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## REVIEW ESSAYS

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### FRAGMENTED FEMINISMS AND DISILLUSION WITH DEMOCRACY Social Movement Downswings, Inadequate Institutions, and Alliances under Construction in Latin America

*Linda S. Stevenson*

*West Chester University of Pennsylvania*

*GENDERED PARADOXES: WOMEN'S MOVEMENTS, STATE RESTRUCTURING, AND GLOBAL DEVELOPMENT IN ECUADOR.* By Amy Lind. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005. Pp.182. \$55.00 cloth, \$21.00 paper).

*POBLADORAS, INDIGENAS, AND THE STATE.* By Patricia Richards. (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2004. Pp. 254. \$62.00 cloth, \$22.95 paper).

*WOMEN AND POLITICS IN CHILE.* By Susan Franceschet. (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner, 2005. Pp. 203. \$49.95 cloth).

*ACTIVIST FAITH: GRASSROOTS WOMEN IN DEMOCRATIC BRAZIL AND CHILE.* By Carol Ann Drogus and Hannah Stewart-Gambino. (University Park, PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005. Pp. 212. \$55.00 cloth.)

In the early 1990s, much of the research on women and politics in Latin America had an optimistic tone, paralleling the triumphant tone of modernist research on democratization and the expansion of neoliberalism in the region at the time. It appeared that change favoring women's rights and gender equality was at a critical juncture in Latin America and the

world. Advocates of gender equality around the world were preparing for the United Nations and nongovernmental organizations' conferences in Beijing in 1995. There was a strong impetus for governments and civil society groups to fulfill promises or at least to be able to document progress in the right direction. The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) was frantically gathering and processing gender data from around the world, as it planned to present its own new gender indicators during the same year at the conference (1995). These indicators were to become permanent fixtures in the UNDP's annual *Human Development Reports*, and represented the culmination of years of work on the inside, as well as outside of the institution, to have the UN commit itself to the permanent observation and collection of gendered data. Incipient experiments with and discussion of electoral gender quotas were occurring in Latin America for the first time, pushing the limits of patriarchal political parties and states in unprecedented ways. Pilot projects with women's police stations to specifically serve female victims of sex crimes began to emerge across the region. There was reason for optimism.

In academia, the subfield of women and politics exploded with rich, often interdisciplinary debates, and hundreds of articles and texts. At professional conferences, one could no longer go to all the panels that made mention of "gender" and/or "women," as was possible only a few years ago. Many women's studies centers and programs flourished. Many hoped that "the end of gender inequality" was in sight, akin to Fukuyama's "end of history" of wars based on ideologies and cycles of authoritarian governments rising and falling.

So what has happened since? Now that we are halfway into the next decade, what happened to the fanfare for Beijing ten years later? What of all the reforms and programs and new lines on government budgets that occurred since 1995? According to the texts reviewed in this essay, the results are rather mixed, and most reasons for fanfare are at the local or national level, rather than international. As with reforms for democratization and moves to further open up markets and increase trade—and wealth—on a national level, making improvements in women's lives on a mass scale is more complicated than imagined just a decade ago. This is not to say that the texts reviewed here are necessarily pessimistic about advances toward bolstering women's rights and forwarding gender equality. Rather, as I lay out in the following pages, I found them to be realistic, as in well grounded or "down to earth," in the wake of the hopes pinned on democratization and the neoliberal economic model. One of the strengths of these texts is to bring to the fore the light and the shadows of women's political participation and economic status since the grand moments of democratic transitions and early implementation of neoliberal economic policies. For many people, democracy and free trade are now much more multidimensional than we realized in their

early years, and the texts reviewed here show the same is true for gender equality and women's political participation.

While working my way through these texts and seeking common measures by which to assess them, I realized that all of the texts in one way or another touch on the research areas of women in development and women in social movements. As such, all are related to Jane Jaquette's now nearly classic "state of the discipline" article on Latin American comparative politics (1995). Jaquette presented a critical assessment of gender methodologies, as well as highlights of the unique aspects of feminist and gender methodologies, and how they contributed to concrete political change in the 1970s and '80s, when citizens were confronted with extreme authoritarian governments across the region. Secondly, she synthesized the primary findings and conclusions of women and development and women in social movements literatures from the early 1970s on, which led to what she saw as the key directions for future research. Hence, in this essay I will use Jaquette's article as a milestone to which we can compare these recent works asking similar questions of gender methodologies and research on women in Latin American politics now. What has happened with Latin American women since 1995 in the areas of women in development and women in social movements? And how are gender methodologies evolving, being stretched, revised or repeated, to process new information?

The four books reviewed in this essay address all of these questions, and provide new, updated, highly refined and sometimes surprising answers to many of the big questions in Latin American comparative politics, as well as in the area of gender politics in Latin America. Taken as a whole, these works build upon the strengths of past generations of gender and women's studies scholars, with strong qualitative analysis, evidence for arguments from in-depth interviews and intense research time spent in Latin America. They take great care to continue to try to "give voice" to many in Latin America who remain underrepresented in their governments, despite advances toward democracy—particularly poor and ethnic minority women in several nations. Taken individually, each text makes clear that women and gender cannot simply be "added and stirred" to mainstream analysis. Nor can "women" be thought of as one group in an essentialist way, with a necessarily common set of demands, as power differences and economic, social, and cultural differences divide women as much as they do all of society. Rather, each text employs innovative and creative use of different dominant social science theories to reveal carefully and convincingly how gender and women are and should be taken more seriously in research and studies as integral parts of political economies, citizenship, social movement "maintenance," and political representation and policymaking. For each text I will give a basic overview, and then briefly assess them in relation to some of the points brought up by Jaquette in 1995.

## OVERVIEWS OF TEXTS

As a professor of Latin American politics, I am well aware of the struggle to broaden undergraduate students' perceptions and knowledge of "things Latin American" over the course of one semester. For example, beginning from bananas and oil, and dictators and drug wars on day one of the course, working towards understanding of competing concepts and theories of development; the contradictions underlying the politics and policies of economic restructuring and democratization—all in relation to how real people were and are affected relative to their race, class, and gender—is a challenge within one semester. The texts reviewed here all can serve as powerful tools toward this end, but Amy Lind's *Gendered Paradoxes: Women's Movements, State Restructuring, and Global Development in Ecuador* is particularly strong at revealing the intersection of neoliberal economics, politics, and gender. This text has been a long time in coming and was well worth the wait. Lind skillfully draws from her extensive collection of ethnographic data of poor and working class Ecuadorian women to illustrate some of the complex political-economic changes in Latin America over the last twenty-five years, effectively integrating the theories and literatures of gender in development and new social movements as a part of the whole picture. Reading *Gendered Paradoxes* is like reading the political economy of any Doña Fulanita anywhere in the region, a poor woman who might run the taco stand around the corner or iron someone else's shirts by day, and take care of her family and attend community or political meetings by night. In incisive, grounded ways, yet generalizable to many other Latin American contexts and beyond, Lind presents how poor and working class women essentially "'mothered' the Ecuadorian foreign debt crisis through their individual and collective survival strategies—a process that served more broadly as a crucial signifier for national progress and for state and global financial accountability (or lack thereof)" (3).

Lind sets up the chapters of the text in a somewhat chronological order, highlighting and clearly explaining key historical moments in contemporary Ecuador. Concurrently, each chapter examines and analyzes some particular stage of recent neoliberal policies (ranging from increases in loans and debt, privatization, cuts in social spending, promotion of volunteerism, to rewriting the Constitution and dollarization), and how the nation, governments and civil society embraced, survived or ousted the regimes that put them in place. The civil society focus is on the actions of poor, urban women, and reveals the contradictions or paradoxes of the struggles of each period and over time. She sums up this important set of findings in relation to poor women's ongoing plight:

The paradox of urban poor women's struggles pertains to the fact that the longer the women have struggled, the worse their economic conditions have become,

despite their best intentions. A broader feminist paradox is the ongoing struggle for citizen rights in a national context in which the majority lack social rights and continue to be marginalized despite the recent political reforms (22).

Lind's book clearly states the "mixed" and complex nature of change for women in Ecuador and the region with democratization and free market policies on the increase. Debates rage about the degree and/or depth of democratization in relation to women's rights and gender equality, and Lind is careful to present many sides of the arguments. For example, many women gained individual empowerment through grassroots participation and organizing, but some scholars with a more critical eye argue that this is rather a new form of clientelism (Schild 2002). Likewise, women's issues gained a new institutional venue for policymaking in the form of a women's national agency, from which a new class of bureaucrats, "femocrats," now work for women's rights. But in Ecuador, as well as throughout Latin America, the new "women's national agencies" are often a point of much contention, as different parties vie for control of leadership, agenda-setting and budgets, all of which are unprecedented in this new era of competitive democratic politics.<sup>1</sup> The new 1998 Constitution is supposed to provide for greater political enfranchisement for women, but as with so many constitutions in Latin America, there is a stark difference between the grand rhetoric on paper and the power of reforms in reality. Finally, in the last chapter, Lind briefly mentions a nascent alliance between feminists and indigenous peoples formed in the new Ecuadorian political world, as politicians and activists struggle to strike a balance between massive debt, twenty-first century globalization, defining and redefining "women's issues" and how to join in with the battles indigenous peoples have been fighting for the last five hundred plus years. Time will tell if these groups can find common ground and channel their potential power into coherent policymaking and concrete gains.

Relative to the dominant neoliberal economic structures and their effect on poor urban women, Lind's work shows that overall they have not had a positive effect on addressing economic and gender inequalities in Ecuador. Gains in procedural democracy have not yet translated into substantive gains that allow traditionally underrepresented peoples to negotiate a greater share of the "pie." Pressures from neoliberal structural adjustment policies and an ongoing thrust toward globalization have

1. Analysis of women's national agencies is presented in several of the texts in this essay, in Brazilian and Chilean contexts, and most echo Lind's assessment that having a women's national agency is better than not having one, but that new problems have arisen in relation to them. Many countries in the region also have developed some version of a women's policy agency at the state level. This has prompted some women's groups in the United States to point out the lack of such an agency in the U.S. government, and ways that U.S. women could also benefit if one were created.

continued to thwart the economic side of poor women's demands for redistributive change during the last twenty years.

If one's curiosity is piqued with regard to the emerging alliance between feminist women and indigenous activists in Ecuador, Patricia Richards' text *Pobladoras, Indigenas and the State* (2004) provides an in-depth account of the relationship between Chile's women's policy machinery and poor and indigenous women, since it was founded during the transition to democracy. The contrast between Ecuador and Chile is most interesting when focusing on the effects of neoliberalism and democracy on women's social movement and political participation and vice versa, since most would agree that Chile has had much more success (at least on the macro-level) with its various phases of free market policies in recent years than all other countries in Latin America, particularly its Andean neighbor, Ecuador.

Richards frames her arguments clearly in debates about citizenship, from a sociological perspective. She begins her work by grounding it in relation to the classic theories by citizenship scholars such as T. H. Marshall, who defined civil, political and social rights as citizens' rights, but mostly focused on the civil and political, which have become known as "first generation rights" (5). With regard to social rights, Richards then discusses more recent struggles often coming out of new social movements, over the "content of citizenship," including cultural and sexual identity issues often referred to as "second generation rights" (6). Richards' own contribution to the debate on theorizing citizenship is to define some of the middle ground between the Marshallian "citizenship from above" and "citizenship from below," as conceptualized by Escobar, Melucci, Alvarez and Jelín in the late 1980s—early 1990s. This is done by showing not only how citizenship is *gendered*, a perspective to which many other scholars have and continue to contribute, but also how citizens "have a race, a class and an ethnicity" (2). When research includes analysis of indigenous peoples in the region, then the "third generation" of citizenship is imbued—the struggle for *human* rights. Chile is an excellent case study for analysis of the intersection of all three types or generations of rights then since all have intense salience when politics is defined broadly and *all* of Chilean society is taken into account, not just the usual political players in the dictatorship and the transition to democracy.

Richards skillfully presents how practicing politics through social movements is still the primary modus operandi of poor and indigenous women in Chile and throughout much of Latin America. She shows this by using Nancy Fraser's framing of movements interested in gaining "recognition" and/or "redistribution," comparing what some deem to be the more "cultural" demands of women with those that are more oriented toward increasing social programs and/or economic benefits for women. This is of course in contrast to the experiences of many middle and upper class



feminists, political women and advocates of gender equality and women's rights, which I discuss in more detail below in relation to Franceschet and Drogus and Stewart-Gambino's books. For middle and upper class female political actors, their "repertoire of contention," as Tarrow would say of their choices and limits of political "tools," has increased dramatically since the end of Pinochet's dictatorship (Tarrow 1998; Franceschet 2006). They now work through nongovernmental organizations, a state women's policy agency, and sometimes with gender-conscious legislators or party activists to get their demands heard and onto political and policy agendas. Chilean Mapuche women and those who hail from the *poblaciones* do not have these same kinds of political options for getting the state to give them some attention. This is where the social differences between women—differences in education, family-level economics, occupations, job markets and so on, are significant in not only gendering politics, but also bringing race, class and ethnicity to the fore.

Rather than use a historical approach, Richards lays out the chapters of the book along the lines of the central concepts and theories of her work. For example, in her second and third chapters the representation of women by the state, women's activism, and state responses in Chile are outlined beginning with Allende's regime (1970-1973), then Pinochet (1973-1990), and finally the Concertación, which has maintained a center-left-leaning coalition in power since the transition back to democracy. She notes an important difference in Chile's politics, of the extreme differences in women's activism by those on the right and on the left.<sup>2</sup> These background chapters set the stage for how Mapuche and poor women fit (or rather do *not* fit) into this picture in relation to the women's national agency, in chapters four and six (chapter five is a deeper introduction of Mapuche women's demands in relation to the wider struggle of the Mapuche people with the state). The final chapter compares the cases of Mapuche women leaders with those from *pobladoras*, and makes evident the limited yet different ways that the Servicio Nacional de la Mujer (SERNAM) has reacted to the cultural recognition and redistributive demands from the Mapuche women, in contrast to the more concrete redistributive demands from the poor women. According to Richards SERNAM is not serving either group well. Part of the explanation lies in the differences between the women actors themselves, but also with which socioeconomic and ideological models the women align themselves. When the Chilean government's national development

2. I mention this point in particular as it is noted in Franceschet's text in great detail, as well as others (Baldez, 2002; Blofield, 2006) and is particularly poignant in Chile's highly polarized, ideologized form of politics. Some argue that the disagreements between women themselves is one of the primary obstacles to increasing women's rights and gender equality in Chile, along with the power of the religious right and male-biased structures of the political institutions and laws.

goals are in conflict with the demands of indigenous and poor women, generally their voices remain unheard. The varying degree of response by the SERNAM then, depends very much on the particular national context, and what the different political actors are able to make of it. The election of Michelle Bachelet in 2006 marks the start of a new moment and period for potential change.

Finally, in addition to the research and presentation of it in the text, Richards' style in data collection and agile use of the interview data brings up some other issues. It is reminiscent of the anthropological texts of Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Ruth Behar, which flooded the mainstream of their discipline with questions about the power relations between scholars and their subjects. In her introductory chapter, Richards thoughtfully includes reference to "Ethics and Power in Field Research," providing ample detail about her practices as a blond, blue-eyed U.S.-American participant-observer in her work with poor, *mestiza* and dark-skinned women in a nation that ranks among the top ten of the world for its economic inequality (21–29). Likewise the extra detail about her interviewees in the appendix allows the reader to gain a broader perspective and respect, I would say, for the ways in which these women have adapted to the new contexts over time. As such, these short pieces of the text add useful aids particularly for undergraduate and graduate students heading out for the first time, or as reminders for more experienced scholars, of how to develop respect for one's "subjects" or interviewees, and self-awareness for the best kind of careful, ethical, equitable field work possible.

Coming out a year after Richards' book, Susan Franceschet's *Women and Politics in Chile* (2005) is not a sequel to *Pobladoras, Indigenas and the State*, but an excellent complement to it. In light of the election of the first woman president in Chile in 2006, Michele Bachelet,<sup>3</sup> Franceschet's book and subsequent work (2006) are essential to understanding why this is *not* reason to declare victory for the struggles for gender equality in Chile. Franceschet's primary argument is that while gains for women have been made in the procedural aspects of democracy in Chile—from obtaining the vote to the presidency—she provides ample evidence to reveal the lack of substantive representation and limited governmental responses to the demands of active women's citizens groups since 1990. Although this may not be a surprising finding for poor and indigenous women, as Richards makes clear in her text, the ongoing lack of democracy for Chilean women in general it is troubling, as it runs counter to the modernist optimistic equation that an increase in economic development causes

3. Bachelet is also the first female president in Latin America to obtain this office on her own merits, rather than as a "mujer de" (woman of) a political husband or family (see Piscopo, 2006 for more detail on "mujeres de" vs. independent female individuals who get into politics in the region).



an increase in democracy, as mentioned in the introduction to this essay. Chile's high degree of sustained economic development and stability has made it one of the leading economies in South America for the last two decades, so this lack of democratic progress for women leads to concerns and queries that continue to fuel research and activism around the globe. For example, despite procedural democratic progress, why are so many "new" democracies still so "unfinished," or to put it more bluntly, *unfair* to those who expected to share power once democracy arrived (or returned), but are still finding themselves on the margins, despite tremendous sacrifices and efforts to make change? And how is it that economic, social, gender, racial, and ethnic inequalities can possibly be so unaffected (or in some cases, made more unequal) while nations are making many gains in political freedoms and respect for human rights?

The answers to these questions in Franceschet's text on Chile provide excellent bases for hypotheses and related "experiments" in other nations around the globe. The usual reasons of gender-based social and political sex roles are discussed thoroughly in this text, providing a solid review of how ideologies of gender difference come about and are different in crisis periods than in more peaceful times. For example, the importance of "mobilized mothers" in Chile is discussed before, during and after the Pinochet dictatorship, showing marked differences in mothers' reactions, and government's expectations of mothers during these times. Likewise, Franceschet grounds her work in the discussion of the broader ways that politically active women define and have redefined politics, as compared to the traditional definitions, within the bounds of formal, institutionalized political arenas, often related primarily to competitive participation that is oriented to gaining political office (147). In the Chilean case in particular, the window for political opportunity and substantive policy changes related to the relationship between civil society and traditional political actors, such as political parties, opened and closed quickly.<sup>4</sup> Moreover, the reforms made by the Pinochet regime and the cultural legacy of distrust in Chilean society in general further limited the parameters of the political opportunities.

Concretely, Franceschet's research brings these issues of citizenship, democracy and struggles for women's rights to light by integrating citizenship and gender analysis into the following foci: 1) women's limited access to electoral politics—in spite of the first and second waves of feminism (chapters 3 and 4), and since the transition to democracy (chapter 5); 2) the impact of SERNAM toward gender equity in public policy since its founding in 1991 (chapter 6); and finally, 3) women's participation

4. Chile is one of the few countries in the region that has not yet introduced some form of gender quotas into its candidate selection and electoral politics. See Htun and Jones (2002) and Piscopo (2006) for more detail on gender quotas, and Hinojosa (2006) for insights into candidate selection at the local level in Chile.

in civil society politics comparing activism during the dictatorship, and then through the transition to democracy into the twenty-first century (chapter 7). Her final chapter is a handy summary of her findings in these three areas of women and politics and conclusions about their interconnectedness, and potential for greater visibility and collaboration in networks or the like in the future.

The final book reviewed in this essay, Carol Ann Drogus and Hannah Stewart-Gambino's *Activist Faith: Grassroots Women in Democratic Brazil and Chile*, strongly corroborates the findings of the other three texts reviewed above, and adds an additional, essential element to the discussion of women's political participation—the changing role of women's faith and activism linked to the church. Drogus and Stewart-Gambino center their work in debates about social movement theory and the impact of cycles of protest on the building of civil society in new (or restored) democracies. Then they set up a model two-country-case-comparison between the base community movements in Brazil and Chile, during and after the military regimes, to reveal the abeyance, but not the end of the movements in recent times. Grounded in the concept of social movement *cycles*, where it is natural and expected that movements decline after political crises subside, Drogus and Stewart-Gambino challenge the conventional idea that the base ecclesial community movements are “dead” by following up with the activists themselves to see what has happened in recent years. Using the words of the grassroots women activists drawn from an impressive set of seventy-three in-depth interviews,<sup>5</sup> they convincingly show that to the contrary, the legacy of the movements among former female members is strong and has maintained ongoing—albeit different—forms of activism. In fact, in many cases this legacy has sprouted into new initiatives or linkages in Brazilian and Chilean civil society, and to a lesser extent left-leaning political parties (particularly in Brazil). This finding echoes those of Richards and Franceschet for the Chilean case, who revealed that whereas many middle- and upper-class feminists think the women's movement has been silent or silenced,<sup>6</sup> or has grounded to a halt, poor and indigenous women were still very active.

*Activist Faith* is also an excellent piece because of the clarity and depth of its comparison. By using basic comparative method, the authors use a most-similar, most-different approach. They begin with two similar country cases of authoritarian rule moving into a democratic transition, both with strong women's movements in each country confronting the regimes. Then the authors are able to highlight the differences in each case per the transitions to democracy, as the activists reveal their reflections on

5. Forty-eight interviews were carried out in Chile, and twenty-five in Brazil.

6. See Ríos Tobar et al.'s book, *¿Un Nuevo Silencio Feminista?* for insights and analysis on the decline of the feminist movement in Chile since the beginning of the democratic transition.

their past social movement participation, their ongoing or new activities or forms of participation, and hopes for the future since the movements have declined. This allows the authors to highlight the complexities of the differences in each national political context, their respective transitions, and longer-term impacts on cross-movement or cross-organizational networking and/or alliance-building. As such, they contribute to theory-building and hypothesis-testing in the study of social movements by identifying key factors that enable or prevent growth of civil society in Latin American post-authoritarian, democratically transitioning nations. This may then be useful for others in future, broader, comparative research.

Drogus and Stewart-Gambino situate their study in an intersection between the dominant schools of thought in social movement theory (chapters 1 and 2). In the same way that Richards references Fraser's dichotomy between redistribution and recognition social movements in *Pobladoras, Indigenas and the State*, since the women interviewed by Drogus and Stewart-Gambino are of the working class, social movement theories related to demands for redistribution are definitely relevant. At the same time, since the women are simultaneously Catholic and female, new social movement theories related to identity politics are also salient for their analysis. In this way, the criteria for judging the "success" of the movements is expanded, not only to be read in terms of political candidates on ballots and in office, budgets, social programs, and the like, but also to be considered in terms of individual and organizational empowerment, consciousness-raising, community-building and the less tangible outcomes of social movement processes and actions. With the theoretical backdrop in place, the third chapter delves further into the content of the base community movements in the two countries. The authors artfully use the interviewees' words to provide the basic outlines of the history of the *comunidades eclesiales de base* (CEBs) as they were most commonly called in Brazil, or *comunidades cristianas populares* (CCPs), one of the less incriminating labels used to describe the movement in Chile,<sup>7</sup> while at the same time explaining and showing the differences between the types of base community movements in the two countries.<sup>8</sup> This is

7. See Drogus and Stewart-Gambino, pages 40–41 for more details of the names and acronyms of the groups and how they changed in the two contexts over time.

8. In simple terms, the different kinds of base community groups can be described as being somewhere on a continuum between a more radical stance, where liberationists saw and sought to use the CEBs as the "praxis" of liberation theology, where Christians could reinterpret the Bible in terms of the oppressors and oppressed, and the need to transform society to bring about equality (hence the links to revolutionaries and Marxists of the time); the middle ground of the continuum was a more socio-cultural interpretation and practice, where much of the liberationist ideals were embraced, but the calls for change were more local and less confrontational; and at the other extreme of the continuum, a form of conservative CEBs, where the goal was to try to bring the poor closer to a more orthodox Catholicism, to the church itself as an institution, and to eschew politics.

important because the more socio-cultural style of the Brazilian CEBs, and the more radical style of the Chilean CCPs, have led to different legacies and hence abilities and dispositions to develop networks with other groups in more recent years. Another key difference between the Brazilian and Chilean styles of social movements and their legacies has to do with the degree to which the movements were able to maintain or rebuild links to institutions, and/or to what degree the movements were successful in decentralizing themselves. The fourth chapter describes the differences relative to these factors, in that the relationship between the CEBs and the Brazilian church more gradually "eroded," while the split between the CEBs and the church in Chile occurred much more abruptly, related to political occurrences of the time, more akin to that of an "earthquake." These differences are reflected in the attitudes of the women activists: the Brazilian women maintained a much greater degree of hope for future improvements or new links to different groups or institutions in recent years and in the years to come (hence the support for the popular movement for the Workers' Party [PT] that brought Lula to power in 2002), despite being disheartened by the change. The Chileans, on the other hand, felt much more betrayed, abandoned, and less positive about the possibility of making connections with other groups or institutions in the future. As such, decentralization brought with it both positive and negative effects. On the positive side, small groups persisted, in spite of the lack of institutional support. However, the inclination to reach out to other Chilean groups is minimal, and none of the grassroots women interviewed was interested in party politics at all. Hence the deep disconnect between the popular classes and the political classes in Chile is only reinforced. Despite this pessimistic outlook, the next chapter, aptly titled "Keeping the Faith," shows that in spite of social movement decline in both Brazil and Chile, 72 percent of the Brazilian and 92 percent of the Chilean activist women interviewed continue to participate in some form of local activism (127).

The last three chapters of *Activist Faith* discuss the potential for alliances between the former CEB women activists and other older and newly emerging civil society players locally and nationally. The dire need for alliances or coalition-building during this new time of competitive democracy is an important and recurring theme evident not only in Drogus and Stewart-Gambino's work, but also increasingly across the region and the globe.<sup>9</sup> Chapter six explores the beginnings of creative, almost exclusively local, connections between Catholics and Pentecostals in the two countries, while Chapter seven examines the

9. A number of the chapters in a recent compilation by Jude Howell and Diane Mulligan, *Gender and Civil Society: Transcending Boundaries* (2005) confirm this trend, including my own work on Mexico and S. Laurel Weldon's work on policy-making on violence against women in the fifty U.S. states

links and potential for such between grassroots women and feminists. What is most striking about their findings is the importance of the different CEB social movement legacies in each country. The Brazilians, with the more sociocultural form of CEB organization, are more able to work with the other groups than in Chile (although to a lesser degree than those still active in homogeneous groups). Apparently in Chile, the greater degrees of radicalization and politicization, particularly related to class difference, hold activist women back from being able to build cross-class alliances with feminists. As such, the final chapter concludes with an affirmed, renewed sense of optimism about the ongoing activism of CEBs women of faith in both countries on a general level. The legacy of the empowerment from the years of their most intensive participation lives on. This provides reason for hope in the long-term construction of a strong civil society that can be mobilized against future backsliding or new forms of authoritarian rule, might they arise. On the other hand, Drogus and Stewart-Gambino do not gloss over the challenges that remain for grassroots and other women activists, as they work to overcome the obstacles of the legacies of the past, to try to enable themselves and future generations to fortify civil society, deepen democracy and seek equality in nations where this is still far from the norm.

#### COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Relative to the question posed in my introduction—what has happened with Latin American women since 1995 in the areas of women in development and women in social movements—multiple answers are provided in these texts. Lind's work most directly builds upon and dialogues with the women in development literature, adding new dimensions to the analysis from the Ecuadorian case. Richards and Franceschet's works touch on women in development themes tangentially, in that both analyze and evaluate the state-run women's policy agencies, which is one of the new institutions that should be documenting women's development, and making proposals to overcome ongoing challenges. All of the works refer to the women in social movements literature, but in a myriad of ways. This is an indicator of several important changes since 1995. The social movements literature has continued to grow, and in directions beyond the two general schools of thought that dominated a decade ago. Also, it seems that the current generation of scholars, such as those reviewed here, are increasingly treating issues with an intersection of theories and concepts, including cross-disciplinary perspectives, not just framing their research in one particular body of literature. All of the authors' works reviewed in this essay are fine examples of this kind of cross-sectional, cross-issue work.

The second question asked how gender methodologies are evolving, being stretched, revised or repeated, to process new information. In her article, Jaquette stated, "By 'gender methodologies' I do not mean new empirical research techniques for example but rather new ways of thinking about gender, from the inclusion of sex as a variable to the radical rethinking of what is political" (1995, 111). If "gender methodologies" could be conceived of as a continuum, ranging from "radical rethinking" of concepts to the basic "add women and stir" method of early gender analysis, with a wide array of methods in between, then I would say that these four texts span the entire spectrum between rethinking gender to more traditionally assessing the increasing numbers of women in institutional politics. Lind is the most diligent of the group at putting "gender at the center" of her discussion, and then reexamining or re-placing the axes of politics and economics around, through and over and under the gender analysis. Drogus and Stewart-Gambino focus their work on the women activists of the CEBs, and center them and their post-movement actions and analysis of such in social movement theory, making an important contribution to this body of research. The men of CEBs, the church and/or other movements are simply not included at this time. Thus I would say that their work is more "women-centered," and less "gender-centered," in comparison with the other texts. This is not a negative point; rather, the inclusion of men at this time is beyond the scope of their study, since in these particular CEB movements, men were not the primary players. To their credit, what their work does do for male-inclusive or gender-centered analysis is a great job of setting the stage for further comparison—potentially of men in these or other movements, or both men and women in movements and new networks in the region. Richards' work on citizenship is daring and important in that it not only shows how citizenship is gendered, but also greatly shaped by class, race and ethnicity in Chile. Bringing this to light in a country and region where the majority of people are oblivious to racism or "just don't want to talk about it," is difficult and cutting-edge work that necessarily crosses several sub-fields. Like Lind, and Drogus and Stewart-Gambino, Richards lays solid groundwork for larger theoretical and comparative constructions down the road. And finally, Franceschet's work covers the gamut. She uses mainstream approaches in combination with gender-centered analysis to make clear that although some gains have been made and can be measured numerically, there are still significant obstacles to networking and need and demands for deeper substantive representation for women of all classes and races in Chile.

One way that these authors do not take heed of Jaquette's calls for new directions in research on women in Latin America is related to her statement: "I believe that feminists must make egalitarian claims to achieve social justice and that positivist methodologies are essential to doing



so... For me, the aim is not to abandon all positivist methodologies but to transform them" (1995, 112). A roundtable discussion on the definitions of "positivist methodologies" and where and how they cross over with "gender methodologies" of recent works would be an excellent way to delve into this topic, perhaps in a future conference panel. However, the lack of use of statistics from the primary in-depth interview data collected in these texts limits the potential strength of the research conducted. After working through initial introductions to the themes, methods and the like of these texts, as a political scientist and visual learner, I found myself flipping through the pages and appendices looking for some kind of summary or synthesis of the interviewees, almost yearning for a cross-tabulation if not some other kind of basic aggregation or statistics, presenting some other kinds of angles of the "picture" painted by the authors in the texts. To their credit, Lind and Franceschet include a few of these "snapshots," and Richards provides rich written descriptions of her interviewees, but so much more could be added in parsimonious ways if the authors would include more quantitative ways of processing their incredibly rich data. When one of the goals of feminist research and publication is to find the most effective ways to "give voice" to those who generally are silent or ignored, to attempt to support those seeking social justice, then use of methodologies that might just appeal to or catch the eye and ear of another scholar, government official, legislator, policy wonk, and such decision-making persons, can only make the tremendous work done in collecting the data more worthwhile. Concretely then, this challenge remains for the authors and others whose work touches this area of research, to determine whether or how it might be possible to share the data with others, so a greater variety of methods can also be used to analyze them.

Finally, Jaquette raises the issues of how to mainstream research about women and politics, so that not only feminist scholars are working on women's issues, and in particular how to bring together comparative public policy analysis and gender analysis. For example, would it be possible to use the method of nested games to analyze the overlap or lack thereof between the women's state agencies and movements, a la Tsebelis?<sup>10</sup> Or could issues of social policy responses to neoliberalism in the region include data from or indicators related to women's civil society organizations and/or women's policy agencies?<sup>11</sup> All the texts

10. See Alemán, Eduardo and George Tsebelis. 2005. "The Origins of Presidential Conditional Agenda-Setting Power in Latin America." *Latin American Research Review* v. 40 n. 2 (June) for a recent application of nested games to a Latin American political scenario.

11. For example, reviewing Amy Lind's work with a more traditional set of analyses of neoliberalism, such as those discussed in the *LARR* debate by Weyland, Huber and Solt, and Walton (2005) would be a way to integrate gendered analysis of neoliberalism into the mainstream.

reviewed in this essay make strides toward the mainstream by clearly framing their research in large debates about citizenship, civil society, sectoral differences in response to political economy, and social movements and the church's impact on transitions to democracy. The works are not focused on comparative policy analysis but rather on the actors and the changing relationships between them, with the exception of the parts focusing on the state's women's policy agencies. Therefore this initial examination can serve as groundwork for others to follow upon, for example by analyzing and comparing the women's policy agencies in different countries to see which are the most effective at actually getting policy proposals approved and implemented.

By way of conclusion, it would appear that the last decade of gendered politics in Latin America, and its representation thus far in the subfield, particularly through these four fine texts, was typified by a fragmented set of concerns—even among feminists themselves—and uneven political and economics advances at local and national levels. This contrasts to the mid-1990s, which was a time of interest aggregation and greater efforts toward confluence on an international level. To end on a pragmatic note specifically about the books reviewed in this essay, all are strong additions to their respective areas of debate and for students of particular country cases—gendered political economic analysis in Ecuador (Lind), citizenship relative to poor and indigenous peoples in Chile (Richards), multiple venues for women in politics in Chile (Franceschet), and social movement maintenance and legacies in Brazil and Chile (Drogus and Stewart-Gambino). Also, beyond the obvious usefulness of these texts in women's studies, women and politics, and Latin American politics courses, Lind's *Gendered Paradoxes* would also be an excellent read for upper-level undergraduate and graduate courses on international political economy, and Drogus and Stewart-Gambino's *Activist Faith* would serve as a great example of country case and movement comparisons for any upper-level comparative undergraduate and graduate social science course.

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