

El país de las mujeres, Gioconda Belli's (Neo)feminist Treatise: New Proposals for a Post-Sandinista Society in Nicaragua

Este artículo examina el vínculo entre el pasado histórico del Sandinismo en Nicaragua (1979-90), el retorno problemático al Sandinismo de Daniel Ortega (2007-2018) y el presente literario en la novela de Gioconda Belli, El país de las mujeres. Usando el concepto de "trafficking history", este artículo analiza la novela y asocia los dos contextos históricos al reciente movimiento innovador de mujeres y sus "verdaderas" iteraciones contemporáneas. El país de las mujeres es una obra de ficción que se basa en la realidad e incluye una agenda de género, tanto política como social

Palabras clave: Nicaragua, feminismo, Gioconda Belli, literatura, escritoras, Sandinismo, activismo

This article examines the connections between the historical Sandinista past in Nicaragua (1979-1990), the controversial Sandinista return with Daniel Ortega (2007-2018), and the literary present in Gioconda Belli's novel, El país de las mujeres. Using the concept of "trafficking history," this article analyzes the novel and associates the two historical contexts with the innovative virtual women's movement and its recent "real" iterations. El país de las mujeres is a work of fiction that is based on reality and includes a gendered political and social agenda.

Keywords: Nicaragua, feminism, Gioconda Belli, literature, women writers, Sandinism, activism

Since her participation in the Sandinista political struggle in the seventies, Gioconda Belli has narrated an important utopian literary project in which women were central. In one of her most recent novels, *El país de las mujeres* (A Woman's Country, 2010, unpublished in English), the Nicaraguan author takes a "true" event as her point of departure in order to create a fictional country in which women have taken over political power. The novel tells of the existence of a place governed during a set period almost solely by

women. The idea for the political party stems from a movement born in the first Sandinista decade in Nicaragua (1979-90), a movement called the Partido de la Izquierda Erótica (Party of the Erotic Left or P.I.E. in Spanish). This was an unofficial party created by women who were in important positions in the Sandinista government at the time in order to counter their experiences of patriarchal power. That period's P.I.E., according to Belli, wanted to articulate and institute strategies to promote women's rights in a society where these rights had taken a backseat to the simple survival of the Sandinista regime. During the eighties, among other problems, Nicaragua was facing repeated attacks from the United States-backed *Contras* and dealing with the blockade by the same country. In the year 1990, the election and subsequent return of a neoliberal party, and specifically the election of a woman, Violeta Chamorro, to power had not meant any concrete changes for the women who had participated in the P.I.E. or their Nicaraguan sisters.

Published twenty years after the first Sandinista government's electoral defeat, the novel *El país de las mujeres* describes an imperfect reality; the (neo)feminist country, governed by women, is far from being a utopia. The author presents the divergences of the women's movement, the internal problems, and the ambiguous relationship of the female regime with the rest of the general population. However, the novel did not remain static, as just a literary artefact, as confirmed by the P.I.E.'s website which republished the group's manifesto imagined by Belli in the novel. The literary proposal thus became a concrete one and the author initiated a dialogue with her readers, particularly with the women, whom she wanted to consult about their constructive ideas for a more just society. This article analyses the relation between the historical Sandinista past (1979-1990), the controversial Sandinista return (2007-2018), and the literary present in Belli's novel, and associates the two historical contexts with the innovative virtual women's movement and its recent "real" iterations.

Our approach to analysing this novel will make use of a concept developed previously called "trafficking history," which is "the combination of chronicling various epochs concurrently and manipulating common historical misconceptions and perceived truths in order to question contemporary values and occurrences" (Lavoie 81). Much like Cuba, the country for which this model was developed, twenty-first century Nicaragua is a country that is "a place of strange bedfellows" (81). In Nicaragua, old guard Sandinistas tried to rebuild a semblance of the socialist utopia of their seventies dreams in a new globalized environment, and disgruntled ex-Sandinistas lamented the country's descent into another dictatorship, while ordinary folks struggled to survive. Chronicling all these historic events are writers – not least of which Rosario Murillo, the

president's wife and chief communications officer – who imagined the Sandinista utopia, contributed to its triumph in 1979, mourned its electoral defeat in 1990, and witnessed its distorted resurrection in 2006. Much like our original analysis of the Cuban context relied on the notion of palimpsest, so does this one. Even in a setting that is science fiction, lush layers of literature, history, activism, truth, and fiction buttress the narrative created by Belli, with an eye to creating another definitive text for social change in the neo/post era, especially for women who have been some of the most obvious victims of the last forty years of miscarried social change in Latin America.

The use of the term (neo)feminist in our title is intentional, although it might lead to confusion. To clarify, in Latin America, the term “neofeminist” has a meaning specific to the continent’s historical context and not necessarily tied to the North American usage.¹ The following definition, by Ericka Parra, succinctly summarizes these regional specificities:

el concepto neofeminismo se resignifica en Latinoamérica durante la década de los ochenta y se da apertura al debate de temas que afectan las relaciones de género, tales como, patriarcado, sexualidad, cuerpo femenino y espacios público y privado. El neofeminismo [es] el espacio discursivo donde dialogan diversos feminismos cuyas ideas dan continuidad a la discusión sobre los asuntos de las mujeres en la cultura latinoamericana. (11)²

Beyond the societal debates, the concept permeates women’s writing where “the neo-feminist novel documents a woman’s struggle against the oppression of a patriarchal society in an effort to develop her own personhood. It is a historical novel that focuses on female strength and influence. This history is often recreated through the stories and experiences of the author’s own female ancestors” (Camacho-Gingerich 31).³ This approach to narrative is evident in the documented literary boom of women’s writing from Latin America that occurred in the eighties and nineties and whose most renowned representative is exiled Chilean author Isabel Allende.⁴ Gioconda Belli’s first novels are included in this boom cycle.

Parra’s assertion that “diverse feminisms are in dialogue” in neofeminist novels by women is also related to the palimpsestic presence of other literary efforts at both creating all female societies and including a plethora of feminist voices (11). The latter is quite straight forward, as we will see, since the feminist lineage in the work is explicit. The former is more difficult to pinpoint, except when keeping in mind Gioconda Belli’s own literary production, a few examples of which will be provided in the paragraphs that follow.

Gioconda Belli is celebrated in Latin American literary circles as she has had much success with her poetry and novels. Born into an upper-class Managua conservative family and educated in Europe and the United States, Belli returned to her country as a young professional in the early 1970s, started to write poetry, and joined the clandestine Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional revolutionary movement against the Somoza dynasty's dictatorship, which had been in power in Nicaragua for forty years. Belli went into exile in Costa Rica and, later, Mexico where she was condemned in absentia for her subversive activities. However, she was also very active in mobilizing international support for the Sandinista cause during her exile. In July 1979, Belli returned to her country when the Sandinista forces took power and was active in the upper-level administration of various government departments for years. In the late eighties, she felt the need to return to literature to tell longer stories and published her first novels, in which she represented women's role in the revolutionary process. After the electoral defeat in 1990, Belli became disillusioned with the Sandinista leaders and, in the mid-nineties, publicly left the FLSN party like many of her peers such as Ernesto Cardenal. Her personal memoir, *El país bajo mi piel: Memorias de amor y guerra* [*The Country Under My Skin: A Memoir of Love and War*], published in 2000, details events from her life in Nicaragua during the Sandinista period of the late seventies and eighties.

La mujer habitada [*The Inhabited Woman*], Belli's first and arguably most successful novel, was published in 1988. Largely autobiographical, it parallels women's roles in social struggle in different epochs: the 1970s and sixteenth-century indigenous women. The novel situates women's participation in social struggle in a historical context and brings to light inherent social issues which the Sandinistas were hoping to solve through their movement. Belli's first science fiction novel from the mid-nineties, *Waslala: Memorial del futuro* [*Waslala: Memorial of the Future*, unpublished in English], is a return on the utopian project of the Sandinistas, and extensively alludes to the political ideals of the original Sandinista movement, especially for those familiar with the events and politics. In this novel, for years, no one has been able to find the visionary community despite yearning for and hearing about its existence. Deeply feminist and environmentalist, this third novel ends with the young protagonist, daughter of the founders of Waslala, finding her way to the community buried deep in the jungle and discovering only her mother alive. Once there, her mother leaves the annals of the experience to her daughter in hopes that the next generation will be able to construct the ideal community by learning from their ancestors' mistakes. Previous to her turn to fiction, in her poetry from the seventies, Belli had been one of the first Nicaraguan

women to break with common taboos surrounding topics of women's writing in the country, paralleling what other women were voicing in neighbouring countries and around the world.⁵

In effect, one of the ground-breaking collections of poems by a Central American woman poet, *Poemas de la izquierda erótica* [Poems from the Erotic Left, unpublished in English], was published in 1973 by the Guatemalan writer Ana María Rodas. Rodas was one of Belli's contemporaries who also identified with socialist political ideologies. Deeply affected by her identity at a time of turmoil, Rodas had wanted to affirm more directly "así soy yo" (Cazali), allowing an intimate glimpse into women's psyche and broaching themes such as sexuality and domesticity in a candid and colloquial manner. Having been exposed to what would have been considered shocking poems at the time, Nicaraguan women appropriated the name of Rodas' collection in the 1980s as an appellation for an informal women's discussion group, something that Rodas only realized in 2002 (Cazali). The threads of literary and political sorority are numerous.

Even though Gioconda Belli presents her novel *El país de las mujeres* as fiction, in the acknowledgements, she includes a comment about the genuine Partido de la izquierda erótica that was formed by women in Nicaragua:

durante la Revolución Sandinista, existió en realidad un grupo de mujeres, amigas, que nos constituimos en lo que llamamos el P.I.E., el Partido de la Izquierda Erótica. Cada una de nosotras tenía alguna posición intermedia de importancia en estructuras gubernamentales, partidarias o de masas ... acordamos discutir y poner en práctica estrategias para promover los derechos de la mujer individualmente en nuestra esfera de influencia ... funcionó por varios años y fue un ejercicio de camaradería y creatividad compartida que nos enriqueció a todas. A través del tiempo nos hemos dispersado en otros círculos y hasta adoptado posiciones contrarias en política, pero creo que ninguna de nosotras lamenta o se arrepiente de lo que juntas "cocinamos" en nuestras reuniones. (*El país* 204)

The need for the real-life P.I.E. emerged while the Sandinista women were living the utopian "dream-come-reality" of the eighties. The perfect world that the Sandinistas had imagined had unfortunately not become concrete with the overthrow of the Somoza dictatorship in 1979. Amongst the many challenges the country suffered (most notably the Contra low-intensity war), the question of gender continued to be problematic, and this despite the explicit policy that had been established from the creation of the Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional. In its 1969 Programa Histórico [Historic

Program], under the heading “Emancipación de la mujer,” the seventh point of the document vowed to “eliminar la odiosa discriminación” that women suffered and outlined seven concrete measures to do so including the establishment of workers’ daycares, increased political involvement, and maternity leaves (Frente Sandinista de Liberación Nacional). These promises had greatly heightened women’s expectations for significant change in Nicaragua.

In her now seminal book from the early 1980s, *Todas estamos despiertas: Testimonios de la mujer nicaraguense hoy* [*Sandino’s Daughters: Testimonies of Nicaraguan Women in Struggle*], writer and activist Margaret Randall includes a last chapter titled “Los cambios más grandes.” Randall sums up her work in the following way: “corre, a través de más de ochenta entrevistas que hicimos para este libro, una línea de creciente capacidad de ser partícipe del cambio, tanto a nivel ‘personal’ como socialmente” (279). After over 40 years of dictatorship, Nicaraguan women were full of hope, partly because of the significant role they had had in the Revolution. Karen Kampwirth, a political scientist who has studied Nicaragua for decades, determined that “the non-traditional conditions of the guerrilla life” were what led to the reduction of sexism in the years of the Sandinista struggle (1970s), a specific context that ended with the return to routine daily life when the Sandinista Junta (made up of 12 men) took power (33). According to Kampwirth’s analysis, solidarity, rather than an explicit awareness of gender, was present in the country. Her examination of Nicaraguan society establishes that: “the role of women in these new social organizations was aided by two factors [migration and changes to the social structure] in combination with a third: changes in the Catholic Church, beginning in the seventies”, referencing the development of Liberation Theology (Kampwirth 8).⁶ Sociologist Maxine Molyneux confirmed this analysis in her thorough review of Nicaraguan socialism published in the mid-eighties: “if the revolution did not demand the dissolution of women’s *identities*, it did require the *subordination* of their *specific interests* to the broader goals of overthrowing Somoza and establishing a new social order. ... Women in Nicaragua have certainly not achieved full equality, let alone emancipation” (229). The FSLN did attempt some initial forays into creating better conditions for women by offering them senior government positions and legislating a ban on media exploitation of women as sex objects, for example. However, the long term did not offer more concrete actions. In this stagnant context, the female elites of Sandinista society were the ones who talked among themselves about the utopian possibility of an even more egalitarian world in which all women’s demands would not have to be put aside for the greater good.

Used in the title of this article, the term “Post-Sandinista” refers to the period after the first decade of the Sandinista Revolution: sixteen years of neoliberal governments which transformed Nicaragua into the second poorest country in the region and, indeed, the country remains on the list of the 2018 International Monetary Fund’s 36 most heavily indebted poor countries (International Monetary Fund). The return of the neoliberal economic apparatus in Nicaragua in 1990 further kept women from consolidating the positive changes that they had wished for during the years of the Revolution. More recent political changes in the country, including the return of Daniel Ortega to power in 2006, have not meant advances for women’s rights. On the contrary, independent women’s groups have had to further mobilize to protest conservative legislation that has been put forth by the newly religious (charismatic Catholic) Ortega who, paradoxically, was accused of sexually abusing his stepdaughter Zoilamérica Narváez during more than a decade.⁷ Narváez’s mother, writer Rosario Murillo, Ortega’s wife and, according to Belli, “de facto co-president of Nicaragua,” stood by her husband (Belli, “Power”). As an indication of Ortega’s change in attitude towards women’s rights that had been integral to his first government of the eighties, soon after his reelection, in 2007, he passed “a law banning all abortions, even in the case where the mother’s life is at risk,” also known as therapeutic abortions (Debusmann). This was considered a hugely regressive step in a country that had been at the forefront of women’s rights for a decade (1979-90) in Central America and had kept this abortion legislation in place, even under the ultra-Catholic government of Violeta Chamorro.⁸

A frequent commentator on Nicaraguan politics for the past decades, Belli has been affirming her identity as a woman in various ways since the seventies in her poems, novels, and memoirs. With Ortega’s return, she gave herself the objective of “reformular la idea del poder,” something that she did once again through her writing (Marín Yarza). However, this time, in *El país de las mujeres*, the novel’s message had repercussions that were much more widespread and became concrete, in the fictional sense, with the 100% feminine government imagined by Belli and its explicit political agenda.

The original “Manifiesto del Partido de la Izquierda Erótica (P.I.E.)” [Party of the Erotic Left’s Manifesto] was published in her novel, *El país de las mujeres*, awarded *La Otra Orilla*, a prestigious Latin American literary prize in 2010 (Belli, *El país* 75-76). Belli submitted her manuscript using a pseudonym – Viviana Sansón – the name of the main character and president of the country Belli has called Faguas, a designation for fictionalized Nicaragua she has used since writing *La mujer habitada*. The

distinguished Nicaraguan feminist, Sofia Montenegro, ended her presentation of the book at its launch at the Alliance Française in Managua with a resounding: “¡Matria libre ... y vivir feliz!” [“A Free Matriarchy... and live happy!”] (Montenegro). Montenegro’s maxim is a clever play on words of the popular revolutionary slogan “¡Patria Libre o Muerte!” [“Free Fatherland or Death!”], which the FSLN, like many other revolutionary movements in Latin America, used as a rallying cry. The abstract consequences of the presence of the patriarchal “Fatherland” they fought for were previously lost on the women guerrillas of the Sandinista Revolution. Beyond fiction (and despite her significant editorial success), Belli’s tenacity has led her to want to reach a much wider public for her political ideas with this publication.

El país de las mujeres tells the story of Viviana Sansón’s government. Sansón is the new president of Faguas, a small Latin American country. The novel begins as she goes to pronounce a public speech and is shot; the rest of the novel recalls, through the seemingly insignificant items in her bedroom (sunglasses, a ring, an alarm clock, etc.), the turbulent history of her women’s only political party. The third person omniscient narrator’s voice is interspersed with fictitious political tracts, interviews, articles and political manifestos identified as “(materiales históricos)” (author’s brackets) at the top of each section. Interestingly enough, the brackets mark interruptions to the narrative but in no way are the resources historical or “authentic.” All of these materials are created by the author but probably roughly modeled on materials she would have produced during her stint as a communications strategist in the Sandinista government. These official-looking “documents” erect part of the palimpsestic context of the novel along with affirming the veracity and plausibility of the narrative in the science fictional context.

Sansón is surrounded by a team of varied women in positions of power, each of whom represents a female archetype, a group similar to the varied women present in the original P.I.E.: a lesbian, a romantic, a femme fatale, etc. Reminiscent of the 12-man *junta* that governed Nicaragua from 1979 to 1984’s elections, Belli traffics history subverts this historical fact and feminizes it to create a true team, led by Sansón. In fact, in the novel, Belli easily mixes reality and fiction; she brings in prominent feminist theorist (and ex-Sandinista) Sofia Montenegro in the list of authors that the president quotes during a speech (Belli, *El país* 79). Belli also includes herself in the narrative as an anecdote (but without superlatives) when she describes a woman wearing “una camiseta blanca con la línea de un poema de la poeta nicaragüense Gioconda Belli que decía simplemente: YO BENDIGO MI SEXO” (Belli, *El país* 80). It is interesting that the author

chooses to acknowledge “real” feminists in a fictional neo-feminist work, but it speaks to the significance she places on women’s voices and activism for imagining and bringing about societal change.

The country that Belli conceives is one in which the “humo de un volcán ... ha desestabilizado a la testosterona de los hombres” leaving them “passive” (Belli, *El país* 20-21). The women characters’ P.I.E., through a clever campaign, has managed to come to power with a manifesto of seven points which establishes, among other affirmations:

1. ... nosotras, las mujeres, ya estamos cansadas de pagar los platos rotos de tanto gobierno inepto, corrupto, manipulador, barato, caro, usurpador de funciones, irrespetuoso de la constitución. ... 2. ... Nuestra habilidad es la negociación, la convivencia y el cuidado de las personas y las cosas. 3. ... Nosotras somos de izquierda porque creemos que una izquierda a la mandíbula es la que hay que darle a la pobreza, corrupción, y desastre de este país. ... 7. ... A los hombres los invitamos a pensar y recordar quien los crio y a meditar si no les habría convenido más tener una madre que la ristra de padres de la patria que tras todos estos años nunca les cumplieron. (109-10)

Along with direct criticisms (seemingly aimed at Ortega), the manifesto exploits concrete stereotypical feminine personality traits, like empathy, to promote change nationally. The novel also outlines the various levels of administration of the government that, during this temporary lapse of testosterone, will try to convince the men of the need for women to be in power in order to build a better society. Of course, since the novel starts with Sansón’s shooting, readers know that this project is not without its naysayers. Belli’s literary objective, like in *Waslala: Memorial del futuro*, might be to offer a possible failed alternative to patriarchal power, one that readers can learn from and move past.

However, Belli’s novel does not ‘just’ remain in the domain of fiction since the author concretized her project with the creation of a P.I.E. website, which reproduced the fictional group’s manifesto, originally written by Belli in the novel. Going well beyond what could have been considered a naïve marketing campaign, the author, on the P.I.E. website, called people of all genders to participate in her utopian project: “Cada una de nosotras impulsando ideas donde quiera que esté y entre todas, en este sitio, discutiríamos posibilidades ... / ¿Qué les parece? ¿Probamos?” (Belli, “La idea”). The objective of the online project was “propon[er] soluciones accesibles para lidiar con el sesgo economicista y descarnado del desarrollo e iniciar prácticas sociales que, a largo plazo, impactarían nuestra manera de vivir de mil formas” (Belli, “La idea”). Beyond the readership of *El país de*

las mujeres, Belli looked to a wider audience through this website. Although the website has since been taken down, the fact that it had its own domain witnesses the author's intention in building it to last. Additionally, the P.I.E. spurred other groups such as the Partido de la Izquierda Erótica Mexicana [Mexican Party of the Erotic Left], inspired by Belli's original project and founded by eleven women (Partido de la Izquierda Erótica Mexicana).

On October 13, 2010, Belli also published her P.I.E. Manifesto in her Blog in the online version of the Nicaraguan newspaper *El Nuevo Diario* (Belli, "Manifiesto"). The publication of this manifesto produced a fulsome debate, resulting in 177 online commentaries from readers, which have been since removed from the newspaper's site. Gioconda Belli had started her journalistic-confessional work on the blog at another historic moment for her country, in 2006, moment of Ortega's re-election. The adventure ended with the FSLN leader's new electoral win in 2011 for his third term in office. The author saw her online work as crucial although she never expected Ortega's leadership to last:

Hace cinco años inicié en *El Nuevo Diario* esta bitácora con la intención de seguir los pasos del gobierno de Daniel Ortega, pensando en que quizás mi amigo tenía razón y que ya no sería posible que volviera jamás el pasado. Me interesaba llevar el récord histórico de la obcecación por el poder que en América Latina ha inspirado a la literatura, pero como suele suceder, la realidad superó mi imaginación ... Esta cronista confiesa que ya no tiene estómago. Ni ánimo para una crónica que el 19 de Julio de 1979, creyó no volvería a escribirse en su país, al menos en su tiempo de vida ... Me voy entonces con mis palabras a otra parte. No me callo. Los espero en mis novelas, en mi poesía, en esas otras ficciones que, hoy por hoy, me parecen más claras que ésta. (Belli, "Agua regia")

The lines of truth and fiction again blurred for the author, despite the powerful creation her imagination allowed. Ortega's incredible decisions went well beyond what Belli could have ever conceived or expected. Given that fact, why could her literary imaginings not become reality?

A relatively recently utilized tool for political expression, the readers' reactions online reveal the impact of Belli's writing, given that they signal a need and thirst for change in society. A commentary made on the last Blog post by Belli in January of 2012 reads: "Soy una joven nicaragüense de 25 años que ha soñado y se ha transportado con las idas que plasmas en tus libros y escritos. Desde la primera vez que te leí, recuerdo sentirme identificada con tus luchas y tus posiciones políticas" (Morazán). As Belli well knows, the public intellectual woman's role is very important as a model for others. In a commentary reproduced by Belli on her own website,

a young Argentinian reader brings up some of the contradictions in the present-day situation inherent in Belli's stance: "Me encantaría que cada mujer del mundo, y en especial nuestras mujeres latinas, tuvieran la posibilidad de disfrutar e inspirarse con las ideas que plasmas en esta historia. Lamentablemente no todas podemos acceder a la lectura o a un libro" (Yaleva). Publications in newspapers and on the Internet, as Belli had undertaken, could possibly allow for better access to information and diffusion of Belli's somewhat radical neo-feminist ideas. Twenty-first century globalization does allow for a better circulation of information, but also of erroneous information when media is controlled by the powerful, as is the case in much of Latin America where public broadcasters and large media conglomerates are the norm ("Latin America's New Media Are Growing Up").

Going beyond the realm of literature and faced with deteriorating conditions in her own country, Belli's neo-feminist political agenda is powerful and unmistakable and makes use of all available means of communication. At the end of *El país de las mujeres*, she explicitly acknowledges:

A todas las extraordinarias mujeres que abrieron el camino de la equidad, a las que han rodeado mi vida; a las que conozco personalmente y a las que me han iluminado con sus palabras; todas ellas son artífices de esta ruta que vamos recorriendo las mujeres modernas empeñadas en hacer realidad el sueño de igualdad y justicia largamente postergado al que tenemos derecho y que, sin duda, lograremos conquistar. (Belli, *El país* 204)

True to her initial political involvement in the seventies, in the novel, Belli remains staunchly optimistic. By trafficking history in her novel, Belli strives for a better outcome for a society she deeply identifies with but sees degenerating. *El país de las mujeres* is a work of fiction, but what makes this vision distinct is that it is based on reality, includes a gendered political and social agenda, and left readers with much optimism. Indeed, the founding of groups in Nicaragua such as the Movimiento Feminista de Nicaragua, from 2006, and the Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres (founded by Sofía Montenegro), which regularly issues demands signed by over one hundred Nicaraguan women's groups, are a witness to this hope for positive change in the country and the pressing need for a community of women.⁹

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NOTES

- 1 In North America, “the term ‘neo-feminism’ has been used sporadically and somewhat impressionistically in a variety of ways since the 1970s, having in common the assumption that neo-feminism is a reaction to feminism, in particular second-wave feminism. A 1998 manifesto claimed ‘neofeminism’ as the antidote to post-feminism, focussing on ‘choice’ and individual fulfillment. These self-proclaimed ‘neo-feminists’ reject certain forms of consumer culture, as did third-wave feminist Naomi Wolf, but share her focus on the individual and individual fulfillment” (Radner 8).
- 2 In order to focus on Latin America, Ericka Parra summarizes and expands on Eli Bartra’s ideas in their chapter “Tres décadas de neofeminismo en México” (Bartra et al. 53).
- 3 Camacho-Gingerich is summing up and expanding on the ideas of Ellen Morgan in “Humanbecoming: Form and Focus in the Neo-Feminist Novel” (Brown 183).
- 4 The idea of a possibly uniform Hispanic feminine corpus was first posited by Argentinean scholar Susana Reisz in her article, “Hipótesis sobre el tema ‘escritura femenina e hispanidad’”. Five years later, Alvaro Salvador subverts the quintessential term “boom” in his article “El otro boom de la narrativa hispanoamericana: los relatos escritos por mujeres en la década de los ochenta.”
- 5 Sofía Kearns’s 1995 dissertation, *Hacia una poética feminista latinoamericana: Ana María Rodas, María Mercedes Carranza y Gioconda Belli*, gives perhaps the most extensive comparative study of three feminist women poets of the region.
- 6 Phillip Berryman’s *Liberation Theology: Essential Facts about the Revolutionary Movement in Latin American and Beyond* provides an overview of the movement’s founding and influence.
- 7 See Delphine Lacombe’s article for an overview of the scandal.
- 8 Karen Kampwirth’s 1996 article “The Mother of the Nicaraguans: Doña Violeta and the UNO’s Gender Agenda” outlines Violeta Chamorro’s position.
- 9 Both the Movimiento Feminista de Nicaragua and the Movimiento Autónomo de Mujeres can easily be found online through social media.

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