groups, even though their stated reasons for involvement may have been more "strategic" in nature. These groups in essence were established to provide "immediate, tangible benefits for those in a desperate economic situation" (1994:62) which perpetuated the responsibility of poor and working-class women for the tasks of reproduction and the supplementation of family incomes in the context of a retreating Chilean welfare state. This evidence "illustrates how gender has shaped both the policies of the authoritarian state and the opportunities for action available to women" (1994:62) since women

¹⁴ Schild's study is based upon materials collected during three field trips to Santiago, Chile: first, from October 1986 to January 1988; second, from September to November 1991; and third, from April to July 1992.

became involved not only because of their socio-economic class positions, but also because of their gender.

However, some women in these groups did begin to share their organizational skills and backgrounds with other activists in those new social movements that they themselves were also part of. In other words, women in income-generation activities and other community based groups became increasingly involved in the alternative activities of new social movements. They "formed part of an ongoing network of collective work sustained by women whose involvement has a distinct pattern" (1994:62) based upon the cross-communication and sharing of "organizational skills and know-how accumulated in a variety of settings" (1994:63) across their different experiences mediated by race, class, ethnicity, etc. Thus, women's involvement in these new movements create and provide the spaces for many women to "acquire the elements of a gender-specific culture of citizenship" (1994:64) which is based upon both a political and a cultural learning or conscientization of themselves; of their identities and their subjectivities. "Thus, practices that embody questions of who they are, what their rights are, and what fields of action are appropriately theirs are a central aspect of learning to become political agents" (1994:64).

In this sense, women in the *poblaciones* are not only challenging and resisting the preestablished meanings and social constructions of appropriate femininity; but, challenging power relations within the household and society at large. Women are therefore recasting the political based upon their involvement

in the everyday vocabularies and actions which shape their identities, and moving beyond the private/public divide to change society and its hegemonic discourses. As Schild concludes from her research:

In other words, political learning in this context is a form of cultural production through everyday language that involves competent and creative participants, not passive recipients of preestablished discourses. Thus, it is used here to account for individuals' active relation to their subjectivities (1994:64-65).

It is this distinct pattern which is a key to understanding that although gender has shaped women's involvement in these new social movements, it does not essentialize a "real underlying unity among women" (1994:68) in the search for shared gender experiences across the multiple experiences of women. This can be seen most clearly in the relationships between middle-class feminists and grassroots *pobladoras* who as activists have brought new levels of awareness to the movements themselves, and who in turn have also brought new ideas of feminism to the movements. The reconceptualizations within Latin American feminisms have begun to focus on the diversity of Latin American women beyond the lived experiences of class and gender, and now look to their differences based on their "status, ... ethnic and regional origin, political and religious affiliations, and ... sexual preferences ..." (1994:70). Schild, therefore, argues that women do not struggle to discover a common female identity or

experience *beyond* language, but struggle to establish solidarity based on the negotiation of their differences grounded *in* language (1994:70).

In other words, women who have begun to carry out duties competently in spheres other than the home (that is in the new social movements) have begun to question not only their personal situations, but the larger structural issues of class, gender, and ethnic oppression. This questioning and conscientization, however, is not bound up in the abstractness of the similarities and generalizations of women's oppressions, but rather in the concreteness of the differences they experience. Solidarity then, stems from the discussion of these differences, not from some overarching language of "sameness." This is seen clearly in the status-based differences among *pobladoras*, "where women who enjoy a better economic situation ... a higher level of formal education ... [etc.] have a greater interest in maintaining these differences" (1994:70).

This perhaps points to a central example of the myriad ways in which women's identities and subject positions manifest themselves from the everyday into the articulation of ideologies grounded in these realities. Schild posits that the example rests in the fact that the very feminist discourses which *pobladoras* in the past felt marginalized by, have been appropriated by these same *pobladoras*, and accounts for their (re)claiming of their voices and the (re)creation of multiple feminisms which inform their collective identities and actions (1994:68). Women in the *poblaciones* and new social movements, especially the leaders of these movements, have taken the middle-class feminist

emphasis on the issues of equality and rights and made them their own, which has allowed them to speak of "*hacerse respetar*" (eliciting respect from others) and of "*pelear por sus derechos*" (fighting for one's own rights) not only within the household and society at large, but also within their relationships with middle-class feminists. Therefore, pobladoras as well as middle-class feminists have begun to forge relationships based on a commitment to work with each other across their differences in order to confront the realities of everyday life; "[e]ven though women continue to be beaten at home and subjugated, they are beginning to take stands one wouldn't have dreamt of ten years ago" (1994:72).

In fact, many of the contemporary activists and leaders of the new social movements within the poblaciones do not hesitate to call themselves feminists; however, they invariably qualify this label.

We have always felt that we are different - yes, we are all women, but we live our discrimination differently. For example, it is true that the law discriminates against all women. But it affects the poor more than the rich because the rich know how to work with it, how to move around it, whereas we often don't even know the law exists! Thus, discrimination and the process of liberation acquire very different connotations for the two groups of women ... bourgeois feminists talk about sexual discrimination in the workplace, ... and so on, taking for granted that the workplace is where all women are located ... in the world of *pobladoras*, where the majority are homemakers, paid work is seen as something they still have to fight for, many don't even feel that it is a right (1994:72).¹⁵

¹⁵ Carmen, a leader of one of the popular women's organizations taken from interview conducted by Schild.

This statement illustrates the multiple feminist identities that are present within the richness and diversity of Latin American women and furthermore, "illustrates the impact of feminist discourses on the construction of subjectivities and collective identities by organized *pobladoras*" (1994:72).

Women within new social movements have come to identify an awareness and consciousness with their realities and construct identities and subjectivities (which have always been present) into ideologies based from their lived experiences; "in essence they have come to articulate their own sense of who they are" (1994:72). Yet, this sense of self "should be understood to be multiple, often contradictory, and open to redefinition" (1994:74) within the context of the sociocultural and the historical. In constructing ideologies from the sociocultural, women have created collective actions for social change bound up within the historicity of struggle, and it is in this sense that women have recast the political to include those cultural struggles of the everyday outside of the traditional political perspectives. Schild concludes:

[This] creates possibilities for challenges and resistances, for ultimately people are not mere cultural dupes; they are *active subjects* who engage in renegotiating their subjectivities, transforming their experiences, and shaping their collective identities. Thus, learning to speak in their own voices may very well lead - and in some cases already is leading - many organized *pobladoras* to new-found capacities. To paraphrase the Brazilian anthropologist Teresa Pires de Rio Caldeira, they are trading their subordinate position in political struggles for forms of participation "without masks" (1994:74).

Everyday Meaning And Struggle: Brazil

The development of social movements since the early 1970s, in the urban context of São Paulo has been mainly constituted and led by women, where these movements themselves have come to be seen as "new" in comparison to those movements of the recent past (Caldeira, 1990:47-48). From research with women's new social movements in the neighbourhoods of São Paulo, Teresa Pires de Rio Caldeira outlines, that it seems these new movements are more democratic in their internal decision-making (based on consensus and not the representation of interests model) and seek to establish and build community (1990:48). They also voice their interests autonomously from the state-centered political realm. The expressions adopted by these new movements emphasize a collective and public presence in all situations (1990:48). Perhaps, most significantly, the "newness" of these movements rests in the fact that participation in them is not defined solely by class, but by gender, ethnicity, and race as well.

These findings thus illustrate what Caldeira sees as the "novelty" of these movements, a novelty bound up with the different ways women participate in the movements and the ways in which the work of these movements captures the experience of the everyday. In other words, the cultural context of these movements in which collective action is carried out in a more broadly defined political space is seen by Caldeira as a common thread linking some of these movements. This in itself stems from women's collective identity established

through the "organization of daily life, interpersonal relationships, and the development of a vision of society [ideologies]" (1990:49) grounded in their subject positions. As Caldeira believes: "With these new perspectives on the relevance of daily life we might be able to reach an understanding of women's enormous participation in the [new] social movements" (1990:49).

Working with the inhabitants of six *colonias* or neighbourhoods on the periphery of São Paulo¹⁶, the researchers found many types of organizations where women were involved. As Caldeira writes, "it is important to bear in mind this heterogeneity in order to understand women's active participation [in the movements]" (1990:51). However, from their interactions with women from these neighbourhoods, they found that "[w]hat was important for the majority of [them] were the things that had happened in their private and family lives ... Their domestic space and daily life was what mattered to them and they wanted to talk about it in the interviews" (1990:55).

The mention of politics by the researchers was invariably met with "'I don't know,' 'who can say,' 'I don't get involved with that,' 'I don't understand politics,' and similar responses" (1990:55) which leads Caldeira to write that a "polarity between 'women's talk' and 'political things' ... [comes] up" (1990:56). What this points directly to is the division between the public and private spheres; the binary opposition of the male and the female worlds, where men engage in

¹⁶ The data from this research was collected by a team of researchers, Pires de Rio Caldeira Included, from September 1981 to 1983 in the marginal urban neighbourhoods of São Paulo.

"politics" and women engage in "less significant matters." Yet, as Caldeira claims, these "spaces or spheres [are ones where] women include, or from which they exclude, themselves" (1990:56) and where their participation in new social movements is situated in the sphere of 'women's talk,' that is in the everyday.

According to those women in the movements themselves, their participation is grounded in their everyday lives within the household and the community. This identity is very important to who they are as both women and people, since it provides space outside the home for shared learning experiences with other women; as one activist states:

[b]ecause it seems to me that it's an exchange of experiences and for those who, let's say, didn't get much chance to study, then we learn like this, by exchanging experiences and learning things about life through practical experience.¹⁷

Interestingly, women who are housewives, or who are engaged in informal sector work are able to participate because their time is more flexible than that of women who are engaged in formal sector activity, and the women of the marginal neighbourhoods in São Paulo are of the former group. "[These] women are thus able to participate because of the flexibility and availability of their time,

¹⁷ Excerpt from an interview with Z., a housewife, mother, and participant of the *Comunidades Eclesiais de Base* or Christian Base Communities (CEBs) in São Paulo. As cited in Caldeira (1990:57-58).

but it is these very same factors that also create a need for them to participate [in the first place]" (1990:57).

What is at issue here is the notion of identity construction which stems from both women's role in the private sphere as wife, mother, etc. and women's sense of shared communities. While this identity is created from the everyday and may perpetuate and reinforce the dichotomy between the public and the private, "it also helps to establish a really new experience, perceived as an opening-up and liberation. A new space is being created, not only to enable women to share the ... pervasive oppression and to identify common problems, but to construct an agreeable alternative" (1990:64). It is here where women in the neighbourhoods have come to articulate their collective identities into collective actions within new social movements and to engage in the politics of daily life, both affecting and modifying it.

An example of this would be conflicts within the household. These have at times been based on the male perception of women's involvement in social movements as an "abandonment" of their homes and children (1990:65). However, women have begun to confront these challenges due to the very fact that they are involved in these movements.

My husband doesn't like me to participate. Ah, but even if there's a fuss, I go. I don't know, he seems to think that I go out to much, that I stay out to long ... But I like it so I put my foot down and go. Sometimes, when ... I get back there's a row, a fight. But he's the one who causes it, I don't want to get involved in arguments, and the following day I'll go again ... Women must do something they

like: I like doing it so I do it ... You make friends in the local groups, you make contacts and it opens women up, little by little things become clearer; let's see if we can overcome this fear we have of our husbands.¹⁸

Other activists have had more success in these very important matters; successes which translate into significant transformations within the household.

I had a lot of activities in the [c]hurch but at home I couldn't break away from a load of things I felt were my duty because I'm a woman, a mother. I just couldn't break away. I began to be aware of this through the women's group and I said to hell with it all because it wasn't me who should be doing them! ... Now we divide everything between us ... its much better, because I don't feel I'm being oppressed by anyone .. When I discovered myself as a woman, that I have the same rights as everyone else, my relationship with my children changed, everything changed and our relationship improved one-hundred percent. My relationship with my husband got better, I mean it was as if we had just met now, three years later ...¹⁹

These changes are significant in that women from various experiences have been able to discuss and talk about their struggles within the household with other women in the movements, which has allowed them the space to analyze critically the situations in which they live. Women's actions from their

¹⁸ Excerpt from an interview conducted with L., a married women with six children, who is a member of the CEBs, participant in the nurseries campaign, and a dishwasher in a company. As cited in Caldeira (1990:65).

¹⁹ Excerpt from an interview conducted with I., a married woman and housewife who is an ex-member of the CEBs, a member of the Woman's Group, and a participant in the nurseries campaign. As cited in Caldeira (1990:66).

subject positions are therefore (re)defining the spheres of the public and the private and transforming this dichotomy, which entails the (re)definition of the political to that of the social and the cultural. Women involved in the new social movements are engaged in the politics of the everyday and tend to separate themselves away from traditional politics; "they set their community and egalitarian experience and the struggle for the common good against the individualistic interests of politics" (1990:67). In other words, women in new social movements "tend to promote change in accordance with the manner in which space in the neighbourhood is represented" (1990:68) that is, from their private world which they bring to the public world. "[T]he daily action of the [new] social movements is thus the transformation in women's situation" (1990:72).

This transformation from the grassroots is even more significant as it becomes articulated with the diverse discourses of Brazilian and Latin American feminisms. As Caldeira writes:

[The new social movements] are spaces in which the issues generated by the feminist movement develop easily. They constitute an environment of collective discussion, one that encompasses a "community" and which legitimizes the politicization of the private sphere in defence of individual rights, which is the basic way to arrive at the notion of defending civil rights. Thus, these associations and movements are fertile ground for redefining and criticizing sexism, racism, authoritarianism, and intolerance in the heart of society (1990:74).

Moreover, what this means is the formation of ideologies grounded in the everyday have come to be articulated with those of feminism. This has uncovered the central point that, in fact, the personal is political, which in turn is based upon the identities and subjectivities of the actors involved, where their ideologies are fragmentary and fluid. This points to the wider political, social, and cultural transformations occurring within Latin America from the rich and varied diversity of women's new social movements.

THEORETICAL RECONCEPTUALIZATIONS: PRAXIS MAKES PERFECT?

As discussed in Chapters Two and Three, there has been, generally, a marked shift within contemporary discourse and scholarship regarding the theoretical perspectives on social movements and feminisms. These reconceptualizations have as well had their own visitations within the rich and diverse context of Latin America. New social movement theories and third world feminist theories in Latin America have undergone myriad changes towards more holistic understandings of difference, plurality, and heterogeneity of the women involved in these movements. This study argues that these reconceptualizations have in fact been precipitated by the practice of women's new social movements throughout Latin America. This can be seen in the analysis and deconstruction of the scholarship on these movements. Thus, this chapter now turns from the discussion of the praxes of resistance and the conjuncture of theories, discussed above, to the discussion of the reconceptualizations within Latin American social

movement and feminist theories. This will provide the basis for the subsequent presentation of the theories of conjuncture on the resistance of praxes within the discourse and scholarship of women's participation in and engagement with new social movements and third world feminisms in Latin America.

New Social Movement Autonomy: Politics Beyond The State

Social movements in Latin America, as has been shown, encompass a wide diversity and plurality of movements, and it is these rich differences in praxes which in effect make these movements new. Social movements theory in Latin America has also come to demonstrate this heterogeneity in its interpretation of these new movements, especially in regards to the following central issues:

the supposed class basis of social movements, the possibility and/or the desirability of autonomy, the re-active or pro-active character of the collective actions, the degree in which these movements form a conjunctural phenomenon, and, finally, the contribution of social movements to social change (Schuurman and Heer, 1992:10).

These shifting theoretical notions within the scholarship on social movements have come about as a result of the changing nature of popular practice on the margins, as well as the changing nature of the debates within the broader scope of the crises of Marxism and functionalism discussed in Chapter Three. However, for the purposes of this chapter, this section will focus upon how "the

diverse and multifaceted movements that have surfaced in recent years, [have caused] ripple effects in both theoretical and political contexts" (Slater, 1985:1).

Despite the heterogeneity of the new social movements in Latin America, this study argues that there are two key features of most contemporary popular movements. These two features are grounded in the notions of identity and subjectivity beyond the socio-economic class positions of the social actors and the movement away from the traditional state-centered, political framework. In other words, more autonomous spaces within the social and the cultural are being opened up as political struggles, as peoples on the margins grapple with their identity and subject positions beyond those of their class positions.

Nowhere is this seen more clearly than in the new social movements led by and for women. *Pobladora* activists in the popular organizations of Santiago have begun to form collective identities based upon their lived experiences beyond those of their socio-economic class. It is these identities grounded in their gender, class, and ethnic experiences of the everyday which stem from their multiple subjectivities of these integrative standpoints. Thus, women's daily sociocultural struggles have been translated and recast to the realm where this resistance takes place; that of the political. Women have begun to "question who they are, what their rights are, and what fields of action are appropriately theirs," all central aspects of learning to become political agents, according to Schild (1994:64).

As seen through the literature and research on the other vignettes of resistance and conjuncture analysed and discussed in the previous section, women's new social movements have indeed recast the political to the everyday, autonomous from the state and political parties. Their struggle and resistance occurs both within and outside the household and seeks out a definite transformation and redefinition of civil society rather than a restitution of its old forms (Schild, 1994:75). Significantly, these struggles have brought about the incorporation of a reconceptualized notion of class and politics within some of the contemporary theoretical perspectives on new social movements in Latin America (Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Jelin 1990; Laclau, 1985; Slater, 1985, 1994).

The spaces in which these movements act have come to be seen as autonomous from the established political organs and institutions. More importantly, it has come to be recognized within theory that the creation of these new spaces from within the sociocultural experiences of the everyday beyond class are indeed legitimate grounds of political struggle. According to Evers, they strive to "[create] spaces for the experience of more collective social relations, of a less market-orientated consciousness, of less alienated expressions of culture, and of different basic values and assumptions ... " (1985:51) than the dominant state-centered political and neoliberal economic paradigms which pervade the region and the entire globe.

Ernesto Laclau sees new social movements in Latin America as arising from the crises of the state in the region and the two over-arching political matrices of popular mobilisations in the region: liberalism and populism²⁰ (1985:39). He argues that the contemporary movements have gone beyond the obvious limits of these less than progressive²¹ visions precisely because of their limitations both in theory and praxis and of their totalising nature of universal popular mobilisations (1985:41). For Laclau:

The radical democratic potential of the new social movements lies precisely ... in their implicit demand for a radically open and indeterminate view of society, in so far as every 'global' social arrangement is only the contingent result of bargaining between a plurality of spaces and not a foundational category, which would determine the meaning and limits of each of these spaces (1985:39).

Therefore, Laclau, among others (Evers 1985; Escobar and Alvarez, 1992; Jelin, 1990; Slater, 1985) argues that new social movements in Latin America do not strive to acquire state power, but rather seek alternative transformations of society based on pluralism, heterogeneity, and indeterminate, open-ended possibilities of future societies. Perhaps it is useful here to turn to the

²⁰ For an indepth analysis of these two currents within traditional scholarship on Latin America, see for instance: Klarén and Bossert Eds. (1976).

²¹ The term "progressive" is being used here to mean the transformation of society along more equitable lines in terms of the relationships between classes, genders, races, ethnicities, etc. and which encompasses the notions of social justice, peace, ecological protection, and spiritual fulfilment.

conclusions of a number of Latin American scholars who also espouse a recasting of the political which they see occurring within the contemporary movements of the region, like those previously presented within specific times, places, and spaces in Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil. For Calderón et al.,

we cannot overlook the fact that the social movements of twenty-five years ago had strong state/political orientations and that, in contrast, many of today's actors are searching for their own cultural identities and spaces for social expression, cultural or otherwise (1992:23).

Orlando Fals Borda points out the revolutionary potential of these trends within the new social movements:

These emphases on civilianism stemming from respect for human life, on decentralized autonomy with regional fragmentation of state power through new pacts, and on being open to pluralism and ethical values, together with other aspects of participatory democracy that also deserve mention, may serve to reorganize society using democratic models that will put a stop to the disastrous onrush of violence and exploitative underdevelopment (1992:312).

Within Latin America, civil society has indeed been impacted upon significantly by the state. This has been due to both the repression and marginalization of the peoples of the region at the hands of the state and to the delegitimization of the state in the minds of these very same peoples. Therefore, while it can be argued that the state is a referent for almost all social movements

(Calderón et al.,1992:25) it remains that within contemporary Latin America, there are segments of society which are attempting to pull away from the state and traditional politics. This movement away from the old school of politics has as its basis the resistance and imagination of Latin American peoples "to (re)affirm their identity and find their 'small' representivity within their own space" (1992:25).

Taking from the literature and research of popular women's organizing in the *colonias* of São Paulo, it can be seen that these women are voicing their interests autonomously from state and party politics. While these women have experienced oppression and marginalization due to their gender, class, and ethnic identities, they have begun to use these as sites of resistance and struggle. Due to economic crisis and state conformity to structural adjustment programmes, many women have been forced into the informal sector as strategies of survival. Therefore, within their everyday lives, these women have in fact been able to organize within new social movements specifically because of the flexibility and availability of their time as informal sector workers. It is this collective identity, which is translated into collective actions and their espousal of multiple feminist voices from the social and the cultural which opens up and recasts the political. Not only does this challenge the power structures within their own spaces, but also they challenge society at large. Therefore, women within the *colonias* of São Paulo are reaffirming their identities within their small

spaces and at the same time resisting and struggling for social transformation outside the traditional political realm.

The natures and forms that the praxes of such resistance take have had significant impacts on the discourse and scholarship of new social movements and feminisms within Latin America; that is, on the theories of conjuncture. It is these practices on the margins which have led to the reconceptualizations within theories and which point to the multiple futures of very different societies. In fact, Calderón et al. point out the very natures of the crises and the possibilities of different futures which movements such as these suggest: "the state is faced with a significant breakdown and fragmentation of society, and one can hypothesize that these phenomena might spawn a new society that will eventually reconstruct its own state" (1992:25). Although new social movements arise from the immediate contexts in which social actors find themselves, the Latin American realities argued above have permeated each locality of the region in one form or another over the past two decades. As such, the multiple struggles of resistance and conjuncture of these movements, as seen through the scholarship from Ecuador, Chile, and Brazil, legitimate the rise of these movements and the emancipatory struggles of women on the margins.

Thus, the multiplicity of practices by the new social actors in the region - stimulating, colourful and polyvalent - teaches us that "small" does not amount to "insignificant," that small can be beautiful, terrible, and extremely complex. We must understand that this plurality of identities and the demand for autonomy that

these identities present to us are essential for the development of any theory, utopia, or project for change (Calderón, 1992:27).

Feminist Differences: Riding the Waves Towards Pluralism

The development and reconceptualization of Latin American feminist theories and praxis are seen by a number of Latin American and Northern feminist scholars, notably Navarro-Aranguren (1991), Sternbach et al. (1992), and Vargas (1992), as arising in part out of the Latin American feminist *Encuentros* or Encounters where women from divergent backgrounds have begun to reconceptualize their differences and posit new, eclectic feminist visions. The *Encuentros* revealed the diversity of the women's movement in Latin America, which gradually convinced participants of the necessity to shift terminology away from "class" to "movements" and "feminisms." *Políticas* advocating the primacy of class argued with *feministas* who saw the need to transform women's reproductive role, who argued with *doble militancias* who sought to synthesize both aspects of women's subordination (Safa, 1990; Sternbach et al., 1992; Vargas, 1992). However, at later Encuentros:

[b]lack and indigenous feminists argued that women's lives are shaped by race as much as by class and gender and that, as a result, their lived experience is very different from that of a white or *mestiza* women. White, middle class feminists, they maintain, privilege gender and ignore the fact that women's consciousness emerges at the intersection of race, class, and gender where it molds unique action (Gallin and Ferguson, 1993:6).

These feminist *Ecuencros* demonstrate that contemporary feminisms in Latin America are politically, socially, and culturally heterogeneous, multi-racial and multi-class, and include "women at different stages of feminist thought" (Sternbach et al., 1992:422).

The most recent Latin American feminist *Encuentro*, held in Costa del Sol, El Salvador in 1993, exemplifies this growing respect for diversity, while maintaining a commitment to solidarity across differences. Veronica Alemán, et al. point out that at the 1993 *Encuentro*, "women tried to make room for their differences based on a respect for their diversity" (1993:23). Once marginalized lesbian, black, and indigenous women spoke of both the necessity in recognizing free choice of sexual preference and of reflecting on the questions of race and ethnicity respectively (1993:23).

This focus on the diverse identities of women in Latin America, combined with the coalitions across these differences, was further made apparent by Alemán et al's observation that

all [the women] agreed that they share a common vision of a feminist utopia, [b]ut their ideas about the development of a concrete political project, with strategies for the 'here and now,' and about the definition of organizational structures are clearly not homogeneous (1993:22).

Thus, within Latin America the articulation of a number of feminisms has arisen with the development of the Latin American women's movement. In the words of Latin American feminist Virginia Vargas:

[this development has] show[n] that it is no longer possible to speak of women's identity, anchored and built on their experience as a subordinate gender. Instead, we need to recognize the plurality of experiences, the possibility of multiple representations and identities (1992:196).

These reconceptualizations within Latin American feminisms stem from the multiple, divergent, and different realities, consciousness, and contexts women experience within the region. However, Gallin and Ferguson (two Northern feminists writing on Latin American feminisms) argue that the implications of this plurality of consciousness in effect limit the means of struggle for women's emancipation (1993:6). In order to argue their point, they utilize Maxine Molyneux's (1985) concepts of *practical* and *strategic gender interests*²² which in essence presents the distinction between the *feminist* and *feminine* movements within Latin America. Gallin and Ferguson state:

[feminine] groups pursue practical gender interests that do not challenge gender subordination directly, while feminist groups pursue strategic gender interests that analyze women's

²² Practical gender interests/needs are those that arise from women's concrete material condition within society, while strategic gender interests/needs are those that arise from women's engendered position within society vis-a-vis men. For a more in-depth analysis of these concepts, see for instance: Molyneux (1985).

subordination and develop an 'alternative, more satisfactory set of arrangements to those which exist' (1993:6).

According to these two scholars, women's different interests are immutable or constant, and therefore only those groups that pursue women's strategic interests seek women's true emancipation. However, as has been discussed above in the case of the popular women's social movement, *Centro Feminino 8 de Marzo* in Ecuador, women's multiple differences and subordinations entail a synthesis of their practical and strategic gender interests as they manifest themselves in daily life. Thus, the either/or dichotomies and the primacy of one particular emancipatory project over another presented by Gallin and Ferguson fails to offer new visions for the reconceptualization of Latin American feminisms, let alone women's emancipation.

Sallie Westwood and Sarah A. Radcliffe (two Northern feminists as well, writing, however, from a postmodern perspective on gender, race, and identity in Latin America) state that the focus on the either/or dichotomy of practical/strategic gender interests, as well as the notions of the public/private and feminist/feminine have a "universalising quality" and a "linear view of progress" all predicated on "post-Enlightened metanarratives" (1993:20). For these two feminists, this raises serious problems, not only for feminist theories, but for feminist praxes as well.

Such a metanarrative suggests a hierarchical relationship between practical and strategic gender interests such that women, in order to progress, must move from one to the other. In addition, by reinforcing this sense of hierarchy it ignores the critique from feminism of the ideological basis of the distinction between public and private lives and it does not take into account the understanding from feminisms that the 'personal is political' (1993:20).

Here it is again useful to return to the evidence suggested by the scholarship on the actions of the Ecuadoran women involved in the *Centro* and those involved in the new social movements in Chile and Brazil presented above. These women have begun to challenge the false constructions of the public/private spheres and indeed bring the personal, as well as the socio-cultural to the political. In essence, these practices on the margins signify the direction feminist theories are moving in, and need to move towards, due to the everyday struggles of women in the new social movements.

However, it must be recognized that this feminist/feminine dichotomy may not only distort the representation of Latin American women's movements, it may also legitimate the subject positions of women in Latin America who use the dichotomy as a source of empowerment, a prime example of which can be seen through the case of the *Centro* and in São Paulo. Both Ecuadoran women in the *Centro* and Brazilian women in the new social movements of São Paulo have in fact organized around their gendered identity and their subject positions as women, wives, and mothers based in the private sphere, yet while they use this dichotomy as a means of building collective identity, they also use it as a means

of political mobilization and collective action to subvert this dichotomy. This sense of empowerment stems directly from the socio-cultural notions of *machismo* and *marianismo*²³ which have until recently defined the expectations of female and male gender roles.

As Marianne Marchand points out, "women may need to justify their action(s) as an extension of their duties and roles as women [; i]n this way they create their space within the public sphere, while denying the feminist and political nature of their activities" (1995:95). In other words, women may use the dominant discourse of their own culture as a form of everyday resistance in order to subvert the discourse itself and as a means of empowerment and emancipation. For Marchand:

The difference between the discursive imposition of a feminist/feminine dichotomy and local women's interpretations of this dichotomy resides with the issues of empowerment and representation. In the latter case, local women have a voice in their own representation, and can use the dichotomy for their own empowerment (1995:95).

²³ *Machismo* and *marianismo* are binary opposite ideologies grounded in the Spanish colonial history of Latin America and in the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church. Fisher states that "*machismo* is a system of [sexist] gender relations which exaggerates the differences between men and women according to their so-called 'natural' [biological] qualities and determines what is acceptable behaviour for each" (1993:3). Within society, this system relegates women to the domestic, "reproductive" sphere, while men exist in the public, "productive" sphere. Therefore, "[m]ost women are brought up with the idea that their natural role in life is to become a mother and that their place is inside the home. The female equivalent of *machismo*, known as *marianismo*, refers to the exalted respect women command as mothers ..." (Fisher, 1993:3). However, within these dichotomous concepts, the masculine is always asserted as superior to the feminine, and thus used as a means to subordinate women within society.

In speaking to the issue of Latin American feminist praxes, Helen Safa (1990:363) believes that women's struggle to achieve their practical gender interests may be transformed and articulated within the struggle for their strategic gender interests through conscientization and collective action. That is, women's participation in women's movements or social movements in general, could produce changes in Latin American women's self-definition and point them in the direction of furthering their resistance and struggle to the multiple realities that they experience on a daily basis. Again we need to look no further than the scholarship on the vignettes presented above to see how these reconceptualizations in Latin American feminist theories are manifesting themselves at the level of the everyday. However, as Safa reminds us, there must be the struggle for unity across these differences in order for women's emancipation to be achieved (1990:363).

Norma Stoltz Chinchilla argues in similar fashion that:

[t]he central knot of feminist practice, particularly for those who aspire to create a feminist current within popular movements, is how to link practical (women's) interests derived from the existing gender division of labour and strategic (feminist) gender interests derived from a critique of the existing gender hierarchy (1991:302).

In essence, Chinchilla is moving away from the dichotomies of women's interests and arguing that Latin American feminist praxes must include the articulation of all women's interests in a synthesized form, in order for the emancipatory

projects of women (and civil society) to occur. Neither aspect of women's interests are complete without the other, and as Virginia Vargas argues, this is the challenge of "politicizing practical gender interests in such a way that they advance towards a modification in the situation of the subordination of women."²⁴

Vargas argues further that the focus on race, gender, class, ethnicity, etc. differences among and between women in the women's movement and the plurality of this movement, structures the political and intellectual developments of contemporary Latin American feminisms (1992:199). As was seen through the literature and research on women's new social movements in the *poblaciones* of Santiago and in the *colonias* of São Paulo, these movements provide the space for different feminist voices from the grassroots and from the middle-classes to come together and discuss, question, negotiate, and formulate these differences into various ideologies and collective actions. Thus, these women's movements in Latin America have incorporated the reconceptualizations of difference, both as third world feminists and as Latin American feminists, in their espousal of a plurality of feminisms.

Within this plurality of feminisms lies the expression of a much broader women's social movement which, according to Vargas, is composed of three basic streams: "the feminist stream; the stream of women in political parties,

²⁴ Virginia Vargas (1989) El aporte de la rebeldía de las mujeres, Lima, Peru: Ediciones Flora Tristan. As cited in Chinchilla (1991:302).

unions, and federations; and the stream of women of the 'popular' classes who, in their roles as mothers, are gaining their citizenship and becoming aware of their gender subordination" (1992:199). The plurality of feminisms in Latin America entails a plurality of women's consciousness and feminist thought, and points to the movement away from the binary division between feminist and feminine movements in Latin America, towards a more heterogeneous vision of women's identities and subjectivities and the many ways that this informs their collective identities and actions.

Therefore, in conclusion, the reconceptualizations within Latin American feminist theories are based upon the manifestations of women's differences and the multiple realities of subordination women face within the region. These differences and multiple realities create different levels upon which women in Latin America arrive at divergent feminisms, and upon which they base their own struggles to achieve their own interests. However, it is necessary to understand that with the differences present in women's lives and with the multiplicity of possible emancipatory projects, women's interests should be synthesized as a whole in order to create coalitions across these diversities and to struggle collectively for change. As Vargas concludes:

[t]o accept pluralism without a collective order and without orientation towards action could condemn [Latin American feminist movements] to fragmentation. And it may mean succumbing to another grave temptation: that of total relativism, of giving up the possibility of constructing a movement. Because it is not a question of abandoning the ethical-political project of emancipation,

it is not merely a question of constructing a movement sustained by more pluralistic visions, but also of facing differences rooted in the ancient inequalities within our continent which modernization did not address and which affect women in a deep and particular manner (1992:211).

WOMEN AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS: THEORIES OF CONJUNCTURE

The reconceptualizations within new social movement and third world feminist theories in Latin America have come about as a result of the movement of women's praxes on the margins. Not only have these praxes of resistance led to these new understandings within theory, but they have also led to the conjuncture of these theories, and as such to the visions of Latin American feminist scholars who are voicing articulated and integrative theories of conjuncture about women's involvement in new social movements and their resistance of praxes.

As has been argued through the analysis and deconstruction of the scholarship on women's new social movements, women within Latin America are mobilizing from the popular bases of society and becoming active agents of social change; these subaltern forces are moving out of the private domain to challenge and struggle against all forms of domination (Arizpe, 1990:xix) and as such are quite heterogeneous. Arizpe believes that this heterogeneity reflects "women's primary concerns," which she sees as "genuine social demands," and that a common bond of solidarity must exist across the different forms in order to unite them (1990:xvii). However, theoretical problems arise when these

movements are not considered to be "genuine" by the dominant, hegemonic discourse which defines the political as a closed space²⁵ excluding women and the politics of the private sphere.

However, as outlined in Chapter Three and as argued through the literature and research on the vignettes of resistance and conjuncture, the realm of the political is being redefined in both theory and practice by social actors within the contemporary movements and as such, "[w]omen's implicit demand that the personal should become political is, in this sense, revolutionary" (1990:xvii). The political is thus widening to the social and the cultural, where women are creating new channels and forms of expression.

What is more, changes in the definition of what is the private and public domain (in terms of the role of the state, social reproduction, marital relations, and popular participation by women, which reflect women's demands) surpass by a long way the programmes for social transformation currently presented by most political parties (1990:xix).

In other words, women in Latin America are presenting alternative, eclectic visions of social change through their struggles on the margins of society, visions which deconstruct the binary divisions within society and posit new ways of seeing society and the world.

²⁵ See Chapter Three, pages 92-96.

Elizabeth Jelin, in a similar vein, outlines some of the relevant dimensions within women's collective action and new social movements which must be accounted for and which point to new conceptualizations of society. For her, the gender division of labour does not divide the public from the private, the domestic from the political, but rather, upon closer inspection, that "arising from the specific role of women - housekeeper, wife, mother - women have the potential for organizing, participating, and transforming that needs to be discovered and analysed" (Jelin, 1990a:7). As we have seen, this breakdown within the public/private dichotomy, in turn leads to a discovery of new aspects of the social, the cultural, and the political, aspects bound up within the domestic, reproductive realities of women's everyday lives. It is these realities which produce the multiple identities of women "with a capacity for social creation and transformation" and which "build up a micro-history based on the retrieval of popular recollections and the recollections of the actors themselves and of their own movements, which has so much to do with the process of establishing identities" (1990a:8).

While some argue that new social movements in Latin America have arisen due to economic and political crises in the region, Helen Safa concurs with Arizpe and Jelin that women's increased participation within these movements is "indicative of a broader historical trend toward the breakdown of the traditional division between the private and public spheres in Latin America" (Safa, 1990:354-355). She sees women's involvement in these movements as

"not only ... symptomatic of the breakdown between the public and private spheres ..., but [as] furthering this process [itself]" (1990:355) which gives these movements their emancipatory potential not only for women, but for society as a whole. "In short, they [women] are redefining and transforming their domestic role from one of nurturance to one of collective, public protest, and in this way challenging the traditional seclusion of women into the private sphere of the family" (1990:355). For Safa, this reality of women's participation challenges the Marxist primary focus on class and modes of production precisely because: one, women's participation in these movements is based as well on their roles as wives and mothers and not only on their membership in a subordinated socio-economic class; and two, because the state is the primary locus of their protest, not capital (1990:355-356).

The scholarship on the vignettes presented above, as well as Yvonne Corcoran-Nantes own research on women and popular urban social movements in São Paulo, Brazil, point to these directions in the theoretical conjuncture of Latin American new social movements and feminisms. Corcoran-Nantes argues that women's participation in new social movements, especially those of community-based, urban movements, is due to the fact that the community "is a public space invariably dominated by women who create forms of political organisation shaped by their experience within their neighbourhoods" (1990:250). She further articulates that women's participation in these movements

is explained as a result of their social consciousness as wives and mothers, as opposed to any kind of political consciousness arising from a [gender] division of labour within society which tends to mitigate against the participation of women in other forms of political organisation (1990:252).

This argument is based on the fact that the gender division of labour, although it does tend to relegate women to the "private realm," does not categorically define the roles women are actually involved in within society. Corcoron-Nantes' empirical research in essence reiterates the above arguments that women's participation in new social movements is due in part to the breakdown of the traditional division between the private and public spheres. Hence, it can be concluded that a shift away from the either/or dichotomies associated with some of the literature on the gender division of labour is underway and that new social movements are a catalyst furthering the demise of these dichotomies.

However, some Latin American feminists writing on the conjuncture see women's participation in these new social movements as a perpetuation of women's traditional domestic role due to the fact that they only focus on women's practical gender interests and not on issues to do with strategic gender interests (Safa, 1990:363). This in essence represents the tension between the feminist and the feminine movements in Latin America discussed above. Although Safa views women's participation in new social movements as direct responses to practical realities, she also sees the potential for an increased gender consciousness about women's strategic gender interests to arise out of

their struggle. In fact, Safa and this study argue, like those women in Latin America known as *doble militancias*, that both women's practical and strategic gender interests must be synthesized and articulated together in order to realize the transformative potential of women's participation in new social movements.

In essence, this *doble militancia* points the way for the voices of a variety of multiple third world/Latin American feminisms within new social movements in Latin America, where women are at the forefront of the struggle for the reconceptualization of their roles within society, and thus their emancipation. However, as Safa argues,

this redefinition must occur not only in the minds of women themselves, but in society at large, so that women are no longer treated as supplementary wage earners and pawns in the political process. To achieve such goals, there must be unity within the women's movement, across class, ethnic, and ideological lines; ... (1990:363).

As such, women's participation in the contemporary movements in Latin America is based on their changing identities and subjectivities from their lived realities beyond those of class, and incorporating gender, ethnicity, etc.. This in itself has brought about a recasting of the binary, closed space between politics and the sociocultural experiences of the everyday. Therefore, third world/Latin American feminisms must not only begin to speak of and understand the multiple realities and differences among and between Latin American women, but entail a progression towards encompassing the heterogeneity and pluralism of new

social movements. In essence what this means is the conjuncture of new social movement and third world feminist theoretical perspectives. This is the integral step theory must take in order make sense of the struggles and praxes of resistance by women on the margins who are attempting to transform Latin American society towards alternative, eclectic visions within the postcolonial world.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored the diverse nature and richness of Latin America in order to provide an understanding of the time, place, and space the region occupies and a background in which to place the theoretical working sets of ideas and concepts discussed in Chapters Two and Three. From this, the synthesis and integration of third world feminisms and new social movements in the context of the region was provided through the textual deconstruction and discourse analysis of the scholarship on three vignettes of resistance and conjuncture within women's new social movements. This analysis and deconstruction of the literature and research provided examples of the praxes of resistance by women participating and leading new social movements in Latin America. This was done in order to show how the practice of these movements is grounded in the sociocultural realities of women in different contexts and in different movements. As such, these praxes of resistance also entail the conjuncture of theories at the margins, which have in fact brought about

reconceptualizations within theory itself. Thus, the heterogeneity and plurality in praxes necessitates a heterogeneity and plurality in analyses from a synthesis of third world feminisms and new social movements. In other words, this study argues that a conjuncture of theories must take, and indeed is taking, place in order to make sense of women's involvement and their praxes of resistance in new social movements.

It has been shown that Latin America, while created as a homogeneous, differentiated "other" by the hegemonic discourses of colonialism and neocolonialism, is in fact a varied, rich, diverse postcolonial region. This region as such, has experienced the uneven character of modernity and development, which has precipitated the ongoing crises throughout the region. This is the context in which Latin American feminisms (which this study views as examples of contextual third world feminisms) and new social movements have come to manifest themselves in their contemporary practice. Latin American feminisms have begun to reconceptualize the differences among and between women from different classes, ethnicities, races, and sexual orientations in order to grasp the richness this diversity offers and to struggle for solidarity across these differences for collective action towards social transformation.

Perhaps the most progressive spaces in which this collective action takes form are within the new social movements of Latin America. It is these movements, some of which are led by and involve the participation of women, which have come to recast the political from the static, traditional view of the

state-centered paradigm to more autonomous and heterogeneous spaces within the social and the cultural. Women's involvement within the contemporary movements has arisen on the basis of their struggle for their identities and subjectivities in the realm of their daily lives. They have embarked upon the politicization of the private sphere and thus begun to deconstruct the already blurred dichotomy of the public/private divide and create a synthesis of their practical and strategic gender interests into a struggle to transform the household and society.

As the analysis and deconstruction of the scholarship on the vignettes of resistance and conjuncture suggests, women from the margins organize and participate from their subject positions within the everyday. It is from here that they form identities of themselves and of the collectivity which, when articulated to the various voices of feminisms, constructs their ideologies and informs their strategies for collective action. This collective action and resistance is multiple and diverse and occurs within the social and cultural, and is therefore political, since it can be seen that these struggles have alternative and eclectic visions of society bound up within them.

This chapter thus concludes that since third world feminisms and new social movements manifest themselves in various ways across time, place, and space within Latin America, the theoretical approaches which seek to make sense of what is occurring within the postcolonial world must as well be open to variations. In other words, the plurality and heterogeneity of praxes can be

seen, if and only if, the theoretical orientations move beyond their reductionisms and static views of differences to those that encompass and celebrate this plurality and heterogeneity as well.

In this search for new points of reference it must be realized that politics has changed, that public activism does not only, nor even primarily, revolve around the state; that daily life is a space in which changes are taking place without a general revolution; that the explanation for these movements is not the economic situation; that experiences are fragmentary; that there is no reason why different experiences involving identity should converge at some point and so on (Caldeira, 1990:74-75).

What this chapter has thus established is that third world feminisms and new social movements are often intertwined in Latin America and that these manifestations lead to greater understandings of the conjuncture of third world feminisms and new social movements, and that the two cannot be separated. These perspectives must be integrated and synthesized in order to make sense of the diversity of contemporary women's movements and in order to point the direction forward for the future possibilities of societal transformation.

CHAPTER FIVE:

BY WAY OF A CONCLUSION

This study has explored the overarching theoretical crises that exist within feminisms and social movements. The notions of oppression and marginalization, of resistance and emancipation, have come to be multivalent and diverse; old singular "truths" are no longer applicable within the rich and varied world we inhabit. As such, this study has presented the reconceptualizations occurring within the theoretical perspectives on feminisms and social movements. However, since oppression and marginalization manifest themselves in different ways across time, place, and space, the forms of resistance and the means of emancipation are equally as varied and diffuse. What is occurring at the levels of praxis thus informs the changes occurring at the levels of theory. In fact, it is argued that if these respective theories remain stuck in their old school levels of analyses, they will fail to come to terms with what is occurring at the micro-level of the everyday, where the forms of struggle and resistance to the macro-level crises of modernity, late-capitalism, and development are rising to challenge and create new visions for the future.

Third world feminist and new social movement perspectives are two such reconceptualizations which have come out of the broader theoretical frameworks reviewed by this study. As such, they have begun to open up the possibilities for a theoretical conjuncture in order to facilitate the analyses of women's

engagement with and participation in third world feminisms and new social movements.

Third world feminisms have arisen out of the debates among and between third world women based on their lived experiences within the South or as minority women now residing in the North. They have sought to move beyond the reductionisms and primacies associated with mainstream, hegemonic western feminisms towards a focus on the multiple oppressions which manifest themselves at the different axes of gender, class, race, ethnicity, etc. in their lives. Thus, like postmodern and African-U.S. American feminists, third world feminists are struggling to make feminism relevant to their lives and create new ideas for the transformation of society.

Two central issues which third world feminists have focused their theoretical energies upon have been: the espousal of postcolonial critiques of dominant western feminisms and the voicing of key themes and concepts needed to understand the multiple realities of third world women. The postcolonial critiques of western feminisms have been directed towards the creation of the third world woman as an undifferentiated "other" as opposed to the western woman (Minh-ha, 1989; Mohanty, 1991a/1991b; Ong, 1988; Spivak, 1987). These binary opposites homogenize third world women into the category of victim (Chowdry, 1995:40), yet third world feminists argue that this negates the agency of women in the South who struggle daily to resist and challenge their marginalization (Mohanty, 1991:51).

In order to better understand these levels of marginalization and resistance, third world feminists have posited a number of key concepts which are significant to the lives of third world women. Notions of race and ethnicity impact upon the experiences of women in the South, yet western feminisms have ignored the implications of these axes of subordination. It is imperative to understand how race and ethnicity shape third world women's lives and how they are connected and integrated with gender and class. Since third world women's realities are bound up within these multiple subjectivities and identities, the notions of the gender division of labour and the public/private divide need also be rethought. There must be a movement away from the dichotomies created between the public and the private in order to see how the gender division of labour manifests itself differently for different women, whose lives more or less have always been public (Hurtado, 1989:849). The impacts of colonialism and imperialism have a significant part in creating these dichotomies and in attempting to force women into the private sphere. Thus, third world feminists argue for an analyses of these impacts, as well as an understanding of their revisitations in the postcolonial world (Mohanty, 1991a:21).

New social movement theories have also begun to challenge the existing perspectives from which they have risen, particularly those of Marxism and functionalism, which today stand at a crisis. As such, they find their roots in the general theoretical crises of the contemporary world. However, it has also been seen that these theories have arisen due to the dynamic and diverse realities

and practical manifestations of social movements throughout the world. It is the complexity of the crises in theory and in modernity, which have necessitated the eclectic resistances from the margins, and thus precipitated the reconceptualizations within theory in order to understand these currents and trends in popular practice.

New social movements are considered "new" by this study precisely because they are understood to *not* be based upon a reductionism and primacy of class *nor* on the idea of worker's struggle for emancipation. The new movements have come to be seen as encompassing a plurality of identities and subjectivities based on the class, gender, race, etc. of the actors involved. These notions are based on what Laclau and Mouffe term subject positions (1985:115), which arise from the everyday realities of social actors, and are formed into collective identities and ideologies (Melucci, 1988a,1992). These ideologies are of a varied, fluid nature which the actors in new social movements use to inform their collective actions. However, these collective actions are not bent on the acquisition of state power, but on the resistance and struggle to create a new and different society. As such, these new movements have recast the political to the social and the cultural and seek the transformation of society based on the subaltern visions of those peoples on the margins.

The postcolonial context of Latin America is rich and diverse in nature, and exemplifies the richness and diversity within both third world feminisms and new social movements. While it has been created as a homogeneous,

undifferentiated "other," this study has shown that it is a rich and varied region, which has been impacted upon unevenly by modernity and development. In fact, these structural manifestations have precipitated general levels of crises throughout the region. Some of the responses to these crises can be seen in the form of women's engagement with and participation in third world feminisms and new social movements. As discussed within the larger, general frameworks of feminist and social movement theories, there have also been a number of reconceptualizations in these theories coming out of Latin America which parallel these more general developments.

Latin American feminists have begun to reconceptualize the notions of difference among and between women and look to more holistic perspectives which encompass race, class, gender, ethnicity, etc. when analysing women's subordination. For feminists in Latin America, key issues revolve around the synthesis of women's practical and strategic gender interests, the realization that the basis of women's struggle lies in their subjectivity and identity which is grounded in their daily lives, and that these struggles politicize the realm of the social and the cultural and thus seek to transform not only relations within the household, but those within society at large.

Latin American new social movement theorists have also begun to reconceptualize the notions of subjectivity and identity beyond that based on class. They have posited that the presence of multiple, plural, and heterogeneous actors within new social movements necessitates analyses which

encompass this diversity. Since this diversity is grounded in the everyday lives of the actors, their struggles are as much over the meanings of their lives as they are over material conditions. Thus, they have also come to recast the political to the social and the cultural.

Not only do these theoretical developments in Latin America parallel those within the larger debates, but Latin American feminist and new social movement theories can be seen to parallel each other as well. With their emphasis on subjectivity and identity, differences, the everyday social and cultural, and the recasting of the political, these theories rest on the verge and precipice of conjuncture. Nowhere in this study can this be seen so clearly than in the textual deconstruction and discourse analysis of the scholarship on three vignettes of resistance and conjuncture presented in Chapter Four. It was argued that women's participation in new social movements manifests itself not only in praxes of resistance, but that it also manifests itself in the conjuncture of theories. Women's popular resistance on the margins in Latin America encompasses and informs the open-ended themes, issues, and concepts discussed within the theoretical perspectives of third world feminisms and new social movements. In other words, practice has resulted in the old school notions being challenged and reconceptualized into more eclectic, nuanced, and open-ended perspectives. At the same time, practice has not only furthered these reconceptualizations, but integrated and synthesized them at the level of the everyday.

The conjuncture of theories through women's praxes of resistance in new social movements forms one-half of this study's thesis, and ultimately points to its contingent second-half. Due to the movements of practice, there has been the formulation and creation of open-ended theories of conjuncture by Latin American feminist scholars such as Loudres Arizpe (1990), Elizabeth Jelin (1990a,1990b), and Virginia Vargas (1992). These scholars, through their involvement and research with popular sector women's organizations, have not only made women's engagement with third world feminisms and participation within new social movements textually visible within scholarship, but have also begun to posit working sets of ideas from both third world feminist and new social movement perspectives, which will inform future levels of analyses of women's new social movements. As Elizabeth Jelin states:

our discussions and analyses have to combine two dimensions: they must respect the specificity of each case while trying to draw some lessons and make generalizations, or in other words, develop some analytical guidelines which are useful for examining cases that are not similar (1990a:1).

It is within these open-ended discussions on the conjuncture of third world feminist and new social movement perspectives which this study seeks to enter. The approaches of textual deconstruction and discourse analysis of scholarship, utilizing the perspectives of third world feminisms and new social movements, provide a useful starting point for more in-depth analysis on women's new social

movements themselves. Thus, it is to be hoped that this thesis will contribute to the continued movement towards alternative and eclectic visions for transformation in the postcolonial world, where the margins, to paraphrase bell hooks, in fact become the center.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Acker, Joan (1988) "Class, Gender, and the Relations of Distribution." *SIGNS* 13(3):473-497.
- Acosta-Belén, Edna and Christine E. Bose Eds. (1993) *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Alemán, Verónica, Carla Miranda and Tania Montenegro (1993) "Women = subjects = power = feminist movement." *Barricada Internacional* 13(367/368):17-24.
- Albó, Xavier (1993) "Our Identity Starting from Pluralism in the Base." *boundary 2* 20(3):18-33.
- Anzaldúa, Gloria (1987) *Borderlands/La Frontera*. San Francisco: Spinsters/Aunt Lute.
- Arizpe, Lourdes (1990) "Foreward: Democracy for a Small Two- Gendered Planet." *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. E. Jelin Ed. London: Zed Books.
- Armstrong, Pat and Hugh Armstrong (1983) "Beyond Sexless Class and Classless Sex: Towards Feminist Marxism." *Studies In Political Economy* 10:7-43.
- Barrett, Michele (1992) *Destabilizing theory: contemporary feminist debates*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- Bentson, Margaret (1971) "The Political Economy of Women's Liberation," *Voices from Women's Liberation*. L. Tanner Ed. New York.
- Beverly, John and Jose Oviedo (1993) "Introduction" *boundary 2* 20(3):1-17.
- Bhabha, Hommi (1983) "The Other Question." *Screen* 24(6):18-36.
- _____ (1994) *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Borda, Orlando Fals (1992) "Social Movements and Political Power in Latin America." *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.

- Boyle, Catherine M. (1993) "Touching The Air: The cultural force of women in Chile." *'Viva': women and popular protest in Latin America*. S. Radcliffe and S. Westwood Eds. London: Routledge.
- Brown, Elsa Barkley (1991) "Polyrhythms and Improvization: Lessons for Women's History." *History Workshop* 31:85-90.
- Brydon, Lynne and Sylvia Chant (1989) *Women In The Third World: Gender Issues In Rural And Urban Areas*. New Brunswick NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Caldeira, Teresa Pires de Rio (1990) "Women Daily Life and Politics." *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. E. Jelin Ed. London: Zed Books.
- Calderón, Fernando, Alejandro Piscitelli, and José Luis Reyna (1992) "Social Movements: Actors, Theories, Expectations." *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Callinicos, A. (1989) *Against Postmodernism*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Cardoso, Ruth C. L. (1987) "Movimentos Sociais na América Latina." *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais* 3:1.
- Carr, Irene Campos (1990) "Women's Voices Grow Stronger: Politics and Feminism in Latin America." *NWSA Journal* 2(3):450-463.
- Castoriadis, Cornelius (1987) *The Imaginary Institution of Society*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Chaney, Elsa (1979) *Supermadre: Women in Politics*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Chilcote, Ronald H. (1990) "Post-Marxism: The Retreat from Class in Latin America." *Latin American Perspectives* 65, 17(2):3-24.
- Chinchilla, Norma Stoltz (1991) "Marxism, Feminism, and the Struggle for Democracy in Latin America." *Gender and Society* 5(3):291-310.
- (1993a) "Gender and National Politics: Issues and Trends in Women's Participation in Latin American Movements." *Researching Women in Latin America and the Caribbean*. E. Acosta-Belén and C. Bose Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.

- ____ (1993b) "Women's Movements in the Americas: Feminism's Second Wave." *NACLA: Report on the Americas* 27(1):17-23.
- Chowdry, Geeta (1995) "Engendering Development? Women in Development in International Development." *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*. M. Marchand and J. Parpart Eds. London: Routledge.
- Cohen, Jean (1985) "Strategy or Identity: New Theoretical Paradigms and Contemporary Social Movements." *Social Research* 52(4):663-716.
- Connelly, Patricia M., Tania Murray-Li, Martha MacDonald, and Jane L. Parpart (1994a) "Restructured Worlds/Restructured Debates: Globalization, Development, and Gender." Paper prepared for St. Mary's University, Halifax, NS. Canada.
- ____ (1994b) "Gender and Development Module. Chapter 3." Paper prepared for The GAD Summer Institute, Halifax, NS. Canada.
- Collins, Patricia Hill (1992) "Toward an Afrocentric Feminist Epistemology." *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd Edition. A. Jagger and P. Rothenberg Eds. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Corcoran-Nantes, Yvonne (1990) "Women and Popular Urban Social Movements in São Paulo, Brazil." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 9(2):249-264.
- Dalla Costa, Mariarosa and Selma James (1972) *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community*. Bristol.
- Deane, John Ed. (1988) *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*. London: Verso.
- de Lauretis, Teresa Ed. (1986) *Feminist Studies/Critical Studies*. London: MacMillan.
- de Lauretis, Teresa (1984) *Alice Doesn't: Feminism, Semiotics, and Cinema*. Bloomington IN: Indiana University Press.
- Delphy, Christine (1976) *The Main Enemy*. Women's Research and Resource Centre.
- Derrida, Jacques (1976) *Of Grammatology*. Translated by G. Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins.

- Eckstein, Susan, Ed. (1989) *Power and Popular Protest*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Elson, Dianne (1990) "Male Bias in Macroeconomics: The Case of Structural Adjustment." D. Elson Ed. *Male Bias in the Development Process*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Elson, Dianne Ed. (1990) *Male Bias in the Development Process*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Engels, Frederick (1972) *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. E. Leacock Ed. New York: International Publishers.
- Escobar, Arturo (1984-85) "Discourse and Power in Development: Michel Foucault and the Relevance of His Work to the Third World." *Alternatives* 10:377-400.
- (1992a) "Culture, Economics, and Politics in Latin American Social Movements Theory and Research." *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez, Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- (1992b) "Imagining a Post-Development Era? Critical Thought, Development, and Social Movements." *Social Text* 31/32:20-56.
- Escobar, Arturo and Sonia E. Alvarez Eds. (1992) *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Evers, Tillman (1985) "Identity: The Hidden Side of New Social Movements in Latin America." *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*. D. Slater Ed. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- Feyerabend, Paul (1975) *Against Method*. New York: Schocken.
- Findji, María Teresa (1992) "From Resistance to Social Movement: The Indigenous Authorities Movement in Columbia." *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Firestone, Shulamit (1970) *The Dialectic of Sex*. New York.
- Fisher, Jo Ed. (1993) *Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance, and Politics in South America*. London: Latin American Bureau.

- Fisher, Jo (1993) "Introduction." *Out of the Shadows: Women, Resistance, and Politics in South America*. J. Fisher Ed. London: Latin American Bureau.
- Flax, Jane (1987) "Postmodernism and Gender Relations in Gender Theory." *SIGNS* 12(4):621-643.
- (1992) "Women Do Theory." *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd. Edition. A. Jagger and P. Rothenberg Eds. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Foucault, Michel (1976) *Power/Knowledge*. New York: Pantheon Books.
- (1977) *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.
- (1978) *The History of Sexuality*. Vol. 1. R. Hurley Trans. New York: Pantheon Books.
- Fox, Bonnie Ed. (1980) *Hidden in the household: Women's Domestic Labour Under Capitalism*. Toronto.
- Fraser, Nancy and Linda J. Nicholson (1990) "Social Criticism without Philosophy: An Encounter between Feminism and Postmodernism." *Feminism/Postmodernism*. L. Nicholson Ed. New York: Routledge.
- Fuentes, Marta and Andre Gunder Frank (1989) "Ten Theses on Social Movements." *World Development* 17(2):179-191.
- Gallin, Rita S. and Anne Ferguson Eds. (1991) *The Women and International Development Annual*. Vol. 2. Boulder: Westview Press.
- (1993) *The Women and International Development Annual*. Vol. 3. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Gallin, Rita S. and Anne Ferguson (1991) "Conceptualizing Difference: Gender, Class, and Action." *The Women and International Development Annual*. Vol. 2. R. Gallin and A. Ferguson Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- (1993) "The Plurality of Feminism: Rethinking 'Difference.'" *The Women and International Development Annual*. Vol. 3. R. Gallin and A. Ferguson Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Gálvez, Thelma and Rosalba Todaro (1990) "Chile: Women and the Unions." *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. E. Jelin Ed. London: Zed Books.

- George, Susan (1985) *A Fate Worse than Debt*. London: Penguin.
- Gilligan, Carol (1982) *In A Different Voice*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Goetz, Anne Marie (1988) "Feminism an the Limits of the Claim to Know: Contradictions in the Feminist Approach to Women in Development." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 17(3):477-496.
- González Bombal, M. I. (1987) "Madres de Plaza de Mayo: ¿Un Signo en la Historia?" *David y Goliath* 52.
- Goode, Erich (1992) *Collective Behaviour*. Fort Worth TX: Saunders College Publishers.
- Gramsci, Antonio (1978) "Notes on the Southern Question." *Selections from Political Writings 1921-26*. Q. Hoare Ed. and Trans. London.
- Gutmann, Matthew C. (1993) "Rituals of Resistance." *Latin American Perspectives* 77, 20(2):74-92.
- Hanninen, S. and L. Paldan Eds. (1984) *Rethinking Marx*. Berlin: Argument-Sonderbond AS 109.
- Harding, Sandra Ed. (1987) *Feminism and methodology: social science issues*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Harding, Sandra (1987) "Introduction: is there a feminist method?" *Feminism and methodology: social science issues*. S. Harding Ed. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- (1992) "Subjectivity, Experience, and Knowledge: An Epistemology from/for Rainbow Coalition Politics." *Development and Change* 23(3):195-214.
- Hartmann, Heidi (1981) "The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: Toward a More Progressive Union." *Women and Revolution*. L. Sargent Ed. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Harvey, David (1990) *The Condition of Postmodernity*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Hellman, Judith Adler (1993) "The Study of New Social Movements in Latin America and the Question of Autonomy." *The Making of Social movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez Eds. London: Westview Press.

- Hennessey, Rosemary (1993) *Materialist feminism and the politics of discourse*. New York: Routledge.
- Hirshman, Mitu (1995) "Women and Development: A Critique." *Feminism/Development/Postmodernism*. M. Marchand and J. Parpart Eds. London: Routledge.
- hooks, bell (1984) *Feminist Theory: from margin to center*. Boston: South End Press.
- _____ (1988) *Talking Back: thinking feminist-thinking black*. Toronto: Between the Lines.
- Hurtado, Aida (1989) "Relating To Priveledge: Seduction And Rejection In The Subordination Of White Women And Women Of Colour." *SIGNS* 14(4):833-855.
- Jagger, Allison and Paula Rothenberg Eds. (1992) *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd. Edition. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Jagger, Allison and Paula Rothenberg (1992) "Theories of Women's Subordination." *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd. Edition. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Jaquette, Jane S. (1982) "Women and Moderization Theory: A Decade of Feminist Criticism." *World Politics*. 267-284.
- Jaquette, Jane S. Ed. (1989) *The Women's Movement in Latin America: Feminism and the Transition to Democracy*. Boston: Unwin Hyman.
- Jelin, Elizabeth, Ed. (1990) *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. London: Zed Books.
- Jelin, Elizabeth (1990a) "Introduction." *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. E. Jelin Ed. London: Zed Books.
- _____ (1990b) "Citizenship and Identity: Final Reflections." *Women and Social Change in Latin America*. E. Jelin Ed. London: Zed Books.
- Jenkins, J. Craig (1983) "Resource Mobilization Theory and the Study of Social Movements." *Annual Review of Sociology* 9.

- King, Deborah (1992) "Multiple Jeopardy: The Context of a Black Feminist Ideology." *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd. Edition. A. Jagger and A. Ferguson Eds. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Kirkwood, Julieta (1986) *Ser política en Chile: Las feministas y los partidos*. Santiago: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.
- Klarén, Peter F. and Thomas J. Bossert Eds. (1986) *The Promise of Development*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Korten, David C. (1990) *Getting to the 21st Century*. Hartford CN: Kumarian Press.
- Kremer, Belinda (1990) "Learning To Say No: Keeping Feminist Research for Ourselves." *Women's Studies International Forum*. 13(5):463-467.
- Kriesi, Hanspeter, Sidney Tarrow, and Evert Klandermans Eds. (1988) *International Social Movement Research: From Structure to Action - Comparing Social Movements Research Across Cultures*. Vol. 1. London: JAI Press.
- Laclau, Ernesto (1985) "New Social Movements and the Plurality of the Social." *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*. D. Slater, Ed. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- _____ (1992) "Beyond Emancipation." *Development and Change*. 23(3):121-137.
- Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe (1985) *Hegemony and Socialist Strategy*. London: Verso Books.
- Larsen, Neil (1990) "Postmodernism and Imperialism: Theory and Politics in Latin America." *Postmodern Culture*. 1(1):1-18.
- Lavrin, Asunción (1985) "The Ideology of Feminism in the Southern Cone, 1900-1940." Wilson Center Latin American Program, Working Paper No. 169.
- Lehmann, David (1990) *Democracy and Development in Latin America*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Lerner, Gerda (1992) "Reconceptualizing Differences Among Women." *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd Edition. A. Jagger and A. Ferguson Eds. New York: McGraw Hill.

- Lind, Amy Conger (1992) "Power, Gender, and Development: Women's Organizations and the Politics of Need in Ecuador." *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Long, Samuel Ed. (1984) *Political Behaviour Annual*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Lyotard, Jean-Francois (1984) *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge*. G. Bennington and B. Massumi Trans. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Mackintosh, Maureen (1984) "Gender and Economics: The Sexual Division of Labour and the Subordination of Women." *Of Marriage and the Market*. 2nd Edition. K. Young, C. Wolkowitz, and R. McCullagh Eds. London: Routledge.
- MacRae, Edward (1992) "Homosexual Identities in Transitional Brazilian Politics." *The Making of Social Movements in Latin America*. A. Escobar and S. Alvarez Eds. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Manguel, Alberto Ed. (1986) *Other Fires: Short Fiction By Latin American Women*. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Denny's Limited.
- Manguel, Alberto (1986) "Introduction." *Other Fires: Short Fiction By Latin American Women*. A. Manguel Ed. Toronto: Lester & Orpen Denny's Limited.
- Marchand, Marianne H. and Jane L. Parpart Eds. (1995) *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*. London: Routledge.
- Marchand, Marianne H. (1995) "Latin American Women Speak on Development: Are We Listening Yet?" *Feminism/Development/Postmodernism*. M. Marchand and J. Parpart Eds. London: Routledge.
- Melucci, Alberto (1980) "The New Social Movements: A Theoretical Approach." *Social Science Information*. 19(2):199-226.
- (1988a) "Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements." *International Social Movement Research: From Structure to Action - Comparing Social Movements Research Across Cultures*. Vol. 1. H. Kriesi, S. Tarrow, and B. Klandermans Eds. London: JAI Press.

- (1988b) "Social Movements and the Democratization of Everyday Life." *Civil Society and the State: New European Perspectives*. J. Deane Ed. London: Verso.
- (1992) "Liberation or Meaning? Social Movements, Culture, and Democracy." *Development and Change*. 23(3):43-77.
- Mies, Maria (1986) *Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale*. London: Zed Press.
- Mill, John Stuart (1978) *On Liberty*. Indianapolis: Hackett.
- Minh-ha, Trinh T. (1989) *Woman, Native, Other: Writing Postcoloniality and Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mires, Francisco (1987) "Continuidad y Ruptura en el Discurso Político." *Nueva Sociedad*. 91.
- Mohanty, Candra Talpade, Ann Ruso, and Lourdes Torres Eds. (1991) *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Mohanty, Chandra Talpade (1991a) "Cartographies of Struggle: Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism." *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. C. Mohanty, A. Ruso, and L. Torres Eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- (1991b) "Under Western Eyes: Feminist Scholarship and Colonial Discourses." *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. C. Mohanty, A. Ruso, and L. Torres Eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Molyneux, Maxine (1979) "Beyond the Domestic Labour Debate." *New Left Review*. 116(9).
- (1985) "Mobilization Without Emancipation? Women's Interests, The State, And Revolution In Nicaragua." *Feminist Studies* 11(2):227-254.
- Moraga, Cherríe and Gloria Anzaldua Eds. (1983) *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Colour*. New York: Kitchen Table Press.
- Moraga, Cherríe (1992) "From a Long Line of Vendidas: Chicanas and Feminism." *Feminist Frameworks*. 3rd Edition. A. Jagger and A. Ferguson Eds. New York: McGraw Hill.

- Morris, Aldon and Cedric Herring (1984) "Theory and Research in Social Movements: Critical Review." *Political Behaviour Annual*. S. Long Ed. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Moser, Caroline (1989) "Gender Planning in the Third World." *World Development*. 17(11):1799-1825.
- Mouffe, Chantal (1984) "Towards a Theoretical Interpretation of New Social Movements." *Rethinking Marx*. S. Hanninen and L. Paldan Eds. Berlin: Argument-Sonderband AS 109.
- Nash, June and Helen Safa Eds. (1976) *Sex and Class in Latin America*. New York: Praeger.
- Navarro-Aranguren, Marysa (1992) "The Construction of a Latin American Feminist Identity." *Americas: New Interpretive Essays*. A. Stepan Ed. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nicholson, Linda J. Ed. (1990) *Feminism/Postmodernism*. New York: Routledge.
- Ong, Aihwa (1988) "Colonialism and Modernity: Feminist Representations of Women in Non-Western Societies." *Inscriptions* 3/4(2):79-93.
- Parpart, Jane (1993) "Who is the 'Other'? A Postmodern Critique of Women and Development Theory and Practice." *Development and Change*. 24(3):439-464.
- Parpart, Jane and Marianne Marchand (1995) "Exploding the Canon" *Feminism/Postmodernism/Development*. M. Marchand and J. Parpart Eds. London: Routledge.
- Paz, Octavio (1985) *The Labyrinth of Solitude*. New York: Grove Press.
- Pieterse, Jan Nederveen (1992) "Emancipations, Modern and Postmodern." *Development and Change* 23(3):5-41.
- Quijano, Anibal (1993) "Modernity, Identity, and Utopia in Latin America." *boundary 2* 20(3):140-155.
- Radcliffe, Sarah A. and Sallie Westwood Eds. (1993) *'Viva': women and popular protest in Latin America*. London: Routledge.

- Ramazanoglu, Caroline (1992) "What Can You Do With A Man?: Feminism and the Critical Appraisal of Masculinity." *Women's Studies International Forum* 15(1):339-350.
- Rathgeber, Eva M. (1989) "WID, WAD, And GAD: Trends in Theory and Research." Paper presented to CRIAW.
- _____ (1995) "Gender and Development in Action" *Feminism/Development/Postmodernism*. M. Marchand and J. Parpart Eds. London: Routledge.
- Richard, Nelly (1993) "Cultural Peripheries: Latin America and Postmodernist De-centering." *boundary 2*. 23(3):156-161.
- Rowe, W. and V. Schelling (1991) *Memory and Modernity: Popular Culture in Latin America*. London: Verso.
- Sachs, Wolfgang Ed. (1992) *The Development Dictionary*. London: Zed Press.
- Safa, Helen Icken (1990) "Women's Social Movements in Latin America." *Gender and Society*. 4(3):354-369.
- Said, Edward (1978) *Orientalism*. New York: Pantheon.
- _____ (1993) *Culture and Imperialism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Sandoval, Chela (1991) "U.S. Third World Feminism: The Theory of Oppositional Consciousness in the Postmodern World." *Genders*. 10:1-25.
- Sargent, Lydia Ed. (1981) *Women and Revolution*. Montreal: Black Rose Books.
- Schuurman, Frans J. Ed. (1993) *Interpreting the Impasse: Development Theory in Transition*. London: Zed Press.
- Schuurman, Frans J. and Ellen Heer (1992) *Social Movements and NGOs in Latin America*. Saarbrücken: Verlag Breitenbach Publishers.
- Secombe, Wally (1980) "Domestic Labour and the Working-Class Household," *Hidden in the household: Women's Domestic Labour Under Capitalism*. B. Fox Ed. Toronto.
- Sen, Gita and Caren Grown (1987) *Development, Crises, and Alternative Visions: Third World Women's Perspectives*. New York: Monthly Review Press.

- Schild, Verónica (1994) "Recasting Popular Movements: Gender and Political Learning in Neighbourhood Organizations in Chile." *Latin American Perspectives* 81, 21(2):59-80.
- Scott, James C. (1985) *Weapons of the Weak: Everyday Forms of Peasant Resistance*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- (1990) *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Slater, David Ed. (1985) *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- Slater, David (1985) "Social Movements and a Recasting of the Political." *New Social Movements and the State in Latin America*. D. Slater, Ed. Amsterdam: CEDLA.
- (1994) "Power and Social Movements in the Other Occident: Latin America in an International Context." *Latin American Perspectives* 81, 21(2):11-37.
- Spellman, Elizabeth (1990) *Inessential Woman*. London: The Women's Press.
- Spivak, Gayatri Chakravorty (1987) *In Other Worlds: Essays In Cultural Politics*. New York: Methuen.
- Stepan, Alfred Ed. (1992) *Americas: New Interpretive Essays*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Sternbach, Nancy Saporta, Marysa Navarro-Aranguren, Patricia Chuchryk, and Sonia E. Alvarez (1992) "Feminisms in Latin America: From Bogatá to San Bernardo." *SIGNS*. 17(2):393-434.
- Stone, Merlin (1984) *Ancient Mirrors of Womanhood: A Treasury of Goddess and Heroine Lore from Around the World*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Tanner, Leslie Ed. (1971) *Voices from Women's Liberation*. New York.
- Todorov, Tzvetan (1984) *The Conquest of America*. New York: Harper Row.
- Torres, Lourdes (1991) "The Construction of the Self in U.S. Latina Autobiographies." *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*. C. Mohanty, A. Russo, and L. Torres Eds. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

- Touraine, Alain (1981) *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- ____ (1988) *The Return of the Actor*. Minneapolis: University of Minneapolis Press.
- ____ (1992) "Beyond Social Movements?" *Theory, Culture, and Society* 9:125-145.
- Turner, Ralph H. (1972) *Collective Behaviour*. Eglewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Turner, Terisa Ed. (1993) *Arise Ye Mighty People!* Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, Inc.
- Turner, Terisa (1993) "Rastafari and the new society." *Arise Ye Mighty People!* T. Turner Ed. Trenton NJ: Africa World Press, Inc.
- Vargas, Virginia (1992) "The Feminist Movement in Latin America: Between Hope and Disenchantment." *Development and Change* 23(3):195-214.
- Vilas, Carlos M. (1993) "The Hour of Civil Society." *NACLA: Report On The Americas* 23(2):38-42.
- Walker, Alice (1983) *In Search of Our Mother's Gardens*. New York: Harcourt, Brace, Jovanovich.
- Westwood, Sallie and Sarah A. Radcliffe (1993) "Gender, Racism And The Politics Of Identities In Latin America." *'VIVA': Women and Popular Protest in Latin America*. S. Radcliffe and S. Westwood Eds. London: Routledge.
- Wollstonecraft, Mary (1988) *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*. Second Ed. New York: Norton.
- Young, Kate, Carol Wolkowitz, and Roslyn McCullagh Eds. (1984) *Of Marriage and the Market*. 2nd Edition. London: Routledge.
- Young, Kate (1988) "Gender and Development: A Relational Approach." Paper Presented at CCIC.
- Zaretsky, Eli (1973) "Capitalism, the Family, and PersonalLife." *Socialist Revolution*. Part 1, no. 13-14, January-April, and Part 2, no. 15, May-June.