

Reconsidering Autonomy:
A Comparison of
Women's Organizations
in Nicaragua and El Salvador



Maggie Jacoby
Comparative Politics
Paul Dosh
May 8, 2009

Introduction

At first glance, Nicaragua and El Salvador have parallel histories for the past thirty years. The 1970s and earlier decades were characterized by violent and undemocratic regimes. The 1980s saw civil war as leftist groups opposed the ruling right. Both countries tentatively established democratic governments with a general degree of success in the early 1990s. In terms of women's organizing, Nicaragua and El Salvador also seem relatively similar. Women actively participated in the civil wars, made famous by images of women in military fatigues carrying weapons. Women also formed organizations to advocate for a wide range of gendered causes. Although these superficial similarities are not inaccurate, a closer examination highlights the differences in history that affected the women's organizations structure and success.

The central historical difference between Nicaragua and El Salvador occurred in the 1980s. The Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN)¹ of Nicaragua, a leftist revolutionary movement, ran the government for a decade through a civil war. On the other hand, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (FMLN) of El Salvador was never in control of the government. This difference accounts for some divergences in history of women's organizations in the two countries, however there are many more similarities.

In this paper I will argue that although autonomy is important for women's organizations, a healthy relationship with the ruling government is essential. The success of women's organizations in Nicaragua and El Salvador has depended on their relationship with the state. I will base this argument in civil society theory of Michael

¹ See Figure 1 for a complete list of acronyms used.

Walzer, which emphasizes the importance of the responsiveness of the state to the success of civil society. To prove my argument I will use examples from the early 1990s through current times to illustrate the effects of (semi) autonomy on women's movements. This will include organizing around elections and specific campaigns for women's rights.

Civil Society Theory

Civil society is a broad category that encompasses a variety of ideological, faith, and interest based organizations that people willingly join. Michael Walzer advocates an inclusive civil society not limited by politics or ideology. However, he warns against anti-political tendencies and emphasizes that it is necessary for associations in civil society to work with agencies of state power. This is why "...the collapse of totalitarianism is empowering for the members of civil society...because it renders the state accessible" (Walzer 1992, 103). Hannah Pallmeyer also puts forth this argument that civil society organizations need to enter into a partnership with the government to accomplish goals (2009, 58). She adds that the relationship of organizations and the state is not one sided (2009, 58).

If the state is unwilling to initiate cooperative ventures with civil society organizations that supercede traditions of corporatism, then it is up to civil society organizations to engage with the state and establish boundaries that guarantee them some degree of autonomy while ensuring that they do not become isolated from the state. Organizations that over-value autonomy are often excluded from the state through vertical isolation.

The effectiveness of civil society is greatly dependent on the political setting. A democratic and open civil society requires a democratic state and a strong civil society requires a strong and responsive state. This so-called paradox of the civil society argument, as coined by Walzer, emphasizes the interdependence of civil society and the

state. Civil society will not succeed in a totalitarian government. It will also not get many demands met in an unresponsive, nominally democratic government such as the ones in Nicaragua and El Salvador.

This civil society paradox will shape my argument about the importance of the relationship between the state and women's groups, which are an active part of civil society. Many of the women's groups that will be mentioned in this paper have struggled with autonomy, but I will attempt to show that strict autonomy from political parties is often impossible if concrete legislative measures need to be passed. Alliances, even if temporary, are generally effective at accomplishing goals of women's organizations. Before exploring the relationships of women's organizations from the 1990s to the present, a brief background history on the revolutionary governments and early women's organizations in Nicaragua and El Salvador is necessary.

Background History

Nicaragua has a long history of military dictatorship. The Somoza family ruled Nicaragua from 1936 until the revolution of 1979. In 1979, the FSLN took over rule of the country after a revolution, but not without opposition. Throughout most of the 1980s, Nicaragua was embroiled in a civil war between the FSLN and the contras, a group of rightist opponents supported by the United States. Although war stymied many of the projects the FSLN wanted to implement, it devoted some resources to women.

The FSLN established the Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (AMNLAE) to coordinate women's work and issues.² The FSLN controlled the agenda of AMNLAE, which greatly limited the organization's ability to promote

² See Table 1 for a summary of dependent and autonomous organizations covered in this paper.

progressive politics. However, AMNLAE was successful at mobilizing women and expanding their opportunities for political involvement (Metoyer 2000, 29). In 1985, AMNLAE redefined its mission to build women's movements, not to simply be a membership group for the FSLN. Although AMNLAE began to distance itself from the FSLN, the two were still tightly connected because of the single-party government. The FSLN was the main political party at the time and AMNLAE relied on it for both resources and legitimacy. The end of the civil war and the subsequent loss of the FSLN resulted in a new political landscape in which groups in civil society such as AMNLAE could shift their strategies and allegiances.

El Salvador has also experienced long periods of military rule. Civil war raged during the period of 1980-1992 between the military junta and the FMLN. There was never a clear winner, rather the fighting stopped with the Chapultepec Peace Accords in 1992. The FMLN was an alliance between five leftist groups, most of whom started women's organizations. However, other women's organizations developed at this point that were not a direct part of the FMLN, although they might have been allied.

The women's groups started by the various parties of the FMLN were intended as a place for revolutionary organizing. These groups, such as the Association of Women of El Salvador (AMES), were used to attract unincorporated women into the larger FMLN cause (Shayne 2004, 47). Each party in the FMLN formed a women's organization in the late 1970s or early 1980s and strictly controlled its agenda and goals. This also shows the early existence of sectarianism in politics in El Salvador that continues to define the political landscape. Instead of having one effective women's organization for the FMLN, five groups existed to carry out the individual needs of the parties. It should be noted that

although these groups were not autonomous, this represents a significant shift towards acceptance of women's organizations and issues in El Salvador. The women who organized in AMES had no other option but to work from within the FMLN structure because of the unstable political situation and limited precedence for women's organizing.

In the second half of the 1980s new types of women's organizations began to form in El Salvador with a decisively more feminist position. The groups focused on specific issues such as domestic violence, indigenous rights, and student organizing. Although they were clearly limited by the continuing civil war and alliances with the left, this period was productive for women's groups in civil society. The organization Women for Dignity and Life (DIGNAS) was formed by the FMLN in 1989 to create a new framework for women's issues. Mérida Anaya Montes Women's Movement (MAM) was founded right after the end of the civil war by women who had been in the FMLN. MAM has a highly unique relationship with the FMLN, which will be elaborated on later. In summary, this second wave of women's organizations had greater autonomy because they were not directly under the FMLN, but they were limited in their actions because of the political situation. The FMLN was focusing on winning the civil war, so women's organizations were thought of as support groups for the war, not autonomous groups fighting for gender specific issues.

As seen in the above section, Nicaragua and El Salvador have relatively parallel histories in the 1980s in many ways. Many of the women's organizations were products of the leftist political parties because of their shared ideology and membership. However, women's organizations in El Salvador could organize in the late 1980s without

direct connection to the FMLN, whereas women's organizations in Nicaragua remained tied to the ruling FSLN throughout the 1980s. In the next section I will discuss the period of transition that occurred after the civil wars in which women's groups began a process of becoming autonomous.

Early Struggles for Autonomy

In Nicaragua multi-party presidential elections were held in 1990. The FSLN lost to the UNO coalition, a grouping of many diverse opposition parties. Violeta Chamorro, a rightist, won the presidency. She vowed to unite the country again by emphasizing tradition and to rescue the failing economy through a set of rigid neo-liberal policies. These policies included cutting many social services, which opened that sector to NGOs and other women's organizations (Pallmeyer 2009, 17). This period resulted in dramatic political shifts from the leftist policies of the FSLN to the conservative policies of Chamorro. It was also a period of change for women's organizations that had long been tied to the FSLN because of its ruling position. Once this changed, women's organizations had the opportunity to explore possibilities for autonomy.

No longer was AMNLAE the only location for women to organize in Nicaragua. The FSLN's loss provided the opportunity for women to splinter off and to create new women's organizations that focused on one specific issue (Metoyer 2000, 102). This splintering of women's organizations is similar to what occurred in El Salvador in the late 1980s as mentioned in the previous section. AMNLAE was also weakened because it lost funding from the FSLN. This transition period shows the extent to which women's organizations were dependent on the state and the downside to this. The transition was not a negative for the entire women's movement, however.

Leftist women who were not actively involved in AMNLAE took the opportunity to form new organizations, as mentioned above. This is seen most clearly with the Festival of the Fifty-Two Percent, which was held in March of 1991, the year following the presidential elections that unseated the FSLN. The festival was simply a declaration of an independent feminist movement in opposition to AMNLAE. It represented a clear break from the AMNLAE because it was held only a few miles from a national congress hosted by AMNLAE (Kampwirth 2004, 56). Meanwhile, the national congress of AMNLAE made a series of decisions to maintain their organizational structure, which was greatly closed off from most women. The division of AMNLAE and autonomous feminists represents a rejection of the top-down model of organizations that existed under the FSLN. This style of organization would prove to be lasting.

In El Salvador, the end of the civil war came in 1992 and many women found themselves being forced back into their pre-war positions. Women who were active in women's organizations under the FMLN during the war took this opportunity to continue their advancements. Now that there was a semblance of peace, women had the opportunity to reevaluate their position in the FMLN and their experiences during the war. Julie Shayne argues that active participation in the war revolutionized many women, who went on to become active in women's organizations (2004, 63). During this period of peace, women took the opportunity to break away from the political parties under the FMLN. The first group to do this was DIGNAS.

As mentioned previously, DIGNAS was started by the FMLN to further their political goals. However, after only a few years in existence the women supposedly leading DIGNAS kept running into conflicts with the FMLN leadership. This prompted a

period of reflection in the early 1990s that was also encouraged by a visit from Mexican feminists who came for a series of training sessions (Shayne 2004, 51). DIGNAS eventually split from the FMLN in 1992 in order to pursue issues and an organizing style that was their own, not from the FMLN. The women in DIGNAS began to realize that in many cases Salvadoran women had more in common than just leftist women. The women wanted to leave behind the sectarian tendencies of the left in order to incorporate a large and diverse group of women. This ended up causing some tension with women who wanted to carry out actions focused on popular struggle, not feminism (Shayne 2004, 53).

The women in DIGNAS initially focused on projects to assist women in the economic realm, but switched to broader coalition building activities and specifically women's issues such as domestic violence. This was a strategically beneficial decision on the part of the members of DIGNAS because broader campaigns that included women in the right wing and in government enabled them to have a more significant impact on advancing women's issues. Working on local economic issues was important, but it was quite narrow in scope and could only help a very limited number of women. Later I will discuss one of the main campaigns that DIGNAS was involved in about child support that included an alliance with the government.

This period of adjustment after civil war to peacetime resulted in dramatic shifts for women's organizations. The type of government had a significant impact on the structure and often the success of women's organizations. These early examples also show the roots of the complicated relationships between the state and civil society. It should start to be clear that autonomy is often the desired goal of many women's

organizations, but this is not always the best method for accomplishing concrete goals.

The next section will explore the tentative development of coalitions in women's organizations.

The 1990s: Elections and Government Coalitions

After initial experiments in autonomy, many women's organizations in Nicaragua and El Salvador adopted limited autonomy by building coalitions with other groups and, most importantly, the government. This is a significant occurrence because of the distrust held by many women's organizations towards the government due to its rigid and controlling leftist structure of the 1980s. This section will feature examples of organizing around elections and specific cases of temporary coalitions with the government.

As mentioned before, the women's movement in Nicaragua experienced a schism between the AMNLAE and the autonomous feminists. The autonomous feminists (and some not so autonomous) formed the National Women's Coalition in 1995, which united women from a wide range of ideological, social, and political backgrounds (Blandón 2001, 115). The coalition also included political leaders of all backgrounds, which is indicative of the major development that the Coalition represents. The Coalition focused on democratization and women's impact on it, but also was involved in more direct actions that targeted the government.

In 1996, only one year after its formation, the Coalition formulated a set of demands called the Minimum Agenda that was presented to the political parties before the presidential elections. The Minimum Agenda was an attempt to "...construct better means of communication between civil society and the state, to ensure that public policies responded to women's concerns" (Blandón 2001, 120). It included sections on

ethical framework, politics and the state, socio-cultural issues, economics, and labor legislation. Three political parties agreed to the Minimum Agenda, the FSLN, the MRS, and PRONAL. This represents a significant advancement in a few ways. First, women from diverse political backgrounds met and agreed on a list of demands, which would have been impossible less than a decade earlier. Also, political parties acknowledged and responded to their demands.

Despite these advancements, it was not an overall success. Arnolando Alemán of the Liberal Alliance who won the election refused to sign the agenda or even meet with women from the Coalition (Kampwirth 2004, 69). This entrance into the political world from an outsider's position was clearly a lesson for the feminists who had long been under the wing of the FSLN. A highly independent civil society was a clear disadvantage in this instance. Despite a lack of significant advancement, the action of the Women's Coalition represents the beginning of a developing relationship between the state and women's organizations in Nicaragua. This development of coalitions also can be found to some degree in El Salvador.

In 1994 the newly autonomous women's movement in El Salvador organized a diverse electoral coalition entitled Mujeres '94. Similar to the National Women's Coalition in Nicaragua, Mujeres '94 included women from across the spectrum of politics that united around the idea of women's rights. Mujeres '94 presented a platform to the presidential candidates written by thirty-two organizations that called for a range of reforms of land ownership, employment, health, domestic violence, and communication (Shayne 2004, 50). However, unlike the National Women's Coalition of Nicaragua, this was a temporary coalition focused on a single election. This can be accounted for

because of many Salvadorans' distrust of a top-down, permanent organization. Overall, *Mujeres '94* illustrates the ability of Salvadoran women to control an autonomous organization while working with the government to insure that concrete advancements are made. Both the Nicaraguan and Salvadoran examples also show how much more women's organizations were able to accomplish because of the relative openness of the state as compared to its inaccessibility during the 1980s.

The early ventures into coalition building that occurred during elections were successful, but struggled because of their very general demands. As women's organizations became more sophisticated and used to working in a political situation where they were outsiders, they achieved more concrete results. In Nicaragua, this can be seen with the Women's Network Against Violence. This group was founded in 1992 during the swell of issue-based women's organizations. Violence towards women is a pervasive issue in Nicaragua, so this women's organization had a fighting chance at uniting a diverse and substantial portion of the population. The Network managed to form alliances with churches, police, and even the media. Groups throughout the country have formed to focus on different aspects of education, prevention, and treatment of violence towards women.

The Women's Network Against Violence has been successful at mobilizing the population. It worked to collect signatures in order to persuade the Chamorro government to ratify laws protecting women. As Metoyer points out, laws are not sufficient in eliminating all domestic violence, but this is a significant step in addressing the issue (2000, 109). By maintaining its autonomy in order to direct its own programs, the Network created a diverse way to combat violence against women. It has also made

sure to engage the government in its actions by including the police and appealing directly to politicians for change in the form of petitions and lobbying. This connection of government to civil society is much more effective than grassroots organizing alone.

In El Salvador, coalition building between women's organizations and the legislature followed a similar pattern to Nicaragua. Women's organizations are typically made up of left wing women, which limits the possible issues upon which coalitions can be formed with right-wing women in the legislature. This generally excludes highly partisan issues like abortion, sexuality, and economics. Instead, women's organizations have focused on more cross-partisan, cross-economic class issues such as domestic violence and child support (Hipsler 2001, 154).

In 1996 a coalition of autonomous and semi-autonomous women's organizations and right-wing women in the legislature united to pass the Non-Arrears Bill. The Bill required political candidates to prove they were not behind on child-support payments. The Association of Mothers Seeking Child Support (AMD), an autonomous group, worked with the semi-autonomous Mélida Anaya Montes Women's Movement (MAM) to bring the Bill to the Assembly. MAM has an independent structure, but still maintains some ties to the FMLN. In addition, many of its members are actively involved in the Salvadoran government. This combination of grassroots organization through the AMD and insider government knowledge from the MAM proved potent in passing the Non-Arrears Bill.

The AMD provided the grassroots support and pressure necessary to get the attention and demand action from the *machista* environment of the Assembly (Shayne 2004, 56). The MAM provided entrance to the Assembly for women's organizations that

would otherwise be excluded. As Julie Shayne phrases it, "...the MAM serves somewhat as the institutional anchor to the Salvadoran feminist movement" (2004, 58). A member of MAM and member of the Assembly introduced the Non-Arrears Bill and other MAM/Assembly members helped guide it through the voting procedures (Ready 2001, 184). The Bill successfully passed and forced high-ranking men in the right wing party ARENA to pay back child support payments. It is unlikely that AMD or the MAM could have succeeded without the other, which emphasizes the importance of cooperation between autonomous groups in civil society and the government. The entire process was similar to the case of Nicaragua, except for the longevity of the coalitions. As with the election coalitions, these were intended to only be temporary relationships in El Salvador although they set a precedent for future collaborations.

The Struggle for Women's Rights Despite Increasing Anti-Feminism

Women's organizations continue to be a potent political player in Nicaragua and El Salvador, but they have recently lost ground on securing access to abortion. The Anti-feminist movement started in the 1990s and gained strength and influence in the past decade. It defines itself as a pro-life, pro-family movement, but in actuality it is more of a negative reaction to the feminist movement (Kampwirth 2006, 75). In Nicaragua it comprises significantly fewer organizations than the feminist movement, around nine compared to the hundreds of feminist organizations (Kampwirth 2006, 75). Despite the relatively small size of the anti-feminist movement, it is quite powerful and successful because of its unity and strong ties to the state (Kampwirth 2008, 128).

In Nicaragua, abortion is completely illegal. This is a relatively new and dramatic shift in abortion policy. Therapeutic abortion to save the mother's life was legalized in

the late 19th century. Under the Sandinistas abortion was not made legal, but no women who had abortions faced arrest. This began to change under the presidency of Violeta Chamorro, who took an anti-feminist perspective. In this changing political climate, anti-feminist groups started to form. In 2006, a presidential election year, anti-feminist groups mounted a campaign against therapeutic abortion. An organizing coalition was formed among leaders of Evangelism, Catholicism, anti-feminist groups, and the government Ministry of the Family (Kampwirth 2008, 129). This collaboration between anti-feminist, religious, and state organizations was completely successful in abolishing therapeutic abortion because of the support of government ministries.

The victory of the anti-feminists begs the question why the feminist movement did not mobilize effectively against this threat? The answer to this is relatively complicated, but one of the most significant factors is the isolation of women's organizations from the state. Women's organizations have become increasingly alienated in recent years from the FSLN, which has become less revolutionary and much more in tune with mainstream politics (Kampwirth 2008, 127). As mentioned in previous sections of this paper, women's organizations have managed to form some alliances with the government, but they are usually short-lived and based on less divisive issues. In this case it seems clear that a deteriorated relationship with the state greatly hindered the women's organizations' ability to counteract anti-feminism. It should be noted that autonomy in this case allowed women's organizations to take such an unpopular position on abortion, but it also resulted in exclusion from legislative debates and decisions.

In El Salvador there was a similar shift to anti-feminism that also resulted in a complete ban on abortion. Like Nicaragua, therapeutic abortion was legal. In 1997 the

penal code underwent a full revision and this clause became the center of an extensive debate. Feminists and left-wing politicians (mostly women) united to oppose anti-feminists and right-wing politicians who wanted to make therapeutic abortion illegal. As in Nicaragua, anti-feminists in El Salvador succeeded by organizing a greater number of supporters both in and out of the government (Hipsher 2001, 158). This example emphasizes the benefits of women's organizations having a working relationship with the government. It should also be a lesson for women's organizations to engage the state even if it resists. This initiative from civil society organizations is key in their success. It should be noted that the overall shift towards anti-feminism in both Nicaragua and El Salvador is also strongly tied to politics and religion, but the scope of this paper is limited to women's organizations.

Conclusion

Women's organizations in Nicaragua and El Salvador have gone through a period of immense growth and development since the early 1990s. The revolutions that occurred in both countries during the 1980s created the opportunity for women's organizations to form, although they were not autonomous from the revolutionary political parties. When the civil wars came to an end, most women's organizations found themselves excluded from the changing political landscape. Most organizations took this challenge as an opportunity to develop autonomously after years of control by political parties.

As mentioned throughout this paper, the forced autonomy that came at the end of the civil wars for women's organizations was both exciting and beneficial to exploring new areas of activism, but limited effectiveness. In both countries, women's

organizations in civil society were most effective when alliances were made with the government or government agencies. A clear example of this is the election campaigns staged by women's organizations, which made a small impact as compared to coalitions with right wing politicians to pass laws against domestic violence and in favor of responsible child support, which were quite successful. Civil society is much more capable of having a wide and effective impact when the state is involved in some capacity.

The final example of anti-feminism and anti-abortion is key in understanding the downside of autonomy for women's organizations. Autonomous women's organizations were very isolated from the legislative proceedings and were incapable of effectively pressuring the government. Granted, it is unlikely that dependent women's organizations could have stopped anti-abortion measures. However, a closer working relationship between the state and women's organizations fostered over time could have prevented such a dramatic shift in abortion policy.

These examples seem to suggest that despite the varying outcomes of the civil wars (FSLN rule during the 1980s, FMLN never in power), the trajectory of women's organizations in Nicaragua and El Salvador has been relatively similar. Alliances with the government have been rare or very limited in scope, which has negatively impacted efforts to influence countrywide politics. When meaningful alliances have occurred, they have generally been successful. Although women's groups in El Salvador have traditionally avoided long-term alliances because of the history of sectarianism, organizations in Nicaragua have not made significantly more alliances. The return to

power of both the FSLN and the FMLN in 2006 and 2009, respectively, enables a further comparison of women's organizations in these two countries in the future.

Table 1: Tracking Autonomy and Dependency

Level of autonomy and representative organizations in El Salvador and Nicaragua

	El Salvador	Nicaragua
Civil War 1980s	Dependent AMES, DIGNAS	Dependent AMNLAE
Transition Early 1990s	Autonomous DIGNAS (new structure)	Autonomous Festival of 52%
Early Coalitions Mid 1990s	Autonomous with temporary state interaction Mujeres '94	Autonomous with state interaction National Women's Coalition
Issue-based Coalitions Later 1990s	Autonomous/semi-autonomous with state coalitions AMD, MAM: Non-Arrears Bill	Autonomous with state coalitions Women's Network Against Violence: domestic violence
Emergence of Anti-feminism 1990s-present	Autonomous No oppositional group	Autonomous No oppositional group

Figure 1: Acronym List

AMD: Association of Mothers Seeking Child Support (Asociacion de Madres Demandantes)

AMES: Association of Women of El Salvador (Asociación de Mujeres El Salvador)

AMNLAE: Luisa Amanda Espinoza Association of Nicaraguan Women (Asociación de Mujeres Nicaragüenes Luisa Amanda Espinoza)

DIGNAS: The Women for Dignity and Life (Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida)

FMLN: Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front (Frente Farabundo Martí para la Liberación Nacional)

FSLN: Sandinista National Liberation Front (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional)

MAM: Mélida Anaya Montes Women's Movement (Movimiento de Mujeres Mélida Anaya Montes)

References

- Babb, Florence E. 2001. *After Revolution: Mapping Gender and cultural Politics in Neoliberal Nicaragua*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
- González, Victoria and Karen Kampwirth (Eds.). 2001. *Radical Women in Latin America: Left and Right*. University Park, PA: the Pennsylvania State University Press
- Kampwirth, Karen. 2008. "Abortion, Antifeminism, and the Return of Daniel Ortega: In Nicaragua, Leftist Politics?" *Latin American Perspectives*, Vol. 35, No. 6 (November): 122-136.
- Kampwirth, Karen. 2006. "Resisting the Feminist Threat: Antifeminist Politics in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua." *NWSA Journal*, Vol. 18, No. 2 (Summer): 73-100.
- Kampwirth, Karen. 2004. *Feminism and the Legacy of Revolution: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas*. Athens, OH: Ohio University Press.
- Kumar, Krishna (Ed.). 2001. *Women and Civil War: Impact, Organizations, and Action*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Luciak, Ilja A. 1998. "Gender Equality and Electoral Politics on the Left: A Comparison of El Salvador and Nicaragua." *Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs*, Vol. 40, No. 1: 39-66.
- Metoyer, Cynthia Chavez. 2000. *Women and the State in Post-Sandinista Nicaragua*. London: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Mouffe, Chantal (Ed.). 1992. *Dimensions of Radical Democracy: Pluralism, Citizenship, Community*. London: Verso.
- Pallmeyer, Hannah. 2009. *Beyond Corporatism and Liberalism: State and Civil Society in Cooperation in Nicaragua*. Macalester College.
- Shayne, Julie. 2004. *The Revolution Question: Feminisms in El Salvador, Chile, and Cuba*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.