Nicaragua Readings

Bayard de Volo, Lorraine. *Mothers of Heroes and Martyrs: Gender Identity Politics in Nicaragua*, Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001. 87-101

[Contents: Second, as far as women are concerned, there has been a tendency, as Bayard de Volo (2003) recently noted, to overlook women's political action that does not explicitly seek to change gender power relations or adopt feminist ideologies. It is likely that counter-revolutionary women were seen by many feminist scholars as lacking in any progressive political potential. Third, it could possibly be argued that revolutionary women were more numerous than counter-revolutionary women. It is estimated that between 25 and 30 per cent of FSLN combatants were women (Molyneux, 1986; Collinson, 1990), but that only seven per cent of the counter- revolutionary soldiers were women (Brown, 2001).

In Nicaragua during the 1980s, revolutionary discourses of women as heroic warriors competed with more deeply established Catholic discourses of women as self-sacrificial mothers. Women's experiences of conflict, revolution and counter-revolution are not therefore built upon a single discourse (see Moser and Clark 2001); although at some times political and gender identities might intersect, at others they might be more divergent or even in conflict. (87)

While the difference between the personal and the ideolo- gical cannot be neatly demarcated, most of these women became counter-revolution- aries because of the men in their lives and the political decisions taken by their husbands, sons and employers. (87)

As stated, Sandinista discourses of gender and nationalism constructed women as either heroic warriors or self-sacrificial mothers. It is possible that women who were opposed to the FSLN and the revolution were less affected by these discourses. The illegal status of the Contra and the dangers of admitting one's involvement in the counter-revolution meant there was more silence surrounding both political activity of this kind and the sacrifice made by mothers who lost sons and daughters who had joined the counter-revolution. (92)

Regardless of positioning with respect to the revolution, dominant understandings of masculinity and femininity are used to make sense of the deaths of children, especially sons, in combat, and their significance is augmented by the way in which they are imbued with politics. (95)

It is possible that maternal discourses were ultimately more powerful within Contra communities than notions of women as heroic and combative warriors, which circulated within Sandinista communities alongside and within the maternal ones, leading Contra women to value sons over daughters just as the Contra leaders placed greater value on male combatants. (96)

In Nicaragua, the struggle for feminism has been highly complex. The FSLN leader- ship, like the traditional left elsewhere in Latin America, dismissed feminism as a bourgeois and imperialist concern of little interest to the popular classes in Nicaragua (Chinchilla, 1994; Randall, 1999). Feminism was viewed as something which would divide rather

than strengthen and democratise the revolution. The Sandinista mass women's organisation AMNLAE remained subordinate to the party during the revolution and consequently failed to articulate a coherent feminist identity (Molyneux, 1986; Chinchilla, 1992, 1994). However, since 1990 and the electoral defeat of the revolution, Nicaragua's feminist movement has become a proliferation of autonomous NGOs, networks, political movements, pressure groups and women's collectives and is clearly one of the most vibrant and influential in Central America (Isbester, 2001). (97)

Women in Waslala became Contra supporters or combatants not out of a coherent objection to Marxism-Leninism but because of their gendered roles, relations and identities. The narratives of counter-revolutionary women demonstrate not only how political identities intersect with and diverge from gender identities in complex ways, but also the extent to which political identities are no more fixed than gender identities. These fluid and multiple intersections can therefore create a feminist political practice which is surprising and unanticipated. To understand the position of women in counter-revolutionary politics in Nicaragua, we need to explore the complex and contested ways in which Somocista, Sandinista and post-Sandinista legacies and gender regimes intersect with both feminist politics and deeply entrenched understandings of masculinity and femininity. (100-101)]

Booth, John A. "Through Revolution and Beyond: Mobilization, Demobilization, and Adjustment in Central America." *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (2005): 202-06. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555371.

Chinchilla, Norma Stoltz. "Revolutionary Popular Feminism in Nicaragua: Articulating Class, Gender, and National Sovereignty." *Gender and Society* 4, no. 3 (1990): 370-97. http://www.jstor.org/stable/189649.

[Contents: Among the advances for women since the revolution highlighted in the 1987 declaration were women's historically unprecedented level of political participation in the new government and political organizations-31.4 percent of government leadership positions, 67 percent of Sandinista Defense Committees, and 26.8 percent of FSLN membership. These reflections of participation in the revolutionary process, while unprecedented, were declared insufficient, and organizations and individuals were called upon to help create conditions that would make women equal participants in decision making in the revolution (Barricada Internacional 1987; FSLN 1987). (371)

It implicitly accepted the argument that, at each stage of the revolutionary process, some form of gender-specific or feminist struggle can and should be waged, even when the economic conditions do not exist to solve many of the problemsthatwomen face. (372)

renner1980; Molyneux 1982). While some elements of the "new Marxism" in Latin America are shared by the Cuban revolution, the emphasis on political pluralism and popular democracy has been much greater in the Nicaraguan case, in part because it came

to power through a prolonged grass-roots struggle against the dictatorship that required high levels of mass organization and in part because of lessons learned from the Cuban experience (372)

Together with important changes in the social structure of Nicaragua (a high proportion of female-headed families and changes in the gendered division of labor associated with the anti-Contra war), the conditions are more favorable in Nicaragua, than in any previous Third World revolution, for defining a version of feminism that is both consistent with the revolutionary process and supported by a wide variety of women, including the majority who are poor. (372-373)

in revolutionary transformation such as that being attempted in Nicaragua. While the material conditions of women's lives will continue to be an obstacle to women's political participation as long as the resources do not exist to alleviate poverty and domestic labor, material investments are not the only

investmentsarevolutionarymovementcanmakeintheconstruction of a futuresociety in which women achieve equalityandself-realization as autonomoushumanbeings. Political empowermentof women not only may serve to increase the likelihood of material improvementfor women, but may unleash women's power and creativity to solve materialproblems in ways not previously contemplated. (373)

AMPRONACwas the most successful women's organizationlinked to a left revolutionarypartyin Latin America up to thattime. A key factor that made it successful was its ability to take up a general issue-human rights- that affected women in a particular way and pursue it with tactics and

Organizational forms that came out of women's particular experiences. It was not based on the assumption that women's political consciousness was a derivative of men's, that is, the hand-me-down consciousness concept that feminists have rightly criticized (Hartmann 1981; Rowbotham 1974;

Rowbotham, Segal, and Wainwright 1979) but on the assumption that women have gender-specific experiences, some of which are class-specific, but others of which are shared across social classes. (374)

Inpractice,however,many,perhapsmost,of thewomen who responded to AMPRONAC'scall to mobilize for humanrightsand against dictator- ship did so, at least originally,more out of a strong identification with their roles as mothers,grandmothers,andspouses thanout of any critique of the gendered division of labor or their circumstances women (Maier 1980; Randall1981). (375)

AMNLAE "Throughout1980, its membership grew among housewives, marketwomen, mothers of the combatantsor

Sandinistaskilledintheinsurrectiona,ndhealthandeducationworkerswho hadbeen drawnin as a resultof specific campaigns. It drew only lukewarm supportfrom Sandinistawomen professionals, government employees, and members of the

party apparatus. Women agricultural and industrial wage workers, young women, and women in the army were noticeably absent from its ranks (Murguialday Martinez 1987).

Legalized abortion is available in most socialist countries, and it has not been a major point of controversy in Cuba. In the Nicaraguan context, however, where the Catholic church has historically been much stronger as an institution and more influential as a shaper of secular laws and popular culture, the issue of abortion rights for women has been highly divisive, including among women themselves. (381)

Mobilization for the war effort and feminism could and should be combined: Women would be much more willing to sacrifice for the revolution if they could be assured that the importance of their contributions to defense were recognized and the gains they had made in transcending traditional gender roles would not be reversed once the soldiers came home (384)

If this analysis is correct, the unexpected vote of a significant segment of "undecided" voters for the UNO opposition should be seen more as reaction to "war weariness," economic hardship, and pessimism about any major improvement on the horizon rather than an ideological defection from the goals and principles of the Sandinista Revolution (391)

Womenwho workedoutside the home, however, indicated the highest level of support for the Sandinistacandidate of any of the three groups: 59 percent. Correspondingly, housewives expressed the highest level of open support for Chamorro (28 percent compared to 22 percent for men and working women) and the highest level of "undecided voters" (20 percent compared to 16 percent for men and 12 percent for working women). (391-392)]

Hurtig, Janise, and Rosario Montoya. "Women's Political Lives in Latin America: Reconfiguring Terrains of Theory, History, and Practice." *Latin American Research Review* 40, no. 1 (2005): 187-201. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1555370.

[Contents: While feminist researchers have addressed the limitations of this dichotomy primarily by acknowledging the fluidity be- tween these spheres, the assumption persists that women have to leave the private sphere to engage in meaningful or socially transformative political activity. Increasingly, scholars have questioned the usefulness of this U.S.-European socio-spatial distinction in the analysis of Latin American women's lives. Nonetheless, as Rosario Montoya points out, most research on women and politics in contemporary Latin America continues to be framed in terms of this dichotomy, resulting in an al- most exclusive focus on women's activity in the public domain.5 (4)

The authors argue that existing

evidence on Latin America, while incipient, points to gender equality in property as fundamental to ending women's subordination (9, 11). (7) In Mujeres, genero e historia Victoria Gonzalez discusses

Somocista women's role in shaping Nicaraguan political culture, argu- ing that women's understanding of and support for Somocismo was grounded in interests shaped by their biographies as classed and gendered subjects. (10)]

Kampwirth, Karen. "Abortion, Antifeminism, and the Return of Daniel Ortega: In Nicaragua, Leftist Politics?" *Latin American Perspectives* 35, no. 6 (2008): 122-36. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27648142.

[Contents: Thus Nicaragua joined a regional trend to the left, what has sometimes been called Latin America's "pink tide" (e.g., Castañeda, 2006;

Cleary, 2006; NACLA, 2007; Panizza, 2005 [QQ: 2004?]; but see Zovatto, 2007 [QQ: 2006?]: 24–26). In some Latin American countries, the pink tide has brought with it a limited expansion of reproductive freedom (Lehman, 2007; McKinley, 2007), but not in Nicaragua. Quite the opposite, the 2006 election illustrated another regional trend: the rise of politically sophisticated antifeminist movements in response to feminism's second wave (Buss and Herman, 2002; Druelle, 2000; González Ruiz, 2005, 2001; Htun, 2003: 143, 151–156; Kampwirth, 2006). In the Nicaraguan case, these two trends are related. (122-123)

In 2006 the FSLN seemed to reimagine the legacy of the revolution, and the new vision of what it meant to be a revolutionary was traditional Catholic rather than liberation theology Catholic, antifeminist rather than feminist. (124)

Yet despite all the important work it did, AMNLAE's role as support for the male-dominated FSLN impeded its ability to challenge sexual inequality. (125)

The PIE was a lobbying group that succeeded in promoting gender equality as a constitutional principle. In the 1987 Constitution, at least 10 articles make specific mention of women's rights (compared with none in the 1974 Constitution). Couples in common-law marriages (which are more common than legal marriages among Nicaragua's poor majority) were protected from discrimination, and no-fault divorce was permitted. The PIE did not last into the 1990s, but it left its mark on the constitution and on the women's movement. (126)

Seen from the perspective of

Daniel Ortega and Rosario Murillo, it may be a left-wing project drained of principle or, to put it more kindly, a flexible left-wing project. This is something that arguably has happened to the left across the region (Panizza, 2005 [QQ: 2004?]: 717). But whether flexible or cynical, the return to the left in Nicaragua does not look very left-wing, at least not from a feminist perspective. (131)]

— "The Mother of the Nicaraguans: Dona Violeta and the UNO's Gender Agenda." *Latin American Perspectives* 23, no. 1 (1996): 67-86. http://www.jstor.org/stable/2633938.

[Contents: Ever since Presiden Chamorrow 3 as candidate Chamorro, the image of the tradition malo the run tainteb ody political experience has been clear. The symboloftraditionawlomanhoodis a multifaceteodne. Principallyt, he facets involved herewere (1) loyal wife and widow, (2) reconciling other, and (3) Virgin Mary. (68)

During the campaign, the emphasis was placed not only on the fact that she was the widow of Pedro Joaqu bnutal soon the type of wife she had been. As Donia Violeta made clear, she was a good traditional wife. In an interview early in the campaigns, he told a reporter, 'I am not a feminism to do I wish to be one. I am a woman dedicated o my home as. Pedro taught me. 'Later she would claim' to be marked with the brandinig ron of the Chamorro's' (Cuadra1,990). (69)

The direction which the UNO promised dotake families was not forward towards omenew egalitarian family but backwardt, o "recovert" he "tradition nalucleus" of the family. (70)

At firsthisfocuson women'sufferinmgayseemstranges,incewomen asagrouphadbenefitefdromrevolutionarchyangesN.eweconomicopportunitiefsorwomenwereopenedbyreformisnlaborlaw,bysocialservices suchas childcarecentertshatfreedwomenfromsomeoftheburdenoftheir traditionraolle,andbyexpandededucationaolpportunitiNese.wopportunities forreformegdenderelationwserecreatedbyinnovationssuchasno-fault divorceandbytheestablishmeonftgovernmenagtenciestohelpwomenput theirnewrightisntopracticeT.heseopportunitiwesereopen,theoretically, toallwomenB.utcertainwomenp,articularolylderwomend,idnotgreatly benefiftromthemT.hesewomenw,howerenotmobilizedtotheextenthat youngwomenwereandwerenotina positiontotakeadvantageofthe opportunititehsatheSandinistaosfferetdowomeno,ftenexperienceodnly anerosionofthelimitedprivilegtehatagehadgiventhemwithintraditional familylife. (7)

Secondly, likethe Virginw, hocould only plead the case of human bse for Geod the Father D, onia Violetawa sunable to act without all edirectio (71)

I havedescribedDofiaVioletaalternativealysa symboolfwife,widow, mothera,ndVirginA.llthefacetsofthesymboalrecharacterizebdysubser- viencetomales-a subservienctehat,intheoryatleast,isrewardedwith respecatndsecurityT.hesymboilmpliesthatwomenarebasicallyincompetente,xceptwithintheirtraditionraolles. (72)

M.anywomene, specially poorwomena, reseeing the gendergains of the past decadeer oded away. (73)

Tth.emassiventrance of women into the paidwork forcies a trend with roots that go well beyond state policy but one that he previous administration indencourage T. othe extent hat it can, the currenated ministratia och stocurtait lhistrend A. fter all, the UNO ranona plat form of mother hoo adn, dgo od mother sli, ke Donia Violetas, hould be dedicated to their homes (74)

Althoughitis beyondthescopeofthisarticlei, tis importantotrecognize that for every antifemina is ctofthe executivet, he women's movemeng trows increasing lyeminisat nddiverse. (75)

Since about1988,thewomen'smovemenitn Nicaraguahas beenin a processofdiversifyinegx,pandinga,ndbecomingmoreradical.Partofthat newradicalism(inthecase of some branches of the movementi)ncludes vocal support for gayrights P. erhaps the inclusion of gayrights on the women's movementa's gendain fluencet dhe FSLN's unanimous oteagainst 204.15 Nodoubt that votewas also (perhaps mainly b) ecause they believed that 204 is unconstitutional. (80)]

—. Women and Guerrilla Movements: Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chiapas, Cuba. University Park: Penn State Press, 2002. 21-43.

Nicaragua Interviewees

Mónica Baltodano

- Baltodano, Mónica. *Memorias de la lucha sandinista*. Managua, Nicaragua: Instituto de Historia de Nicaragua y Centroamérica de la Universidad Centroaméricana, IHNCA-UCA, 2010.
- Lous, Por Fabrice Le. "Mónica Baltodano:." La Prensa. August 28, 2016. Accessed November 10, 2017. https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2016/08/28/suplemento/la-prensa-domingo/2090380-entrevista-con-monica-baltodano.
- "Mónica Baltodano." Wikipedia. November 10, 2017. Accessed November 10, 2017. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%C3%B3nica Baltodano.

Bertha Inés Cabrales

- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Información, Mayor. "HISTORIA, MISIÓN Y OBJETIVOS DE ITZA." COLECTIVO DE MUJERES ITZA. January 01, 1970. Accessed November 10, 2017. http://colectivodemujeresitza.blogspot.com/2009/05/historia-mision-y-objetivos-de-itza.html.
- Romero, Elzíabeth. "Omisión de pago de alimentos principal demanda de mujeres." La Prensa. November 24, 2016. Accessed November 10, 2017. https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2016/11/24/nacionales/2139586-omision-pago-alimentos-principal-demanda-mujeres.

Violeta Delgado

- Álvarez, Elízabeth Romero y Leonor. "Detienen a hondureños en Nicaragua." La Prensa. July 03, 2015. Accessed November 10, 2017. https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2015/07/03/nacionales/1861013-detienen-a-hondurenos-en-nicaragua.
- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Shift, Agile. "Autor." CINCO. Accessed November 10, 2017. http://cinco.org.ni/es/autor/10-violeta-delgado-sarmineto/.

Juanita Jiménez

- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017.
- Juanita Jimenez, LinkedIn Profile. https://www.linkedin.com/in/juanita-jimenez-40931a28/.
- "Noticias." Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres de Nicaragua. Accessed November 10, 2017. http://www.movimientoautonomodemujeres.org/noticias/ver/194.
- Romero, Elízabeth. "Defensoras de mujeres de Nicaragua bajo ataques de descalificación." La Prensa. August 25, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2017/08/26/nacionales/2286349-mujeres-nicaragua-descalificacion.
- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

Matilde Lindo

- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- "Matilde Lindo." Wikipedia. November 06, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Matilde Lindo.
- "Noticias." Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres de Nicaragua. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.movimientoautonomodemujeres.org/noticias/ver/167.
- The University of Vermont. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.uvm.edu/~uvmpr/newsarchives/c.%20Fall%201995/Womens%20Organizations%20to%20Host%20Beijing%20Conference%20Discussion.

Yamileth Mejía

- Becker, Marc. "Trip Reports." Changing Nicaragua from the Ground Up: The Power and Promise of Nicaraguan Women. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://www.yachana.org/reports/wccn06/12june/.
- "Nicaragua: Feminists under attack by fundamentalist forces." Nicaragua: Feminists under attack by fundamentalist forces | Women Living Under Muslim Laws. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.wluml.org/ar/node/4316.
- Ross, Clif, Marcy Rein, and Raúl Zibechi. *Until the rulers obey: voices from Latin American social movements*. Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2014, 143-147.

Sofía Montenegro

- "Feminisms, North and South." Feminisms, North and South Interview with Sofia Montenegro. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://adamjones.freeservers.com/sofia.htm.
- "Sofia Montenegro interview." Sofia Montenegro. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.hartford-hwp.com/archives/47/307.html.
- "Sofia Montenegro (Nicaragua)." World Movement for Democracy. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://www.movedemocracy.org/person/sofia-montenegro-nicaragua.
- "Sofia Montenegro." Wikipedia. November 03, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sof%C3%ADa_Montenegro.

Vilma Núñez

- "Vilma Nuñez de Escorcia." Front Line Defenders. May 12, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://www.frontlinedefenders.org/en/profile/vilma-nunez-de-escorcia.
- "Vilma Núñez de Escorcia (Nicaragua)." WikiPeaceWomen English. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://wikipeacewomen.org/wpworg/en/?page id=2095.
- "Vilma Núñez de Escorcia." Wikipedia. November 08, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://es.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vilma N%C3%BA%C3%B1ez de Escorcia.

Sandra Ramos

- Diario, El Nuevo. "Sandra Ramos: una luchadora." El Nuevo Diario. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.elnuevodiario.com.ni/especiales/240706-sandra-ramos-luchadora-arrecha/.
- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- Morris, Louise. "Louise Morris." Latin America Bureau. December 16, 2015. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://lab.org.uk/nicaragua-interview-with-sandra-ramos-womens-rights-activist/.
- "Nicaraguan leader Sandra Ramos attends Korean women's conference exploring innovative organizing strategies." Maquila Solidarity Network. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://en.archive.maquilasolidarity.org/node/966.

Dora María Téllez

- Alejandra González. "Dora María Téllez: La guerrillera que colecciona calcetines." La Prensa. June 24, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://www.laprensa.com.ni/2017/06/25/suplemento/la-prensa-domingo/2252002-dora-maria-tellez-la-guerrillera-que-colecciona-calcetines.
- Baltodano, M. (2022, February 3). *A Dora María Téllez: Lo azul no hay que tocar*. Confidencial. https://www.dropbox.com/s/4kka41qiqba9sno/A%20Dora%20Mar%C3%ADa%20T%C3 %A9llez %20Lo%20azul%20no%20hay%20que%20tocar%20-%20Confidencial.pdf?dl=0
- Baltodano, M. (2022, February 3). *To Dora María Téllez: The sky that must not be touched*. (Megan Bloem & Stephan Mendes, Trans.) Available from https://www.dropbox.com/s/ns7pbqiywzlj8uf/A%20Dora%20Mar%C3%ADa%20T%C3%A9llez %20Lo%20azul%20no%20hay%20que%20tocar English.pdf?dl=0
- "Dora María Téllez." Wikipedia. October 06, 2017. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dora Mar%C3%ADa T%C3%A9llez.
- La Prensa. (2022, February 3). *Dora Maria Téllez y Lesther Alemán son declarados culpables, pero se mantienen rmes y exigen justicia, libertad y democracia*.

 <a href="https://www.dropbox.com/s/13ep08p0err1una/Dora%20Mar%C3%ADa%20T%C3%A9llez%20y%20Lesther%20Alem%C3%A1n%20son%20declarados%20culpables%2C%20pero%20se%20mantienen%20firmes%20y%20exigen%20justicia%2C%20libertad%20y%20democracia%20-%20La%20Prensa.pdf?dl=0
- La Prensa. (2022, February 3). *Dora María Téllez and Lesther Alemán are found guilty, but remain firm and demand justice, freedom and democracy*. (Megan Bloem & Stephan Mendes, Trans.) Available from https://www.dropbox.com/s/i9zkaoleniqqfwe/La%20Prensa%20Dora%20Mar%C3%ADa%20T%C3%A9llez%20Article_English.pdf?dl=0
- Salinas, Carlos, and Carlos Herrera. ""Daniel Ortega necesita institucionalizar la sucesión familiar"." EL PAÍS. February 19, 2016. Accessed November 11, 2017. https://elpais.com/internacional/2016/02/10/america/1455142775 628957.html.
- Téllez, Dora María. "Dora María Téllez." Dora María Téllez. January 01, 1970. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://doramariatellez.blogspot.com/.

Martha Heriberta Valle

- "Federación Agropecuaria de Cooperativas de Mujeres Productoras del Campo de Nicaragua R.L. (FEMUPROCAN)." PECOSOL. Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.pecosol.org/organizacion/federaci%C3%B3n-agropecuaria-de-cooperativas-de-mujeres-productoras-del-campo-de-nicaragua-r.
- Grabe, Shelly. *Narrating a psychology of resistance: voices of the compañeras in Nicaragua*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.
- "Martha Heriberta Valle Valle: Revolucionaria, Cooperativista." Accessed November 11, 2017. http://www.femuprocan.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=116%3A

martha-heriberta-valle-valle-revolucionaria-cooperativista&catid=46&Itemid=127.

Shayne, Julie D. *Taking risks: feminist activism and research in the Americas*. Albany: SUNY Press, 2015.287-295.