

# 琉球大学学術リポジトリ

## ラテンアメリカのフェミニズムの作図法的考察

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## Cartographies upon Latin American Feminism<sup>1)</sup>

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### 1. First Things First

Following the tracks of what Edward Said wrote many years ago in *Orientalism*,<sup>2)</sup> Chandra Talpade Mohanty made a very clarifying analysis of the concept “Third World Women.”<sup>3)</sup> *Mutatis mutandis*, I can borrow her considerations to apply her analysis to the “Latin American Women” concept in order to avoid inconvenient ontologizations or standardizations. As it is well known, Latin America is a large and multicultural continent with different socio-historical, legal, and economic realities, populations, geographies, and cultural bases.<sup>4)</sup> Briefly, Mohanty denounced the false neutrality and objectivity that hegemonic discourses assume, including feminist ones, to critically revise what “difference” means in postmodern discourses. Mohanty carefully established a pattern still useful in considering transnational and transborder feminisms as a common Latin American Project built beyond cultural, social, and political borders as we face at least a hegemonic language (Spanish), religion (Catholic or Christian dissidents), and some crucial economic problems. These three most largely shared components set the illusion of homogeneity, underneath which lies a plurality of native languages, religions, ethnicities, and customs pushing to emerge and claim recognition. As Mohanty points out, the concept “Third World Women” results from hegemonic feminisms, which construct a monolithic, sexually repressed, bound-to-tradition, and illiterate woman in contrast to a modern, autonomous, first-world (feminist) one. In doing so, some Western feminists appropriate the “Third World Woman,” thus assuming the underlying presuppositions of the universality of patriarchy (even its ways) and of traditional feminine submission. Mohanty describes global sorority as an allegory of global cultural alterity. Thus, she considers allegories as a moment of textual self-reflexivity, i.e., a point at which a text calls attention to itself as such, a significant moment that involves a text making a reading of a theme in itself and so calling attention to its own reading process. In this understanding the *alter* is always enigmatic, undifferentiated, and has to be “heard” or “read” rather than explored and classified in order to avoid the risk of essentialism. The latter makes Mohanty point

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at a qualitative different space, which, on the one hand, preserves the dichotomy One/Other—and the search for recognition—and, on the other, sets the basis for self-recognition and cultural positivity. Against ethnocentric biases, Mohanty calls for analysis under specific conditions, carefully defined, contextualized, where women could interact as a social-political group, one historically and culturally situated. Consequently, there is a need to avoid not only hegemonic First World male discourse of subalternity but also the many ways Third World Women are considered exotic, folk, naïve, or “natural.”

On the contrary, Mohanty defends a complex version of Third World Women, one that implies cautious awareness of the differences and of the global-local tension, as well as of the political and strategic uses of the label “Third World Women” or, in our case, “Latin American Women.” I am interested in reinforcing the concept of this labeling as a political construct that is broadly open and ready for changes and far away from essentializing tendencies. It is always necessary to take into account a variety of interactions, meaning economy, labour forces, cultural values, and so on, to understand Latin American Women in a social, not isolated, process that interacts with global forces far out of control. One of the answers to this process is migration to Europe, the United States, or Latin America’s most stable countries, with its implicit escape from wars and poverty.

Saskia Sassen enforces this argument as she links processes that are usually considered separately. First, she bonds the economic process of globalization with the gender-ethnicity bias. As Ochy Curiel, Silvia Rivera Cusicanqui, Gladys Tzul Tzul, Dina Mazariegos, and María Eugenia Choque-Quispe—among many others—have pointed out, the ethno-race intersection is significant in understanding the feminization of the working force. This, as we will explore further on, also has to do with the racialization of poverty. The logics of global topology interweave migrations with racial conditions, resulting in a so-called pigmentocratic route of poverty, cheap handworkers, and women.<sup>5)</sup> So I justify the use of Latin America Women in order to make visible this group of women, underlining at the same time its strategic use and emphasis. Thus, the aim is to work on the construction of “imagined communities,” building a complex concept upon a non-homogeneous variety of women.

Briefly, Mohanty welcomes a complex and non-stable equilibrium, a long way from either possible pole: on the one hand, a largely atomistic group; on the other, an undifferentiated organic and substantive collective. In the middle space, Latin American Women have to be open to an alternative area of ambiguity, neither to be normalized nor to be excluded or ignored.<sup>6)</sup> Under the law that conforms our modern states since the Independence Wars in the 19th century, a non-homogeneous population of Latin American Women searches for its rights.

## **2. The Social and the Political**

The distinction between the material plurality of nations, i.e., of the people, cultures

and languages that constitute them, and the Law that conforms the State in its modern sense, takes me to Hannah Arendt's philosophy and her distinction between the social and the political respectively. In a substantial article entitled "Reflections on Little Rock" (1958), Arendt examined the riots arising from ethnic violence that took place in that city in the United States and discerns the social from the political: "discrimination" from "segregation."

Let me start with the latter concept. By segregation, Arendt meant the result of a formal-legal inequity, i.e., that governed by "the Law" in the sense used in the segregationist Nuremberg Laws (1919). As a matter of fact, because in their universality, laws conform and define the public-political space, those laws that violate that same principle "segregate," "exclude" *ad-hoc*, segments of the population. At the same time, that public-political space is the argumentative space of factual truth. This does not imply that Arendt understands truth as a form of objective certainty, valid and immutable. Instead, she sees truth as linked to the "argumentative principle" that corresponds to contingent facts narrated in the public sphere and traversed by a valid discourse of what, in other words, is accepted by everyone or the majority.

This concept is a form of political experience, defined by Arendt as historical spheres that have to be admitted as such. Then, the term public implies that "everything that appears in public can be seen and heard by everybody and has the widest possible publicity," and later she adds, "the term *public* signifies the world itself, in so far as it is common to all of us and distinguished from our privately owned place in it." This is the field that Arendt links with the truth that is legitimately approved and accepted in the realm of human affairs, these being closely connected to political power, but not overlapping with "opinion." Opinion emerges as a belief out of the possibility of free deliberation as both action and argumentation.

Although "persuasion and violence can destroy the truth but they cannot replace it," it is there that the forces of discrimination operate. On the contrary, opinion, the private, what we keep as a preconception abstracted from the public debate, belongs to "discrimination." Discrimination permeates the socio-cultural level and covers factual truth.

Now, considering the explicit declarations of "universality" and "equality" in our state constitutions (the law conforming modern states), the first strategy employed by women and indigenous peoples of Latin America was to demand the annulations of every segregationist law, a task that is still being performed. The constitutional reforms of the last decades and the international pacts signed to give such reforms constitutional rank are the result of those public struggles. This means that from a position close to Arendt's, the existence of a conceptual meaning of "the public" and "the private" would be legitimized in terms of the testimonies that guarantee the moral denunciation of that factual and political truth, understood as action that is publicly shared and regulates human actions. When there is no such instance, violence makes itself manifest, which requires institutional regulation and its achievement.

If the sanctioning of universal and egalitarian laws reverses segregation, solving the

problem of discrimination (always following Arendt's distinction) is not so easy to reverse. The large variety of cultures, ethnic groups, languages, traditions, classes, and so on that are included in the same state makes it difficult to implement formal "equality," even as a concept or term to reach. These questions have prompted intense debates and large social movements, with varied results. Indigenous peoples, afro-descendants, and hegemonic groups have tried to negotiate their positions in search of satisfactory convergence and agreements. Economic and cultural factors, structural political dependence, and the north-south relationship, among others, are influential to the point that the modern state is seen as a collection of "promises," characteristic of the "white conquest and colonization," which, due to its own contradictions, cannot settle that same universality and equality that it promises. Within this frame, the appeal to the ethnic-cultural differences and to traditions leaves each woman trapped in a paradoxical situation: loyalty to the ethnic-culture vs. women's human rights in liberal terms, as proclaimed by the states. Several studies report the joint social and theoretical search for strategies that allow the reconciliation of both "horns of the dilemma."<sup>7)</sup>

### 3. Brief Presentation of Situated Knowledges

In previous articles, I have argued for the concept of "situated knowledges," which refers us to Donna Haraway's work.<sup>8)</sup> Haraway claims that *the canon is not innocent* but rather the result of a set of self-contained and formalized historical constructions in constant critical "power-sensitive" reinterpretation. This places scientists before the paradoxical dichotomy of either accepting the scientific canons that exclude them—and thus barring their own experiences, emotions, and marks—or on the contrary, assuming a displacement of hegemonic knowledges self-instituted as "objective." In other words, this displacement assumes the de-identification of the traditional axes of the "natural group"—in the case of Haraway, the canonical scientists, or to use Kuhn's terms, the paradigmatic scientists. It generates an alternative discourse that constitutes itself, on the one hand, into cognitive practice and "unexpected knowledge," and on the other hand, into the *conscience of eccentricity* and of change. In some sense, what I suggest as a methodology for the case of Latin American feminisms (tinged with Haraway's line of thought) is that same *ec-centric locus* that exchanges the "no objective place" for a "situated place." If male scientists and philosophers from the hegemonic centers have, with the historical exclusion of the voices of women and the periphery, built the vision, the experience, and the science in general, I accept with Donna Haraway the challenge of the situated knowledges.<sup>9)</sup>

To account for the concept, Haraway recovers what she names "an ambiguous place," which she uses metaphorically: the vision with its embodied nature; the vision from a *marked* body that supports it. That vision takes position and is thus significant to base an organized knowledge around its images. It is not relativist knowledge but a "situated" one. It is built from a politics of displacements, starting from hegemonic knowledges, and

is related to limited locations which allow us to see and respond about that which we learn to see, related to a place, a positioning, a placement, where partiality is precisely the condition for our propositions of rational knowledge to be put forward, understood, and solved.

As a personal variation, this is the method I suggest for my work, in which I also include the concept of “traffic of theories” as used by Claudia de Lima Costa.<sup>10)</sup> Actually, de Lima Costa underlines two questions which I judge vital: first, that the more abstracted the theories, the more easily they travel; second, that in their crossing territories, languages, countries, and local readings, theories are transformed, acquiring structural components of their own. For the Brazilian scholar, gender theory and feminism are two clear examples of this process since their categories of analysis are read and re-signified in several registers of abstraction. So jointly with Haraway’s situated knowledges, the displacements from the hegemonic centers favor processes that generate fragmented scenarios and contact zones which tense and interfere in the linear readings of the axis “center-periphery” or of the “border epistemologies.” Thus, the interpretation and reinterpretation of concepts involves the defense and development of the geopolitics—as a transnational ability—of gendered readings and writings. Curiously enough, in Spanish the word *translate* means “transfer,” “move,” and “transform.” The transfer-move-translation I propose is not limited to a linguistic fact; it aims at interpreting, enriching, and making choices. In short, my proposal argues for a policy of appropriation as a fundamental constituent of thought. I make a connection between another way of appropriation of significant events involving women and their classification in *waves*. Undoubtedly, these *waves* focus on the importance of events that are relevant to the centers of hegemonic power. That is, due to a question of cultural, discursive, and economic hegemony, they settle as axes along which Latin American countries (and others) lie. Therefore, we also seem to owe them theories. When we trace our own histories, we find out local events—prior or even unclassifiable—that have prompted movements of autonomous women, who do not borrow from the European or American thought or praxis. As an example, I point out Juana Inés de la Cruz and, more recently, women’s enfranchisement in Ecuador and Uruguay in 1932, before most European countries, which had to wait until the end of WWII. In the general interpretation of history, there is a categorial hegemony that makes both feminist theory and feminisms see us as hetero-designated, lacking legitimacy for a tradition of our own, always behind American or European movements. Celia Amorós sees this clearly: *Those that can, designate, not those that want*, which is exactly what the hegemonic power does.

#### **4. The Violence That Joins Us (and Its Overtones)**

What I have described so far is a set of tools and preconceptions which, one way or another, I put into play when I carry on my readings and writings. I also explained that, as with most of the theoretical developments that we Latin-American women have been car-

rying on, mine revolve around some serious problems we suffer jointly. As an example, I will make a brief and incomplete trajectory of the problem of violences. I use the plural form, as they obey a number of factors that should be described carefully, keeping alert and suspicious about the reductionist or simplifying explanations. I am certain that beyond the factors identified by the several theoreticians, others lurk unseen. The examples I have chosen do not respond to any pattern or theoretical hierarchy on violence; neither are they the most frequent. I have chosen them because wherever I go, they appear as daily and, may I use the term, familiar acts. Whole generations live with those and other similar forms of violence.

**a. Ethnic Matters**

Taking and adapting postcolonial thought, multicultural, and subaltern studies has contributed to the recovery and reconstruction of identity, opening up vast zones generally connected with memory and oral history. Thus, the intersections between ethnicity and gender are producing an important theoretical-practical radical movement claiming for indigenous peoples and/or afro-descendants, accounting for a multiplicity of forms of cultural syncretism.<sup>11)</sup> Awareness of this sort of cultural crossbreeding favors critical, careful, and decentered levels of analysis, which encourage a critical reflection upon each one's own culture. Even the variable "class," enriched by being crossed by ethnicity, makes it possible to see (and theorize) the pigmentocratic social systems. The addition of gender to those analyses opened up a wide scope of transversal inter- and intra-gender power relations.

Even more, rather than negating the law (and its supporting universalist philosophies), the claims posed by critical multiculturalism contributed to exhibiting the limits of the law, if not formal or legal ones, at least at the level of social enforcement, exposing the material mechanisms of exclusion.<sup>12)</sup>

That inadequacy becomes more forceful in the "ethnic question," which Gladys Tzul Tzul, when revising colonization from still available elements, calls "mass processes of enforced Christianization and occidentalization."<sup>13)</sup> While to some scholars these processes should be considered "part of the past history," others believe in the validity of the genocide and slavery that produced the conquest and colonization.<sup>14)</sup> Ethnic slaughter, the first victims of which are women, still takes place under different forms, from the massive felling of the Amazonian rainforest to the repression of some forms of "insurgency" claiming ancestral lands.<sup>15)</sup>

The visibilization of these issues partly results from the postmodern fragmentation of universalism and of the development of situated knowledges, although, as is known, there is a considerable distance between both positions.

Two fundamental lines are clearly visualized without diminishing many other ones we cannot trace in this presentation: on the one hand, the claims on the land by indigenous populations spread all over Latin America in varied density; and on the other, those by the afro-descendants, mainly in the Caribbean, Brazil, and Peru though present in all Amer-

ica. Differently, both lines show the need to intersect the categories of gender, ethnicity, and class because racist violence often falls on women's bodies, and sex-gender sororities are thwarted by class and ethnic solidarities. In whatever situation, even in those of extreme ethnic violence, women undergo processes of subjectivization, building not only life trajectories but also the most diverse strategies for resistance and transgression. This is illustrated in Dina Mazariegos' work on Mayan women in Guatemala.<sup>16)</sup> In that case, as in many others, women implemented strategies that led towards a deep personal transformation that, at the same time, became a paradigm for the next generations of Mayan women and for the Guatemaltecan society in general.

In fact, different forms of violence are held and promoted in family, work, economic, political, cultural, and institutional spaces. This situation is worsened by globalization, namely, physical, symbolic, moral, and economic violence, organized and perpetuated in the structures of the patriarchal, racist, and single-class system where segregation and discrimination constitute problems deeply rooted in a culture that even denies women the rights to their own bodies. Mazariegos analyzes the physical violence exercised on women during the long armed conflict that covered Guatemala in blood from 1962 to 1996. In her work, she clearly shows that violence on women operated as a governmental tool, control through fear. Militias, revolutionary guerrillas, paramilitary groups, and even simple gang members used massive rape to their personal and political benefit.<sup>17)</sup> Thus, the author uses concepts like, on the one hand, biopolitics and governmentality (Michel Foucault), and on the other, foundational and sustaining violence (Walter Benjamin) to throw light upon the general climate of impunity that held (and still holds) violence against women in Guatemala—one of the many examples that can be listed, in addition to Colombia, Mexico, and so on. Both under democratic governments and under military dictatorships, this “mechanism of control” was used, with variations, in other Latin American countries and in all their wars. Mazariegos underlines that beyond “the war ideology,” female sexuality became a symbolic space for political struggle, where “rape” and “civil defense patrols” were part of the same horror scenario, where the control over women's bodies was, by extension, the political control of “enemy” territories.

Whole populations were devastated by the addition of ethnicity and gender. However, as Mazariegos well shows in her work, women did not remain in their places as “victims.”<sup>18)</sup> Without leaving aside the analysis of the implications of violence and feminicide (in Marcela Lagarde's reconceptualization), her objective is to show that, even in the worst moments, women carved out alternative paths for continuing with their everyday lives, supporting their families (elderly members and children), and fighting for peace. That is to say, they turned their attention to the positive aspects of “the reconstruction of the self” and of “women's leadership in the peace processes.” Mazariegos lucidly displays women's resilience strategies, giving accounts of the debates around peace, and of women's active participation in the general process of pacifying and reconstruction.

That decentered vision also enables her to chart problems that, seen as marginal, are not generally taken into account. This attitude exemplifies, once more, how from the

margins emerge new visions that can change perspectives and their objects: emigration, monolingualism, family and community dismemberment, among others, account for women's building their identity "in the exile" of their own identities and places of origin; for "nomadic identities" in the way Rosi Braidotti considers them later. At the same time, by rebuilding themselves as social subjects, they contributed to reconstructing the networks of support for a crushed society, implementing ways to reinforce their own resistance and to fight for their rights, on the one hand, as the rights of all women and, on the other, as Mayans' rights. Yet still today, and although part of the country's economy is in their hands, for both sides of their struggle, Mayan women are underrepresented in government organisms and invisibilized in their contribution to everyday life and peace.

With femicide rates even higher than those in Mexico, Mayan women in Guatemala also suffer the highest levels of malnutrition and maternal mortality. They keep suffering serious problems in the exercise of their sexual and reproductive rights and, in general, they live in conditions of extreme poverty. Ethnic marks worsen this situation; so does globalization. The revaluation of their ethnic identity, together with the recovery of historical memory—including slavery and extermination—have thrown light upon modes of resistance, both active and symbolic, and of adaptation for the sake of survival, recuperating sites of emergency of what is new, in terms of contention networks and collective empowerment. The fragmentation of universal conceptions, the acceptance of postmodern deconstruction, the alert observation of differences (in many aspects and levels), declining to exclude *a priori* the other and his/her symbolic world, the awareness/acknowledgement that the "whites" are one more ethnic group among so many others; these are some of the fruitful contributions of a Latin American reading of the gender-ethnic intersection.

## **b. Femicide**

Two American scholars and activists, Jane Caputi and Diana Russell, coined the term *femicide* to name the murder of women because they are women.<sup>19)</sup> They developed the concept that today is translated into Spanish as *feminicidio*. The authors considered "women's murder" as the most extreme, though not the only, form of "sexist terrorism." It is just "the ultimate end of a *continuum* of terror" that starts in different ways (disqualifying, negation, insults) and extends to rape, torture, mutilation, sexual slavery, prostitution, incestuous and familial sexual abuse, physical and emotional battery, sexual harassment, genital mutilation, unnecessary gynecological operations, sterilization and/or forced motherhood, medical or aesthetic experimental surgery, unnecessary medication during deliveries, and a long *so on*. When any of those forms of exercising power results in death, a femicide has been committed.

The debates held at the Mexican Parliament by Marcela Lagarde<sup>20)</sup> on the violent massive murders of women in Ciudad Juárez (among others) led to the adaptation of the concept of *femicide* into the term *feminicide*, making a parallel between this term and *genocide* in the sense of "women's genocide." The aim was to expose the network of

murders committed against women, not individually now but as a vulnerable collective and bearer of “coded messages” between bands.<sup>21)</sup> The politicization of women’s murders exhibits the complex pattern underlying violence against women as a subtle network of power relations, interests, and social projections, to the point of using women’s bodies as “territories” where “encoded messages” are inscribed which reveal the power of, first, patriarchy, and secondly, drug dealers, military officers, and pimps.<sup>22)</sup> So in Spanish, *feminicidio* intended to highlight that it is not just the addition of female + homicide, i.e., not just the killing of a woman, but the murder of groups of women because they are women. Unfortunately, *feminicide* was coined after the massive murders of women like those in Ciudad Juárez. Though less well-known, there have also been feminicides in Guatemala, Colombia, and other areas where civil or drug wars claimed their victims mainly among girls, young women, and women.

Here lie three powers that act as mainstays giving each other support, namely, prostitution, drug trafficking, and slave-like maquila work, where women are the structural and systematic captives. Marcela Lagarde’s reports, among others, unveil the patriarchal solidarities of the State and its organisms. However, she points out that, as a joint strategy of the academy and political groups—in light of the idea that meaning is political—a concept was developed and instrumented. This concept became a key analytical category, beyond rhetoric, accounting for the situation of extreme subordination and vulnerability of women in which different power factors are strengthened, including the north-south axis.<sup>23)</sup>

Once more, the solidarity between women’s movements, the feminist movement, and theoreticians is at play since it has been necessary to provide conceptual tools for identifying, categorizing, describing, and formulating such cases in terms of crimes, and to do so meant going against patriarchal law and beyond traditional analysis. At the same time, women’s movements have given the problem global visibility through systematic denunciations and demonstrations, even at the risk of their members’ own lives. It was necessary to discern and legitimize the specificity of these crimes against the labels assigned to them in the criminal codes of most of our countries such as “crimes of passion,” “crimes of honor,” and/or “accidental deaths from quarrels.” Traditional (patriarchal) labels downplay the seriousness and specificity of the crime and, of course, the responsibility of the men involved, reversing the weight of the proof by questioning the victim’s “morality” instead of that of the perpetrators. Thus, women’s bodies are used to show control, coded messages, territorial marks, disciplining, and ostentatious display of power, alerting all and each woman about their vulnerability and the collective impunity.

### **c. Revolutionary Vanguard**

Most women in the revolutionary groups of the sixties and seventies later became members of the feminist movements. Besides the enriching effect of joining women’s movements in general, another perspective arises, one that is seldom referred to: “revolutionary vanguards” were *traditionally* patriarchal.

Women who took part in those revolutionary or national liberation movements actively engaged in a commitment that supposed their own liberation. However, as we are told, those organizations fighting for “the seizure of power” had a traditional conception of politics that, in fact, did not alter the power inequalities based on gender within their own organizations or the cells they generated.<sup>24)</sup> Latin American women in general were not alone in that confirmation, for over a century earlier, their elder sisters fighting for independence had already realized that the constitutions of the newly born nation-states did not acknowledge them as full citizens, repeating in turn what had happened to the French and other revolutionaries.<sup>25)</sup>

Jules Falquet analyzes the exclusion and the physical and symbolic violence against women in the guerrilla warfare and revolutionary groups by taking as an example El Salvador right after the long civil war of 1981–1992.<sup>26)</sup> By then, according to Falquet, women who pledged their commitment to deep social changes constituted a third of the guerrillas. Falquet’s aim is to explain why those women achieved relatively few benefits that would transform the Salvadoran patriarchal system despite having had a determined and enthusiastic participation in the liberation fight. To do so, she reckons the concept of “sexual division of labor” crucial for the analysis of the revolutionary processes.<sup>27)</sup>

Falquet argues that women taking part in the Salvadoran struggles for liberation believed they were “achieving their future and present liberation by assuming new responsibilities which had been first exclusively assigned to men.” Indeed, their active participation in the war transformed their everyday lives and even their personalities. But once the war was over, when partially leaving clandestine work, almost every woman felt she was pushed back home to her family and community duties. That turning point encouraged them to make an assessment of the war from their point of view and wonder, as women, if the war had been worth fighting, an assessment which clearly depended on variables such as social class, ethnic group, age, and family condition, among others. As pointed out by Falquet, the awareness fostered by the relevance of this question moved aside the problem of differences between women to open up a space for analysis of the sexual division between men and women and their commitments and achievements.

They agreed first to give visibility to their shared condition as women to support the development of a feminist movement, which “burst” as soon as the Peace Agreements were signed; once a civil society was reorganized, women saw the need to achieve ideological autonomy. By then, the *Association of Women for Dignity and Life*, (*Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida*, MDV), “Las Dignas,” started an original kind of work going from collective therapy to workshop with former combatant women.<sup>28)</sup> The aim was to visualize and heal the “invisible pain of the war,” whose effects had fallen mainly upon women, which encouraged them to make a critical analysis of what women in the guerrilla movement had lived. Despite the limits of both peace and the incipient democracy, a strong women’s movement developed with a feminist component, which, making a critical evaluation of the revolutionary process, concluded that “little emancipation” had been achieved by women.

Following Falquet's line of thought, the sexual division of labor, understood as a social power relation of men over women, defined the social sex/gender roles in the revolutionary struggle: men held for themselves the positions with strong added value (political, religious, military) while left for women what they kept considering to be "women's work." That is to say, in the sphere of revolutionary action, there can be identified an ideological continuum which determines factors and effects both liberating and alienating, especially upon the oppressed and specifically upon women.

Like in other revolutionary contexts, women found themselves excluded from the benefits accrued from the revolution they had supported, fought for, and in some cases, even given their lives for. Women did all kinds of tasks, but mainly in radio and communication, health services, education, and propaganda, tasks that, according to Falquet, placed them in the same areas they had been in before the war. Few women were only combatants, let alone commanders of fighting groups or camps, and only a small minority were involved in strategic leadership. Even those who reached a certain rank worked under male authority.<sup>29)</sup> Like in the European Wars, most women were in charge of monotonous and repetitive tasks in the field of infrastructure, services, and support. However, they were often in charge of highly dangerous jobs, like mine building or intelligence operations, but the clandestine and "domestic" character of those activities made women even more invisible, depriving them of public recognition and, consequently, of the potential benefits as "full time revolutionary workers."

Children are usually absent in military reports, but one record prepared in 2006 by *Las Dignas* indicated that by then 37,000 children born from time-of-war relationships had not been recognized by their fathers, often members of the revolutionary groups. In general, only about 10% of male combatants acknowledge paternity. This refers us to a systematic evasion of responsibilities such as support, supervision, medical care, school attendance requirements, etc., which binds the revolutionary women to the historical role of "woman-mother." As Gargallo underlines, the New Man was heralded in Latin America, whereas women, however more equally they might be treated, were still considered their appendages. When this was exposed, "women's rage against men" was disqualified by "saying that the patriarchal system they were denouncing was already fading away, and trying to introduce the worm of a 'new identity' in women."<sup>30)</sup>

In short, far from minimizing the efforts and achievements of revolutionary women, it has been my aim to show how, unlike men, women were deferred or forgotten when the time came to reap the benefits—either real or symbolic—of their commitment to the fight, which constitutes a surviving form of patriarchal violence.

#### **d. Globalization and Feminization**

Globalization, as it is well known, is a wide polysemantic concept that affects people's daily life in the field of economy. Taken as a process of expansion and intensification of economic power, at a global level, it places financial benefit above everything else. It justifies expansion by considering the world as only one space, blurring national frontiers,

a space in which goods are produced, obtained/bought, and commercialized. In the push for profits, it also justifies the defense of company interests, the transfer of industrial zones, and the division of production and crops in areas within the worldwide global space. From a different perspective, globalization dismantles the old-fashioned/conventional/established/orthodox factory model and also blurs the “natural places traditionally assigned to the sexes” because, while it empowers women in their struggles and calls for a more equal interaction, it causes the feminization of poverty, of the surviving networks, and of the non-hegemonic men. In this light, the “feminized male” means a factory or deregulated worker responding to new working models and social assemblages. Thus, in different ways and with different consequences, the crisis breaks with the figure of the worker-supplier male and the myth of the domestic female.<sup>31)</sup> In this section, I will only analyze the effects of deterritorialization and reterritorialization of production in trans-frontier circuits and their immediate consequences, namely, the feminization of the working force, the feminization of poverty, and paradoxically, that of the surviving networks,<sup>32)</sup> situations intensely present in Latin America, of which one component is “the maquila.”<sup>33)</sup>

The Uruguayan sociologist Silvia Fernandez Micheli has studied the working conditions in the maquilas. Usually located in the outskirts of a metropolis, maquilas provide “jobs” to women, young women, girls, and boys who are poor, do not have legal identity papers, are migrants, expelled from their own territories by poverty, famine, war, drug dealers, raids, anti-drug fumigations, the massive felling of the jungle, and so on. The work in the maquilas is characterized as being clandestine,<sup>34)</sup> which means working on the fringe of any labor law or vindication of rights. The interviews carried out by Micheli display an average of 30 hours of non-stop work, almost without food or cleaning. The report of these and other similar situations from judicial and official actions of the Labour Office are, in general, fruitless or counterproductive. If there is police intervention to check “the inhuman and unhealthy conditions” of the place, the place is closed down; that is, the labor source is closed—though it is usually reopened in a new basement nearby with new staff. Also, the undocumented immigrants are deported, the local workers are “questioned” for breaking the labor laws, minors are placed under judicial custody (usually in overpopulated correctional institutions designed for criminals, not for the poor), the goods are seized and taken to warehouses “in custody” until judicial auction years later (if not slowly disappearing by pilferage), and so on.

As Micheli underlines, it is a right and a form of active resistance to denounce the labor conditions of oppression and exclusion as forms of violence, in first person, which is translated in the need of acknowledgement as a collective oppressed. The denunciation exhibits certain modes of production and exploitation, often patriarchal ones, yet what becomes explicit is the network of active solidarity among women as a way of survival. For instance, the elder women take the children and take care of them while the younger ones emigrate to work in legal jobs, sending sums of money back home to their families; those women who dare denounce usually have to hide at other women’s houses for fear of retaliation. However, for this solidarity to rise, it is first necessary for the individuals to

gain awareness of their own potentialities, i.e., individual and collective empowerment of the group. In this sense, the documentary filmed by Micheli meant a strategy of both denunciation and self-assertion.

In general, the studies of women's working experience in Latin America, apart from "glass roofs" and "sticky floors," acknowledge the strong tensions which globalization exercises on men and women in general and on women in particular. The breakdown of the male provider figure damages the self-esteem of the unemployed men and makes the household dependant on the women's lower-paying jobs. Helen Safa shows that the rate of women who become heads of households rises steadily, and in countries like Puerto Rico, this means that by the 2000s, over 70% of women were in charge of the households below the poverty level.<sup>35)</sup> To a certain extent, globalization is restoring the oppressor/oppressed relationship in terms that go beyond the states' labor laws, which are designed for the companies located within their limits. The transfrontier character of the maquilas causes a legal vacuum that, together with the state complicity, deprives women workers of protection and defense.

In all cases, time shows that it is convenient for the state and for the multinational companies to have high rates of unemployment, for this raises competence and lowers wages and the standards of working conditions. In the imposing labor model, women are becoming paradigmatic workers due to their recent incorporation into the paid labor market and to their condition of "general workers" trained in the breakup of household chores without a fixed time. Maquila work serves as a "pilot test" having at one extreme the small groups with hegemonic power who satisfy the model of successful male provider and, at the other, the rising rates of ex-workers and unemployed "losers." In this scenario, the women's role becomes once more that of taking care, supporting, and being-for-others. The situation offers little alternative, in spite of the ill-treatment, economic inequality, and labor conditions which hinder human development and rights, both general and economic, a setting furthered by the maquila system and critically reported by women.

Thus, it is deemed urgent to resort to women's global imagination to generate alternative offers that will, undoubtedly, encourage sorority and anti-consumerism: the planet cannot accept more exploitation, and neither do we women.

## **5. Not to Conclude**

I have sketched only some aspects of the complex situation of feminism in Latin America, whose scenarios and achievements are not homogenous despite the transfrontier solidarities, either from a legal-political point of view or from a social perspective. Even in countries where the laws are more equitable, there is a high social debt: the patriarchal structures have not been dismantled yet, even in those countries with a woman president. In order to unveil some of the problems emerging from this situation, I have taken the perspective of a situated knowledge. As a counterpart, I appealed to the theories

that in a previous study I called “migrating.” I tried to identify and move away from essentializing perspectives, which constitute the Latin American woman as an exotic or alien “other.” I applied highly abstract theories to our concrete problems, without any claim of objectivity or uniqueness but rather to cast light on specific areas in which we, Latin American women, are involved and have been systematically approaching through decades. Hence, the importance of telling the social from the political, and of going deeper into the social structures, the preconceptions, and patriarchal privileges still existing even in countries with more equitable laws. To exemplify, and without claiming any exhaustion in the analysis of the problem or its various approaches, I dwelt on some paradigmatic forms of violence against women.

#### Notes

- 1) This article is part of more extensive research I am currently coordinating on “Contributions to an interdisciplinary analysis of gender-based violence,” Centro Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Género (IdIHCS-CONICET), cinig@fahce.unlp.edu.ar (Universidad Nacional de La Plata), Argentina. Translated into English by Cecilia Chiacchio (Head of the Department of Modern Languages, Universidad Nacional de La Plata).
- 2) A rather longer version will be published in Spanish in *Hojas de Warmi* (Barcelona, Spain) Cf. SAID, Edward, *Orientalismo*, Barcelona, Debate, 2002 [English original 1978].
- 3) Cf. MOHANTY, Chandra. “Under Western Eyes: Feminism Scholarship and Colonial Discourse,” *Boundary*, 2. 13, 1; also, “De vuelta a ‘Bajo los Ojos de Occidente.’” In SUAREZ NAVAZ and HERNANDEZ, A. R. (eds.), *Descolonizar el feminismo: Teorías y prácticas desde los márgenes*, Madrid, Cátedra, 2008.
- 4) SCHUTTE, Ofelia and FEMENÍAS, María Luisa, “Feminist Philosophy.” In NUCCETELLI, S., SCHUTTE, O. and BUENO (eds.) *A Companion to Latin American Philosophy*, United Kingdom, Wiley-Blackwell, 2010, pp. 397–411. Also, FEMENIAS “Nuevas violencias contra las mujeres” *Nomadías*, 10, November 2009, pp. 11–28.
- 5) SASSEN, Saskia, *Contra geografías de la globalización*, Barcelona, Traficantes de Sueños, 2003, pp. 16 and 56.
- 6) For a more detailed analysis, FEMENIAS *El género del multiculturalismo*, Bernal, UNQui, 2007.
- 7) TARRÉS, María Luisa, “Hacia un equilibrio de la ética y la negociación.” In *Debate Feminista*, March, 1993; GUZMÁN, V. “La equidad de género como tema de debate de las políticas públicas.” In *Encrucijadas del saber*, Lima, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Lima, 1996; BIRGIN, Haydée (ed.) *El Derecho en el Género y el Género en el Derecho*, Buenos Aires, Biblos, 2000; PALACIOS, Maruja (ed.) *Defender los DDHH hoy*, Salta, Universidad Nacional de Salta, 1999; and with Violeta CARRIQUE, *Construir la igualdad*, Salta, Editorial de la Universidad, 2008.
- 8) Cf. FEMENIAS, M. L. SOZA-ROSSI, P. “Presentación: Para una mirada situada al sur” en *Saberes situados / Teorías Trashumantes*, La Plata, FAHCE, 2011.
- 9) HARAWAY, Donna “Saberes situados: El problema de la ciencia en el feminismo y el privilegio de una perspectiva parcial” M. C. CANGIANO y L. DUBOIS *De mujer a Género*, Buenos Aires, CEAL, 1993, pp. 115–144.
- 10) De LIMA COSTA, C. “Repensando el género: Tráfico de teorías en las Américas.” In FEMENÍAS, M. L. *Perfiles del feminismo Iberoamericano*, vol.1, Buenos Aires, Catálogos, 2002, pp. 189–214.
- 11) Cf. FEMENIAS, M. L. (2007).
- 12) FEMENÍAS, M. L. (2006).
- 13) TZUL TZUL, G. “Pueblos indígenas y buen vivir: Una reflexión biopolítica.” In FEMENÍAS Y SOZA ROSSI, *Saberes situados / Teorías trashumantes* (in press). The author quotes Arendt, who maintained

that international cooperation is “representative of the invisible government.”

- 14) Cf. For example, GRUZINSKI, S. *La colonización del imaginario*, México, FCE, 1988.
- 15) For instance, the newspaper *La Nación* (Argentina) publishes the news that two Toba natives and a policeman died in a demonstration demanding land. Cf. *La Nación-on-line*, 26 / XI / 2010.
- 16) MAZARIEGOS, D. *Resistencia y transgresión, en las emergentes prácticas discursivas de las mujeres intelectuales mayas de Guatemala, en las últimas dos décadas*. Thesis of Master Studies, Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina, Brasil, 2010. (not published). I thank the author for permission to use her text.
- 17) Cf. chapter “Del genocidio al feminicidio”, *op.cit.* p. 126ss; by the same author “El Feminicidio en Guatemala: El último eslabón de la violencia contra las mujeres.” In *Iº Seminário Internacional: Políticas de enfrentamento á violência de gênero contra as mulheres y XVIº Simpósio Bahiano de Pesquisadoras(es) sobre Mulher e Relações de Gênero, Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre a Mulher*, Universidade Federal de Bahia, Brazil, 2010.
- 18) Cf. *Op. cit.*, chapter. 3 “El impacto de la guerra en la vida de las mujeres indígenas de Guatemala,” p. 100. Also on support network and resilience groups, see Ana BIDEGAIN y María Angélica OSPINA, “Resistencia y resiliencia: Las organizaciones de mujeres ante la crisis colombiana actual.” In *FEMENÍAS* (2005).
- 19) CAPUTI, Jane, “The New Founding Fathers: The Lore and Lure of the Serial Killer in Contemporary Culture,” *Journal of American Culture*, vol. 13, 3, 1990, pp. 1–12; RADFORDJ. and RUSSELL, D. *Femicide or the Politics of Women Killing*, Twayne, 1992.
- 20) As president of the commission looking into the killings in Ciudad Juárez.
- 21) LAGARDE, M. “Feminicidio” [www.ciudaddemujeres.org](http://www.ciudaddemujeres.org). SEGATO, R. “¿Qué es un feminicidio? Notas para un debate emergente.” In *Mora*, 12, 2006.
- 22) Cf. SEGATO, R. “Territorio, soberanía y crímenes de segundo estado: La escritura en el cuerpo de las mujeres asesinadas en Ciudad Juárez.” In *FEMENÍAS*, M. L. *Perfiles del feminismo Iberoamericano*, Buenos Aires, Catálogos, 2005; AMORÓS, C. *Mujeres e imaginario de la globalización*, Rosario, Homo Sapiens, 2008, 3rd part.
- 23) On the extensive bibliography, apart from the quoted articles, cf. D. WASHINGTON VALDEZ, *Cosecha de mujeres*, Barcelona, Océano, 2005; Roberto BOLAÑOS, 2666, Part 4 “La parte de los crímenes,” Barcelona, Anagrama, 2004. On the *Internet* there are almost a million entries on cases of femicide in México, Guatemala, Colombia, Argentina, etc.
- 24) Cf. For example, VASALLO, Alejandra, “Las mujeres dicen basta: Feminismo y movilización política en los ’70s.” In ANDÚJAR, Andrea et al. *Historia, género y política en los 70*, Buenos Aires, Feminaria, 2005.
- 25) For example, in “Las invisibles,” we read: “Tradition required that the umbilical cords of newborn girls be buried under the ashes in the kitchen, so that early on they would learn a woman’s place and never leave it. When the Mexican Revolution began, many left their place, but they took the kitchen with them. For better or for worse, out of desire or obligation, they followed their men from battle to battle. They carried babies hanging from their breasts, and pots and pans strapped to their backs. And munitions too: It was women’s job to supply tortillas for the belly and munitions for the gun. And when men fell, women took up their weapons. On the trains, men and horses rode in the cars. Women were on the roofs, praying to God it would not rain. Without the women who came from country and town, who followed the fighters, who rode the rails, who treated the wounded, who cooked the food, who fought the enemy, who braved death, the revolution never would have happened. None of them got a pension.” GALEANO, Eduardo, *Mirrors: Stories of Almost Everyone* (Trans. by Mark Fried). Philadelphia: Nation Books, 2010, “Invisible Women,” pp. 270, 271. Spanish version: GALEANO, Eduardo, *Una historia casi universal*, Siglo XXI, 2008.
- 26) Jules FALQUET examined the situation of women that actively participated in the revolutionary movements in “Division sexuelle du travail révolutionnaire: Réflexions à partir de la participation des femmes salvadoriennes á la lutte armée.” In *Cahiers des Amériques latines*, 40, 2003; also in *Femmes projets révolutionnaires, guerre et démocratisation*, IHEAL-Sorbonne, Paris III, 1997. Also cf. YOUNGERS. C. *Violencia política y sociedad civil en el Perú*, Lima, Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, 2003; CLADEM,

- Monitoreo sobre violencia sexual en conflicto armado (en América Latina)*, Lima, Cladem, 2007
- 27) FALQUET, Jules, “División sexual del trabajo militante: Reflexiones en base a la participación de las mujeres en el proceso revolucionario en El Salvador.” In FEMENÍAS, María Luisa, *Perfiles del Feminismo Iberoamericano*, Buenos Aires, Catálogos, vol. 3, 2007, pp. 93–122; CLADEM, *op.cit.*, pp. 61–88.
  - 28) Asociación de Mujeres por la Dignidad y la Vida “Las Dignas,” *Realidad Nacional en El Salvador (Extracto del Plan Estratégico Institucional 2005–2008)*, San Salvador, April, 2006.  
www.alforja.or.cr/eed/realidades/realidad; also cf. www.lasdignas.org
  - 29) *Ibidem*
  - 30) GARGALLO, Francesca, *Las ideas feministas Latinoamericanas*,  
www.Las+ideas+feministas+latinoamericanas%22&btnG
  - 31) FEMENÍAS, M.L. and SOZA ROSSI, “Poder y violencia sobre el cuerpo de las mujeres.” In *Revista Sociologías Porto Alegre*, n° 21, Universidade Federal de Rio Grande do Sul, 2009; also, by the same authors, “Del tiempo cronometrado al instante efímero,” Panel presentation *Usos del tiempo, temporalidades y géneros en contextos*, Instituto Gino Germani—Instituto Interdisciplinario de Investigaciones en Género, Universidad de Buenos Aires, 19 de octubre de 2010.
  - 32) VILLOTA, Paloma, de, *Globalización y desigualdad de género*, Madrid, Síntesis, 2006; SASSEN, Saskia, *Sociología de la globalización*, Buenos Aires, Katz, 2008; also, *Territorio, Autoridad y Derechos*, Buenos Aires, Katz, 2010.
  - 33) It is striking that the large number of people that commercialize and buy undervalued goods in tax-free areas seem to overlook the exploitation of the workers producing the goods. The maquila phenomenon is supplementary to the consumerism in the low and middle classes, who not being able to afford the trademarks, resort to buying them illegally replicated in the maquila work market.
  - 34) FERNÁNDEZ MICHELI, Silvia, “Violencia contra las mujeres. ¿Descifrando una realidad?” In APONTE SÁNCHEZ, Elida and FEMENÍAS, María Luisa. *Articulaciones sobre la violencia contra las mujeres*, La Plata, Edulp, 2008. On female work in LA., also cf. AGUIRRE, Rosario and BATTHYANY, Karina. *Trabajo, Género y ciudadanía en los países del Cono Sur*, Montevideo, Oficina Internacional del Trabajo-UdelaR, 2001; by the same authors, *Uso del tiempo y trabajo no remunerado*, Montevideo, UNIFEM-UdelaR, 2005. PAUTASSI, Laura, *El cuidado como cuestión social*, Santiago de Chile, CEPAL-UNIFEM, 2007.
  - 35) SAFA, Helen, “Globalización, desigualdad e incremento de los hogares encabezados por mujeres.” In FEMENÍAS, María Luisa, *Perfiles del feminismo Iberoamericano*, vol. III, Buenos Aires, Catálogos, 2007, p. 67.

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## ラテンアメリカのフェミニズムの作図法的考察

マリア・ルイサ・フェメニアス

この論文では、ラテンアメリカのフェミニズムをめぐる複雑な状況を概観する。そのためには、覇権的なフェミニストの言説を脱構築し、ハラウェイの理論を借用した「状況における知」という概念について考察していく必要がある。単一的な理解や存在論への偏向を避けるためにも、本論ではまず、モハンティも「第三世界の女性」という概念を用いて行った、「ラテンアメリカ女性」の構築について分析する。次に、アーレントの「差別」と「分離」の区別にもとづいて、私たちが実際に達成したことを評価する。その次に、貧困やマキラ労働（\*訳注）が女性化されていることが、構造的暴力によるものであることを明らかにする発言の重要性について論じる。これに加え、本論では、戦争とそれに付随するもの、強制移住、そして、とりわけ、憲法上の権利保障から排除されるプロセスにジェンダーやエスニシティといった要素がどのように作用しているかなど、ラテンアメリカで起こっている他の問題についても述べていく。要するに、本論は「暴力」を様々な視角から捉え直そうとする試みである。

\*訳注: 「マキラ」とは、安い労働力を利用するために外国資本が米墨国境沿いなどに設立した部品や製品組み立ての工場を意味する「マキラドーラ」の略語。

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