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## **Social Reproduction and Labour Rights: a case study of women workers in Nicaragua**

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### **Introduction**

Women globally have always borne the main burden of 'social reproduction', that is the primarily unpaid work that is carried out in the home and community, which helps to sustain the formal economic system of production (see Box 1). With the increasing feminisation of labour (Standing, 1998) over the last decades, women's work burden has become intensified as they have assumed additional roles in the productive, as well as reproductive spheres. Women's lives as workers cannot be viewed in isolation from their social reproductive roles in the home and community, what has been called women's triple burden in the form of paid work, unpaid care work, and voluntary work (Moser, 1993). This, in turn, calls for different ways of understanding and addressing women's labour rights. In this paper, I present the approach of the Working and Unemployed Women's Movement Maria Elena Cuadra (MEC), a Nicaraguan women's organisation that has been working with women in 'maquila' (export-processing) factories and women workers in other sectors since the mid-90s as an example of the kind of holistic approach required to address women's lives and move beyond the 'false analytical divide between production and reproduction' (Pearson, 2004:617)

The paper begins with a brief overview of key developments in relation to women's roles in the global economy and identifies some of the shortcomings of traditional labour movement responses in terms of responding to concerns specific to women workers. The paper then draws on the testimonies of Nicaraguan women workers which highlight the ways in which women's working lives are impacted by their multiple roles, such as wives, mothers, carers of the sick and elderly and members of the wider community. This section is followed by a description and analysis of the key features of MEC's approach and underlying philosophy. In particular, I argue that a 'social reproductive' holistic approach to labour rights has contributed greatly to the process of how these women workers become politically conscious and acquire leadership and organising skills that allow them to improve their lives inside and outside the workplace as well as that of their families and communities. The women are putting gender knowledge into action.

#### **Box 1: What is social reproduction?**

Social reproduction is relevant to how we live and work and how production in the waged market takes place. As Cindy Katz, puts it, social reproduction is '*the fleshy, messy and indeterminate stuff of every day life*' (2001:710). It refers to tasks such as biological reproduction, childcare and household chores, and tasks outside the home, including participation in organisations and community work, care for the elderly and

social networking. These activities tend to be viewed as an extension of women's biological function and it is primarily women and girls, therefore, who are expected to assume the main responsibility for these roles.

Women's unpaid social reproductive work, although not part of the formal wage labour system, is nonetheless essential to the long-term maintenance of the system. It is the combination of unpaid work in the home, paid work in the formal or (often) informal sector and their work in the community that is often referred to as women's 'triple burden'.

Policies imposed on most developing nations, including requirements to cut back on public spending in areas such as health and education, have resulted in further increasing the burdens on women, particularly female heads of households as they struggle to meet the needs of their families, communities, markets and states while working extremely hard - and most often unpaid - to maintain all these institutions.

Recognising the importance of women's own accounts, this paper draws on women workers own' testimonies, which were collected during focus group discussions with Nicaraguan women workers affiliated to MEC in June 2006<sup>1</sup>. The paper also draws on interviews with the leaders and *promotoras* of the organisation conducted between 2007 and 2008.

I have been collaborating with MEC since 1998 through my involvement with CAWN (Central American Women's Network) and I have carried out extensive research focussing on Central American women organisations, gender and labour rights (see for example, Prieto and Quinteros, 2004 ; Prieto-Carrón, 2008). The data has been collected using a

<sup>1</sup> Seven focus groups took place the 9<sup>th</sup>-11<sup>th</sup> of June 2006 in Managua and Granada, including women from Ciudad Sandino, Tipitapa and Mateares. Rebeca Eileen Zúniga Hamlin, Tessa Mackenzie and Helen Dixon helped with the facilitation of the focus groups. The overall project on economic literacy was part of a CAWN project with MEC funded by DFID (UK Department of International Development). The in-depth interviews were conducted in London: the 18<sup>th</sup> of March 2008 with the director of MEC, Sandra Ramos and one of MEC's leaders and on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 2007 with *promotoras*.

feminist activist research approach (Prieto, 2002), an approach in which the researcher is also an activist with a strong commitment to social justice.

## Women Workers in the Global Economy: the need for gendered responses

In the 80s the processes of feminisation, flexibilisation and privatisation had a big impact on the lives of the women workers around the world. In search of an ever cheaper, more 'docile' workforce, transnational corporations located production in the developing world, targeting a young female labour force for employment in assembly factories where they often face long workdays, receive wages that do not cover the cost of basic household necessities and suffer other human and labour rights violations. The International Labour Organization (ILO) estimates that some 65 million people are employed in 3500 export-processing zones (EPZs) around the world, with around 5 million in Central America and Mexico (ILO, 2007). The majority of the workforce is female.

In 1998, the ILO established a set of 'Core Labour Standards' aimed at protecting the fundamental rights of workers around the world. The ILO standards include rights such as collective bargaining, elimination of child labour and freedom from all forms discrimination. However, although welcoming such initiatives, feminist critiques have highlighted the underlying gender bias in the formulation of these standards, based on the concept of a "male breadwinner", typically a wage-earner, pursuing employment in the public sphere and a "female caregiver" confined to the private sphere' (Vosko, 2004). These assumptions are widespread and permeate both theory and practice as generally labour movements use the ILO standards to enforce workers' rights (Robinson, 2006: 333). There is a lack of a gender focus and/or understanding of the overlapping of the productive and reproductive spheres in the Central American trade union movement<sup>2</sup> (Prieto et al, 2002; Prieto and Quinteros, 2004). For example, whilst trade unions may offer training on

<sup>2</sup> There are some advances in the region such as women taking more important positions for the promotion of gender issues in banana trade unions (Frank, 2005).

some issues other than labour rights, such as on trade and the economy, they never address issues linked to the personal domain, such as self-esteem or domestic violence.

In Central America where export-processing production prevails, movements of women workers have mobilized since the 1990s for improvements in working conditions and to combat a variety of injustices<sup>3</sup>. These autonomous women's organizations arose in part due to the initial lack of responses of trade unions to the wider needs of the women workers in the maquila. Thus they have sought to carve out women-only spaces to address the intersections of women's gender and labour concerns as they affect maquila factory workers (see Bickham-Mendez 2005).

### Women Workers' voices: beyond the workplace

Women's working lives and their lives outside the workplace are intrinsically linked. Nicaragua is a country characterised by extreme poverty, a very high proportion of female-headed households<sup>4</sup> and deeply engrained *machista* attitudes. Sofia Montenegro (2000) describes family relations as unequal and characterised by, among others, polygamy, irresponsible paternity and domestic violence. Women also live in a situation of poverty and limited earning opportunities.

In this context, violations of women's rights in the domain of the workplace are frequently mirrored and reinforced by violations of their rights as individuals in the private sphere. For example, sexual and other forms of harassment are common, both in the workplace and at home. There are also many other ways in which labour rights are affected by gender-based societal norms, in particular social reproductive roles. In the focus group

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<sup>3</sup> Women workers are resisting and struggling in feminist collectives in the context of a wider Latin American and global feminist movement (Alvarez, 1998). Women's organisations dealing with labour rights issues have become an important actor in labour struggles in various parts of the world, including Central America (see Eade and Leather, 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Female-headed households constituted 35% in 1993 and 34% in 2001 (CEPAL, 2002).

discussions held with women workers associated with the Maria Elena Cuadra Movement, women spoke out about the problems they face.

#### Work and Home as a continuum in women's lives

Women's testimonies, extracts of which are cited below, attest to the double bind of work and home responsibilities and the impact on women's lives. One worker, Beatriz<sup>5</sup>, expanded on the links between production and reproduction, when she explained:

*"Women not only work excessively long hours in the productive area, they also work heavily in the "reproductive" area. They have an extra burden when, for example, basic services such as water and electricity are limited, and when they are obliged to take on additional income-generating activities such as domestic service, casual selling and so on"*

Furthermore, as Anna tells us, women often have the *sole responsibility* for all the work inside the home:

*"At home, I am the only one who does anything: I am both father and mother to my children and only I work. I spend all day in the Zone (i.e. Free Trade Zone). I go to work at 6 in the morning and get out at 6 in the evening. That does not leave any time for anything else. But, when I get home, I have to start cooking and cleaning. I have no choice"*.

#### Beyond Labour Rights Issues

Women workers tell us how we need to move beyond 'traditional' labour rights and the workplace to include reproductive issues of childcare, children's education as well as issues of violence and safe transport. Women workers also mentioned how issues that tend to be part of labour rights laws such as discrimination, maternity benefits, health and safety and time off are all gendered and cannot be separated from the reproductive lives of women

**Childcare** is a major issue for women workers, especially on account of the long hours they have to work in order to supplement their low wages in the *maquila*. Owing to the lack of workplace facilities,

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<sup>5</sup> The names of the women workers in this paper are pseudonyms.

there are cases in which women have to leave their children alone. Celia, a working mother explains that this is often necessary in order that she can work and bring money home to feed the children and provide for their needs at school. While there is one crèche in the Export Processing Zone in Managua, Susana explains "most of the women workers do not have access to it" due to the conditions for entry and the limited number of places. Ramona explains: "I would like the government to have childcare centres for our children so we can go to work and not be worried".

As mentioned above, there are a high number of female-headed households in Nicaragua which is largely the result of male migration, machismo, male unemployment and domestic violence. One common experience mentioned by many women in the focus group discussions is the shifting of childcare responsibilities to other females in the household, such as older siblings or grandmothers, who are expected to take over this role from the mother when she assumes the role of breadwinner. Older siblings, usually girls, who are expected to step into the maternal role, frequently drop out of school, leaving them in a vulnerable situation and more prone to poverty due to lack of education<sup>6</sup>. This is also the case because of the associated costs of attending schools. As Maria explains:

*"The more children we have, the more we have to spend. The salary we get is not enough for all of us. We send some of the kids to school but not others. We usually give priority to the boys. The rest remain illiterate- These are the ideas we inherited, the idea that girls will get married and be supported by a husband, so there's no point in sending them to school."*

Still the women in the focus groups are clear that this kind of machismo in Nicaragua has to change, in the words of Ana: "We want to have the same rights as men enjoy to study, we also want to have a degree and not to be always washing and ironing".

**Low wages** well below basic subsistence needs are prevalent in the sectors in which

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<sup>6</sup> This contradicts many of the gender education targets of the development millennium goals (<http://www.un.org/millenniumgoals/> )

MEC works in Nicaragua, yet women workers reported that they are forced to contribute, both in kind and with their time for their children's education. For example, Olga explains how in the school:

*"We have parties, raffles to collect money for the electricity, water and so on. We give money to the teachers so they can buy things like paper and pens. We have to be supportive in other ways too".*

A number of women also spoke about **discrimination**, as a result of which women are denied access to promotion opportunities leading to better paid positions that would enable them to pay for childcare and other related costs. In the words of Maribel: "There is an injustice. Men always get preference when it comes to promotion. They get the best positions, better salaries and incentives"

Some women commented that in some cases **maternity benefits** that the women are entitled are not given. MEC lawyers are currently dealing with the maternity benefit claims of almost 100 pregnant women. Besides benefit rights, these cases also involve **health and safety** and the right to **time-off** to attend post-natal check-ups for themselves and their babies and/or medical appointments when the babies are sick. Filo comments that:

*"When the babies get sick it's a huge problem. We don't get leave in order to take them to the clinic as they [the supervisors] say someone else from home should take them. But, it's the mother who should go with them because we know better than anyone what the baby is going through"*

Some women report having had a day's pay being docked when they take children to medical appointments or stay home to care for them. There are cases in which caring for sick children means risking losing one's job.

For many women workers, **violence** is present in the workplace in the form of harassment, in the house in the form of domestic violence and in their communities in the form of social violence with *pandillas* or *maras* (groups of gangs of disfranchised young people). The phenomenon of *femicidio* (violent killing of women) has recently emerged in Central America and Mexico and

is also causing enormous anxiety among women in the region (Prieto-Carrón et al, 2007). Many women feel vulnerable as they often end their shifts late in the evenings and there is no **safe transport** home, especially, in the capital, Managua, where women are forced to walk home late at night because buses stop running after a certain time and women workers cannot afford to pay for a taxi. Even when public transport is available, the conditions are often terrible. As Maria Elena explains:

*"The buses are always packed. We are abused by the drivers and helpers. They are rude to us and force too many people to get on the bus. When there are transport strikes, we have to walk miles to get to work. When the bus arrives, the men practically beat us in order to make sure they get on the bus before we do."*

Even walking from the bus stop to the house is problematic, as Raquel explains "some women workers have to walk through dangerous areas. There have been rapes and assaults. It is dangerous".

As previously noted, gender-based attitudes, norms and behaviours constitute a common thread that runs through women's lives and the problems they face, both in the workplace and beyond. If women work excessive overtime because wages are very low, their children may be left unattended – due to the lack of childcaring facilities. When young people are left unattended and out of school, they are more likely to join *pandillas* (gangs), which will, in turn, increase the problem of social violence in their communities, thereby creating problems for female workers travelling between the workplace and home.

#### *Fear of Losing the Job*

Despite these numerous problems and widespread violation of their rights, many women tend to be reticent to complain about labour rights abuses for fear of losing their jobs. Women workers' gendered responsibilities for care of the family contribute to their marginalization and their vulnerability as workers because women normally put their children first. In general, women spoke of how they often have to prioritise nutrition, health care and education of their children rather than their struggle for their own rights at work. With these constraints, as Maribel succinctly puts it:

*"We just get on with our work because we have kids at home who need to be fed".*

**Job insecurity** is prevalent as *maquila* workers are well aware that, in the context of high unemployment, there is always a reserve army waiting to be hired in their place. What is more, according to MEC<sup>7</sup> over the past two years, more than 17,000 jobs have been cut in the *maquila* industry. Between June 2006-December 2007, 2,715 jobs were cut as 6 companies went into bankruptcy. In 2008, the largest Taiwanese consortium Nieng Hsing announced its departure from Nicaragua, (transferring operations to Vietnam for cheaper labour). This means a further loss of more than 14,000 jobs that was not compensated by the employment created by the new operations of some companies but that only account for around 30% of the jobs lost. Some of the companies leave without paying wages and benefits to the workers and they are called '*capitales golondrinas*' (swallows capital). Very importantly, 'older' women, often with family responsibilities, were losing their jobs in the textile factories due to **age discrimination**. According to the women in the focus groups, employers give preference to younger women.

While the context of the fear of losing their jobs and age discrimination can mean that they cannot ask for their rights, nonetheless, as the next section reveals, women trained and organised by MEC have been successful in making improvements, both in their working and personal lives.

## **The MEC Approach: Gendered Knowledge in Action**

MEC was formed in 1997 as a movement for employed, as well as unemployed women. Many of its founders were previously trade unionists in the Sandinista Trade Union (Central Sandinista de Trabajadores, CST). MEC currently has a membership of 70,000 women, with 20,000 working in the EPZs (*maquilas*) (Gamboa, D'Angelo and Kries,

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<sup>7</sup> Data provided by the director of MEC, Sandra Ramos and compiled by the Latin-American regional secretariat of the IUF (International Union of Food, Agricultural, Hotel, Restaurant, Catering, Tobacco and Allied Workers' Association) – UITA in Spanish (see Trucchi, 2009).

2007: 87) with offices in eight different regions. The majority of members are women working in the *maquila* sector (primarily textiles), but MEC members also include, domestic workers, agricultural workers, miners, tobacco workers and unemployed women. MEC is also part of feminist networks at the regional and international level. MEC's work has been funded by international development resources from Britain, the Netherlands and elsewhere.

The main focus of MEC's work is on improving working conditions, promoting labour rights, leadership, training, campaigning and lobbying. Other areas of work include: support for micro-credit funds and micro-projects, counselling and legal aid. MEC considers training to be the central focus of its work and a large proportion of their resources are devoted to a wide range of training activities (see Box 2). In addition, following the success of the economic literacy training project carried out jointly with CAWN (see CAWN, 2008), MEC has launched a new leadership training academy.

**Box 2: MEC Training: a 'holistic' approach**

MEC works on human, social, political and economic rights and in the training they keep a focus on the reproductive rights of women. The training covers:

- gender awareness
- self-esteem
- domestic violence
- sexual and reproductive rights
- political citizenship
- labour rights
- health and safety
- economic literacy
- free trade agreements
- techniques of negotiation and conflict resolution

In the words of Melba, the leader of MEC in Masaya -

*'it is through the training on many issues, such as the economy, self-esteem, gender... that MEC has helped women to be empowered and to develop an identity as citizens with rights: the right to make*

*demands, to be listened to and to expect answers to their demands'.*

MEC works with women in their communities and it has developed innovative ways of working, which are continuously evolving and building on their own experience and that of others. Key characteristics of MEC's work include:

- **Holistic approach:** Listening to and consulting with the women means that since women do not separate the different spheres of their lives, neither does MEC. Many of the problems faced by women workers are linked to low income and poverty. So, MEC works with the women to campaign for better wages and conditions, as well as offering micro-credit and loans to women for home improvements and other purposes. And in workshops and educational programs for *maquila* workers, organizers examine violence against women within a broad framework of gender and power, drawing connections between intra-familial violence in the home, male violence on the shop floor and street violence (Bandy and Mendez 2003). *Maquila* workers who worked with MEC specifically asked the organization to provide self-defence training to make them feel less vulnerable. In particular, MEC argues that they are helping to improve working conditions in the *maquila* and at the same time empowering women in their homes and in communities.
- **Gender, as well as class-focussed:** While the trade union approach is primarily focussed on class issues, MEC attaches equal importance to addressing gender issues. Sandra Ramos, director of MEC, argues that "*the trade union movement is only privileging the class struggle and they forget that there is a gender struggle inside*" (interview, March 2008). Class and gender are viewed as linked, rather than exclusive categories. Thus, for example, the training includes awareness and information about reproductive health, as well as awareness of and ways of dealing with discrimination in the workplace.

MEC also provides counselling support for victims of domestic violence and helps mothers to get maintenance when they are separated. This approach follows logically from the holistic approach outlined above.

- **Focus on empowerment:** The organisation works with women to help their process of empowerment for example in programmes of economic literacy (CAWN, 2008). Low self-esteem and vulnerability to all forms of abuse (physical, sexual and emotional) are issues that need to be tackled, both in the workplace and the home. Through awareness-raising and training, MEC seeks to build the skills and confidence of women to fight for better working conditions in the *maquila* and at the same time empower women to demand greater equality in their homes, communities and workplaces.
- **Advocacy from the grassroots.** Since its establishment, MEC has played an active part in lobbying for changes aimed at improving the conditions of women workers. In 1998 MEC promoted an Ethical Code, which was officially adopted by the Labour Ministry and by employers in the Free Trade Zone Zone (Prieto et al, 2002). A very successful campaign whose slogan was 'Employment – Yes, But with Dignity' used TV slots, radio and other means to increase awareness among the general public, as well as policy makers of the appalling conditions in the factories. What accounts for the successful outcomes of such campaigns is the involvement of women at the grassroots. Noemi, one of the promoters in MEC explains that *"the potential is to learn about our rights, to be organised at work and in communities and to be part of consultations [on new laws] so we have our own voice and our demands are listened to"*. For example, every year MEC organises colloquiums bringing over 1000 women together from across the whole country, which get considerable national press coverage and publicity. A very

important step for the organisation has been to be part of the tri-partite commission with the employers, the government and the trade unions. The director of MEC, Sandra Ramos tells that it was the employers that pressed for the inclusion of MEC and they argued that *"how could such an important actor with 70,000 members representing such a big number of workers be excluded?"* (interview, March, 2008).

This holistic and gender-focussed way of working with women has given rise to what I call a new **'Gendered Knowledge in Action'**. In other words, in the process of acquiring a gendered understanding of themselves and the world they live in, women have been able to put this knowledge into action, thereby transforming many aspects of their lives, both at home and in the workplace. Ramona explains how

"MEC taught us how to defend our labour rights in the factories, not to allow ourselves to be beaten and exploited and how to stop our husbands abusing us in the home "

The link between respect for self and for one's rights is also highlighted by Elizabeth who said: *"Through the MEC workshops, I have learnt a huge amount. I have learnt how to defend myself, how to value myself as a person and to claim my rights."*

Through MEC, individual understanding is transposed to collective organising, thereby multiplying the benefits of their work. This process was described by Flores, a long-time member of MEC, who told us- in a voice saturated with emotion:

*"I have attended every single workshop and training provided by MEC since it was founded in 1994. With the knowledge and experience I have gained, I now help to organise women in the factory and have become a leader in my community."*

## The Way forward: Lessons and Challenges

MEC has been successful in re-inventing organisational strategies and enjoys widespread recognition in the Free Trade Zones and beyond, nationally and

internationally. The extent of the support shown to MEC by the increasing number of women workers in the organisation is a strong indicator of women's perception of MEC as an effective organisation. According to a recent report, MEC represents 25.6% of the workers in the Free Trade Zones of Managua, Sebaco, Estelí, León and Chinandega while only 3.8% are affiliated to trade unions (Gamboa, D'Angelo and Kries, 2007: 85-87). However, this is not to say that their work is free of challenges. MEC has important issues to look at on a number of fronts and also faces challenges linked to the globalisation of production processes and the fast changing realities affecting men and women workers in Nicaragua and worldwide. One question is whether MEC could operate as a trade union and negotiate collective agreements and be even more effective in their work. There are interesting experiences of women trade unions in countries such as South Korea<sup>8</sup> and in South Africa<sup>9</sup> that offer some lessons.

Another challenge concerns the issue of men's involvement in the movement. MEC does not exclude men, but only those men who are able to prove their commitment to the struggle against women's discrimination are admitted. Despite this, it has been argued that focussing on women and their social reproductive roles, runs the risk of reinforcing gender-biased notions of women having sole responsibility for social reproductive roles, rather than recognising the need for men to take on a fairer share so as to relieve the burden on women. Thus, we can also ask whether there is a need for organisations like MEC to work more closely with men and challenge conventional 'masculinities' in order to transform and improve the lives of both men and women (Chant and Guttman, 2002).

Another contradiction is that MEC training and the organisational work that women are encouraged to get involved with is conducted outside the workplace during women's scarce 'leisure' time, thereby adding to the strains of their life and further constraining the time spent with children and partners. Women participating in the training and other activities would benefit from provision of childcare by MEC. Innovative forms may have to be thought about due to limited resources.

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.kwunion.or.kr/Eng/About.aspx>

<sup>9</sup> [http://www.wfp.org.za/content/XID3-sikhula\\_sonke.html](http://www.wfp.org.za/content/XID3-sikhula_sonke.html)

Another paradox is that the greater MEC's success in helping to improve the conditions of women workers, the greater the risk that women will lose these jobs, either because factories will close shop in search of cheap labour elsewhere or because, the improvements in their working conditions and wages will attract more men to these jobs, thereby pushing some women out. There is also evidence of such trends occurring in the region. For example, in Mexico the proportion of women in the maquila workforce dropped from 71% in 1990 to 54% in 1997 (Brown and Dominguez, 2007:2).

## Conclusion

In sum, drawing on women's own accounts of their working lives, the paper has shown that the division between the productive and reproductive arena in labour right issues is not clear cut. Nor is the separation between labour rights and poverty. Women do not see those spaces as separate, and include other aspects of their lives in their own analysis of their labour conditions. Thus, labour rights like overtime, low wages, childcare, time-off, maternity rights, discrimination in promotion and provision of transport need to be put in the context of the reproductive lives of women workers and we need to analyse the links between them by taking our analysis beyond the workplace. This is the approach that MEC has adopted in its own work on labour rights.

The paper has described MEC's innovative organisational strategy based on providing long-term, sustained holistic training and linking it to grassroots based advocacy. It has also shown how, through this training, which provides women workers with knowledge on issues beyond labour rights *per se*, such as self-esteem, domestic violence, negotiation techniques, and economic literacy, a new form of labour activism, based on *Gendered Knowledge in Action*, is produced, resulting in positive changes in the lives of women and those around them.

This approach has relevance to labour rights activism in other contexts and other parts of the world. There is also scope for further learning through comparing this approach with other 'feminist' labour organising strategies and with the more traditional labour strategies employed by trade unions.

It is hoped that this paper will provoke further debates and discussion leading to constantly evolving and improving ways of addressing the complex needs of women - and men- in the workplace and beyond.

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#### **USEFUL WEBSITES:**

Maria Elena Cuadra Movement (MEC) (only in Spanish): [www.mec.org.ni](http://www.mec.org.ni)

Central American Women's Network (CAWN): [www.cawn.org](http://www.cawn.org)

Women Working Worldwide:  
[www.poptel.org.uk/women-ww](http://www.poptel.org.uk/women-ww)

Homeworkers Worldwide (HWW):  
[www.homeworkersww.org.uk](http://www.homeworkersww.org.uk)

National Group on Homeworking (NGH):  
[www.homeworking.gn.apc.org](http://www.homeworking.gn.apc.org)

Women in Informal Employment, Globalising and Organising (WIEGO): [www.wiego.org](http://www.wiego.org)

Maquila Solidarity Network:  
[www.maquilasolidarity.org](http://www.maquilasolidarity.org)

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