
RESEARCH REPORTS AND NOTES

RECENT RESEARCH ON WOMEN IN BRAZIL *

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The last half-dozen years have witnessed an outpouring of Brazilian publications, both rigorous academic studies and popular essays, on women and their roles and activities within Brazilian society. Since the late 1970s, publishers and educated audiences have demonstrated an active interest in works on women that contrasts sharply with the hostile reception accorded Betty Friedan and the Brazilian translation of her *Feminine Mystique* in 1971. What was once a subject for ridicule has become a timely topic. In 1980 a compendium of the year's nonfiction titles revealed more books listed under the heading of feminism than under biology or botany, and almost as many as under anthropology or cooking.¹ The expanding publications on socially determined sex roles have accompanied the development of a small, but active, feminist movement and a general increase in publishing activities in Brazil as the "redemocratization" process gains strength and readers seek more information on previously forbidden topics.

During the mid-1970s, a new feminist movement emerged in

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Brazil.² The International Women's Year of 1975 proclaimed by the United Nations marked the appearance of several small feminist groups in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, beginning with the Centro da Mulher Brasileira. That year also saw the founding of the Movimento Feminino pela Anistia, which was not a feminist or women-oriented organization but a women's amnesty movement seeking to loosen the grip of the military dictatorship imposed in 1964. Clearly, UN sponsorship of the International Women's Year permitted the creation of women's groups in Brazil when other political activity was discouraged or repressed. As a result, church and leftist political bodies often sought to use these organizations for their own programs. The well-educated, middle-class women participating in the new women's organizations, some of whom were experienced political activists, attempted to place so-called specific women's issues within the broader struggle for a democratic, just society and to give priority to the needs and demands of working-class and poor women. Some groups sought interclass linkages with the more numerous neighborhood women's associations then forming in working-class districts of major manufacturing centers, some under church or (banned) party sponsorship. These women's associations, which resisted the feminist label, focused on neighborhood services, especially day care, the high cost of living, and political participation.

By 1979, as the political "opening" deepened and political exiles began to return to Brazil after more than a decade abroad, the nation's small feminist movement displayed increasing vigor, infused by women who had become feminists in Europe. Groups grew, proliferated, and splintered. Some sought less formal hierarchical structures free from the party alliances that hindered efforts to deal with issues of personal politics such as sexuality, reproduction, and violence against women. As in many other countries, development of a feminist movement in Brazil has not occurred without acrimonious debate. But the women's voices were heard and the questions they raised were discussed. By the early 1980s, such issues as equal salaries and civil rights, education, and health commanded attention in both political and academic circles.

The feminist militants and the scholars engaged in research on women in Brazil generally are not the same individuals (as is frequently the case in the United States), but some overlap does exist between the two categories. Progressive intellectuals lacking institutional affiliations contribute to the growing volume of research on Brazilian women, and some militants hold academic positions in diverse fields. At this point, feminist attitudes and arguments have touched academic research and publications in Brazil to a degree unknown only a few years ago. But in the early 1970s, the newly emerging scholarship on women frequently lacked a feminist perspective. Rather than study sex roles (currently a popular topic), many scholars who were engaged in research on

women saw themselves as merely resolving interesting theoretical or methodological questions or exploring social inequalities that could be explained by the workings of the prevailing sociopolitical system.

Women are now accepted as a valid category of analysis, rather than simply a focus that could be profitably employed to increase knowledge of Latin American social formation, thanks in part to the feminist movement. Despite this progress, however, few courses on women can be found in Brazilian universities. Major institutions like the Universidade de São Paulo and the Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro only occasionally offer courses on women. The Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro maintains in their extension division a research center on women, the Núcleo de Estudos sobre a Mulher (NEM), which has published various papers on Brazilian women. Studies have also been published by the Associação de Pesquisas e Estudos da Mulher (APEM) in Rio de Janeiro, which is affiliated with the Instituto Universitário de Pesquisas do Rio de Janeiro. APEM also promotes lectures and other activities.³ The department of social science and philosophy of the Universidade Federal do Ceará created a university extension program and documentation center, the Núcleo de Estudos, Documentação, e Informação sobre a Mulher (NEDIM), comprised primarily of sociologists and psychologists, to promote research and conferences on women. São Paulo's Fundação Carlos Chagas maintains a large research group on women and the family and has sponsored various publications as well as individual research projects with Ford Foundation support. In Brazil as in other Latin American countries, the new scholarship on women is primarily social science scholarship, although literary critics also participate, as will be discussed.

This bibliographic essay concentrates on books published in Brazil since 1977 that deal with Brazilian women, leaving for the future and for other investigators the accompanying surge of articles, theses, and unpublished reports and papers on women. The only articles mentioned here will be those collected in book form or in special issues of journals, which are more easily available. Another category excluded is that comprised of recent Brazilian translations of foreign writings on women, ranging from Frederick Engel's work on the family to studies of sex roles and sexuality by North American social scientists to U.S. best-sellers, such as the memoirs of Lillian Hellman and Lauren Bacall. The spate of pamphlets by feminist organizations presenting their political positions or disseminating information on matters like birth control also fall beyond the scope of this essay, as do the relatively few studies by Brazilians of women in other countries, such as Danda Prado's analysis of women's role as wives, which was based on her research in France.⁴ Only works published in Brazil since 1977 are discussed here because earlier writings appear in the annotated bibliographies compiled by the

Fundação Carlos Chagas that will be described. Because short publications runs, the organization of book markets, and the lack of listings of books in print all increase the difficulties in finding new books, this essay does not pretend to be exhaustive. Nor can it remain current. But it does demonstrate the nature of recent research activities in this rapidly developing field.

Although the last few years have witnessed an upsurge in publications on women in Brazil, interest in this area is not new. Individual articles and books on Brazilian women have been appearing for decades, as is demonstrated by the wealth of pre-1977 material surveyed in the two-volume annotated bibliography, *Mulher Brasileira: Bibliografia Anotada*, prepared by the Fundação Carlos Chagas. The fruit of three years of systematic labor, Volume 1 (1979) describes over four hundred articles, theses, and books on women in Brazil. The work is divided into sections on history, the family, ethnic groups, and feminism, with introductory essays, bibliographies, and an author index of the annotated items. Employing a combined thematic and disciplinary approach, Volume 2 (1981) concentrates on work, law, education, and communications and the arts. A third volume is projected for 1985.

Recent publications on women in Brazil, like the older ones surveyed by the Fundação Carlos Chagas, include both popular and academic works, which sometimes treat the same topics. Leaving aside memoirs, confessional, or self-help literature, the major areas of interest are women in the work force, politics, the family, and sexuality, with the first topic predominating but the last the fastest growing. The concentration on women in the labor force is no doubt related to Brazil's strong Marxist intellectual tradition. Also, the ferment of political activity accompanying the "opening" and the formation of new political parties, some of which have sought to mobilize women, have undoubtedly strengthened interest in political studies. The family, long a recognized topic among anthropologists, has attracted the attention of other social scientists. Research on sexuality, the subject of several recent best-sellers, is benefiting from the increased attention given the subject within the feminist movement. In 1983, with the nation in dire financial straits, publishers found sex and economic issues to be the "hottest" topics.

Some trends in research activities, which may suggest future directions in publication, are demonstrated by the projects on women financed by the Fundação Carlos Chagas with a grants program funded by the Ford Foundation. In three competitions held by the Fundação Carlos Chagas in 1978, 1980, and 1982, the number of projects submitted on women in the labor force (by far the largest category among the approximately 130 entries in each competition) declined from 57 to 41 to 33. During the same period, the number of applications in the area of

health and sexuality increased from 21 to 28. In the field of politics, applications rose from 12 to 17; in history, from 8 to 12; and in literature, from 4 to 10; they meanwhile declined in communications from 11 to 7 and in psychology from 6 to 5.⁵

Brazilian studies of women's work concentrate mainly on women in the labor force, rather than on domestic work. Various books demonstrate women's oppression as workers and as women, focusing on the division of the labor market along sexual lines. Sociologists, rather than economists, are documenting women's lower salaries, poorer jobs, and lack of mobility. In her important study, *Trabalho Domesticado: A Mulher na Indústria Paulista*, Eva Alterman Blay analyzes the sexual division of labor in developed and less developed capitalist countries and in socialist states, raising theoretical questions while detailing the occupational organization of São Paulo's industrial sector. Through interviews with 522 women employed in the major branches of *paulista* industry, she demonstrates the paucity of positions open to the most qualified and educated women, who come to consider themselves workers, not professionals.

Several less broadly defined studies, which began as masters' theses rather than doctoral dissertations, also focus on São Paulo and make heavy use of interviews. Since the late nineteenth century, large numbers of women have labored in the Brazilian textile industry, just as they have in many other countries. A study of a textile factory in São José dos Campos in São Paulo's Paraíba Valley, Jessita Martins Rodrigues's *A Mulher Operária: Um Estudo sobre Tecelãs* (1979) focuses on women's roles and activities within the factory and within the family. She seeks to demonstrate the tension between liberation through work (a goal that she ascribes to feminists in developed countries) and freedom from outside work (the goal that she ascribes to these textile operatives). Rosalina de Santa Cruz Leite, in *A Operária Metalúrgica: Estudo sobre as Condições de Vida e Trabalho de Operárias Metalúrgicas na Cidade de São Paulo* (1982), chose to study politically active women in one of the most militant sectors of Brazilian labor. Supported by extensive quotations from two dozen in-depth interviews, she describes their working conditions, political participation, family relationships, and self-images, as well as their reactions to unequal treatment in the factories and unions and at home. Social psychologist Aracky Martins Rodrigues, in *Operário, Operária: Estudo Exploratório sobre o Operariado Industrial da Grande São Paulo* (1978), demonstrates how women internalize the sexual division of labor. Analyzing taped interviews with Paulista women workers on their social origins, migration to the city, family and factory relationships, daily lives, and financial problems, the author concludes that the women consider themselves "peripheral" to the outside world and identify primarily with their maternal roles and domes-

tic duties. She shows how these workers' self-images serve to justify their subordinate position both in the workplace and within the family.

Heleieth I. B. Saffioti's pathbreaking 1969 work, *A Mulher na Sociedade de Classes: Mito e Realidade*, provided later investigators with key concepts and categories and remains one of the few theoretical works on women developed in Brazil.⁶ More recently, Saffioti has also examined textile workers in *Do Artesanal ao Industrial, A Exploração da Mulher: Um Estudo de Operárias Têxteis e de Confeções no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos* (1981). Unlike other authors, she dares the difficult task of comparing women workers in two very different countries. But her book emphasizes the history of the Brazilian textile industry and analyzes data from two Paulista factories, with American workers appearing only at the end. Saffioti concludes that women's economic functions decline in importance as the change from artisan to industrial production takes place.

Another sociologist, Maria Valéria Junho Pena, also attempts a broadly based study of women in the Brazilian labor force. Employing a historical perspective in *Mulheres e Trabalhadoras: Presença Feminina na Constituição do Sistema Fabril* (1981), she carefully examines women's salaried labor, as well as labor legislation and unionization, from the beginnings of industrialization in nineteenth-century Brazil until 1950, and she looks well beyond São Paulo. Pena argues that in order to understand women's subordinate position in society and in industry, it is necessary to consider not only the internal workings of capitalism but also of those of patriarchy (a concept not generally employed by Brazilian scholars), as well as their intersection. In a narrower, yet complementary, study entitled *Mulheres e Menores no Trabalho Industrial: Os Fatores Sexo e Idade na Dinâmica do Capital* (1982), historian Esmeralda Blanco B. de Moura describes women's living and working conditions in Paulista industry between 1890 and 1920.

Seldom studied female rural workers in diverse parts of Brazil as well as lower-class urban housewives and professional women appear in the volume of essays edited by Maria Cristina A. Bruschini and Fúlvia Rosemberg. Their *Trabalhadoras do Brasil* (1982) contains the results of projects funded by the Fundação Carlos Chagas. A more recent and varied collection of research funded by the Chagas Foundation, *Mulher, Mulheres* (1983), edited by Carmen Barroso and Albertina Oliveira Costa, includes essays on women in clothing factories and on pieceworkers, as well as on historical topics.

Another work that began as a thesis but is written for a more popular audience is *Mulher e Trabalho: Discriminações e Barreiras no Mercado de Trabalho* (1980), by journalist Iredé Cardoso. Concentrating on middle-class women rather than on factory workers, Cardoso sought to

determine their awareness of job discrimination as well as to demonstrate the harsh realities that working women face.

Although relatively few studies of women and work in Brazil consider domestic activities, a start has been made in this direction. As was mentioned, Maria Valéria Junho Pena has attempted to link family organization and the work process, and several other studies already cited touch on family relationships. In *Emprego Doméstico e Capitalismo* (1978), Heleieth I. B. Saffioti considers the position in Brazilian capitalistic society of domestic servants, a large, but badly neglected, group of workers. She utilizes more than a thousand student-conducted interviews with domestic servants, women employing maids, and housewives without servants in Araraquara, São Paulo, to formulate theoretical conclusions that can be applied to Brazil's larger urban society. Elizabeth Doria Bilac, in *Família de Trabalhadores: Estratégia de Sobrevida* (1978), also analyzes quantitative data, in this case on the members of working-class families in Rio Claro in the state of São Paulo. In *Domesticidade: "Cativo" Feminino?* (1983), Zaira Ary Farias discusses domestic service in northeastern Brazil, concentrating on maids and their employers in Fortaleza.

A succinct analysis of the position of women in the labor market is found in the far-ranging study conducted by Carmen Barroso and her colleagues at the Fundação Carlos Chagas, *Mulher, Sociedade e Estado no Brasil* (1982), which was sponsored by UNICEF. Primarily using official data, the authors describe the economic and political position of contemporary Brazilian women, their education, health, and access to child care. The even more valuable second half of the volume considers government policies concerning women and the relationship of women to nongovernmental organizations like the church, the parties, and the unions.

The research team responsible for the education section of this study published a fuller investigation of the educational situation of Brazilian women during the 1970s in *A Educação da Mulher no Brasil* (1982), by Fúlvia Rosemberg, Regina P. Pinto, and Esmeralda V. Negrão. Another worthwhile work is *A Dominação da Mulher: Os Papéis Sexuais na Educação* (1982), by Regina Antônia G. de Toledo, Vera L. de Lins, Ana Maria Winogron, and Clarice N. Mota. Begun as a project in feminist education rather than as a UNICEF sponsored study, the short, cleverly illustrated volume nicely complements more statistical approaches. The work ably analyzes sexual stereotypes in education and suggests useful strategies for overcoming them.

Far fewer studies have appeared on women in politics than on women in the labor force. In their broadly conceived book, *Mulher e Política* (1982), Fanny Tabak and Moema Toscano ask why so few women

have occupied political posts in Brazil. Focusing on both women candidates and women voters in Rio de Janeiro, the authors demonstrate how women remain far removed from centers of political decision making. Eva Alterman Blay, in *As Prefeitas: A Participação Política da Mulher no Brasil* (1981), concentrates on those women who have achieved one specific office, that of mayor, and she finds them to be elected usually in the country's poorest, least industrialized, and least urbanized regions.⁷ Complementary essays on the political participation of women in Brazil, including papers presented at the 1981 meeting of the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais, are found in the collection edited by Fanny Tabak, *A Mulher como Objeto de Estudo* (1982). *Autoritarismo e Participação Política da Mulher* (1983) contains various papers by Fanny Tabak, ranging from general discussions of women's rights and the Declaration of Human Rights, political socialization, and women's resistance to authoritarian regimes, to examinations of Brazilian women's political participation, women's organizations, and relations between feminist groups and the political parties in Brazil.

Feminism and women's rights activities have attracted the attention of a variety of researchers. Political scientist Branca Moreira Alves and sociologist Jacqueline Pitanguy employ a historical perspective ably to introduce the question of feminism in *O que É Feminismo* (1981). Their succinct account forms part of Editora Brasiliense's popular series, *Coleção Primeiros Passos*, which was designed to reach a large audience. On a more scholarly plane, Branca Alves, in *Ideologia e Feminismo: A Luta da Mulher pelo Voto no Brasil* (1980), carefully analyzes the struggle for women's suffrage in Brazil and the ideas and arguments of the suffragists. She views feminist struggles as part of a broader liberation movement and considers the awakening of feminist consciousness to be a major force in transforming society today. In *A Mulher Brasileira e Suas Lutas Sociais e Políticas: 1850–1937* (1981), I discuss the historical development of women's rights activities in Brazil from the mid-nineteenth century through the 1930s and the achievement of women's suffrage.⁸ The struggle for the vote and for political and civil rights in the twentieth century is also described by João Batista Cascudo Rodrigues, a lawyer and one of the few men to address women's issues. The revised edition of his twenty-year-old account, *A Mulher Brasileira: Direitos Políticos e Cívicos* (1982), emphasizes key events in his native Rio Grande do Norte. A range of feminist activities in Brazil's southernmost state of Rio Grande do Sul are demonstrated by Pedro Maia Soares in the volume edited by Maria Cristina A. Bruschini and Fúlvia Rosemberg, *Vivência: História, Sexualidade e Imagens Femininas* (1980). Miriam Lifchitz M. Leite's essay in *Mulher, Mulheres*, edited by Carmen Barroso and Albertina Oliveira Costa, presents a portrait of Maria Lacerda de Moura (1887–1945), feminist, anarchist, anticlerical, and antifacist, and her

ideas. Despite the existence of these historical studies, contemporary feminist activities remain of far greater concern to participants in current feminist and political debates than to scholars.

As in other Latin American countries, Brazilian publications on women's history lag noticeably behind studies by social scientists. Brazilian investigations into historical subjects often are produced by people trained in other fields who use printed, rather than archival, sources. Even Brazilian feminists have shown less interest in recovering the lost female past than have their sisters in the United States or Europe, which reinforces the old saying that Brazil is a "country without a memory." The brief, popularized account by journalist Irede Cardoso, *Os Tempos Dramáticos da Mulher Brasileira* (1981), remains the only modern survey of women in Brazilian history. The documents I collected and introduced in *A Mulher no Brasil* (1978) extend from colonial times to the 1960s. Designed to raise questions and indicate topics and sources for future research, this work remains the only one of its kind.

Quotidiano e Poder em São Paulo no Século XIX: Ana Gertrudes de Jesus (1984) is a distinctive historical study by Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias. Based on extensive documentary sources, this work portrays the struggle for survival of poor women, slave and free, in the city of São Paulo during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. She makes sophisticated use of her material in reconstructing the roles and activities of these street vendors, artisans, laundresses, and other impoverished women. Like many social historians elsewhere, Dias has benefited from the methodologies and concerns of English labor historians such as E. P. Thompson.

Several historical inquiries are pursued in two collections of research sponsored by the Fundação Carlos Chagas that have already been mentioned: *Vivência: História, Sexualidade e Imagens Femininas*, edited by Bruschini and Rosemberg, and *Mulher, Mulheres*, edited by Barroso and Costa. Of particular note is Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva's study in *Vivência* of divorce in colonial São Paulo.

Anthropologists have long demonstrated interest in the family, although they rarely focus on the role of women within the family unit. *Colcha de Retalhos: Estudos sobre a Família no Brasil* (1982) is a collection of solid essays on the family in Brazilian society by anthropologists from the Universidade de Campinas. Its contributors are Maria Suely Kofes de Almeida, Antonio Augusto Arantes, Carlos Rodrigues Brandão, Mariza Corrêa, Bela Feldman-Bianco, Alba Zaluar, and Verena Stolcke (the latter is now at the Universidad Autónoma de Barcelona). The volume suggests the variety of themes and approaches currently being pursued and demonstrates the diversity of families found in Brazil. Only two of the essays deal specifically with women: Alba Zaluar's study of women and family food consumption in a *favela* community and Maria Suely

Kofes de Almeida's inquiry into relationships between domestic servants and their employers. The family structure of one particular group of women, prostitutes in Bahia, is described by Jefferson Afonso Bacelar in *A Família da Prostituta* (1982).

In *Perspectivas Antropológicas da Mulher* (1981 and 1983), other anthropologists address women's concerns directly. In the first and more interesting of the two 1981 volumes, Bruna Franchetto, Maria Laura V. C. Cavalcanti, and Maria Luiza Heilborn raise anthropological questions concerning women. Also, Tania Salem seeks to determine how women in the Rio favela of Rocinha form their feminine identity; through an analysis of their daily speech, she traces the network of social determinants of sex and class structuring that identity. The other 1981 volume of *Perspectivas Antropológicas da Mulher* contains studies by Myriam Lins de Barros and Rosane Manhães. The essays in the third volume (1983) were written by Eunice R. Durham, Julie Taylor, and Luiz Tarlei de Aragão; the topics range broadly from the family and human reproduction, to poetry, to Evita Perón.

Brief, general studies of the family that do not ignore women are provided by historian Eni de Mesquita Samara and Danda Prado, a writer with a doctorate in social psychology. In *O que É a Família* (1981), another part of Editora Brasiliense's Coleção Primeiros Passos series, Danda Prado examines the functions and history of the family. She demonstrates the diversity of family forms accompanying transformations in human society and the variety found among contemporary Brazilian families. Employing examples drawn mostly from nineteenth-century Paulista documents, Eni de Mesquita Samara discusses family, marriage, and divorce in Brazil in *A Família Brasileira* (1983). This volume is part of another Brasiliense series, *Tudo É História*, that is also designed to reach a large audience.

Danda Prado, together with Angela Neves and Mariza Figueiredo, contributed the articles on family structure and female oppression that comprise Volume 6 of *Cadernos de Debate*, entitled *A Estrutura Familiar na Opressão Feminina* (1980). Another special journal issue on the family was number 37 of *Cadernos de Pesquisa: Revista de Estudos e Pesquisas em Educação*. Entitled *A Família em Questão* (1981), this special issue contains articles from a variety of academic disciplines, including one on marriage in colonial São Paulo by Eni de Mesquita Samara.

Perhaps the broadest spectrum of researchers and authors have been drawn to the subject of sexuality, which in turn attracts the largest public. In 1983 two books on the subject attained the status of best-sellers. One was Rose Marie Muraro's *Sexualidade da Mulher Brasileira: Corpo e Classe Social no Brasil*, and the other was Marta Suplicy's *Conversando sobre Sexo*. Rose Marie Muraro was trained as a physicist but is

well known as the author of numerous works concerning women, including *Libertação Sexual da Mulher* (1970). Muraro undertook a formidable project in *Sexualidade da Mulher Brasileira*. Seeking to be both comprehensive and specific, she attempted to study the sexuality of distinct social groups according to their position in the class structure and to prove that each social class reveals its sexuality in different ways. Rather than deal with sexual practices, her teams of interviewers focused on the ways in which men and women view their bodies, sexual lives, and family relations. The limited sample was chosen in a casual fashion from agricultural laborers in Pernambuco, from São Paulo's industrial working class, and from elite and professional people in Rio de Janeiro. The book reveals a great deal about the lives and views of the interviewers as well as the interviewees.

Completely different in aim and structure is Marta Suplicy's *Conversando sobre Sexo*, which is based on letters received from her television viewers. For several years, this psychoanalyst and sexologist has conducted a five-minute segment on sexual behavior on the popular morning program, "TV Mulher," which was begun in 1979. Her willingness to discuss subjects like abortion and masturbation no doubt accounted for the reluctance of some publishers to bring out this book, as well as for her being forced off the air temporarily late in 1982.

In *Espelho de Vênus: Identidade Social e Sexual da Mulher* (1981), Branca Moreira Alves, Jacqueline Pitanguy, Leila Linhares Barsted, Mariska Ribeiro, and Sandra Boschi contribute to a general understanding of issues of sexual and social identity in Brazil. The authors, who are known as the Grupo Ceres, transcribed twenty-nine interviews with women of different socioeconomic levels, marital status, education, and age concerning stages in the female life cycle: infancy, menstruation, defloration, pregnancy, childbirth, and menopause. The book's second section analyzes the feminine strategies of passivity and ignorance employed by these women, violence against women, formation of sexual identity, and the possibility of freeing women from their subordinate positions.

The two illustrated volumes of the Maria-Sem-Vergonha de Ser Mulher series, *Mulher: Sexo no Feminino* (1981), by Rosiska Darcy de Oliveira, Mariska Ribeiro, and Miguel Paiva, and *Oh, Linda Imagem de Mulher!* (1982), by Rosiska Darcy de Oliveira, Carmen da Silva, Mariska Ribeiro, and Miguel Paiva, are designed to reach a broad audience, although like other markedly feminist works, they never made the best-seller list. *Mulher: Sexo no Feminino*, which employs quotations from *Espelho de Vênus*, aims to persuade women not to be ashamed of their bodies and desires, while *Oh, Linda Imagem de Mulher!* focuses on women's social conditioning and their need to unite and transform society's

rules on relations between men and women. Both volumes have witty drawings by Miguel Paiva that drive home their points concerning sexuality and female social status.

Like sexuality, violence against women is a cross-class issue that generates a greater degree of feminist (not just female) research and activity than economic or political questions. During the last several years, violence against women made front-page news throughout Brazil. Husbands murdered wives and were exonerated as acting in "legitimate defense of their honor." These cases of uxoricide drew the ire of feminists, who not only organized protest demonstrations but also created centers in various cities to help battered wives. While such reactions in Brazil may be new, the crimes, however, are not. Two books by Mariza Corrêa, *Os Crimes da Paixão* (1981), part of Editora Brasiliense's *Tudo É História* collection, and *Morte em Família: Representações Jurídicas de Papéis Sexuais* (1983), concentrate on "crimes of passion." In *Os Crimes da Paixão*, this anthropologist analyzes the "rules of the game" and the way they apply for men and for women. Corrêa describes the history of the concepts of "passion" and "honor" in Brazilian law, the role of the jury, and defense strategies employed by lawyers. Her more detailed study, *Morte em Família*, focuses on the crimes committed in Campinas between 1952 and 1972 and clearly demonstrates the effects of unequal sex roles in the judicial process and the asymmetrical nature of relations between men and women.

Other types of judicial records can also be used to study sexuality and sex roles. As Ilana W. Novinsky pointed out in *Vivência*, inquisition records for colonial Bahia and Pernambuco yield valuable data for historical investigations.

A different set of questions are raised by Carmen Barroso and Cristina Bruschini in *Educação Sexual: Debate Aberto* (1982), the result of research on sexuality among students between fifteen and eighteen in several schools in São Paulo. Sexual education is also Maria Amélia A. Goldberg's subject in *Educação Sexual: Uma Proposta, Um Desafio* (1982). Carmen Barroso and Maria Carneiro da Cunha treat an even more controversial issue in *O que É o Aborto* (1980). A product of the campaign to legalize abortion, this book not only defends the right of women to control their own sexuality and reproduction without government interference, but also points to the social inequalities that prevent a free choice of maternity and lead to illegal, dangerous abortions.

Part of the personal price paid by many poor Brazilian women with unwanted pregnancies becomes apparent in the autobiographical account of Cícera Fernandes de Oliveira, a Rio textile worker from the northeast, in *Cícera; Um Destino de Mulher: Autobiografia duma Emigrante Nordestina, Operária Têxtil* (1981). When her third husband raped her

thirteen-year-old daughter, Cícera reported him to the police and began a campaign to secure a legal abortion for her child, but to no avail.

Memoirs of other poor women who challenged the political or legal restrictions placed upon them range from accounts of individuals like Marli Pereira Soares's *Marli Mulher* (1981), which narrates her denunciation of the murder of her brother by Rio policemen, to collective works like that edited by Albertina de Oliveira Costa, Maria Teresa Porciuncula Moraes, Norma Marzola, and Valentina da Rocha Lima, *Memórias das Mulheres do Exílio*. As Volume 2 of *Memórias de Exílio*, this book forms part of the growing literature of exile in collecting the personal testimonies of some three dozen Brazilian women who endured political exile in the years following the 1964 military coup d'état in Brazil. The first volume of *Memórias do Exílio, Brasil: 1964–19??, De Muitos Caminhos*, appeared under a different editorship in Portugal in 1976 and in Brazil two years later. It focused on male political activities and reactions to exile and contained few accounts by women. Although the moving testimonies of the second volume offer women's insights into a male-dominated world, they should be considered as primary sources for the study of Brazilian women rather than the product of scholarly research.

During the last several years, Brazil has experienced a veritable outpouring of publications on women. While the books described in this essay suggest the variety and range of these studies, their accomplishments, and the difficulties encountered, many sources remain untapped and many topics remain untouched.

NOTES

1. *Leia Livros* 3, no. 32 (15 Feb.–14 March 1981), cataloged 3,087 nonfiction books as published in Brazil in 1980, listing 18 under "feminism," 16 under biology, 14 under botany, 21 under anthropology, and 20 under culinary matters. Sexology showed 41 titles. In subsequent years, *Leia Livros* has not published an annual listing.
2. On earlier feminist activities and movements in Brazil, see June E. Hahner, "Feminism, Women's Rights, and the Suffrage Movement in Brazil, 1850–1932," *LARR* 15, no. 1 (1980):65–111; Alves 1980; and Rodrigues 1982, 43–100. Aspects of current feminist and women's political activities are discussed in Marianne Schmink, "Women in Brazilian Abertura Politics," *Signs: A Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 7 (Autumn 1981):115–34; June E. Hahner, "'Women's Place' in Politics and Economics in Brazil since 1964," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 19 (Summer 1982):83–91; and Cornelia Butler Flora, *Socialist Feminism in Latin America*, Michigan State University Working Papers on Women in International Development no. 14.
3. These publications include Tabak 1982, which contains several papers presented at the 1981 meeting of the Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais; *A Metodologia de Estudos sobre a Mulher*, edited by Wanda Maria de Lemos Capeller (Rio de Janeiro: Núcleo de Estudos sobre a Mulher, Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro, 1982); Neuma Aguiar, *Estudos de Mulheres em Versão Brasileira*, Série Estudos no. 3 (Rio de Janeiro: Associação de Pesquisas e Estudos da Mulher, 1982).

4. Danda Prado, *Ser Esposa: A Mais Antiga Profissão* (São Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1979). Maria Cândida Vergueiro Santarcangelo's *A Situação da Mulher* (São Paulo: Editora Soma, 1980) attempts to discuss women worldwide, based on available secondary sources. In 1982 Editora Global of São Paulo published a series of works, including some translations, on women in other countries. The series includes Moema Viezzer and Domitila Chungara, *Se Me Deixam Falar*, the testimony of a well-known leader of the Bolivian miners' union; Nawal El Saadawi, *A Face Oculta de Eva*, a portrait of women in the Arab world drawn by an Egyptian psychiatrist; Margaret Randall, *Estamos Todas Despertadas*, on relations between men and women in Nicaragua; and Moema Viezzer, *Se Alguém Quiser Saber*, on the situation of women in the Dominican Republic. General consciousness-raising books include Maria Helena Kuhner, *O Desafio Atual da Mulher* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Francisco Alves, 1977); Colasanti 1981; and Heloneida Studart, *Mulher: Objeto de Cama e Mesa* (Petrópolis: Vozes, 1974), a brief, wittily written and illustrated book that has gone through over a dozen subsequent editions.
5. Carmen Barroso of the Fundação Carlos Chagas kindly supplied me with these data.
6. An English edition has been published as *Women in Class Society*, translated by Michael Vale (New York and London: Monthly Review Press, 1978).
7. A shortened version was published in English as "The Political Participation of Women in Brazil: Female Mayors," in *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 5 (Autumn 1979):42–59.
8. A condensed version was published in the United States as "Feminism, Women's Rights, and the Suffrage Movement in Brazil, 1850–1932," *LARR* 15, no. 1 (1980):65–111.

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