



PATHWAYS LATIN AMERICA SYNTHESIS REPORT 2006–2011



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Pathways Latin America Synthesis Report 2006–2011

September 2011

Pathways Latin America is led by the Interdisciplinary Women's Studies Nucleus (NEIM) at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil. It is part of the Pathways of Women's Empowerment Research Programme Consortium (Pathways RPC).

NEIM has led feminist research in north-east Brazil for 20 years, with considerable convening power as part of continent-wide research and advocacy networks and regional and national policy processes. NEIM's research spans women's work and rights, gender and democracy, women's health in globalised industries, sexualities and violence against women and intersectionality with race and age.

Pathways RPC is an international research and communications programme made up of activists and academics that explores and seeks to affect positive change in women's everyday lives. It is collectively run by six partners: BRAC Development Institute at BRAC University; the Centre for Gender Studies and Advocacy (CEGENSA), Ghana; Institute of Development Studies (IDS), UK; the Nucleus for Interdisciplinary Women's Studies (NEIM) at the Federal University of Bahia, Brazil; the Social Research Centre (SRC) at the American University in Cairo; and UNIFEM.

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Latin America Hub Synthesis Report

Contents

1 Introduction	3
2 Pathways Latin America hub projects	5
Conceptualising empowerment	5
Changing times, changing lives: women's empowerment through the generations in Bahia, Brazil	5
Conceptualising empowerment: a look at public policy for women in Brazil	5
Building constituencies for gender equality and justice	6
Feminisms and women's movements in Brazil: issues and challenges	6
Making private harms into matters of public concern: women's struggles and achievements for combating domestic violence in Brazil	6
Building constituencies for political reform: quotas as an instrument of change	7
Women in the writing of the 1988 constitution	7
Women in local power in Bahia – the city council women	7
Brazilian feminisms in the United Nations arenas	8
Empowering work	8
Empowering domestic work: the organising of domestic workers in Brazil	8
Changing narratives of sexuality	9
Feminisms and the struggle for reproductive health and reproductive rights: the Brazilian experience	9
3 Analysis of selected research	10
Making private harms into matters of public policy: monitoring the implementation and application of the Maria da Penha Law on domestic and family violence against women	10



Changing times, changing lives: women's empowerment in Bahia through the generations	13
Empowering domestic work: The organisation of domestic workers in Brazil	16
4 Hub highlights	19
International seminar: Pathways of Women's Power: international experiences on affirmative action	19
Using local traditions for building constituencies for the empowerment of women: <i>Mudança do Garcia</i>	20
Cooperation in the Landless People Movement (MST) women's camp	20
Influencing the formulation of public policies for women: NEIM/UFBA's participation in II Municipal, II State and II National Conferences of Public Policies for Women, 2007	22
Creation of NEIM's graduate programme (Masters and PhD) on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender and Feminism (2006), and the Federal University of Bahia's Bachelor's Degree programme on Gender and Diversity (2009)	25
5 Introduction to the team	28
Members of the Latin America Hub team	29
Other researchers, students and interns involved	31
References	34
Latin American hub outputs and related products by project	36



1 Introduction

“Women’s experiences in the Americas are shaped not only by class and gender, but also by ethnic identities and the differences between urban and rural lives.” (Cecilia Sardenberg)

Empowerment is not just about economics. Self-esteem and agency are often the hidden elements which are not fully understood but can make the difference in how empowered a woman feels. These should not be ignored.

Feminist and women’s movements in Latin America (LA) have gained worldwide attention for their vigour in pushing for institutional changes that promote women’s empowerment (Sardenberg and Costa 2010). Involvement in these struggles has, in itself, been an instrument of empowerment for individual women and groups. As such, feminism and women’s organising constitutes an important pathway for investigation and analysis. The Latin American hub decided to place women’s struggles for institution change at the centre of our analysis of changes in women’s lives. Researchers sought to explore how effective social mobilisation has been in bringing about changes in laws, policies and state institutions as well as in women’s everyday lives.

Taking an approach rooted in the way power and empowerment is most commonly thought about in the region (Sardenberg 2009), we investigated women’s organising in empowering work (Gonçalves 2010; Macedo forthcoming), in building constituencies for gender justice (Costa 2010, Aquino forthcoming, Gomes *et al* 2009, Gomes *et al* 2010), in changing narratives of sexuality (Soares and Sardenberg 2008, Teixeira 2010, Ferreira *et al* 2009). We sought to understand how social, political and economic changes have contributed to women’s struggles, and how these changes and processes have resonated in the pathways of empowerment of different kinds of women (Sardenberg *et al* 2008). Studies ranged from inter-regional and national-level comparative research to ethnographic and action research in the locality of Salvador.

Our work confirmed the crucial role of collective action in advancing institutional changes that promote women’s empowerment (Aquino forthcoming, Gomes *et al* 2009, Soares and Sardenberg 2008, Sardenberg and Costa 2010,



Gonçalves 2010, Teixeira 2010). It has also confirmed that, from a cross-generational perspective, society-wide changes taking place over the last four decades – e.g. re-structuring of the labour market, expansion of the education system, changing notions of women’s roles in society – have had important consequences for women’s empowerment, even if not geared towards this goal (Sardenberg 2010).

It became evident from our research that these advances do not benefit all women in the same way or to the same degree. Along with sexism, other matrices of domination, such as racism, classism, ageism and lesbophobia intersect to give rise to profound social inequalities among women placed at different intersections. These differences produce inequalities in women’s paths to empowerment (Sardenberg *et al* 2008, Sardenberg 2010). Furthermore, processes of disempowerment often operate side by side with those of empowerment, such that the positive effects of empowerment can be diminished or even nullified (Sardenberg 2010). This means that women’s empowerment must always be analysed – and promoted – from a perspective that is sensitive to context and takes into account the possible effects of intersectionality.





LA Hub team and fellow activists demonstrating in front of the State of Bahia Congress for the implementation of the Maria da Penha Law. Photo by NEIM

“For many Brazilian feminists, “empowerment” is directly associated with international development agencies such as the World Bank. Thus it is seen as a “de-politicised” term imposed by theoretical and political “fashion” and alien to the objectives of real change toward a more equitable society” (Marcia Macêdo)

2 Pathways Latin America Hub Projects

Conceptualising empowerment

Changing times, changing lives: women’s empowerment through the generations in Bahia, Brazil

Researchers: Cecilia M. B. Sardenberg (coord), Fernanda Capibaribe (co-coord), Carolina Santana (co-coord)

Interns: Fabiana Rocha, Fabiana Almeida, Daniela Oliveira, Debora Silva, Liv Lobo, Mariana Cruz, Raquel Oliveira, Maria Helena Guimarães and Sheila Rodriguez

The purpose of this study was to identify and analyse changes in women’s lives in Salvador, Bahia, Brazil, over three successive generations, and how these changes relate to processes of women’s empowerment. The study draws on information from a panel of 345 women residents from the Plataforma neighbourhood, looking at changes in their lives relating to issues of *work, voice and body*, such as: educational opportunities; domestic responsibilities and paid employment; community work and political participation; marriage and family relations; and exercise of sexuality. In-depth interviews with another group of around 50 women were also conducted.

Conceptualising empowerment: a look at public policy for women in Brazil

Researchers: Márcia S. Macêdo

Interns: Jamile Carvalho

This Project aimed to identify and analyse conceptualisations of empowerment in Brazil underlying public policies for women. The project looked, in particular, at the Pro Gender Equality Programme (Programa Pró-Equidade de Gênero) that is being implemented by the Secretariat for Public Policies for

Women. Besides taking part in meetings and activities related to the Programme, we have also carried out a case study on one of the member organisations.

Building constituencies for gender equality and justice

Feminisms and women's movements in Brazil: issues and challenges

Researchers: Ana Alice Costa, Cecilia Sardenberg, Terezinha Gonçalves, Maria de Lourdes Scheffler, Andrea Cornwall, Renato Macedo

This is an ongoing study which has been carried out by NEIM since the 1980s, focusing on feminisms and women's movements in Brazil. It is the study that underpins our programme, in that the feminist movement has set the stage for the specific struggles and campaigns examined in the other projects. Indeed, it is from a feminist perspective that our research is being conducted, sustaining a "liberating empowerment" approach and, as such, our primary focus is on collective action as a pathway of women's empowerment.

Making private harms into matters of public concern: women's struggles and achievements for combating domestic violence in Brazil

Researchers: Cecilia Sardenberg (coord.) Silvia de Aquino, Márcia Gomes, Márcia Tavares, Cândida Ribeiro Santos
Interns: Monica Rocha, Fabiana Rocha, Sheila de Lima Rodriguez

This project aimed to retrace the different pathways travelled by women's movements in their struggles to combat violence against women in Brazil. It looked, in particular, at women's organising to implement and monitor the Maria da Penha Law, a major legislation package formulated to combat domestic and family violence against women in Brazil, as well as at the actual results of this monitoring process. This involved the creation of OBSERVE – the Observatory to Monitor the Maria da Penha Law, coordinated by NEIM/UFBA.



"After over half a century since gaining the right to vote, Latin-American women have recognised that, in practice, the realisation of this right did not guarantee them the right to be elected as well. Indeed, Latin American women have remained marginalised from power, kept from participating in greater numbers in deliberative power structures." (Ana Alice Costa)

Building constituencies for political reform: quotas as an instrument of change

Researchers: Ana Alice Costa

Interns: Jamile Carvalho

This study focused on political reform as a means of devising efficient legal mechanisms for increasing women's participation in legislative bodies. It aimed at contributing to this effort by identifying and analysing both the shortcomings of the current system and potential sources of support within congress; and successful experiences of increasing women's political representation in legislative bodies in other countries.

Women in the writing of the 1988 constitution

Coordinator: Ana Alice Costa

Researcher: Saete Maria Silva (PhD Student with bursary from CAPES)

Interns: Antonio Henrique do Espírito Santo Loula, Victória Maria Aquino, and Tatiane Cerqueira

This study investigates and analyses women's participation in the processes involved in the development of Brazil's 1988 federal constitution that followed the end of the military regime and the re-democratisation of the country in the 1980s. Women were involved both in the National Congress, particularly in what has become known as the "Lipstick Lobby", as well as in organising to collect signatures in support of popular amendments that fostered women's rights. This project also receives financial support from the National Research Council (CNPq) and Secretariat for Public Policies for Women (SPM).

Women in local power in Bahia – the city council women

Coordinator: Ana Alice Costa

Interns: Antonio Henrique do Espírito Santo Loula, Victória Maria Aquino, and Tatiane Cerqueira

This sub-project focused on women in local power, working with women mayors and those in elected seats in city councils in the State of Bahia. It involved both a



survey of these women, as well as training workshops and seminars on women's issues.

Brazilian feminisms in the United Nations arenas

Coordinator: Cecilia Sardenberg

Consultants: Ana Alice Costa, Marlene Libardoni, Jussara Prá

Researchers: Mariana Cruz, Carla Gisele Batista

This research has the objective of investigating and analysing strategies of articulation – from local to global and back – of Brazilian feminisms, and the ensuing challenges, with a special focus on the global spaces created by the United Nations Organisations. This includes not only the influence of Brazilian feminisms and the participation of activists in international conferences, but also in specific commissions and committees, such as CSW (Commission on the Status of Women) and CEDAW (Commission on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women). As part of this project, Cecilia Sardenberg has participated in the 52nd, 53rd, and 54th CSW meetings.

“There is no possibility of individual empowerment for a woman domestic worker without a social organisation. Collective action is the pathway to choose at the crossroads for women's empowerment.” (Terezinha Gonçalves)



Domestic workers' workshop.
Photo by NEIM



“Locas de Pedra Lilás”, a group of feminist performers demonstrating for the legislation of abortion during the II National Conference of Public Policies for Women. Photo by NEIM

Empowering work

Empowering domestic work: the organising of domestic workers in Brazil

Researchers: Terezinha Gonçalves da Silva, Fernanda Capibaribe
 Communications Support: Lea Santana
 Interns: Síntia Araujo, Rogério Barros, Mariana Cruz Fonseca

This project focused on the organisation of domestic workers in Brazil, and in particular, on the Brazilian National Federation of Domestic Workers – FENATRAD:

- re-tracing the pathways covered in the organising of domestic workers in Brazil and their struggles
- engaging researchers, policymakers, media, and domestic workers themselves in conversations to reflect upon this successful experience in a comparative perspective
- identifying the factors that have contributed to – as well as hindered – their empowerment.

Changing narratives of sexuality

Feminisms and the struggle for reproductive health and reproductive rights: the Brazilian experience

Researchers: Silvia Lúcia Ferreira, Simone Andrade Teixeira, Patricia Marques, Cecilia Sardenberg, Gilberta Soares, and Carla Gisele Batista

This project focused on the struggles for the realisation of reproductive rights in Brazil, following and retracing campaigns for the legalisation of abortion. It also identified and analysed the strategies employed, and the particular contributions and roles of feminists in NGO networks, and in the academic world. The project included the developing of three PhD dissertations (Simone Andrade Teixeira – PPG–NEIM and Patricia Marques – PPG–ENF, supervised by Silvia Lúcia Ferreira, and Gilberta Soares – PPG–NEIM, supervised by Cecilia Sardenberg), and one master’s thesis (Carla Gisele Batista – PPG–NEIM, supervised by Cecilia Sardenberg).

Our analysis of the issues surrounding the campaign for the legalisation of abortion in Brazil indicates that in addition to the discourse focusing on public health; it is equally important to formulate a discourse which focuses on women’s rights regarding their own bodies and more specifically on their reproductive rights.



3 Analysis of selected research

Making private harms into matters of public policy: monitoring the implementation and application of the Maria da Penha Law on domestic and family violence against women

The mobilisation of women against domestic violence should be seen as a process of collective empowerment in which issues conventionally relegated to the so-called “private” sphere become “public”, thus requiring public policies and normative instruments to deal with them. To be sure, the resulting policies and instruments are not intrinsically empowering. But they must be seen as both the result of women’s collective actions as well as a fundamental step in creating the conditions for women’s empowerment, in this particular case, in breaking with a situation of domestic and family violence.

The purpose of this project is to monitor, investigate and analyse the processes involved in the formulation and passage of the Maria da Penha Law – the new legislation to confront domestic violence against women in Brazil – in both its implementation and application. Part of the project also aims to influence policymakers and practitioners regarding the application of the new law, monitoring and publicising both its shortcomings as well as good practices.

The project was initiated following the creation of OBSERVE – the Maria da Penha Law Observatory Consortium (LMP Consortium), with Cecilia Sardenberg as National Coordinator.¹ In addition to funding from the national government, the LMP Consortium has obtained funding from DFID, NOVIB–OXFAM, UNIFEM, and UNFPA. Despite resulting from a public bidding, OBSERVE is an independent undertaking and its methodology and monitoring process were devised by

The studies conducted by the OBSERVE–Observatory for Monitoring the Application of the Maria da Penha Law confirm the need to equip the state apparatus – especially DEAMs and Special Courts for Domestic Violence Against Women – not only with physical space and material resources, but more importantly with training in sensitively tending to women in situations of violence.

1 OBSERVE was created in 2007 and its members include: NEIM/Federal University of Bahia, national coordination and northeast regional coordination; AGENDE, midwest regional coordination; GEPEM–Federal University of Para, north regional coordination; CEPIA, southeast regional coordination; and Coletivo Feminino Plural, south regional coordination.

Minister Nilcéia Freire, Maria da Penha and Cecilia Sardenberg at the launch of the 'Best Practice in the Implementation and Dissemination of the Maria da Penha Law' Award.



consortium member organisations. We believe that, from the point of view of Pathways, OBSERVE is an important asset as it enriches the programme, offering new opportunities for strengthening networks in Brazil, as well as bringing us closer to the spheres of higher government, opening the way for influencing policymakers towards women's empowerment.

We conducted preliminary research in 2008 in six state capitals (Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Porto Alegre, Belém, Brasília and Cuiabá), which revealed that few advances had been made following the legislation's implementation in 2006. The slowest progress was on the creation of the specialist courts (Gomes *et al* 2009). These findings were confirmed by OBSERVE research in all 27 state capitals, undertaken from December 2009–March 2010.

These studies indicate that, despite some good practice, a number of problems are obstructing the successful application of the law. They also reveal the lack of data and/or incompatibility of existing information on cases, important for the computation of statistics. To a large extent, this results from lack of appropriate training and knowledge of the law, and the need for data compilation, on the part of officials and clerical workers in the different agencies involved, combined with poor articulation among these agencies in carrying out the necessary procedures. This not only limits the State's response in confronting domestic violence, but also short-changes the compilation of data needed to monitor it.



Our work around domestic violence has also pointed to the need to publicise information around women's rights and the details of the Maria da Penha Law more widely. We suggest that an information campaign which was broadcast during the commercial breaks in 'soap opera' programmes in Brazil would be particularly effective in reaching a very large audience.





Placard for campaign on 16 Days of Activism to end violence against women. Photo by NEIM

Our research confirms other studies that Police Stations for Assaulted Women (DEAMs) are the most important route for women seeking justice in the face of domestic violence (Gomes *et al* 2009). However, despite the existence of important data, as well as a number of case studies conducted in DEAMs throughout Brazil, there is no comparative systematised information assessing these services from the women's perspective. In order to learn from women's experiences of DEAMs as an access to justice, OBSERVE, with the support of UNIFEM, conducted a survey of 231 women in 9 Brazilian state capitals.

From a general perspective, police practices in Brazil still reproduce gender inequalities and contribute to discrimination against women in their access to justice and exercise of citizenship rights. Nonetheless, there are many positive elements in the history of DEAMs that should not be forgotten, as they represent the first great achievement of Brazilian feminist movements towards universalising women's rights to a life without violence. DEAMs are just the entry to the criminal justice system. The more solid the contribution of DEAMs, the more pressure will they be able to exert over other parts of the system in recognising women's rights, but it is not enough to just transform the

DEAMS. The entire criminal justice system must be re-organised in the way it treats gender-based violence. DEAMs can contribute through higher quality police proceedings, particularly in developing thorough enquiries and petitions for protective measures. This would require better training as well as changes in institutional practices.

Domestic violence against women is a complex issue and penal measures alone are not sufficient to ensure its eradication. For women living in violent situations, access to formal justice and getting their abusers to face up to their actions are only part of the response they hope to obtain. Formulating integrated policies is essential in helping these women. Similarly, women should have access to information about their rights so that they can develop their own empowering strategies.

Our research findings are of particular interest to both the Special Secretariat for Public Policies for Women (SPM), which funds the largest part of the project, and also the Ministry of Justice, National Secretariat of Public Safety and National Justice Council who are directly involved in implementing the new law. Based on recommendations from our work, the SPM created a Good Practice in the Implementation of the Maria da Penha Law Award, and the first of these awards were presented in 2010.

Our recommendations have also brought changes to the technical norms to be used by DEAMs all over the country. A new publication incorporating these changes will go to all DEAMs (around 470) and other police stations in Brazil.

Changing times, changing lives: women's empowerment in Bahia through the generations

The purpose of this study was to identify and analyse changes in women's lives in Salvador, Brazil, over three generations, and how these changes relate to processes of women's empowerment. Our work was influenced by Naila Kabeer's (1997) ideas regarding empowerment as a process



by which those 'who have been denied the ability to make strategic life choices acquire such an ability' and thus gain control over their lives. According to Kabeer, this entails three interrelated dimensions: a) the available *resources* or pre-conditions; b) *agency* or people's capacity to tap into these resources to pursue their own goals; and c) *achievements* or outcomes, the result of people exercising agency within given pre-conditions. Based on this framework, we investigate how and to what extent the women exercise agency; and identifying connections and contradictions between the following aspects of their lives: formal education; participation in the labour market; political participation; family relations; and exercise of sexuality. How do these changes and continuities resonate in women's lives and how do they relate to the process of women's empowerment? How do the women involved themselves regard the changes in their lives?

To address these questions, we used a combination of quantitative and qualitative fieldwork methods, including participatory research. We included three different groups of women in the study. Firstly a sample of 345 women ranging from 15 to 90, resident in Plataforma, a poor working-class neighbourhood in the *Subúrbio Ferroviário* (Railway Suburb) of Salvador. This area was chosen for its history as a former factory workers' villa which has undergone profound changes since the 1960s. Secondly a group of approximately 50 women, from Plataforma and beyond, chosen by the project interns and researchers to share their stories of empowerment within a documentary. The third was the group of interns and researchers involved in the study.

Our purpose in including ourselves within the research was to delineate and analyse how and to what extent, involvement in a study about empowerment has triggered processes of empowerment in our own lives. Thus, the project focused not only on analysing women's empowerment in Plataforma, but also on discussing with the interns how they could make strategic choices for themselves. This has involved a series of

"We need to re-think the different ways in which enhancement of self-esteem and exercise of agency relate to the process of women's empowerment." (Cecilia Sardenberg)

Alternative research methods and communication tools can be used to democratise conventional processes. Including ourselves within the conceptualising empowerment theme project allowed us to have a mutual rather than an extractive experience of the research.

activities and training, beginning with consciousness raising workshops; courses on gender and feminism, photography, cinema, and statistical packages; and participation in local academic meetings.

Our survey showed that women in Plataforma are not only sharing in the decision-making within their households, particularly with their husbands and partners, but also seem to exercise “autonomy” over their own lives. Although 15.3 per cent said they faced resistance from family members (48 per cent of these from husbands and partners) when they decided to find work outside of the home, 70 per cent stated that their economic contribution is highly regarded, and 58.9 per cent believe that this contribution makes a difference to the way other household members view them.

A significant proportion of the women (54.4 per cent) maintained that they have “total control” over their lives, while 34.4 per cent said they had “considerable control”. The majority (59.5 per cent) of the women, no longer considered marriage a “safe port”, and 98.3 per cent confirmed that it is very important for women to have economic independence. Yet, although nearly 60 per cent believe that work does not affect a marital relationship or may have a positive effect on it, an equally high proportion (60.1 per cent) are ambivalent insofar as relationships between “working mothers” and their children are concerned, thus expressing traditional beliefs regarding work and motherhood.

Of course, although it is possible to find a significant correlation between age and values in that the younger generations tend to express more “progressive” values and attitudes regarding women’s empowerment, this is not necessarily always the case. We found examples of women, such as “Dona” Nora, who contradict this perspective. At 63 and now retired, she still is very vocal about women’s rights and has done all she can to guarantee a college education for her daughter and the means for her 14 year old granddaughter to continue a successful career at karate in international competitions.

Our study of domestic workers and the survey in Plataforma have shown the need for the creation and maintenance of community day care centres for women workers. This is a crucial ‘gender practical need’ for women, and thus, an important element in women’s empowerment.

Empowering domestic work: the organisation of domestic workers in Brazil

In spite of being notorious for its low wages, precarious working conditions, and lack of social benefits, domestic work is one of the major occupations for women in the world, being particularly widespread in Latin America. In Brazil, it equates to nearly 19 per cent of the total female labour force, with almost 60 per cent of them being black, and earning, merely, 35 per cent of the average wage earned by the rest of the workforce.

However, as a result of the organisation of domestic workers and their collective actions, legislation was passed to extend labour benefits, such as paid vacations, maternity leave and retirement benefits to these workers, with significant improvements in their working conditions. In addition, FENATRAD, the National Federation of Domestic Workers, is engaged in the development of different programmes to value domestic employment, combat the exploitation of girls as domestic workers, and to gain greater recognition for this category of workers, as a way of increasing their union membership throughout the country.

This project aimed at supporting FENATRAD and learning lessons to help in the empowering of domestic workers in other countries covered by Pathways, by:

- re-tracing the pathways traversed in the organising of domestic workers in Brazil and their struggles
- engaging researchers, policymakers, media, and domestic workers themselves in conversations to reflect upon this successful experience in a comparative perspective
- identifying the factors that have contributed to – as well as hindered – their empowerment.

An analysis of domestic work was developed through workshops, focus groups, and interviews with key leaders. Our research group participated in a major seminar for domestic workers held in 2007, coordinating three focal

Empowerment may not be empowering to all women in the same degree at the same. What is empowering to one can be disempowering to another. In Brazil where race, class and sexuality as well as issues of gender intersect to give rise to profound social inequality – this is particularly relevant. Context is crucial for policymakers to understand before applying generic interventions.

Our study has shown that the organisation of domestic workers in Brazil has been paramount to the passage of legislation extending their labour benefits. However, despite important advancements, these benefits are still not complete and are difficult to enforce. New income tax discounts, with higher rates for employers that abide by the legislation, should be offered as a means of incentive. More training programmes geared specifically to domestic workers who wish to enter the formal labour market should also be made available.



Creuza Oliveira, domestic worker rights activist campaigning for election in Salvador, Brazil, 2008. Photo by Animal Monday

“Action research with FENETRAD turned the tables on the conventional researcher-researched relationship, placing domestic workers themselves at the heart of the process of enquiry.” (Terezinha Gonçalves)

groups during the event, on, violence and sexual and moral harassment at work; abortion, conception, contraception, and sexuality, and; political participation and labour organisations. Through this research, we learned that: domestic workers experience situations of domestic violence, in addition to racial discrimination (56 per cent of the workers are black), in their daily lives; domestic work is devalued in comparison to other occupations; there is a high percentage of domestic workers without social security and other rights; and, there is a high percentage of young girls and teenagers in domestic work. However, the analysis also confirmed the important achievements of domestic workers organisations and the existence of strong leaders among them.

Based on these findings, the project organised a series of workshops to work on issues identified during the analysis: “Confronting Racial Discrimination and Violence





Launch of Domestic Workers' Photography Exhibition, December 2008. Photo by NEIM

Against Women at Work” (24 February 2008), which also initiated discussions around collective empowerment of domestic workers; “Domestic Workers Everyday Lives I” (4 May 2008), which launched a series of workshops training the women in photography techniques, with the participation of Fernanda Capibaribe; “Life Trajectories” (1 June 2008), based on life histories and the analysis of gender relations and their intersection with race and class determinants in their lives, in which Márcia Macedo and Andrea Cornwall participated; “Domestic Workers Everyday Lives II and III” (12 June 2008 and 20 July 2008), which involved a first evaluation of the pictures taken by the participants to represent “one day in their lives”.

As products of these workshops, a book about ‘empowering domestic work’ was developed, and “Mulheres, Cidades Reveladas”, a travelling exhibition of the photos taken by the participants, was launched in March 2009, for which a photo catalogue was published. An important part of this project is the creation of a special blog on the internet for exchanges among domestic workers in Brazil.

“The organisation of women domestic workers in Brazil reveals a process of collective empowerment at work in a society where gender, race, and class inequalities intersect, giving rise to complex mosaics.” (Terezinha Gonçalves)



'Women's Pathways into Power: International Experiences of Affirmative Action' seminar at the Brazilian National Congress.
Photo by NEIM

4 Hub highlights

International seminar: Pathways of Women's Power: international experiences of affirmative action

In the last decade, feminists in Brazil and in other Latin American countries have been defending political reform as a means of devising efficient legal mechanisms for increasing women's participation in legislative bodies. In Brazil, this issue has emerged as the shortcomings of the existing quota system, introduced a decade ago, become more evident – women still represent less than 10 per cent of congress membership. However, quotas have contributed significantly to building a constituency for gender justice and equality in the country, which makes it possible for feminists now to demand a move forward.

To contribute to this progress, we held an international seminar in the Brazilian National Congress, in Brasília, to identify and analyse, on the one hand, the shortcomings of the current system and potential sources of support in congress for a change; and, on the other, highlight successful experiences of increasing women's political representation in legislative bodies in other countries. We brought representatives from Argentina, Costa Rica, Bangladesh, Rwanda and Palestine, and from the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) in Europe, to discuss "lessons learned" from mechanisms at work in their countries, in order to contribute to the development of an alternative proposal for political reform in Brazil and other countries in a similar situation regarding women's low representation in legislating bodies.

The seminar was held at exactly the time congress was discussing political reform, an issue which included the question of quotas for women. The voting was taking

Our comparative analysis has shown that the increase of women's participation in government and formal politics is linked to the establishment of quota systems. Those systems that use tools such as closed lists and sanctions to ensure parties' adherence to the quotas are more effective. Similar quota systems should also be developed for high posts in government, such as cabinet members.





Mudança do Garcia.
Photo by NEIM

place while the closing roundtable was going on in the seminar, with congresswomen excusing themselves to leave and cast their votes. Sadly, the proposal for having closed lists and sanctions against parties that did not abide by the rule was voted down. But it was included in the II National Plan of Public Policies for Women, which means that it has not died out.

Using local traditions for building constituencies for the empowerment of women: *Mudança do Garcia*

“*Mudança do Garcia*” is one of the most popular carnival events in Salvador, as a traditional arena for political protest, drawing the participation of thousands of people throughout the streets of the neighbourhood of Garcia into the city centre. This tradition takes place on “Carnival Monday”. It started in the mid-1900s when middle-class families began to move to the neighbourhood of Garcia and sought police support to close a well-known brothel that operated there at the time. On the day of their

Collective action on the part of the women's movement has been crucial in securing progress on women's rights in Brazil. Their role needs to be recognised and supported to ensure a strong base for further advancement.



Mudança do Garcia.
Photo by NEIM

eviction, the women who worked in the brothel left Garcia in horse drawn chariots, dressed in fancy costumes, and followed by a band and parade of protesting customers.

Following in this tradition, on 19 February 2007, we used this popular space for another women's protest, this time to gather support for the creation of a State Bureau for Public Policy for Women, promised by Governor Jacques Wagner during his campaign, and again right after his victory. However, once in office Governor Wagner did not fulfil his promise, creating instead a bureau to combat Racial and Sexual Discrimination, and nominating a man to head it.

In taking this action, we hoped not only to gather public and media attention as new constituencies in support of



the bureau, but also to voice our protest against the new government's disregard for the demands of the women's movements in Bahia. To do so we used all the traditional mechanisms from this type of popular protest: joined the parade in a carriage pulled by a horse, decorated with flowers and banners displaying our demands. Right behind followed a small percussion band playing traditional carnival songs, inviting people to dance along and join our protest. Among the followers, there were representatives of different local women's groups and organisations, carrying signs displaying their demands in a humorous way, befitting to this type of event.

In February 2008, we took to the streets again, participating in the *Mudança do Garcia*, launching our group by the name of *Folia Feminista* (Feminist Follies). Since then, the group has become a tradition, and has been participating in the carnival every year, now with the support of SEPRMI, the State Bureau for the Promotion of Equality.

Cooperation in the Landless People Movement (MST) women's camp

For the last ten years, NEIM has worked with the Landless People Movement (MST) of Bahia in organising their annual Women's Camp which takes place during the week of International Women's Day (8 March). These camps have become the major event for communicating and disseminating rural women workers' demands in Brazil. Each year, approximately 1,500 women from different areas of Bahia State meet in Salvador. NEIM has participated in the organising committee since the first camp, and is responsible for the "pedagogical" activities of the camp, coordinating workshops for the participants on a variety of themes. During the I Women's Camp held in 2000, NEIM, along with CULT, a group of students and professors from UFBA's School of Communication, produced a video – *A Marcha Rosa* (The Pink March),

Participants at the Landless People
Movement women's camp.
Photo by NEIM



about women's participation in the Landless People Movement. More recent videos are now available on the internet and give a glimpse of these workshops and the different activities the women take part in during these events. It also provides a public testimonial from the women regarding the relevance of the camps. During the 2008 event, as part of the Pathways project, NEIM conducted a survey amongst the women to identify their different conceptualisations of empowerment, and their activism within the movement. We also videotaped interviews with rural women leaders, and are currently editing a documentary.





International Women's Day march, Salvador, Bahia, March 2007. Photo by NEIM

Influencing the formulation of public policies for women: NEIM/UFBA's participation in II Municipal, II State and II National Conferences of Public Policies for Women, 2007

Feminists involved in the 2002 presidential campaign and in the new government established with the election of President Lula were instrumental in his declaring 2004 as *Ano da Mulher* (Women's Year), through federal law. As part of the events for that year, the *Secretaria Especial de Políticas para Mulheres – SPMulheres* (Special Secretariat for Public Policies for Women), created by the Lula government with a cabinet status in 2003, organised *I Conferência Nacional de Políticas para Mulheres – I CNPM* (First National Conference on Policies for Women), which took place in Brasília, in July 2004. The I CNPM mobilised nearly 300,000 women throughout the country, participating in local and state conferences. Nearly 2,000 delegates were nominated to attend the National Conference. The purpose of this nationwide process was to establish a dialogue between civil society and



government – from the municipal through to the federal levels – for the formulation of *I Plano Nacional de Políticas para Mulheres – I PNPM* (First National Plan of Public Policies for Women) aimed at eradicating gender inequalities in Brazil.

In August 2007, with the objective of making adjustments and advances in implementing this Plan, the II National Conference for Public Policy for Women – II CNPM was held, involving preparatory processes similar to the previous one. This time, a total of 2,559 were elected to attend from the 600 municipal, regional and state conferences that were part of this process, involving, once again, over 300,000 women across the country.

NEIM was very active in this process, participating in a number of conferences:

II Municipal Conference for Public Policy for Women Preparatory Pre-conferences: There were 5 pre-conferences held in Salvador in April; NEIM participated in 4 of them, Ana Alice Costa and Cecilia Sardenberg spoke in one of the pre-conferences on Power and Women's Political Participation.

II Municipal Conference for Public Policy for Women of the Municipality of Salvador: 1–3 May 2007. Terezinha Gonçalves participated as part of the Superintendence of Public Policy for Women, the sponsoring governmental agency. Silvia Lúcia Ferreira participated as President of the Bahia State Council for the Defense of Women, coordinating a Roundtable Discussion on Women's Political Participation. NEIM prepared a special Bulletin, distributed to 500 participants, displaying our proposals for the National Plan of Public Policy for Women. Cecilia Sardenberg coordinated the workshop on Power and Women's Political Participation.

Our study of Gender Equity Programmes has shown that, despite their importance, incentives such as the 'seal of approval' are not enough to guarantee gender mainstreaming within organisations. Including a gender mainstreaming clause within bidding systems for government contracts could be an important means for creating more gender equitable organisations, with more women in decision making posts.

II Municipal Conference for Public Policy for Women of the Municipality of Camaçari, Bahia. 20 April 2007. Ana Alice Costa gave the opening conference speaking on Power and Women's Political Participation.

II Municipal Conference for Public Policy for Women of the Municipality of Lauro de Freitas, Bahia. 28 April 2007. Ana Alice Costa was the key speaker, giving the opening address on Power and Women's Political Participation. Silvia Lúcia Ferreira spoke on Gender Mainstreaming. Terezinha Gonçalves spoke on Gender and Work.

II State Conference for Public Policy for Women of the State of Pernambuco. 2 June 2007. Ana Alice Costa was the key speaker, giving the opening address on Women and Political Reform.

II State Conference for Public Policy for Women of the State of Bahia. June 2007. Silvia Lúcia Ferreira participated as President of the Organising Committee.

II National Conference for Public Policy for Women (II CNPM), Centro de Convenções, Brasília, 17–20 August 2007. Cecilia Sardenberg participated as delegate, integrating the delegation from the Ministry of Education (MEC), representing NEIM and Universidade Federal da Bahia. Ana Alice Costa participated as work group reporter for the workshop on Power and Women's Political Participation.

Plenary – Delegates from the Federal Government to the II CNPM, Brasília, 16 August 2007. Plenary presided over by Minister Nilcéia Freire. Cecilia Sardenberg participated as delegate representing NEIM.

Meeting of Ministry of Education Delegation to the II CNPM, Brasília, 17 August 2007. Meeting presided over by the Director of SECAD, the Secretary for Continuing Education and Diversity to discuss a new programme on Gender and Education. Cecilia Sardenberg participated as delegate.



Journeys for Legal and Safe Abortion banner at the entrance to the II National Conference for Public Policy for Women. Photo by NEIM

Although policy instruments and interventions such as quotas are an important mechanism to promote women's empowerment, they are not sufficient on their own to achieve positive, sustainable change in women's lives. They need to be supported by institutional strengthening that addresses fundamental changes in societal behaviour and attitudes towards women.

Creation of NEIM's graduate programme (Masters and PhD) on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender and Feminism (2006), and the Federal University of Bahia's bachelor's degree programme on Gender and Diversity (2009)

During the course of the Pathways Programme, NEIM has been able to invest in capacity development, creating both a graduate (Masters and PhD) and undergraduate (bachelor's degree programme) on Feminist and Gender Studies. Both of these programmes were the first of their kind in Brazil. Since its inception, in 2006, the Graduate Programme has produced 2 PhD dissertations (Simone Andrade Teixeira and Roberto Macedo), and 16 masters theses. At present, the programme has 11 PhD candidates and 27 masters degree students enrolled (www.ppgneim.ffch.ufba.br). The undergraduate programme was created with an enrolment of 30 students (March 2009); in 2010, a class of 50 students entered the programme. The lectures are in the evenings, making it possible for people who work full-time to enrol. The creation of this programme has made it possible, thus far, for 5 new faculty members to be admitted to NEIM by public examination (Concurso Público). We instigated the first public examination in the history of Brazilian higher education for the position of chair of feminist theory.

Capacity building has been an important element to this programme. In Brazil in particular this has allowed us the opportunity to invest in supporting both graduates and undergraduates in their career development through their strong involvement in the research projects. Their input has been vital and it has raised their self-esteem and developed their range of skills. This is a crucial element to include in any research programme.



5 Introduction to the team

The Nucleus of Interdisciplinary Women's Studies – NEIM (Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre a Mulher) – which convenes the Pathways Latin American Hub is part of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) headquartered at the Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences (FFCH). Created in 1983, NEIM is the oldest functioning women's studies centre in Brazil; throughout its history, it has been active not only in developing research on women and gender issues and the teaching of feminist studies, but also in supporting women's groups, labour unions, and governmental and non-governmental organisations in striving for policies and programmes that promote women's empowerment. In 2006, NEIM started a masters and doctorate degree programme on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender and Feminism, approved by the Ministry of Education. In 2009, NEIM also broke new ground by creating the first bachelor's degree programme on Gender and Diversity in Brazil.

NEIM has been closely involved in the development of feminist studies networks in Brazil, such as REDOR (Regional Feminist Network of Women and Gender Studies Centres in the North and Northeast Regions) and REDEFEM (Brazilian Network of Feminist Studies), and is at present involved in the creation of the Luso Afro Brazilian Feminist Studies Network linking researchers in Brazil, Portugal and Portuguese-speaking Africa. NEIM also participates in regional networks such as RIF-MED (Feminist Interamerican Network – Women in Development) and the Latin American Network of Women's and Gender Studies Centres.



Members of the LA team pose with team adviser, Luiza Bairros (who is at present Minister for Racial Equality) during the X Latin American Feminist Encounter (2007)



Members of the Latin America Hub team



Cecilia Sardenberg and Silvia Lúcia Ferreira

Cecilia M.B. Sardenberg, Convenor of the LA Hub, is a Brazilian feminist who holds a PhD in Anthropology from Boston University, and has over 30 years experience in teaching, research, consultancy, and participation in women's movements in Brazil. She was one of the "founding mothers" of UFBA's Nucleus of Interdisciplinary Studies on Women (NEIM/UFBA), and served as its Director for 2004–2010. At present, she serves as National Coordinator to OBSERVE, the Observatory for the Monitoring of Maria da Penha Law.

Ana Alice A. Costa, Co-Convenor, holds a PhD in Political Sociology from UNAM, the Autonomous University of Mexico. She has been active in the Brazilian and

Mexican feminist movements since the late 1970s. A member of the Faculty of Philosophy and Human Sciences of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) in Salvador, Brazil, since 1982, she was one of the founders of UFBA's Nucleus of Interdisciplinary Studies on Women (NEIM/UFBA), and Director 1999–2004. She is currently coordinator of the MA and PhD programmes on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism at NEIM/UFBA.

Márcia dos Santos Macedo holds BAs in Social Work and Social Science, with a Masters and PhD in Sociology from UFBA. She is an adjunct professor of Feminist Theory on the newly created bachelors programme in Gender and Diversity at UFBA, teaching, as well, on the masters and PhD programmes on interdisciplinary studies on women, Gender, and Feminism. A long time researcher associated with NEIM/UFBA, taking part in several of its extension programmes, she is now its present Director. Her research work has focused on gender and work, and gender and the family, with a focus on women-headed households.



Ana Alice Costa and Nadja Ferreira

Silvia Lúcia Ferreira has a Doctorate in Nursing from the University of São Paulo (USP). She has 28 years experience in teaching, research and consultancy, and is co-founder and present Coordinator and Leader of GEM (Women Studies' Group of the School of Nursing). She has also been a long-time researcher at NEIM, having acted as its Vice-Director and as Coordinator of the masters and PhD programmes on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism. She has served as President of the State Council for the Rights of Women (CDDM) for the State of Bahia. Her research interests include gender and health, women's health, gender and public policy.





Silvia de Aquino and Cecilia Sardenberg

Sílvia de Aquino has a PhD in Sociology from UFBA, having worked as Associate Researcher at NEIM/UFBA since 1996. She is Associate Professor of Gender and Politics in the Department of Political Science and is involved in NEIM's bachelor's programme on Gender and Diversity. She has taken part in the Salvador Commission against Violence towards Women and in the Observatory for Monitoring the Maria da Penha Law. Her research interests include domestic violence, gender and public policy, and policies to combat violence against women (with a focus on Police Stations for Assaulted Women (DEAMs)).

Terezinha Abigail Gonçalves da Silva is a feminist economist with a masters degree in Agrarian Sciences, focusing on Rural Development, from the School of Agronomy at UFBA. She has been active for over 30 years in women's movements in Brazil. She was a founding member of the Feminist Group Brasil Mulher (1979), and has been a Research Associate of NEIM/UFBA, since 2000, representing NEIM in the Salvador Women's Forum and in the Feminist Network for Sexual and Reproductive Health Rights. She worked as Special Superintendent for Women's Policies in Salvador, and is currently an advisor to the city council women.

Nadja Ferreira, Hub Communications (2007–2009). She has a bachelor's degree in languages (English) and a master's degree in Afro-Brazilian Studies, and is responsible for LA Hub translations.

Rita Lessa Costa, Hub Accountant, has a bachelor's degree in accounting. She has been at NEIM since 1990, and is responsible for administrative services.

Lea Menezes Santana, Hub Communications Officer, has a bachelor's degree in Public Relations, and a post-graduate specialisation degree in Gender and Public Policies from NEIM/UFBA. She has been a member of the LA Hub and NEIM since 2007.

Other researchers, students and interns involved



NEIM's undergraduate student interns

Fabiana de Sousa Almeida

has a teaching degree in Social Sciences from UFBA. She participated in the “Changing Times, Changing Lives” research project as student intern (2007–2009).

Síntia Araújo has a teaching degree in Social Sciences from UFBA. She participated in the “Empowering Domestic Service” project as student intern (2007–2009).

Victória Maria Aquino is majoring in Gender and Diversity. She participated in the Building Constituencies Sub-Programme as student intern.

Rogério Barros has a bachelor's degree in psychology from UFBA. He participated in the “Empowering Domestic Service” project as student intern (2007–2009).

Carla Gisele Batista is former Secretary to the Articulation of Brazilian Women (AMB), she holds a BA in history, and is a master's degree candidate on the graduate programme on interdisciplinary studies of Women, Gender, and Feminism, working on issues around the campaign for the legalisation of abortion in Brazil, supervised by Cecilia Sardenberg.

Fernanda Capibaribe was media consultant on the “Changing Times, Changing Lives” research project. She has a BA and masters degree in communications with a specialisation in photography. She is an Assistant Professor of Photography at the UFAL—Universidade Federal de Alagoas.

Jamile dos Santos Carvalho is an undergraduate student on the bachelor's degree programme in the Social Sciences. She participated in the “Building Constituencies Quota Project” as student intern, and in the Conceptualising Empowerment work.

Tatiane Cerqueira is an undergraduate student on the Social Sciences Programme. She participated in the Building Constituencies Sub-Programme as student intern.

Mariana Cruz has a teaching degree in Social Sciences. She participated in the “Changing Times, Changing Lives” research project as student intern.

Márcia Gomes is Co-Coordinator of the OBSERVE—Observatory for Monitoring the Maria da Penha Law and has a masters and PhD in sociology from UFBA. She has been a research associate at NEIM since 1998.

Maria Helena Guimarães is an undergraduate student in the Social Sciences at UFBA. She participated in the “Changing Times, Changing Lives” research project as student intern.

Liv Lobo is an undergraduate student majoring in psychology. She participated in the “Changing Times, Changing Lives” research project as student intern (2007–2009).

Antônio do Espírito Santo Loula is majoring in social sciences. He participated in the Building Constituencies Sub-Programme as student intern.

Renato Macedo has a BA in Economics, a masters in home economics, and a PhD in interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender and Feminism (PPG—NEIM/UFBA). She participated in the Feminism





Student interns for the 'Changing Times, Changing Lives' project organising the photo exhibition

and Women's Movements in Brazil Project, developing her PhD dissertation under the supervision of Ana Alice Costa.

Patrícia Marques has a BA and a masters in nursing; is a doctorate candidate at UFBA's School of Nursing, and an Assistant Professor of Nursing at Universidade Federal do Recôncavo Bahiano – UFRB. She participated in the "Feminisms and the Struggle for Reproductive Health and Reproductive Rights: the Brazilian Experience" research project, developing a PhD

Dissertation in the School of Nursing under the supervision of Sílvia Lúcia Ferreira.

Daniela Santana de Oliveira has a teaching degree in history. She participated in the "Changing Times: Changing Lives" research project as student intern (2007–2009).

Debora da Silva Oliveira has a teaching degree in history. She participated in the "Changing Times: Changing Lives" research project as student intern (2007–2010).

Fabiana Rocha has a teaching degree in social sciences. She participated in the "Changing Times: Changing Lives" research project as student intern (2007–2009), and is at present an intern in OBSERVE: Observatory for Monitoring Maria da Penha Law.

Monica Rocha has a teaching degree in social sciences. She has participated in the work of OBSERVE–Observatory for Monitoring Maria da Penha Law since its inception as student intern.

Sheila Rodriguez has a teaching degree in social sciences. She participated in the “Changing Times: Changing Lives” research project as student intern (2007–2009), and is at present an intern in OBSERVE: Observatory for Monitoring the Maria da Penha Law.

Carolina Santana was Field Coordinator for the “Changing Times: Changing Lives” research project (2007–2009). She has a bachelor’s degree in social sciences and is a master’s candidate in anthropology at UFBA.

Candida Ribeiro Santos is a Field Researcher in OBSERVE. She is a PhD Candidate in the graduate programme on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism, developing her dissertation under the supervision of Cecilia Sardenberg.

Maria de Lourdes Scheffler is Associate Researcher at NEIM/UFBA and coordinates our work on the Landless People’s Movement (MST) Women’s Camp. She is a PhD candidate in the graduate programme in social sciences, developing her dissertation on

MST under the supervision of Cecilia Sardenberg.

Raquel Oliveira Silva has a teaching degree in history, and is a masters candidate in history at UFBA. She participated in the “Changing Times, Changing Lives” research project as student intern (2007–2010).

Salete Maria Silva is a lawyer and PhD candidate in NEIM’s graduate programme on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender and Feminism. She participated in the Building Constituencies Sub-Program and is writing her dissertation on the “Lipstick Lobby” under the supervision of Ana Alice Costa.

Zilmar Alverita da Silva has a BA in philosophy and a masters degree in interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism. She participated in the development of the OBSERVE report.

Gilberta Santos Soares is the Director of the Brazilian feminist NGO Cunchã. She was Executive Secretary for Jornadas Brasileiras pelo Aborto Legal e Seguro (Brazilian campaign for safe and legal abortion) from 2003–2007.

She has a BA in psychology, a masters in sociology, and is a doctorate candidate in NEIM’s graduate programme on interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism, developing her dissertation under the supervision of Cecilia Sardenberg.

Márcia Tavares is Regional Coordinator of OBSERVE–Observatory for Monitoring the Maria da Penha Law, is a social worker and has a doctorate degree in sociology from UFBA. She is an Adjunct Professor of Social Work at Universidade Católica de Salvador.

Simone Andrade Teixeira, has a BA in nursing and a doctorate in interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminism, from NEIM/UFBA. She teaches reproductive health at the Universidade Estadual do Sudeste Baiano–UESB, and participated in the “Feminisms and the Struggle for Reproductive Health and Reproductive Rights: the Brazilian Experience” research project; she developed her PhD dissertation under the supervision of Sílvia Lúcia Ferreira.



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Latin American hub outputs and related products by project

Changing times, changing lives: women's empowerment through the generations in Bahia, Brazil

NEIM/UFBA (2007) 'Our Looks of All Saints', Photoclip. Salvador: NEIM. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=isnIT6HkoEM>

NEIM/UFBA (forthcoming) 'Changing Times, Changing Lives', video documentary

Oliveira, D. and Sardenberg, C. (2009) 'O Empoderamento de Mulheres na Bahia Através do Acesso a Educação', paper presented to the XXVIII Seminário Estudantil de Pesquisa and X Seminário de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação, 13 November, Salvador: UFBA

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Silva, R. O. and Sardenberg, C. (2009) 'O Empoderamento de Mulheres na Bahia: Os Olhares de Mulheres Baianas Sobre Suas Próprias Histórias', paper presented to the XXVIII Seminário Estudantil de Pesquisa and X Seminário de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação, 13 November, Salvador: UFBA

Silva, R. O., Lobo, L. C. and Sardenberg, C. (2008) 'O Empoderamento de Mulheres Através das Gerações na Bahia: As Interconexões entre Oportunidades Educacionais, Inserção no Mercado de Trabalho e Participação Política', paper presented to the XXVII Seminário Estudantil de Pesquisa and IX Seminário de Pesquisa e Pós-Graduação, 14 November, Salvador: UFBA

Conceptualising empowerment: a look at public policy for women in Brazil

Macedo, M. S. (forthcoming) 'Is Small Change Enough? A Look at Public Policy for Women in Brazil', in R. Eyben and L. Turquet (eds), *Bureaucracies as Pathways for Women's Empowerment: Strategies for Feminist Engagement*, London: Zed Books

Feminisms and women's movements in Brazil: issues and challenges

I Seminar: Mulheres e Estruturas de Poder na Bahia. One day seminar, 18 November 2006, coordinated by Ana Alice Costa, Cecília Sardenberg and Terezinha Gonçalves. This one day seminar was organised by NEIM to provide a discussion space about the Secretariat for Public Policy for Women of the State of Bahia. The then newly-elected governor had affirmed he



would create this government agency and we believed it would be important for the women of Bahia to discuss its format. More than 100 women participated, representing different entities (women's groups, political parties, unions, etc.). The output of this seminar was a document which was formally presented to the governor-elected.

Seminar Dialogues about Empowerment – Câmara Municipal de Salvador, Bahia, 2122 June 2007. Organised by NEIM/UFBA and Câmara Municipal de Salvador, Bahia. Speakers: Andrea Cornwall, Naila Kabeer, Suha Barghouti (movie director, Palestine), Cecilia Sardenberg, Vereadora Vânia Galvão (PT), Terezinha Gonçalves (discussant), Maria de Lourdes Scheffler (discussant), Translators: Nadja Ferreira, Lea Santana and Cecilia Sardenberg; 45 participants, including local authorities

25 Years of NEIM and II Seminar: Feminisms in Brazil, Theoretical Reflexions and Perspectives, NEIM/UFBA, October 2008.

Coordinators: Cecília Sardenberg, Márcia Macêdo, Léa Santana. Sponsored by Pathways and SPMulheres; 150 participants, including local authorities. Speakers from all over Brazil: Marlene Libardoni (AGENDE and Member of our Advisory Group), Jussara Pra (UFRGS), Vera Soares (USP and Member of our Advisory Group), Tânia Swain (UNB), Têlia Negrão (Rede Feminista de Saúde), Rubia Abs (Themis), Jurema Werneck (Criola), Leila Barsted (CEPIA), Albertina Costa (USP), Adriana Piscitelli (UNICAMP), Lucila Scavone (UNESP), Eleonora Menecucci (UFPaulista), Mary Ferreira (UFMa), Sílvia Camurça (SOS Corpo), – Gilberta Soares (Cunhã), Vanda Menezes (ex-Secretária da Mulher, Alagoas), Lourdes Bandeira (SPMulheres), Heleieth Saffioti (UNESP), Cristina Buarque (Secretária da Mulher, Pernanbuco), Ana Reis (Espaço Feminista)

Cesareo, C. (2007) Essay on the “VII Annual Encampment of Women Rural Workers and Indigenous Women in Bahia, Brazil, http://www.pathwaysofempowerment.org/news_pathways.html. Link to video of VI Camp (2006) with the participation of Ana Alice Costa <http://www.channels.com/episodes/show/7137316/VI-Acampamento-de-Mulheres-Trabalhadoras-Rurais#/episodes/show/7137316/VI-Acampamento-de-Mulheres-Trabalhadoras-Rurais>

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NEIM/UFBA (2007) 'O NEIM na Mudança do Garcia', video documentary. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=lpL91rNZtXE>

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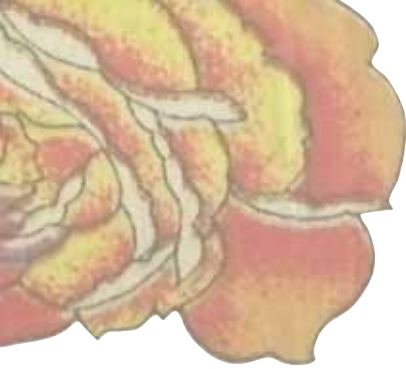
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Sardenberg, C. and Costa, A. A. A. (2009) 'Feminisms in Brazil: Voicing and Channelling Women's Demands in Their Diversity', paper presented at the 'Voicing Demands: Feminists Reflecting on Strategies, Negotiations and Influence' Conference, Rockefeller Foundation Bellagio Center, Bellagio, Italy, 2–9 November



Sardenberg, C. and Costa, A. A. A. (2010) 'Feminisms in Contemporary Brazil: Advancements, Shortcomings, and Challenges', in A. Basu (ed.) *Women's Movements in a Global Era: The Power of Local Feminisms*, Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press

Making private harms into matters of public concern: women's struggles and achievements for combating domestic violence in Brazil

Observatory Consortium Meetings: There were four national and regional coordinating meetings and two (2007 and 2009) general meetings held in Salvador, Bahia, with representatives of all organisations, networks, and institutions in the consortium to discuss the monitoring methodology.

Training Workshop for Researchers in Lei Maria da Penha Network (Coordinators Cecilia Sardenberg, Marcia Gomes): In November 2009, NEIM/OBSERVE promoted a general meeting of the consortium and a training workshop for the researchers selected to participate in the monitoring survey to be conducted in all 26 state capitals and Brasília. Speakers: Andrea Cornwall (IDS), Leila Barsted (CEPIA), Marlene Libardoni (AGENDE), Rubia Abs (THEMIS), Francisca Eleonora Schiavo (former Coord. of the Centro de Referência Loreta Valadares), Wânia Pasinato (USP, Jussara Prá (UFRGS).

Thematic Seminar, Feminism and Public Policies to Confront Domestic Violence Against Women, (Coordinators Cecilia Sardenberg and Jussara Prá), *Fazendo Gênero 9*, Florianópolis: UFSC, 23–27 August 2010. There were 24 papers presented in three sections held during the *Fazendo Gênero 9* Conference.

National Seminar on Policies for Confronting Domestic and Family Violence Against Women, November 2010

Aquino, S. de. (forthcoming) 'Organizing to Monitor the Implementation of Maria da Penha Law in Brazil', in M. Al Sharmani (ed.) *Legal Reform and Feminist Activism: Comparative Approaches*, London: Zed

Gomes, M. and Sardenberg, C. (2009) 'Os Desafios da Implementação', *Jornal do Brasil*, 11 August, <http://jbonline.terra.com.br/pextra/2009/08/06/e060818477.asp>

Gomes, M., Tavares, M. and Sardenberg, C. (2010) *A Aplicação da Lei Maria da Penha em foco*, Cadernos do OBSERVE 1, Salvador: OBSERVE/NEIM/UFBA

Gomes, M., Santos, C. R., Silva, Z. A. and Sardenberg, C. (2009) *Monitoramento da Lei Maria da Penha – Relatório Preliminar de Pesquisa*, http://www.observe.ufba.br/_ARQ/relatoriofinal.pdf

Pasinato, W. (2010) *Juizados Especiais de Violência Doméstica e Familiar Contra a Mulher e a Rede de Serviços para Atendimento de Mulheres em Situação de Violência em Cuiabá, Mato Grosso*, Cadernos do OBSERVE 2, Salvador: OBSERVE/NEIM/UFBA

Sardenberg, C. (2010) 'As Elisias do Brasil e suas Mortes Anunciadas', www.observe.ufba.br

Sardenberg, C., Gomes, M., Tavares, M. and Pasinato, W. (2010) *Domestic Violence and Women's Access to Justice in Brazil*, Background paper to UNIFEM's *Progress of the World's Women and Access to Justice Report*, Salvador: NEIM:OBSERVE/UFBA

Building constituencies for political reform: quotas as an instrument of change

Seminar: Pathways of Women's Power (Coordinator Ana Alice Costa). As part of this project, an international seminar on political quotas was held in the Brazilian National Congress, in Brasília, D.F. in June 2006, in partnership with different house commissions in congress.

Costa, A. A. A. (forthcoming) 'The Participation Paradox: Quotas Policy in Latin America', in M. Tadros and I. Jad (eds), *Pathways into Politics: Southern Perspectives on Political Empowerment*, London: Zed

Costa, A. A. A. (2010) 'Quotas as a Path to Parity: Challenges to Women's Participation in Politics', *IDS Bulletin*, 41.5: 116–120

Costa, A. A. A. (2010) 'Quotas: A Pathway of Political Empowerment?', *IDS Bulletin*, 41.2: 18–27

Costa, A. A. A. (ed.) (2009) *Trilhas do Poder de Mulheres, Experiências Internacionais em Ações Afirmativas*, Brasília: Centro de Documentação e Informação

Tadros, M. and Costa, A. A. A. (eds) (2010) 'Quotas: Add Women and Stir?', *IDS Bulletin*, 41.5



Women in the writing of the 1988 Constitution

Execution of this project has included the promotion of a national seminar in June 2008, in celebration of the 20th anniversary of the passage of the 1988 Constitution and, with it, a series of fundamental rights for women.

Women in local power in Bahia – the city council women

Seminar Women and Politics. Women in Local Power in Bahia (Coordinator Ana Alice Costa). Seminar took place at the Salvador Municipal Council Convention Centre on 23–24 April 2009, promoted by NEIM with the support of Pathways, the Women's Commission of the Municipal Council, and National Congresswoman Lídice da Matta. Participants: 50 Municipal Council Women from different localities of Bahia, 10 parliamentary advisors, 2 city mayors, and National Congress Woman Lídice da Matta. Elisabete Saar de Freitas, representing the Secretariat of Public Policies for Women; State Congress Woman Neuza Cadore, President of the Commission for the Defence of Women's Rights of the Bahia State Congress; Valdecier Nascimento, Superintendent of Public Policies for Women of the State of Bahia; Professor Silvia Lúcia Ferreira, President of the State Council for the Defence of Women's Rights; Maria Helena Souza, ex. Superintendent of Public Policies for Women for the City of Salvador; and Professor Cecília Sardenberg, Director of NEIM/UFBA.

Brazilian feminisms in the United Nations arenas

Sardenberg, C. (2010) 'Brazilian Feminists on the Alert', *Open Democracy*, February, <http://www.opendemocracy.net/5050/cecilia-sardenberg/brazilian-feminists-on-alert>

Sardenberg, C. (2010) 'Caminhos de Ida e Volta do Local ao Global: As Articulações dos Feminismos Brasileiros na ONU', research project presented to CNPq, October

Sardenberg, C. (2010) 'Feminismos no Brasil, Atual e Atuante', *Revista Brasileiros*, 34, May: 82–3, <http://www.revistabrasileiros.com.br/edicoes/34/textos/1009/>

Empowering domestic work: the organising of domestic workers in Brazil

I Workshop 'Cotidiano das Trabalhadoras Domésticas', 4 May 2008, Salvador, Brazil. First in a series of workshops with domestic workers using photography to show their lives. Facilitator: Fernanda Capibaribe (photographer)

Workshop 'Linhas da Vida', 1 June 2008, Salvador, Brazil. Reflections of women and gender relations and their intersections with race and class. Facilitated by: Márcia Macedo and Andréa Cornwall

II Workshop 'Cotidiano das Trabalhadoras Domésticas', 12 June 2008 – First exhibition of the photographs taken by domestic workers depicting a day in their lives – home, work, family and problems. Facilitated by Fernanda Capibaribe

III Workshop 'Cotidiano das Trabalhadoras Domésticas', 20 July 2008. Showing of the film "Estamira" about life of the poor in Rio de Janeiro. A group discussion followed.

Cornwall, A., Capibaribe, F. and Gonçalves, T. (2010) 'Revealed Cities: A Photovoice Project with Domestic Workers in Salvador, Brazil', *Development*, 53.2: 299–300

Gonçalves, T. (2010) 'Crossroads of Empowerment: The Organisation of Women Domestic Workers in Brazil', *IDS Bulletin*, 41.2: 62–9

Gonçalves, T., Oliveira, C., Barros, R., Araújo, S. (eds) (2009) *Empowering Domestic Work: The Domestic Workers Organization in Brazil*, Salvador: NEIM/UFBA, Fenatrad, Pathways

Photoclip of the Photovoice Project available at: YouTube channel pathways08 at <http://www.youtube.com/user/Pathways08>

Feminisms and the struggle for reproductive health and reproductive rights: the Brazilian experience

National workshop, 'Jornadas pelo Direito ao Aborto Legal e Seguro' (Campaign for the Right to a Legal and Safe Abortion), São Paulo, 24–26 February 2008, 39 feminists from 9 Brazilian states participated. The purpose of the workshop was to evaluate the present conjuncture and to move forward on strategies for the legalisation of abortion in Brazil. Sílvia Lúcia Ferreira, Gilberta Soares, and Carla Gisele Batista participated.



Batista, C. G. and Sardenberg, C. (forthcoming) 'Movimentos Feministas, Aborto e Laicidade', Salvador: NEIM/UFBA

Ferreira, S., Nascimento, E. and Teixeira, S. (2009) 'O Feminismo Acadêmico na Escola de Enfermagem da UFBA: Análise da Produção Científica do GEM – Grupo de Estudos sobre Saúde da Mulher (1987–2008)', *Anais do XV Simpósio Baiano de Pesquisadoras (ES) sobre Mulheres e Relações de Gênero. Novos Espaços do Feminismo*, Salvador: NEIM/UFBA: Salvador, CD-ROM

Sardenberg, C. (2007) 'Looking at Sexuality and Identity in the Information Society from a Latin American Feminist Perspective: Implications for policy formulation', paper presented to the *Strategic Planning Workshop of the Feminist Network on Gender, Development and Information Society Policies*, IT for Change, Bangalore, India, 5–7 October

Sardenberg, C. (2008) 'Ageing Women and the Culture of Eternal Youth: Some Personal and Theoretical Reflections from a Feminist over Fifty in Brazil', paper presented to the *Sexuality and Development Workshop*, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton, 3–5 April

Sardenberg, C. (2007) 'The Right to Abortion: Briefing from Brazil', *Open Democracy*, 20 October, http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/5050/how_feminists_make_progress

Soares, G. and Sardenberg, C. (2008) 'Campaigning for the Right to Legal and Safe Abortion in Brazil', *IDS Bulletin*, 39.3: 55–61

Teixeira, S. A. (2010) 'Matrizes e Matizes da Inserção dos Direitos Sexuais e dos Direitos Reprodutivos Engendrados por Feministas Acadêmicas Brasileiras', doctorate dissertation presented to the graduate programme in interdisciplinary studies on Women, Gender, and Feminisms, UFBA

Teixeira, S. A., Ferreira, S. and Marques, P. (2008) 'Direitos Sexuais e Direitos Reprodutivos: Interseções entre ONGs e Núcleos Universitários Feministas Brasileiros', paper presented to the *Fazendo Gênero 8 Meetings*, Florianópolis, UFSC, 25–28 August



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