

# 20 años de Historia de las Mujeres. Perspectivas internacionales

20 Years of Women's History: International Perspectives

Gisela Bock\*, Ida Blom\*\* y M.<sup>a</sup> Izilda Santos de Matos\*\*\*

\* Universidad de Bielefeld (Alemania).

\*\* Universidad de Bergen (Noruega).

\*\*\* Universidad Pontificia de Sao Paulo (Brasil).

Recibido el 11 de marzo de 2013.

Aceptado el 14 de julio de 2013.

BIBLID [1134-6396(2013)20:1; 41-64]

## RESUMEN

Los desafíos a los que ha hecho frente la historia de las mujeres en el mundo en los últimos veinte años es abordada en este artículo por tres grandes y reconocidas historiadoras. Se inicia con un análisis sobre los debates existentes en la historia de las mujeres en los años en los que nació la revista *Arenal*, especialmente la controversia en torno al potencial inspirador de la categoría "género". Desde entonces la historia de las mujeres ha crecido exponencialmente en trabajos y enfoques analíticos, como se pone de relieve en los estudios específicos sobre dos áreas del planeta: Noruega y Brasil.

**Palabras clave:** Historia de las Mujeres. Historia de Género. Historiografía feminista. Noruega. Brasil. Alemania.

## ABSTRACT

This article addresses the challenges that have faced the history of women in the world in the last twenty years. Written by three prestigious scholars, it starts with an analysis of the debates in the field of women's history in the years when the history journal *Arenal* was initially published, especially the controversy surrounding the inspirational potential of the category of gender. Since then the history of women has grown exponentially in research and analytical approaches, as is highlighted in specific studies on Norway and Brazil.

**Key words:** Women's History. Gender History. Feminist Historiography. Norway. Brasil. Germany.

## SUMARIO

1.—Women's History and Gender History. 1.1.—Conquests and Acquisitions. 1.2.—Problems and Debates. 1.3.—Challenging Dichotomies. 2.—A glance at the development of

women's history in Norway. 2.1.—The start. 2.2.—The latest decades. 2.3.—Bibliographie. 3.—História das Mulheres e das relações de gênero no Brasil: desafios de um novo campo historiográfico.

## *1.—Women's History and Gender History*<sup>1</sup>

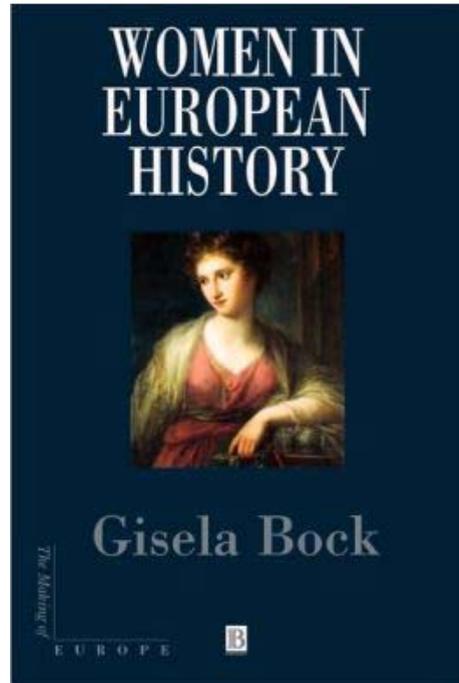
### 1.1.—Conquests and Acquisitions

In the past three decades, women's history has not only become a rich and complex field of study, not only a veritable "women's history movement", but also a field of theoretical and controversial reflections. It seems to me that three debates and insights have acquired major significance for the practice and strategy of women's history. First, women's history is different from men's history; precisely because of this difference it is important to study it, and its meaning is no less universal than that of men's history. It broadens the field of historical research, and it does not even stop at the boundaries of what was considered to be pre-historical "nature": women's embodiment, sexuality, wifhood, motherhood, the female life cycle. Because it is different from traditional history, women's history does not just integrate women into the traditional historical categories, but places women at the centre and searches for new historical categories.

Secondly, women's history is no less complex than men's history. Not all women have the same histories; they differ according to region and religion, nationality and class, ethnicity and race, and they cannot be written in the singular, but only in the plural. The differences among women's histories may be as great as those between life and death, such as in the case of Jewish and non-Jewish women in National Socialist Germany. Thirdly, there are the questions: is there a common denominator of very different women's histories? and how does human history generally change if women get the equal place in it which they deserve? It was this third issue which led to one of the most portentous innovations in terminology and debate, namely the introduction and rapid diffusion of the concept "gender" since the early 1970s, understood as a social, cultural, political and historical category. This concept in part summarized, in part specified, in part radicalized the explicit and implicit assumptions underlying the search for women's history. Yet the concept has also confronted us with new problems. I will try to sum up briefly the inspiring potential which the category "gender" brought to women's history, and then turn to the problems it presents.

1. Address at the meeting of the International Federation for Research in Women's History, Madrid, August 1990.

1) The concept “gender” summarizes the insight that women’s subordination, inferiority and powerlessness are not dictated by nature nor by women’s body, but are social, cultural, political and historical constructions. 2) In English language the term “gender” largely replaced the term “sex”, by specifying that the study of women does not only concern female physiology, sexuality, wifehood and motherhood, but women in all arenas of life. 3) “Gender history” specifies and radicalizes the insight that women’s history concerns not only one sex but both sexes, that not only women are gendered beings but also men, that masculinity is historically shaped and that men therefore do not represent universal humankind. Gender history extends the study of women as women to the study of men as men, and it therefore means studying the historical organisation of sexual difference. 4) “Gender” expresses the notion that the study of women and men does not deal with entities that are *a priori* given or simple facts, but with complex relations, including power relations, between and within the sexes: between women and men, between women and women, and between men and men. 5) These relations are historically variable over time and space. Therefore “gender” is an unstable category and a locus of conflict and contest, of recurring definition and redefinition, of facts as well as of perceptions and discourses. To analyze them means to historicize, dismantle, deconstruct them. Some feminist theoreticians who focus on discourse as the only or major type of “reality”, have pushed deconstruction even so far as to argue that “women” do not exist in any objectifiable cross-cultural and cross-temporal sense; but on the other hand, they have also shown that women and men have been omnipresent and crucial objects of discourse throughout the history we know. 6) The category “gender” radicalizes the notion that all areas of society, culture and politics are shaped by relations between and within the sexes: even those fields where women are (or seem to be) absent — such as the classic concept of citizenship, which is not gender-neutral but gender-based, namely, focused on the male sex. “Gender” is not only a highly flexible



Portada del libro *Women in European History* de Gisela Bock.

human relationship, but also a fundamental one, no less basic than other human relations such as class and race, and perhaps even more basic. 7) Even though the history of women may strongly differ along the lines of other human relations such as race, it is nonetheless shaped by common notions of gender in a specific culture.

## 1.2.—Problems and Debates

However, the new gender terminology and the shift from women's to gender history has also brought to the fore some major problems. Three of them seem to be particularly important.

1) For many female practitioners of women's history it came somewhat as a surprise that once-skeptical male colleagues in social history found the notions "gender" and "gender history" much more acceptable than the notions "women" and "women's history". Did they not sense the radicalizing potential of "gender", beyond "women's history"? Did they not sense that placing the organisation of sexual difference at the centre of historical research may challenge the validity of all traditional historical categories? In East Germany, where women's history was practiced (if at all) as a subdivision of class history, "gender history" was criticized precisely because it implies that "class" is not the primary category and not even a stable one. But in Western countries "gender history" has become more respectable than "women's history". There are now a number of cases where history departments have opposed chairs in "women's history", but created one in "gender history". Progressive historians who embark on the now fashionable study of women, often prefer to do so under the title "gender", not "women's history". "Gender history" is now often extolled as a strategy for overcoming "women's history", for overcoming sexual division in our discipline and, in the words of a German colleague, for a "reunification of history". The question must be raised: What is the underlying notion of "gender" here? Why is "gender" seen in opposition to the notion "women", sometimes even in a mutually exclusive way?

The answer I want to suggest is that such scholars see "gender history" as more general and more universal than "women's history", because "gender" programmatically includes the male sex. Consequently, the history of women is then understood as just a special case which unfortunately happens to be as yet little studied; it therefore deserves some affirmative action, but only under a gender-neutral title which promises real "universality" and "objectivity". In this view, "gender as a social category" comes to mean humanity as an ensemble of essentially identical, gender-neutral individuals who only accidentally are housed in different bodies, and power relations

and sexual embodiment are either excluded or played down or treated as secondary issues at best. The difference is subtle but nonetheless clear: Whereas feminist scholars developed the concept “gender” as a radicalizing and universalizing consequence of an approach which placed women and sexual difference at the centre, another vision of “gender” relegates them again to a second-class status with respect of an “objectivity” that is warranted not by the integration of women, but by the integration of men. In this view, women’s history is not perceived as a way to opening up the overarching issue of “gender”, but as the problem of a “special” subgroup of mankind. “Gender history” is given hegemony over “women’s history”, and “women’s history” is subordinated to “gender history”, and thus the radical potential of the feminist view of “gender” risks to be driven underground.

2) The second problem is the reverse of the first: A number of female and feminist historians continue to be skeptical about the shift from women’s to gender history. They do so, in the first place, in reaction to the development which I have just described. They argue that the category “gender” places both sexes on the same level and downplays power relations as well as sexual difference. Similar to the aforementioned view, but with a reversal of the premises, they perceive a contradiction between women’s history and gender history, and they subordinate gender history to women’s history.

Against this background, we need to take up again the question as to what is the relationship between women’s history and gender history: is it really one of extension and radicalization? Or is it rather the opposite, an increasing academic respectability coupled with decreasing intellectual radicality? And, most importantly, how did an assumption arise that women’s history and gender history are contrasting approaches, that their relationship is even hierarchical? I believe that some of these questions can be answered if we turn to the third problem of the new gender terminology.

3) It is the fact that the concept “gender” has been introduced and theorized in the form of a dichotomy. It distinguishes categorically between gender and sex, “sex” to be understood as “biological”, “gender” as “social”, and “biological sex” is somehow transformed into “social gender”. It seems to me that this theory and its practical application in historical work has not only given rise to some of the problems which I have just mentioned, but that it is problematic in itself, and I want to give three reasons for this.

a) The first concerns the intellectual procedure of splitting “gender” as a dimension of society, culture and history, off from “sex” as a dimension of “biology”. Not only in theory, but in innumerable feminist historical writings the terms “biology” or “sex” now refer to the female body, to physiological sexual difference, sexuality, wifehood, sometimes even abortion, and most of all to maternity. However, this is precisely the dimension which many other feminist historians have established to be far from being a pre-social,

“biological” or “natural” phenomenon. It has been shown that women’s (and men’s) embodiment is profoundly and crucially shaped by culture and history, and that it cannot be perceived outside of culture and history. This insight is hardly new: it was expressed by the early 20th-century women’s movements internationally, in its important slogan that “motherhood is a social function”, sometimes also a “spiritual function”. Today, agreement on this insight is so strong that feminist historians no longer use the concept “nature” without putting it into quotation marks. This insight and agreement resulted from the feminist challenge of the traditional dichotomy “nature versus culture”, with “nature” referring to women’s activities and “culture” to men’s activities. It has been shown that this dichotomy is itself a cultural phenomenon, that such “nature” is not a pre-social sphere and always has a cultural meaning: that the dichotomy expresses a social relation, namely, the subordination and devaluation of women. It was precisely this insight and agreement that had paved the way for today’s widespread use of “gender as a social category”. But ironically, the dichotomy “nature versus culture” has reappeared in the new guise of “sex versus gender”, and “nature” has been resurrected under the name “biology”. The new dichotomy relegates the female body and sexual embodiment again to a supposedly pre-social sphere, and establishes a hegemony of “social” gender over supposedly “pre-social” sex. I believe that this resurrection of the old dichotomy in a new guise testifies to the depth and persistence of gender-linked dichotomies as well as to our difficulties in dealing with them with our intellectual tools. Therefore I also believe that as long as the concept “gender” is theorized in terms of a sex/gender dichotomy, it does not resolve, but only repeats the traditional “nature/culture” quarrel, and no more than the traditional quarrel does it resolve the question, which it promised to solve, of precisely what part of women’s experience and activity is “sex” and what part is “gender”. In order to advance here, it seems necessary to challenge the dichotomy “sex versus gender” in feminist theory.

b) The second reason why I consider the apparently neat distinction between sex and gender as problematic is that it differs from its traditional version in one important respect. It no longer reduces women’s embodiment to an old-fashioned nature, but instead, to modern “biology”. Whereas “nature” is now regularly placed in quotation marks, the term “biology” is not. Obviously, this is because “biology” seems to be something self-evident. Yet it is far from being self-evident, and perhaps even less self-evident than traditional nature. In fact, “biology” itself is a socio-cultural category, a discourse and a scientific strategy for intervention, from the time around 1900 when the term became popular (in some countries) and gradually came to be used for the female sex, but also for groups which were categorized on racial grounds. In both cases one of the meanings of “biology” was to point to

“inferior value”, to “inferiority”, namely, a culture-based value-judgment. Only later has the term assumed an apparently value-neutral posture. And only quite recently has it conquered the feminist language, particularly in regard to maternity. One might say that as long as the social category “gender” is defined in contradiction to what is called “biology” (especially by excluding bodily difference) it recreates the traditional deceptive and value-loaded concept “biology”.

It seems to me that a certain feminist use of the concept “biology”, as distinct from and opposed to gender as a social category, has permitted gender to be used not only as a radicalising weapon in the intellectual debate, but also as an instrument for again rendering women invisible. It has permitted gender to be used for a gender-neutral discourse which implies that women and men are members not so much of a sex but of a “gender”, in the sense that sex doesn’t matter, because it is only “biology” and therefore socially irrelevant, and that only women have a “biology”, but not men. Most importantly, the dichotomy expresses a hierarchy: “gender” seems to be more important than “sex”, the social part of women’s life more important than their supposedly pre-social embodiment. Instead, I believe it is essential to historicize and deconstruct the cultural category “biology”, and this in turn means to historicize not only “gender”, but also “sex”; not only “women”, but also “men”.

c) The third problem is that the semantic distinction between sex and gender is largely specific to the English language. Attempts have been made to introduce it into other languages — *Sesso versus genere* in Italian, *sexe versus genre* in French—, but their linguistic dynamics and connotations are very different; for example, the English “gendered being” will continue to be an *essere sessuato* in Italian. In German, there is only one concept for sex as well as gender, *Geschlecht* which refers to social sex as well as physical sex. German-speaking scholars, and probably many others too, are therefore in a difficult but promising position: they are not able to distinguish neatly between physical and social sex with this terminology (however, in the very last years it has become fashionable to translate the English-language dichotomy with “biologisches Geschlecht” vs. “soziales Geschlecht” and thereby openly reducing some aspects of women’s life to “biology”). More generally, I think that the category “gender” continues to be not only useful, but indispensable; but that it would be wise to use “gender” as well as “sex” in a comprehensive sense which does not pretend to be able to distinguish neatly and categorically between physical and cultural gender relations. Altogether it seems that the dichotomy “sex versus gender” needs to be challenged not only on the level of explicit theory, but also on the level of language.

### 1.3.—Challenging Dichotomies<sup>2</sup>

But what does it mean to “challenge this dichotomy”? I believe that women’s history is singularly equipped for dealing with the task, because from its outset it has challenged many traditional and fallacious gender-linked dichotomies. The deconstruction of “nature vs. culture” was just one of them. Feminist criticism of the dichotomy “work versus family”, of men as “workers” and women as “supported” has shown that women have always worked and that the major sexual division is between a low value of women’s work and a higher value of men’s work. The criticism of the dichotomy “public (man) versus private (woman)” has shown that this pair does not refer to symmetrical and autonomous spheres, but to relations of power and powerlessness. In fact, the common denominator of such gender-linked dichotomies seems to be precisely this: they do not refer to equivalent “separate spheres”, but to relations of dependence and dominance, to hierarchies of meanings and values. Most important for us as historians, the activity called “challenging” has been predominantly a work of historicisation, of historical relativization, of deconstruction through the medium of historical analysis. I believe that this eminently historical approach will continue to be indispensable for challenging the more recent dichotomies too: those between women’s history and gender history, between sex and gender, between what is called “the biological” and “the social”. I suspect that we will find a similar constellation here: the study of the dual categories and of their relationship will reveal that the main issue is not their dual character *per se*, because their mutually exclusive *hierarchy*.

Today, we are confronted with a related apparent dichotomy that many of us, internationally, are struggling with: that of “equality versus difference”, in terms of political as well as scholarly strategy. On the one hand, women’s studies have relied on the concept of “gender equality” as an analytical and political tool, and physiological “sexual difference” has been played down because it has so often been used to justify discriminatory treatment of women. On the other hand, female “difference”, physical as well as cultural, has been extolled on the grounds that male-dominated values and activities are not the goal for which we are striving, that women’s other-ness should not be erased in view of a gender-neutral world, but should be recognised and reevaluated since it has never had a chance to develop autonomous political and cultural forms. In 1968, an African-American feminist put it

2. For a more extended version see my “Challenging Dichotomies”, in *Writing Women’s History: International Perspectives*, ed. Karen Offen et al. on behalf of the International Federation for Research in Women’s History, London, 1991.

this way: “In black women’s liberation we don’t want to be equal with men, just like in black liberation we’re not fighting to be equal with the white man. We’re fighting for the right to be different and not be punished for it.”

Obviously, the contrasting key concepts —equality or difference— have a great impact on historical analysis. Both approaches, if carried to their extremes, risk proceeding a-historically, along the lines of what today is called “essentialism”: either by maintaining that human beings are essentially the same, or by maintaining that they are essentially different. Some scholars insist on the mutually exclusive character of the two approaches and therefore on the necessity of an either/or choice. The historian Joan Hoff-Wilson urges choosing between either “equality between the sexes based on prevailing masculine societal norms” on the one hand, or on the other hand “justice between the sexes based on a recognition of equal, but different socialised patterns of behavior”. Others, like historian Joan Scott, consider this to be “an impossible choice”; she questions the dichotomy itself, arguing that “dichotomies depend on both sides of a contrast for their meaning; to refute them, more is required than a simple endorsement of one side or the other”. The only promising way forward in this debate is to challenge this dichotomy. To do so means dismantling the prevailing historical constructions of “difference” as well as of “equality”, because historically, under both titles women have been excluded from access to social resources and political rights. In order to illustrate a possible challenge, I want to invoke two historical considerations.

The concept of Jewish emancipation in nineteenth-century Germany, as it was formulated mostly by non-Jewish German men, was based on an equality which explicitly excluded difference. Male Jews were accepted as German citizens on equal terms if they gave up, at least ostensibly, their Jewishness, if they accepted assimilation to German non-Jews. Among Jews themselves, this situation was expressed in a significant phrase: “Be a man in the public world, a Jew in the private home” (*sei draußen ein Mensch und zu Hause ein Jude*). Jewish men had to become equal (to German men) in order to be accepted as equals. The German Jewish women’s movement in the first third of our century questioned this view of equality while struggling for equality of women as well as Jews. They pointed to the parallels between Jewish and female emancipation, and in both respects insisted on the right to be equal as well as on the right to be different, as Jews from non-Jews and as women from men. They expressed their right to be different in gender terms by demanding the social and political re-evaluation of motherhood. Among the conclusions that may be drawn from this example, I want to mention only one: our difficulties with the dichotomy “equality vs. difference” are part of an older feminist heritage which shows that an either/or alternative is not the best solution.

The second historical consideration refers to a specifically European heritage in political thought. There is one reason why the emphasis on sexual equality so often seems to be the only powerful weapon of women's liberation and women's studies, despite the awareness that it may imply an assimilation to prevailing androcentric societal norms which not all women (and men) may want to share. It is the fact that, since the time of the Greek polis, democratic and socialist movements have pursued their goals under the banner of equality (and have been attacked on these grounds by reactionary movements). This concept is therefore not only a most precious heritage of western political thought, but also one of its most well-established concepts. There is, however, another and equally precious heritage: the idea of tolerance as it emerged from the bloody religious wars in early modern Europe. Tolerance emphasised—at least in its early and radical formulations—liberty, justice and mutual respect, understood as a recognition of both difference and equality. Of course, tolerance and liberty—just like equality—were usually reserved for men and should be analysed and historicised in this perspective. But perhaps one challenge to the gender-linked dichotomy “equality versus difference” could and should be the idea and reality of a reconceptualised tolerance; it would include the legitimacy of gender conflict instead of a mutually exclusive gender hierarchy.

To conclude, I want to refer to the historical transition in which we find ourselves at present: the collapse of regimes which had restructured gender relations according to a model of sexual equality which meant equal subjection of women and men to dictatorships, and no liberty and no tolerance of difference; millions of women and men have promoted this collapse by their open or hidden protest. This transition should inspire us to rethink the relationship between the right to be equal and the right to be different. As to the other contradictory definitions—particularly “women's history vs. gender history”—I believe that our task, as historians, is a similar one: to reject the hierarchies that have been established between them, because they are nothing else than new representations of older problems which were and are the subject of women's and gender history: namely, the difficult relationship between legitimate sexual difference and illegitimate sexual hierarchy. In our political and historical struggle for new visions of gender we should intimately link gender equality with gender tolerance and gender liberty.

*Gisela Bock*  
*Consejo Asesor de Arenal*

## 2.—*A glance at the development of women's history in Norway*

Almost exactly twenty years ago a group of ten Norwegian and Danish historians published a three volume women's world history, written for the general public. This was a new approach to a long and popular Norwegian tradition of publishing ten to twelve volumes of world histories—or of Norwegian history—at 15 to 20 years intervals. But focussing such a project on women was an entirely new enterprise. And it was a pretty difficult project. Literature on women's history in different parts of the world was still scarce. Still, six Norwegian and four Danish researchers among them two of my male colleagues —(Christian Meyer, Sverre Bagge, Sølvi Sogner, Ida Blom, Kari Vogt, Else Skjønberg, Eva Maria Lassen, Nanna Damsholt, Grethe Jacobsen, Bente Rosenbeck), — toiled with writing three volumes of women's world history, published in 1992 and 1993. (Blom 1992 and 1993). It was a great success. In a televised program the books were awarded the first *Brage Prize*, a prize for outstanding publications within specialist literature. And no doubt for those of us engaged in this project, it increased interest in what is today called transnational history. — Still, looking back now, twenty years later — and seeing the magnificent women 's world histories later published elsewhere, — I think this was a great but probably somewhat premature project.

This event was, of course, the result of many years of research in women's history. It seems right to start this short account of what happened after 1992/93 by presenting an overview of the start of women's and gender history in Norway.

### 2.1.—The start

Changes in priorities within historical research, such as the growing interest in the history of everyday life, the history of mentalities and historical demography, all accompanied the start of women's history in the 1970'es. No doubt, the new women's movement also had an important influence among historians.

The earliest research had to start quite simply by documenting the most central aspects of women's history. Well known concepts such as worker or citizen had to be gendered in order to distinguish the masculine from the feminine. The concept of 'work' was widened to include women's work in the home and the history of women's voluntary organizations was included in analysis of the political process. (Blom 1994A, Hagemann 2003).

International cooperation was important from the very beginning. In 1977 a group of historians from all the five Nordic countries decided to



Las investigaciones de Ida Blom sobre género y ciudadanía son objeto de reconocimiento.

start cooperation within a project called ‘Women’s work in family and society, 1875-1940’. This was an exciting and inspiring program, resulting in a number of publications. At the time we knew almost nothing about women’s history and had to research for every bit of information. Three years later, at a Nordic history conference we presented some of the results from this project. We met other historians who had started working on women’s history, and it was decided to organise Nordic women’s history meetings at regular intervals. These meetings started out as rather small conferences, but soon grew to big occasions. The tenth of these conferences was held in Bergen in 2011.

During all that time inspiration was also found in broader international contacts. At the World History Conference in Bucharest in 1980, one of the main sessions, for the first time ever — was women’s history. This greatly stimulated international contacts among historians of women. In 1987 the *International Federation for Research in Women’s History* was established. Two years later this organisation was accepted as an internal commission within the International Committee for Historical Sciences. That meant that since 1990 every world history conference has included special sessions on

gender history. The latest one in Amsterdam in 2010 featured no less than 80 papers and sessions stretching over two days. At the same time gender history perspectives were also presented at a number of the general sessions of the world conference.

Inspired by Joan Scott gender was increasingly used as an analytical category. Gender history gradually included studies of the construction of political parties, of national conflicts, of the history of labour, of welfare history and the history of health, etc., etc. A lot of new knowledge was discovered. But it should not be denied that there were also disappointments when colleagues strongly criticised this new field of research without properly attempting to understand what was meant by gender analysis, (Dahl 1985, Hagemann 1986), or when this approach was almost entirely omitted from important new presentations of Norwegian history. (Danielsen, Dyrvik, Grønlie, Helle and Hovland 1991).

## 2.2.—The latest decades

During the past two decades the importance of gender for national policies have been highlighted. In 2005 the centenary of the dissolution of the political union between Norway and Sweden gave rise to a great number of historical studies, some highlighting women's attitudes to and engagements in national policies. For Norway this was especially significant, since —without the vote— women's organisations collected almost 300.000 signatures from women, signalling their agreement with policies to dissolve the Norwegian/Swedish union. The situation created problems between Swedish and Norwegian feminists who had until then cooperated smoothly across the border. Nationalism and feminism clashed. Similarly, new studies of the history of the fight for women's vote have resulted in fascinating stories of similarities and differences among the Nordic countries in how and when national suffrage was attained. (Blom 2006, Blom 2012B).

Other new tendencies have led to gender analysis of health policies, such as the work of voluntary women's organisations fighting tuberculosis and of legislation to contain venereal diseases. The latter theme has been analysed to highlight differences among the Scandinavian countries, as well as among the Scandinavian, German and British model of welfare. (Blom 1998, Blom 2012A).

As for earlier periods, women's positions in 18<sup>th</sup> century legislation and the impact of the Reformation on legislation concerning sexuality has been studied. So has the importance of gender in the rural communities (Sandvik 2002, 2003 and 2005), and the history of family life since the Reformation. (Sandvik and Sogner 2003). A wealth of new knowledge has come up on the

history of young people, women and men, migrating to Amsterdam during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. (Sogner 2004, 2009 and 2012).

Thus, during the latest decades historical research transgressing national borders has grown. While Norwegian historical research generally has been criticized for a 'methodological nationalism', focusing mainly on national history, women's and gender history has looked outside the national borders.

An overview of Scandinavian women's history was published in 2008. (Blom 2008). A number of Nordic comparative studies —of marriage laws, of welfare politics and gender (Melby m.fl. 2006 and 2008) and of childhood and welfare (Andresen 2011)— have recently been published, pointing to similarities, but certainly also to differences among the Nordic countries. An even greater number of European countries have been included in studies of work and welfare (Hagemann 2007) and in legislation on venereal diseases (Blom 2012A). Analyses of women's missionary activities have of course been especially fruitful in going beyond national borders, (for instance Okkenhaug and Flaskerud 2005, Naguib and Okkenhaug 2008. Okkenhaug, Nielssen and Hestad Skeie 2011). And a biography of the renowned Madame de Stael was published in 2007. (Tønnesson 2007).

Yet another important new development is to broaden the concept of gender from pointing mainly to women, to also include men. The history of men as gendered individuals, the history of masculinity, has been slow to start. But it now includes studies of the changing importance of the role as provider for the family or of what it meant to be a father. The intersection of masculinity, age and class is highlighted. (Slottemo 2003, Skaar 2003, Lorentzen 2012). The blossoming field of the history of sexuality has added to the understanding not only of femininity, but also of masculinity, of homosexuality and lesbianism as well as of trans-sexuality, both among sociologists and historians. (Hellesund 2008, Bandlien 2011, Jordåen 2008a, 2008b and 2010). But it should be said that these fields have been pioneered by Swedish historians (f.eks. Rydstrom 2007 og 2011, Norrheim 2008).

Although from the very beginning class was seen as an important category of analysis also within women's history, the concept of intersectionality has widened historical research on gender. Transcultural comparative studies added ethnicity to the web of categories that assumed importance. Analyzing understandings of femininity and masculinity that differed markedly from those found in European history is a fascinating task. Attempting to understand phenomena such as female mutilation and sati (widow burning) is a difficult, but important job for gender historians. Such approaches have fostered new understandings of varieties of gender, of definitions not only of femininity, but also of masculinity. (Blom 1991, 1994B, 1997, 2005B).

A sign that gender history is maturing as an academic discipline is that we have started looking back at earlier research and writings about

Norwegian women's history and reflecting on the development our own research histories have experienced. (Blom 1994A, Hagemann 2003).

It is encouraging to see that gender history is now more often included in general historical studies. A textbook in women's history, now in its seventh edition, is used at some introductory university courses. (Blom, Sogner, Hagemann, Melby, Sandvik og Øye (2005A/2013). The latest four volume version of Norwegian history, *Norvegr*, published in 2011, successfully integrates gender, featuring for instance a full chapter on the culture of patriarchy and later telling the story of the new women's movement in the 1970's.

Summing up it should be said that although in many cases much historical research remains fairly gender blind, women's and gender history has become a well acknowledged part of Norwegian historiography.

### 2.3.—Bibliographie

- Astri Andresen, Olof Garoarsdottier, Moika Janfelt, Cecilia Lindgren, Pirjo Markkola, Ingrid Söderlind 2011. *Barnen och välfärdspolitiken. Nordiska barndomar 1900-2000*. Dialogos Förlag, Stockholm.
- Bjørn Bandlien, 2011. 'Sexuality in early Church Laws in Norway and Iceland' in *Law and private life in the middle Ages*. Proceeding of the Sixth Carlsberg Academy Conference on Medieval Legal history, 2009, 191-204.
- Ida Blom, 1991. "Global Women's History: Organizing Principles and Cross-Cultural Understandings", in Karen Offen, Ruth Roach Pierson og Jane Rendall, *Writing Women's History - International Perspectives*, Macmillan Co., London.
- (ed.), 1992 og 1993. *Cappelens kvinnehistorie*,\_bind 1 og 2, Cappelen forlag, Oslo og Politikens forlag, København.
- 1994A. *Det er forskjell på folk - nå som før. Om kjønn og andre former for sosial differensiering*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- 1994B, "Globalhistoria i dekonstruktionens tid", in *Kvinnovetenskaplig tidskrift* 3, 3-18.
- 1994C, "Om å skrive globalhistorie i dekonstruksjonens tid: Perspektiv til en ny verdenshistorie" i Marianne Liljeström, Pirjo Markkola och Sari Mäenpää (red.), *Kvinnohistoriens nya utmaningar: Från sexualitet till världshistoria*. Konferansrapport från det IV Nordiska Kvinnohistorikermötet, 27-30 maj 1993, Tammerfors.
- 1997. "World history as Gender History: The Case of the Nation State", in Stein Tønnessen m.fl., *Between National Histories and Global History*. Konferanserapport til 23. det nordiske historikermøte, FHS Helsingfors, 71-92.
- "Feberens ville rose" - *Tre omsorgssystemer i tuberkulosearbeidet 1900 - 1960*, Fagbokforlaget, Bergen 1998.
- Ida Blom og Sølvi Sogner (red.), Gro Hagemann, Kari Melby, Hilde Sandvik og Ingvild Øye, (2005A) 2013. *Med kjønnsperspektiv på norsk historie.Fra vikingtid til 2000-årsskiftet*. Cappelen Akademisk Forlag, Oslo.
- 2005B. 'Women's and Gender History', *The Berkshire Encyclopedia of World History*. Berkshire Publishing Group, Great Barrington, 2046-2050.
- 2006. 'Union, demokrati – og kjønn. *Historisk tidskrift* 2006, 85, 3, 497-500.

- 2007. “To the Women in the Year 2000”: Norwegian Historians of Women, c.1900-c.1960’, *Gender and History*, vol. 19, Issue 3, November, 581-597.
- 2008. ‘Scandinavia’ in Bonnie G. Smith (ed.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Women in World History*, vol. 3, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 640-646.
- 2009. ‘Kjønn på tvers av kulturer. Et perspektiv på global historie’. Einar Niemi og Christine Smith-Simonsen (red.), *Det hjemlige og det globale. Festskrift til Randi Rønning Balsvik*. Akademisk Publishing A/S, Oslo 38-52.
- 2012A. *Medicine, morality and political culture. Legislation on venereal disease in five Northern European countries, c.1870-c.1995*. Nordic Academic Press, Lund, 2012A.
- 2012B. ‘Structures and Agency. A transnational comparison of the Struggle for Women’s Suffrage in the Nordic European Countries during the long 19<sup>th</sup> Century. *Scandinavian Journal of History*, vol. 37, No. 5, December, 600-620.
- Ottar Dahl 1985. “Kvinnehistorie”. Kategorihistorie eller samfunnshistorie? *Historisk tidskrift*, nr. 3, 262-274.
- Rolf Danielsen, Ståle Dyrvik, Tore Grønlie, Knut Helle and Edgar Hovland 1991. *Grunntrekk i norsk historie fra vikingtid til våre dager*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- Gro Hagemann, 1986. ‘Kvinnehistorie – faglig blindspor eller fruktbar disiplin?’ *Historisk tidskrift*, 3, 343-360.
- 2003. *Feminisme og historieskriving. Inntrykk fra en reise*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- (ed.), 2007. Reciprocity and redistribution: work and welfare reconsidered. Edizione Plus, Pisa.
- Tone Hellesund, 2008. *Identitet på liv og død: marginalitet, homoseksualitet og selvmord*. Spartacus, Oslo.
- Runar Jordåen, 2008a. ‘Concepts of same sex sexuality in Norwegian forensic psychiatry 1930-1945’ in Astri Andresen, Tore Grønli, Ryymin Teemu and Svein Atle Skålevåg, *Citizens, Courtrooms, Crossings*. Conference Proceeding, Bergen. SteinRokkan Centre for Social Studies, 95-106.
- Runar Jordåen, 2008b. ‘Zur Geschichte der Magnus Hirschfeld-Rezeption in Norwegen’ in *Mitteilungen der Magnus-Hirschfeld Gesellschaft*, 39/40, 54-64.
- Jørgen Lorentzen, 2012. *Farskapets historie i Norge: 1850-2012*. Universitetsforlaget, Oslo.
- Kari Melby et al. 2006. Inte ett ord om kärlek: äkteskap och politik i Norden ca. 1850-1930. Makadam förlag, Göteborg/Lund.
- Kari Melby, Anne-Birte Ravn og Christina Carlsson-Wetterberg (eds.) 2008. *Gender equality and welfare politics in Scandinavia: the limits of political ambition?* Policy Press, Bristol.
- Svante Nordheim, Jens Rydstrom, Hanna Winkvist, 2008. *Undantagsmänniskor. En svensk HBT historia*. Norstedts Akademiska Förlag.
- Inger Marie Okkenhaug and Ingvild Flaskerud, 2005. *Gender, religion and change in the MiddleEast: two hundred years of history*. Berg, Oxford/New York.
- Nefisse Naguib and Inger Marie Okkenhaug (eds.), 2008. *Interpreting welfare and relief in the Middle East*. Leiden, Brill.
- Inger Marie Okkenhaug, Hilde Nielssen, Karina Hestad Skeie (eds.), 2011. *Protestant missions and local encounters in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: until the ends of the world*. Leiden, Brill.
- Hans Jacob Orning, ed. 2005. *Norge, Norges historie. I – IV* Aschehoug, Oslo.
- Jens Rydstrom 2001. *Odd Couples. A History of Gay Marriag in Scandinavia*. Aksant, Amsterdam.
- Jens Rydstrom and Kari Mustola (eds.), 2007. *Criminally queer: homosexuality and criminal law in Scandinavia, 1842-1999*. Aksant, Asterdam.
- Hilde Sandvik 2002. *Kvinnens rettslige handleevne på 1600- og 170-tallet med linjer fram til giftre kvinnens myndighet i 1888*.
- 2002. *In her own right: women’s arguments in court*.

- Hilde Sandvik and Sølvi Sogner 2003. *I gode og vonde dagar. Familieliv i Noreg frå reformasjonen til vår tid*.  
 —2005, with Maria Ågren and Amy Louise Erickson. *The Marital Economy in Scandinavia and Britain*.  
 Ronny B. Skaar 2003. *Forsørgelse og omsorg: farsrollen i norsk barnelovgivning 1915 – 1981*. Diskurs forlag, Bergen (master theses 2001, electronic reproduction).  
 Hilde Gunn Slottemo 2003. *Fabrikkarbeider, far og forsørger. Menn og mannlighet ved koksverket i Mo i Rana, 1950-1980*. Nr. 41, Skriftserie fra Historisk institutt, hefte nr. 41, Trondheim.  
 Sølvi Sogner 2004. *Ung i Europa: norsk ungdom over Nordsjøen til Nederland i tidlig nytid*. 2004.  
 —2009. *Sjømannshustruer skriver til sine menn; Amsterdam november 1664*, 2009.  
 —2012. *Og skuta lå i Amsterdam: et glemt norsk innvandrersamfunn in Amsterdam 1621-1720*.  
 Kåre Tønnesson 2007. *Madame de Stael – en høyst uvanlig kvinne*. Aschehoug, Oslo.

Ida Blom  
 Consejo Asesor de Arenal

### 3.—*História das Mulheres e das relações de gênero no Brasil: desafios de um novo campo historiográfico*

Estes escritos têm como desafio sistematizar em um breve apanhado a trajetória brasileira da formação do campo historiográfico intitulado de – HISTÓRIA DAS MULHERES E DAS RELAÇÕES DE GÊNERO. Trata-se de uma tarefa árdua frente à expansão destes estudos e a sua extensão por todo o país, logo seria impossível um levantamento que se quisesse completo, propõem-se uma sinopse de tendências e algumas reflexões sobre questões que parecem ser fundamentais para o debate e para a instauração de novos desafios e perspectivas.

Considera-se como marco fundador do campo o livro *A mulher na sociedade de classes. Mito e realidade*, de Heleieth Saffioti; a obra, publicada em 1969, propunha uma análise da sociedade brasileira centrada na teoria do patriarcado, tendo a preocupação de identificar os signos da opressão masculina e capitalista sobre as mulheres.

As investigações, na década de 1970 e inícios dos anos 1980, privilegiaram-se as questões do trabalho feminino, em particular, o fabril. A prioridade dada a esta temática se deve a crescente presença feminina no mercado de trabalho, á importância do tema nas plataformas feministas e aos vínculos destas pesquisas com a historiografia dos movimentos de trabalhadores<sup>3</sup>.

3. BLANCO, Esmeralda: *O trabalho da mulher e do menor na indústria paulistana (1890-1920)*. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1982. FIGUEIREDO, Luciano R. de A.: “Quitandas e Quitudes”.

Mesmo sob o contexto desfavorável do autoritarismo dos governos militares (1964-84), as mulheres “entraram em cena” se tornaram visíveis ocupando espaços sociais e políticos, com destaque para a sua presença nos movimentos sociais, na luta contra a carestia e pela anistia política. Estas ações inquietaram investigadores interessados na reconstrução das experiências, vidas e expectativas das mulheres no presente e passado, descobrindo-as como sujeitos história e incorporando-as como aos estudos.

Por outro lado, novas tendências emergentes na historiografia possibilitaram renovação metodológica e conceitual, levando ao questionamento das universalidades, permitindo a descoberta de outras experiências, entre elas as das mulheres. Uma influência marcante foi a redefinição do político no âmbito do cotidiano, que contribuiu para o resgate das experiências femininas, restituindo a elas a sua própria história.

A produção historiográfica sobre o feminino, no correr dos anos 1980, incorporou abordagens variadas, focalizando aspectos diferenciados. No âmbito da temática do trabalho, além de resgatar o cotidiano fabril, lutas e greves, ação-exclusão nos espaços dos sindicatos, procurou-se recuperar as múltiplas estratégias e resistências criadas e recriadas no cotidiano. Contribuindo para dar luz e voz às mulheres no passado, focalizaram-se as relações entre público e privado, social e íntimo, demográfico e político, destacando o papel das mulheres na família, casamento, maternidade, sexualidade e as questões da prostituição. Foram enfatizadas diversas ações impostas às mulheres destacando a educação, disciplinarização e modelos de conduta<sup>4</sup>.

Nesta produção, os poderes e lutas femininas foram recobrados, mitos examinados e estereótipos repensados. Num leque de várias correntes de

---

In: *Cadernos de Pesquisa*. (54) SP, 1985; LOPES, Eliana S.: *Fragments da mulher (dimensão da trabalhadora)*. Mestrado, Unicamp, 1985; PENA, Maria Valéria J.: *Mulheres e trabalhadoras - presença feminina na constituição do sistema fabril*. SP, Paz e Terra, 1981; RIBEIRO, Maria Alice R.: *Condições de trabalho na indústria têxtil paulista (1870-1930)*. SP, Hucitec/Unicamp, 1988; SILVA, M. Beatriz N.: “O Trabalho feminino do Brasil Colonial (1765-1822)”. In: *Anais da VIII Reunião da SBPH*, SP, 1989.

4. DIAS, Maria Odila Leite da S: *Quotidiano e poder em São Paulo no século XIX*. SP: Brasiliense, 1984; ENGEL, Magali: *Meretrizes e doutores: saber médico e prostituição no Rio de Janeiro (1840-1890)*. SP: Brasiliense, 1989. ESTEVES, Martha: *Meninas perdidas: os populares e o cotidiano do amor no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque*. RJ: Paz e Terra, 1989; LEITE, Miriam Moreira (org.): *A Condição feminina no Rio de Janeiro - século XIX*. SP, Hucitec, 1984; RAGO, Margareth: *Do cabaré ao lar: a utopia da cidade disciplinar, Brasil 1890-1930*. RJ: Paz e Terra, 1985; SAMARA, Eni de M.: *As mulheres, o poder e a família: São Paulo século XIX*. SP: Marco Zero, Secretaria de Estado da Cultura de SP, 1989; SOIHET, Rachel: *Condição feminina e formas de violência - Mulheres pobres e ordem urbana-1890-1920*. RJ, Forense, 1989.

interpretações, recuperaram-se a atuação das mulheres como sujeitos ativos, de modo que as imagens de passividade, ociosidade e confinamento ao lar foram questionadas, descortinando-se esferas de influência e recuperando testemunhos femininos.

Discutindo a dimensão de exclusão a que as mulheres estavam submetidas, entre outros fatores, por um discurso universal masculino, a historiografia buscou dar visibilidade as experiências femininas, destacando a opressão histórica sobre elas. Contudo, esta produção esteve balizada por visões que reforçavam por um lado a “vitimização” da mulher - numa análise que apresentava um processo linear e progressista de suas lutas e vitórias-, e por outro uma visão de “onipotência” e “rebeldia” feminina, que algumas vezes estabelecendo a “heroicização” das mulheres<sup>5</sup>.

As críticas sinalizavam que não se tratava apenas de incorporar as mulheres no interior de uma narrativa pronta, quer mostrando que elas atuaram e atuam tanto quantos os homens, quer destacando as diferenças de uma “cultura feminina”, perdendo-se, assim, a multiplicidade do ser feminino e podendo cair numa perspectiva essencialista. Enfrentando a preocupação em desfazer noções abstratas de “mulher” enquanto identidades únicas (a-histórica e essencialista), buscou-se reconhecer a diferença dentro da diferença, apontando que mulher não constituem simples aglomerados; elementos como cultura, classe, raça/etnia, nacionalidade, geração, crença religiosa e ocupação devem ser ponderados e entrecruzados num desafio de desvendamento que evitem tendências a generalizações.

Frente a estas críticas e dificuldades foi estratégica a divulgação do texto da historiadora Joan Scott<sup>6</sup>, que sintetizava e delimitava a categoria/perspectiva de gênero, rastreando sua trajetória e recuperando polêmicas. A repercussão destes escritos gerou debates e uso da categoria se expandiu aprimorando as estratégias de investigação e contribuindo para que os estudos se ampliassem e diversificassem em termos temáticos e de abordagens.

Nos anos 1990 e inícios da primeira década do século XXI, momento de deslanche na formação do campo, inicialmente, merece menção os estudos

5. Em 1989, a Revista Brasileira de História publicou o dossiê *A mulher no espaço público* (v.9, n. 18), pela primeira vez dedicava-se um volume totalmente história da mulher, na apresentação deixava-se explícito que a publicação visava reparar a exclusão feminina no passado. As autoras, tanto estrangeiras como brasileiras, utilizavam categorias como ‘mulher’, ‘mulheres’ e ‘condição feminina’. SOIHET, Rachel; PEDRO, Joana M.: “A emergência da pesquisa da história das mulheres e das relações de gênero”. *Revista Brasileira de História*, 2007, n. 54, v. 27.

6. SCOTT, Joan: “Gênero: uma categoria útil de análise histórica”. In: *Revista Educação e Realidade*. Porto Alegre: UFRGS, 1990.

biográficos traçados<sup>7</sup>. Multiplicaram-se as pesquisas que enfrentaram o desafio de recobrar as experiências de homens e mulheres em diferentes perspectivas, períodos e regiões do país, recuperando o cotidiano, ações, práticas, resistências e lutas, inclusive, destacando as experiências das mulheres cativas no longo passado escravista (1500-1888)<sup>8</sup>.

A expansão desta área de investigação gerou novas indagações, renovação temática e metodológica possibilitando a ampliação do significado histórico com a descoberta de temas, documentos/fontes, temporalidades e estratégias de pesquisa. As questões da sexualidade, família, casamento, códigos e condutas disciplinares, religião e educação feminina se dilataram<sup>9</sup>, bem

7. FURTADO, J. F.: *Chica da Silva e o contratador dos diamantes: o outro lado do mito*. SP: Cia das Letras, 2003; LEITE, Miriam M.: *Outra Face do Feminismo: Maria Lacerda de Moura*. SP: Ática, 1984; RAGO, Margareth: *Entre a história e a liberdade: Luce Fabbri e o anarquismo contemporâneo*. SP: Edunesp, 2001; ROCHA, Elaine P.: *Entre a Pena e a Espada. A Trajetória de Leolinda Dalto (1859-1934)*, Doutorado/USP: 2002; SIMILI, Ivana G.: *Mulher e política: a trajetória da primeira-dama Darcy Vargas (1930-1945)*. SP: Edunesp, 2008; SOIHET, R.: *O feminismo tático de Bertha Lutz*. Florianópolis: Ed. Mulheres, 2006.

8. BOSCHILIA, R. T.: *Entre fitas, bolachas e caixas de fósforos: a mulher no espaço fabril curitibano (1940-1960)*. Curitiba: Artes&Textos, 2010; CANCELA, C. D. Alvarez, M. Luzia, Santos, Eunice (orgs.): *Mulheres e Gênero: As faces da diversidade*. Belém: GEPEN, 2009; COSTA, Suely G.: *Metáforas do tempo e o espaço doméstico (RJ, século XIX)*. Doutorado UFF/RJ, 1996; FAVERI, Marlene de: *Memórias de uma (outra) guerra. Cotidiano e medo durante a Segunda Guerra em Santa Catarina*. Florianópolis: Ed. UFSC, 2004; FERREIRA, Eliana R.: *Guerra sem fim: mulheres na trilha do direito à terra e ao destino dos filhos (Pará/1835-1860)*, Doutorado, PUC/SP, 2010; FIGUEIREDO, Luciano: *O avesso da memória: cotidiano e trabalho da mulher em Minas Gerais no século XVIII*. RJ: J. Olympio/Ed. UnB, 1993; GRAHAN, Sandra L.: *Proteção e obediência: criadas e seus patrões no RJ, 1860-1910*, SP, Cia das Letras, 1992; GUTIÉRREZ, Horacio e SAMARA, Eni M.: “Mulheres escravas no Brasil do século XIX”, in: NASH, M. e PERROT, M.: *Historia de las Mujeres*. Madrid, Taurus, 1993, vol. 4, pp. 643-62; MACHADO, M. Conceição: *A submissão e poder: mulheres operárias de Caxias do Sul (1900-50)*. Mestrado, PUC-RS, 1993; MATOS, M. Izilda: *Cotidiano e Cultura*. Bauru, EDUSC, 2002; PARENTE, Temis G.: *O avesso do silêncio: vivências cotidianas das mulheres do século XIX*. Goiânia: Ed.UFG, 2005; PETERSEN, Áurea T.: *Trabalhando no banco: trajetória de mulheres gaúchas*. Doutorado PUC/RS, 1999; POSSAS, Lídia M. V.: *Mulheres, trens e trilhos: modernidade no sertão paulista*. Bauru: Edusc, 2001; SCHPUN, Mônica Raisa: *Les années folles à São Paulo: hommes et femmes au temps de l'explosion urbaine (1920-1929)*. Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997; TRINDADE, Etelvina M.: *Clotildes ou Marias: mulheres de Curitiba na Primeira República*. Curitiba, Fundação Cultural, 1996; VIEIRA JR., A. Otaviano: *O Cotidiano do desvio: defloramentos e adultérios no Ceara Colonial 1750-1822*. Mestrado, PUC-SP, 1997; WOLFF, Cristina S.: *Mulheres da floresta: uma história do Alto Juruá – Acre (1890-1945)*. SP: Hucitec, 1999.

9. ALGRANTI, Leila M.: *Honradas e devotas: mulheres da Colônia*. SP, José Olympio, 1993; BELLINI, L.: *A Coisa Obscura: Mulher, Sodomia e Inquisição no Brasil Colonial*. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1989; BORELLI, Andrea: *Matei por amo: as representações do masculino e do feminino nos crimes passionais*. SP, Celso Bastos editores, 1999; CAULFIELD, Sueann: *Em*

como as análises das múltiplas representações femininas e do seu corpo (na literatura, música, imprensa, teatro, cinema, publicidade, humor, discurso médico e jurídico)<sup>10</sup>.

Estas pesquisas têm contribuído para ampliar as visões do passado, entre outros aspectos questionando a hegemonia de certos corpos documentais (de várias instituições, Estado e Igrejas), com muita criatividade e imaginação enfrentaram o desafio de vasculhar arquivos públicos, acrescidos dos sótãos e baús trazendo à luz um mosaico de referências, como: a legislação repressiva, fontes eclesiais, médicas, policiais e judiciais, ocorrências, processos-crimes, ações de divórcios, documentação cartorial e censos, sem esquecer as correspondências, memórias, manifestos, diários e materiais iconográficos. Os jornais, periódicos, imprensa feminina e feminista, canções, provérbios,

---

*defesa da honra: moralidade, modernidade e nação no Rio de Janeiro (1918-1940)*. Campinas, Ed. da Unicamp, 2000; DEL PRIORE, Mary: *Ao sul do corpo: condição feminina, maternidade e mentalidades no Brasil Colônia*. RJ: J. Olympio, Brasília: Ed. UnB, 1993; LOURO, Guacira: *Gênero, Sexualidade e Educação*. Petrópolis, Vozes, 1997; KUSHNIR, Beatriz: *Baile das máscaras mulheres judias e prostituição: as polacas e suas associações de ajuda mútua*. RJ, Imago, 1996; MENEZES, Lená M: *Os estrangeiros e o comércio do prazer nas ruas do Rio (1890-1930)*. RJ, Arquivo Nacional, 1992; NECKEL, Roselane: *Pública vida íntima: a sexualidade nas revistas femininas e masculinas (1969-1979)*. Doutorado, PUC/SP, 2004; OLIVEIRA, Sueli: *Uma colmeia gigantesca: escola profissional feminina nos anos 1910/20/30*. Mestrado, PUC-SP, 1992; PEDRO, Joana M.: *Mulheres honestas e mulheres faladas: uma questão de classe*. Florianópolis: Ed. UFSC, 1998; PUGA, Vera L: *Moral e costumes: violências que permeiam o rural e o urbano - Uberlândia, 1960-80; Caderno Espaço Feminino (UFU), Uberlândia, v. 6, pp. 43-48, 1999; RAGO, Margareth: Os prazeres da noite- Prostituição e códigos de sexualidade feminina em São Paulo (1890-1930)*. RJ, Paz e Terra, 1991; SOARES, Luis C.: *Rameiras, ilhoas, polacas. A prostituição no RJ no século XIX*. SP, Ática, 1992.

10. ARAÚJO, Claudete Ribeiro: *O masculino e o feminino em Nuno Marques Pereira*. SP, mestrado, PUC-SP, 1998; BORGES, V.: “Masculinidades, Feminilidades e a Figura do Efeminado em Diva”. *OPIS (UFG)*, Catalão, v. 6, pp. 44-57, 2006. BUITONI, Dulcina: *Mulher de papel: a representação da mulher pela imprensa feminina brasileira*. SP: Summus Editorial, 2009; FAVARO, Cleci Eulália: *Imagens femininas. Contradições, ambivalências e violências*. Porto Alegre: Edipucrs, 2002; MARTINS, Angela M. Roberti: *Pelas páginas libertárias: anarquismo, imagens e representações de gênero*. Doutorado, PUC/SP, 2006; MATOS, M. Izilda: *Dolores Duran: experiências boemias em Copacabana dos anos 50*. RJ: Bertrand Brasil, 1997; MIGUEL, Raquel: “De «moça prendada» à «menina super-poderosa»: análise das seções de cartas de leitoras da revista Capricho (1954-2004)”. *História Unisinos*, v. 12, pp. 168-179, 2008. MOTT, M. Lúcia: *Parto, parteiras e parturientes: Mme Durocher e sua época*. Doutorado, USP, 1998; NUNES, Sílvia: *O corpo do diabo entre a cruz e a caldeirinha: um estudo sobre a mulher, o masoquismo e a feminilidade*. RJ: Civilização Brasileira, 2000; PINSKY, Carla B: *Virando as páginas, revendo as mulheres: relações homem-mulher e revistas femininas, 1945-1964*. RJ: Civilização Brasileira, 1996; PRACCHIA, Lygia: *Os libertários e os caminhos da emancipação feminina SP-RJ, 1900/30*. Mestrado, PUC-SP, 1992; SOIHET, R; MATOS, M. Izilda (orgs.): *O Corpo Feminino em Debate*. SP: UNESP, 2003; TEDESCHI, L.: *A História das Mulheres e representações sociais*. SP, Curt Nimuendajú, 2008.

literatura, cronistas, memorialistas, folcloristas, teatro, cinema e fotografia não são descartados, bem como a história oral, que vem sendo empregada intensamente e de maneira inovadora. Restando enfrentar a fragmentação da documentação, o que requer uma paciente busca de indícios, sinais e sintomas, bem como a leitura crítica para esmiuçar o implícito, descortinando experiências ocultas no passado.

Nestas duas últimas décadas<sup>11</sup>, aumentaram os cursos e disciplinas oferecidos, bem como Programas de Pós-graduação com áreas de concentração e/ou linhas de investigação com a temática/perspectiva de gênero<sup>12</sup>. Da mesma forma, observa-se a difusão dos Núcleos de Estudos da Mulher e/ou de Gênero, com a presença marcante de historiadores, estes núcleos se articularam nacionalmente através da REDEFEM (Rede Brasileira de Estudos e Pesquisas Feministas), que patrocina eventos e publicações. A pesquisa também se faz presentes na ANPUH (Associação Nacional de História) aonde foi constituído Grupo de Trabalho de Gênero (2001), que oferece simpósios temáticos, cursos e mesas de discussões nos eventos regionais e nacionais desta associação. Destacam-se as pesquisas históricas em reuniões científicas como Fazendo Gênero (evento realizado periodicamente em Florianópolis, Santa Catarina), Associação Nacional de História Oral, ANPOCS (Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais), entre várias outras.

Deste modo, se inicialmente as investigações se concentravam no eixo Rio de Janeiro-São Paulo, gradativamente, expandiram-se por todo o país, o que pode ser observado pela ampliação das apresentações nos congressos internacionais, nacionais e regionais.

A dificuldade em captar/quantificar toda a extensão desse processo encontra-se na área das publicações, esta crescente produção ainda não está plenamente incorporada no mercado editorial. Merecem destaque os periódicos acadêmicos que priorizam a temática: Revistas Estudos Feministas, Espaço

11. Foram publicados duas coletâneas sobre a temática: DEL PRIORE, Mary (org.): *História das mulheres no Brasil*. SP: Contexto/ Edunesp, 1997; PINSKY, Carla B.; PEDRO, Joana M. (org.): *Nova história das mulheres no Brasil*. Contexto, 2012. Cabendo destacar a publicação dos artigos sobre Brasil em *Historia de las Mujeres*. Madrid, Taurus, 1993, vol. 4 e 5. GUTIÉRREZ, Horacio e SAMARA, Eni M: “Mulheres escravas no Brasil do século XIX”, vol. 4, pp. 643-62 e MATOS, M. Izilda e SAMARA, Eni M: “Por Mãos Femininas: trabalho e resistência das mulheres brasileiras (1890-1920)”, vol. 5, pp. 709-17.

12. O Conselho Nacional de Desenvolvimento Científico e Tecnológico (CNPq) em parceria com a Secretaria Nacional de Políticas para as Mulheres patrocinam editais periódicos de apoio á projetos de pesquisa sobre a temática do feminino e das relações de gênero, estes editais tem beneficiado muitas investigações de diferentes áreas disciplinares, incluindo a história.

Feminino e Gênero, Cadernos Pagú e Labrys Estudos Feministas, além de vários outros que dedicaram dossiês á questão<sup>13</sup>.

Ao questionar a naturalização biológica, essencialização e universalismos, o conjunto destas investigações contribuiu para tornar os sujeitos históricos mais plurais, destacando as diferenças e reconhecendo-as como históricas sociais e culturais; também, demonstrando que os comportamentos, sensibilidades e valores aceitos numa certa cultura, local e momento, podem ser rejeitados em outras formas de organização e/ou em outros períodos.

Apesar da ampliação temático-metodológica e proliferação dos estudos sobre diferentes momentos e regiões do Brasil, surgem novas inquietações, como a necessidade de sínteses que abarquem as continuidades, descontinuidades e desigualdades, relacionando o particular aos processos conjunturais, estabelecendo múltiplas articulações, mostrando como os gêneros fazem parte da história através de sua inserção social, econômica, política e cultural no passado.

Observando que gênero não se refere unicamente a homens e mulheres e que as associações homem-masculino e mulher-feminina não são óbvias, permanece o desafio de ampliar os estudos das homossexualidades e masculinidades<sup>14</sup>, combatendo a sensação de que os homens se constituem num parâmetro extra-histórico e universalizante.

Por outro lado, cabe ressaltar a discrepância entre a ampliação das investigações e a persistência do *status* marginal das mulheres, que se soma à debilidade dos movimentos feministas contemporâneos e seu descolamento dos estudos acadêmicos, explicitados pela carência de pesquisas sobre a história do feminismo. As pesquisas nesta temática podem dinamizar as conexões entre história passada e prática atual, contribuindo para difundir

13. A Revista Brasileira de História (publicada pela ANPUH) privilegiou a temática no seu n. 54, v. 27, em 2007, disponível [http://www.anpuh.org/revistabrasileira/54\\_Locus](http://www.anpuh.org/revistabrasileira/54_Locus), Revista de História, disponível <http://www.editoraufjf.com.br/revista/index.php/locus>, Projeto História, <http://www.pucsp.br/projetohistoria/>, Artcultura <http://www.artcultura.inhis.ufu.br/>, entre outras.

14. ALBUQUERQUE Jr., Durval: *Nordestino – uma invenção do falo. Uma história do gênero masculino (Nordeste – 1920-1940)*. Maceió: Catavento, 2003; GREEN, James: *Além do Carnaval: a homossexualidade masculina não Brasil do Século XX*. SP: UNESP, 2000; MACHADO, Vanderlei: “A saúde da mulher e a virilidade masculina: imagens de corpo e gênero em anúncios de medicamentos - Florianópolis (1900-1930)”. *Nuevo Mundo-Mundos Nuevos*, v. 7, 2007. MATOS, M. Izilda: *Meu lar é o botequim: alcoolismo e masculinidade*. SP: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 2001; MATOS, M. Izilda: “No fio do bigode: corpos, sensibilidades e subjetividades”. In: RAMOS; Alcides *et alii* (orgs.): *Olhares sobre a história*. SP: Hucitec, 2010, pp. 92-108; NAVARRO-SWAIN, Tania: “Entre a vida e a morte, o sexo”. *Labrys/Estudos feministas*, Brasília, v.10, 2006; SOUSA, Noéli: “Embriaguês e Desordem: Alcoolismo e Masculinidade em Fortaleza nas décadas de 20 e 30 do século XX”. In: SOUZA, Simone de, CASTRO NEVES, Frederico de (org.): *Gênero*. Fortaleza: Edições Demócrito Rocha, 2002, pp. 79-100.

que as construções/relações de gênero não são inertes, mas mutáveis e reconstruíveis.

O cenário atual encontra-se caracterizado pela divergência de posições, debates e controvérsias promissoras, coincidindo com a diversidade de correntes da historiografia contemporânea. Se a princípio as ações se concentraram em reparar a exclusão feminina no passado, hoje ainda resta batalhar pela legitimidade do campo frente às reticências dos que persistem vinculados aos paradigmas universalizantes. Como antes, os silêncios e invisibilidades serão transpostos usando de criatividade, sensibilidade e imaginação.

*Maria Izilda Santos de Matos  
Consejo Asesor de Arenal)*