

**PARKING IN A TOW-AWAY ZONE:
WOMEN'S LITERARY STUDIES IN BRAZIL'**

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Este ensaio traça os caminhos percorridos pela crítica literária feminina a partir do final da década de 70, concentrando-se no período após 1985. A maior parte dos estudos se têm centrado sobre o século XIX, tratando em especial de questões como o relacionamento entre a mulher e a representação da identidade nacional, a resposta geralmente crítica por mulheres ao projeto de homogeneização nacional e a imprensa feminina. Muito menor tem sido o interesse pelo século XX. A autora sugere que esta falta de interesse seria resultado do silenciamento da voz feminina pelos modernistas, causado tanto pela difícil convivência do modernismo com a *diferença* quanto pela sua carnavalização da imagem da mulher. O ensaio termina indagando em que direção os estudos literários sobre a mulher se poderão desenvolver dentro do contexto brasileiro caracterizado não por *exclusão declarada*, mas por *insidiosa inclusão parcial* do outro.

Brazil is the fifth largest country in the world and the most highly industrialized nation in South America. Furthermore, Brazil represents the biggest territory (60%) in the Amazon region, meaning that the world depends on us to *breathe*. But Brazil also has one of the largest foreign debts which it is trying desperately not to pay. Nowadays, Brazil's 140 million inhabitants are amazed with our handsome and athletic 41-year-old president, Brazil's first democratically elected head-of-state in three decades. Known as "Captain Marvel", according to an article published early in 1991 in the *London Sunday Times*, President Collor's political obsession or wishful thinking is to transform Brazil from a Third World into a First World country.

Besides all these national wonders, we have splendid natural landscapes with fantastic beaches and a hot sun shining brightly throughout the year. Moreover, Brazilian women have always been allowed to display their bodies, their sexuality and their independent looks everywhere – on the above referred seashores, during carnival festivities, on television, or on the sidewalks, as tourists can often attest. If you are thinking at this point that Brazilian women are only objects of desire, you are wrong and I can prove it. For example, until May 1991, the fate of our country was in the powerful hands of a 37-year-old single woman with no children, named Zélia Cardoso de Mello. Miss Zélia, Brazil's Finance Minister, is a brilliant economist and the architect of an audacious anti-inflationary program. No one doubts her competence as an economist. However, judging from newspaper accounts, one would think that Dr. Zélia's sexual conquests (including the Minister of Justice Bernardo Cabral who lost his position as a consequence of an affair with Dr. Zélia) far outweigh her deeds as an economist. Then there is D. Luisa Erundina, from the Workers' Party, who is the Mayor of São Paulo,

Brazil's biggest and most important city. Regrettably, Erundina's sexual life is also a major issue in São Paulo's political debates and her toughmindedness is very often identified stereotypically as lesbian. Besides these nationally known leaders, we are very proud of our hundreds of women deputies and senators, such as Benedita da Silva, a working class black woman from the *favela*, who still lives there and who is a Workers' Party representative in the Brazilian House of Representatives. The sexuality of this black woman is, of course, a "feast" for this legislative House. I could also mention that our President is surrounded by two powerful women in his private life: his wife Rosane, a 26-year-old First-Lady named Barbie according to the *London Sunday Times* article and his mother, D. Leda, who uses the editorial pages in national magazines to plead with her son to be more prudent and careful in the risky sports he practices every day, not surprisingly under the very watchful eyes of the Brazilian press.

It is even said that Brazil's cultural and social paradigm is, in fact, a matriarchal paradigm and that we don't have gender relation problems in this country. The same can be said about race relations, for the idea of a Brazilian "racial democracy" as being unique in the world is very widespread.

Given this confusing atmosphere, it is no wonder that we Brazilian women, until very recently, have shown strong resistance to identifying ourselves as *feminists*. The very expression feminism is, in a certain way, considered to be "backwards", "anachronistic" and, even in the best of terms, "imported foreign fashion". Indeed, we frequently read or hear public declarations, from our best and outstanding women filmmakers, writers, painters, scientists, or even scholars, that it makes no sense to be a feminist in Brazil, a country where women can accomplish so much with so few constraints or limits.

At this point, I would agree with Gayatri Spivak who, in a recent article, coined the concept of "worlding", after Edward Said, to critique the ways that literary theory in the developed world obliterates the heterogeneity of the Third World. For this reason, I do not think that we could disentangle the structural ambiguity of Brazilian race and gender formations by using only the metropolitan theoretical framework. On the other hand, I do not know if, in Brazil, we are really ready to dive into our own gender problematic, either.

The specific format of feminist thought in Brazil, though dated from the nineteenth century, becomes most evident in the very direction of the country's feminist movement during the 60s and the 70s, the high point of feminism all over the world. As is widely known, Brazil experienced a military coup in 1964 that redirected the country's political and economic relations. But in 1968, a second coup came, that is, "a coup within the coup", resulting in the total cessation of the civil and political rights of all Brazilians. This repressive situation lasted until 1978, at which time a relative "opening up" process occurred. However, only in 1985 could we even begin to dream of some sense of democracy. Within this scenario, the feminist movement – and *there is* a feminist movement in Brazil! – has very special features. Finding it difficult to choose between political opposition against the dictatorship and the commitment to specific feminist issues articulated by the international women's movement, Brazilian feminism aligned itself with the progressive sectors of the Church, one of the most radical forces in the defense of human rights. This alliance, which at the same time led to more militancy and political resistance on the part of women during the dictatorship, resulted in some very weird consequences. Focusing primarily upon women's social conditions, civil rights and claims for political freedom, Brazilian feminism, because of its very association with the Church, found itself blocked from working on the major women's issues of the 60s and 70s, such as sexual freedom, the constraints of nurturing motherhood, abortion, and divorce. On the other hand, the public promotion and politicalization of the traditional role of Mother provided some surprising political victories such as the movement, for political amnesty carried out in the name of Holy Motherhood for exiled political prisoners. Therefore, two basically conservative institutions, such as the *Family* and the *Church*, turned out to be arenas for radical political action. We can say that our feminism blossomed, most contradictorily, in the name of the Family and in the name of God.

As soon as "*abertura*" (political opening) emerged, we witnessed a strong contingent of women on the right track to organizing themselves and taking over a significant fraction of the on-going social debate and political action. As soon as we were "liberated" from the twenty-year dictatorship, women and

women's issues became part and parcel of many of the national debates about how to restructure the post-dictatorship society. Since the 1980s, new federal and state agencies were created specifically for the advancement of women's rights. For example, there exists the Federal Agency for Women's Rights. And there are many new agencies dealing directly with many issues related to women such as the "women-only" police stations, solely created to deal with the violence against battered women. Today there are at least 50 of those "women-only" police stations around the country and their numbers continue to grow. In the midst of all this, in 1985, we also discovered "feminist literary scholarship".

If during the late 70s women's literary criticism began to show some initiative, only as recently as 1985 was this concretized with the Regional Seminar "Women and Literature", held at the Federal University of Santa Catarina in the South. With this seminar, women's studies were established as a recognized and legitimate field. In 1986, Brazil's major Association for Literary and Linguistic Studies, the ANPOLL, was created. At the same time of ANPOLL's inaugural meeting, women's literary studies were organized as a Research Group within the Association. The Santa Catarina seminar, and the others that followed, such as the national meetings of the Federal University of Paraíba in the Northeast, the Federal Universities of Rio Grande do Sul and of Paraná (both in the South), and the ANPOLL's women group, demonstrated astonishing activity and potential in this area of study. This is the fastest-growing group within ANPOLL. Interestingly, it is the only one with an interdisciplinary orientation, reflecting, in this sense, a vanguard position in Brazilian academia.

Over the last four years, 10.23% of the papers presented at the annual meeting of ANPOLL (the equivalent of the MLA in the US) and 24% of the papers presented in the biennial meeting of the Brazilian Association of Comparative Literature (ABRALIC) focused on women.² A rough analysis of ANPOLL's catalogue points to a figure of approximately 8% of the total of the Masters' and Doctoral dissertations on literature dealing with women writers (see EMLB, 21). I could add that by now we already have approximately twenty programs or centers on the graduate level in Literature dedicated specifically to the study of women.

One interesting point to be considered is that of the "easy" success and rapid institutionalization of feminist literary studies in Brazil. I know that institutionalizing feminist studies is *per se* a complicated matter and in many countries this is the subject of much debate and controversy. In Brazil, since it happened in such an instantaneous way, I would even say in a "natural way", women regarded the process as a sort of freeway where you can speed-up your action. But in observing the geopolitical distribution of the programs and centers throughout the country, we may note that such academic bastions as the University of São Paulo, the University of Campinas and the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, which are the primary educators in the area of literary studies, still remain impenetrable to new feminist perspectives. If we draw a map of feminist groupings, we will see that they are always at the margins of the above three revered institutions. Feminist programs are spread all over the Brazilian Northeast, the South and the Mid-West, in universities such as Minas Gerais, Rio Grande do Sul, Pernambuco, and Brasília, but almost none is found in the departments of literature of São Paulo and Rio. Feminist literary studies in Rio and São Paulo are mostly part of Interdisciplinary Research Centers. This is the situation with my center (CIEC)³ which is housed in the School of Communication and where we welcome and encourage literary studies.

In any event, it is impressive to observe how a brand-new area of study is able to publish most of its research results without much difficulty. We have around 10 important collections of essays on women and literature such as: *Mulher e arte*, org. Adalgisa A. Campos, UFMG, 1988; *Feminino singular. A participação da mulher na literatura contemporânea*, org. Nelly Novaes Coelho, SP, 1989; *A mulher na literatura*, 3 vols., org. Ana Lucia Gazolla and Nadia Gotlib, UFMG, 1990; *A transgressão do feminino*, org. Maria Helena Kuhner, Rosiska Darcy de Oliveira e Isis Baião, IDAC/PUC RJ, 1990 (see EMLB 46-47). Two important reference works now being developed are the *Brazilian Women Writers Dictionary* by Nelly Novaes Coelho in São Paulo and *Criticism by Brazilian Women* at CIEC in Rio.

Women's studies are being referred to as an "explosion" in the literary sector which we must remember is one of the most conservative academic fields in Brazil. In cultural terms, this "explosion" seems to have evolved out of nothing. But, even

considering the input of the international development of women's studies as a factor that could be attracting Brazilian scholars, this "explosion" proves that something was in the air. At least, this sudden growth shows how women critics were feeling uncomfortable about traditional Brazilian discourses on gender and were craving for an opportunity to focus differently on discourse analysis, narration and representation.

One question that I often ask myself is who are these scholars who magically showed up in 1985 and where were they hiding during the 70s and the early 80s? Actually, most of them came *from abroad*. They were very often former political or self-exiles, of wives of exiles, who went to foreign countries during the dictatorship, had contact with international feminist studies and from this distance gained a new perspective on Brazil's contradictory discourses and social practices in terms of gender relations. Coming from abroad, they first found positions in Brazilian Departments of French and English, focusing mainly upon English and French authors with little attention to Brazilian writers. It is interesting to quote Brazilian feminist scholars who, when working with Brazilian literature, said that they often felt "dizzy", as if feminist theories were not suited to the analysis of Brazilian novels and poetry. We shall return to this point later.

Those who engaged in Brazilian literary studies realized right away, in the midst of their dizziness, that their first goal was related precisely to the study of the supposed harmony that *designs* and shapes national identity and self-representation. Their aim was to go straight to the analysis of nationalist narratives and poetry and to research female participation in the literary and political formation of the Brazilian nation. Today, the issue of national formation generates most feminist research. The production of this critical focus adds up to 32.63% of the total production in this area of study (see EMLB, 53). This viewpoint is directly related to the special role of the novel in the nineteenth century campaign for defining the contours of Brazil as a modern nation independent from Portugal. Women played a central role in that definition. Key to the discourse on the new nation were representations about "Republican Motherhood", where women were constructed as fundamental figures in the building of the new nation and their role as "civilizers" meant that they were responsible for ensuring that the nation was modern, educated

and homogenized. In the case of Brazil, this definition brought some problems. In the discourses of national construction, the liberal republican ideologies, imported by the elites, clashed with the existing slave structures which only began to be legally dismantled with the abolition in 1888. In this sense, the ideas of racial homogenization, supposedly necessary for a definition of national identity, complicated the matter even more. At that moment, the ambiguities of the discourses about women and race began to surface.

Whereas in the urban centers the image of Republican Motherhood was part of the ideologies of modernization, in the backlands it was linked to the popular mythological stories of "Northeastern Matriarchs". Northeastern economy in Brazil was based on agriculture and landownership with a strong patriarchal family structure. In this context, women very often took over the administration of the plantations due to their husband's death or frequent travels. Even in the cases when the husbands were at home, the private space of the plantation home, run by women, regarded then as domestic mini-enterprises, was sometimes more dynamic and rich than the space outside the home. Women were the real heads of the family and from this site they began to spread their influence throughout the power network that linked, in a very specific way throughout the backlands, the Family, the Church and the State. Those women were often looked upon as the political chiefs of those regions and led an audacious life where there was a place for smoking, drinking and spicy sexual habits such as harrassing young slaves or raping male gypsies who carelessly camped on their lands. Of course, these stories, whether true or not, do not talk about the anthropological concept of a Matriarchy as we know it, although that is the term used in Brazil. In truth, they are actually talking about "female patriarchs". In any event, these legends, in existence up to our days, have contributed toward the shaping of the archetype of Brazilian Women as devouring figures, in contrast to the nineteenth century visions of women as victims. It seems clear that the issue here is the power of the family structure in Brazil, not women's power in itself. But it is important to bear in mind that this is the way that the matriarchal paradigm is experienced in the Brazilian social imagination. And until today throughout Brazil, these fantastic stories about Matriarchs continue to

fascinate the public via popular culture, novels or storytelling. We are presently documenting and compiling these stories in an oral history project at CIEC.

Another curious finding of feminist literary studies is the idea that the discourses on national identity troubled learned nineteenth century women in a very serious way. Interestingly, these findings revealed that nineteenth century women actually critique and resisted the homogenizing project of Brazilian nationalism. Recent scholarship has indicated an incredible number of women involved in literary practices such as literary criticism, historiography, experimentation with literary genres as well as the channeling and dissemination of their own work. It is fascinating to note how frequently they used the debate on literature as a pretext for their own plans for going public. The study of nineteenth century women's literary activities is very important because, in Brazil, the access to literacy and participation was never denied. Even as subalterns, women were never denied admission to the culture of letters. In this way, the activity of the *woman reader* (see EMLB, 23-26 as well as notes 11 & 12 on p. 26), an important figure in the literary salon, allowed women a definitive role in the formation and configuration of the new genre, the Brazilian novel, adapting the market's tastes to Brazilian conditions and the nation's sense of morality.

Another important related literary activity is that of salonières, an obvious appropriation of the French style and strategies by Brazilian women. Many literary salons multiplied in Brazil from the Second Monarchy to the 1930s. Strategically located between private and the public spaces, the salon was a space where women experimented with interesting and original forms of sociability. In 1890, in an article in the paulista newspaper, *A Família*, Ignez Sabino observed "how much literature and the literary salons were closely linked to women's emancipation" (see EMLB, 29-33).

Another field attracting scholars has been the study of the nineteenth century women's press (see EMLB, 26-29). From the *Jornal das Senhoras*, 1852, to scores of newspapers such as the *O Domingo*, 1873; *O Bello Sexo*, 1862; *Jornal das Famílias*, 1863; *A Mãe de Família*, 1879; *Echo das Damas*, 1879; *A Mulher*, de 1881; *O Quinze de Novembro Feminino* (the

proclamation of the Republic), 1889; these newspapers circulated actively among the female reading public. Literary essays also appeared in feminine newspapers. Particularly interesting is the work of the writer Josefina Alvarez de Azevedo who wrote a "Seção Literária" in the newspaper *A Família*, during 1888, the year of Brazil's controversial abolition of slavery.

Of importance is how these women reacted to the nationalist ideology of that moment and how they manifested resistance to the violent ways in which modernization and homogenization were conceived within these nationalist ideologies. We already have significant research on this topic such as those studies being developed at the Federal University of Pernambuco by Luzília Gonçalves Ferreira, Nilda Pessoa and Marluce Dantas.

Among women's responses to nineteenth century nationalism, the one I like most is the practice of carefully written patriotic biobibliographic dictionaries of national heroes and celebrities, a very popular trend in the republican *rush* towards the building of a dignified History for Brazil. Women writers immediately "occupied" this parapedagogical genre, the legitimacy and authority of which could not be questioned. In so doing, they tried to register their particular views about 'Exemplary Women'. The most famous is Ignez Sabino's *Mulheres ilustres do Brasil*, written in 1899 (see EMLB, 58, note 26).

If research on nineteenth century women's literary production and participation is attracting our best scholars and is developing successfully we cannot say the same for scholarship on twentieth century literary production. In fact, the debate on women's issues in literature reached a peak from the second half of nineteenth century to the early 1920's when modernism surfaced forcefully in the arts and social sciences. The discussion on women then moves from the literary field to sociology, anthropology and recently to history and psychology. The concern with the construction of Brazilian feminine subjectivity and its relation to the Brazilian social and political framework, so crucial in those studies on the nineteenth century, seems to have been abandoned in the scholarship on contemporary literature. It is as if some serious impediments were holding back this path of analysis. Only approximately 17% of the total feminist scholarship deals with contemporary literature in Brazil (see

EMLB, 53-55). This scholarship seems to be entangled with the attempt to "translate" French feminist concepts of the feminine, eroticism, body language, pleasure, etc. into the Brazilian discursive context. Others are trying to apply the Anglo-Saxon critique of patriarchy, also with little success. Research or studies on black women are very rare and it is also strange to note how Rachel de Queiroz, the pioneer and the main representative of Northeastern Modernism, has not received the attention she deserves. The same can be said of Carolina de Jesus, an important writer from the working class.

It seems that something happened in the 1920's that had the power of paralysing women's studies from that point on. For this reason, I believe that I now have to speak briefly about Brazilian modernism's ingenious concept of Cannibalism or *Antropofagia*. Let us return to the early 1920's when Brazil's modernist movement emerged. At that time, our artists faced a dilemma: how to establish modern art and literature in Brazil without simply imitating international vanguard movements? On the other hand, how to create modern art "authentically national" without having to liberate ourselves totally from Europe? Since European vanguards were much in the vein of "discovering" the originality of primitive cultures, Brazilian modernists (who, by the way, spent most of their time in France) attempted to invest their energies in the discovery of themselves as primitives, while subverting the colonial stereotypes about native Brazilians. The historical document articulating this concept was the *Manifesto Antropófago*, signed by Oswald de Andrade and dated in the "year 374 of the Swallowing of Bishop Sardinha".

The Manifesto began by stating: "Only cannibalism unites us. Socially. Economically. Philosophically. (. . .) In the Matriarchy of Pindorama [one of the idealized names for Brazil]." And the author continued by cannibalizing Hamlet's vital question in these terms: "Tupy or not Tupy. That is the question." In English. (Tupi is the name of an Indian tribe violently exterminated in the colony.)

The Manifesto's main issue was expressed in the statement: "I am only interested in what does not belong to me. Law of the Man. Law of the Cannibal". Andrade's idea of Cannibalism was imported or digested from Montaigne's sixteenth century essay on Cannibals. The striking theme in this piece is the observation that

the Cannibals chose to eat only those prisoners who insisted on resisting assimilation. Once their prisoners had succumbed to assimilation, they could not be eaten. To deserve to be eaten they had to show their difference *to the end*. Otherwise they were just killed, but not "savored". The cause of Cannibalism was clearly not a matter of hunger or the gourmet's taste but of an extreme fascination with otherness and difference. The national interpretation of Brazil reflected this drive towards the "Other". However, the novelty in the Manifesto is that *Antropofagia* stretched to the limit the notion that one must *not* identify with the Other but assimilate only what is desirable or worthy from the Other, and eliminate what is not. And they specified the way this partial assimilation should occur: it should be done by chewing, grinding, and digesting the desired parts of the Other. That is: destroying the Other's uniqueness. Here we can clearly see the Brazilian's preference for swallowing difference rather than confronting it. This, as we shall see, has very serious consequences for the possibilities of those same "Others". A good question to be asked at this point is "In the case of Brazilian Modernist Cannibals, who ends up eating whom? And what is considered worth eliminating in this banquet?"⁴ As a swallower of difference, Brazil is constructed by modernism as the kingdom of hospitality, of receptive warmth, thus revealing an inherent predisposition to receiving the Other. But to understand the current structure of discursive formations on race and gender in Brazil, it is also very important to bear in mind this idea of *how the discourses on Brazil's identity reflect this constant but "partial" assimilation of difference*.

The possibility of this kind of representation only works because it depends primarily upon two factors: first, the evidence of a very problematic link between the past and present, and hence the conviction that the past is irrelevant or that it doesn't even exist. This is a past without heroes, and without black or indian "marks" (eventually exterminated or enslaved) because their cultural traces are believed to have been dissipated by the bleaching process and by Brazil's so-called "racial democracy", a phenomenon perpetuating the historical amnesia which informs the diverse imaginings of Brazil.

The second factor is directly related to the social and political organization of Brazilian elites, based upon the emphasis

of patron-client relations that ensure a vertical identification among the classes in the social hierarchy – of course, to the detriment of establishing common interests or goals within classes, races and professional categories. Given the prevalence of vertical identification, it is not difficult to understand how a direct political confrontation between the sexes or races is avoided, and how “seduction”, via the myths of gender and racial democracy, become officially endorsed as artifacts that are seen as “authentically national”. And this is a real problem because the national faith in the acquisition of the Other’s power and the glorification of sexuality, undoubtedly resonate strongly in the ways that the subjectivities of women and blacks are structured in Brazil.

Going back once more to the controversial construction of the *antropófago* pattern, actually the axis of Brazil’s most influential self-image, I would like to remind you of how Portuguese and other European colonizers represented the natives in terms of their own fascination with sexuality and racial difference. This representation alluded to the tropical heat and colours described as a *locus* of intense desire and panic (double feelings which eventually succeeded in justifying the “need” to annihilate the natives). Brazilian modernism tried to parody colonial “myths” by empowering the natives’ characteristics which the colonizers had objectified. But in the process, the *antropofagistas* constructed a double-edged sword: on the one hand, they took the colonizers’ vision and inverted it, digesting it in order to give voice to the native. On the other hand, the *antropofagistas* appropriated the same representations used by colonial and travel literature and left, practically untouched, the former chauvinistic views of difference and race. The Brazilian Modernist vanguard solidified, once and for all, the version of a colourful and carnivalized nation driven by seduction and pre-logical feelings, in which the moral and social order is frequently being subverted. This nation is proudly represented by the flamboyant image of the *mulata*’s body, evidencing the strong presence of gender and race at the very core of Brazil’s self-representation. This is a notion of national identity that is extremely hard to grasp because it is constantly changing its social masks. The amazing and problematic point is that after almost 70 years, this image has not yet been destroyed but instead

continues to reing supreme both in Brazil and abroad. However, another interesting point is that, although the carnivalized discourses are still the focus of Brazilian films, popular music and literature, this focus does not seem to attract either black authors or women writers, thus pointing to the extent to which this carnivalized identity is really marked by class, gender and racial biases.

The question now would be: what can women do in the midst and/or under the pressure of such an impressive and elaborate discursive technology of grinding otherness, erasing conflicts and avoiding confrontation? All this taking place in a supposed Matriarchy where differences seem to have been welcomed and are floating freely all over the country. How does one confront or even deconstruct a social unconscious that is expressed in a sort of freudian pre-Oedipal region where the absence of the law permeates all levels of social life? As a well-known song by Chico Buarque says, "não existe pecado do lado de baixo do Equador" (there's no sin below the Equator), in other words, everything is allowed.

The only trouble with this paradise of unlimited liberation and carnivalization, especially concerning gender and race relations, is that it does not correspond, *even minimally*, to the Brazilian women's everyday social experience. This very gap is a blind spot, where the discourse on women is addressed not as a question of "exclusion", as in other cultures, but, on the contrary, as the risky trap of "partial inclusion".

To conclude, this is *the* question that Brazilian feminist scholarship must finally confront: the issue of gender cannibalism in Brazil – to park here without being towed away.

NOTES

¹ This paper was presented on March 6, 1991 at Brown University for a program jointly sponsored by the Institute for International Studies, the Center for Portuguese and Brazilian Studies and the Pembroke Center for Teaching and Research on Women. During Semester II, 1990-91, I was Visiting Professor of Brazilian Literature at Brown University's Center for Portuguese and Brazilian Studies where I taught the course "Brazil: Women and the Idea of Nation". Some aspects of this paper are based upon my publication *Estudos sobre mulher e literatura no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: CIEC, 1990. (Série Papéis Avulsos, 29).

² Such figures often refer to interpretations and estimations of data and other statistics included in *Estudos sobre mulher e literatura no Brasil*. These specific references appear on pages 21-22 of that study. Subsequent references to that study in this paper will be indicated by EMLB, followed by the page numbers, all in parenthesis.

³ The Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudos Contemporâneos (CIEC) is located in the School of Communication at the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro and focusses its research projects on gender, race and ethnic relations in Brazil. The topics of recent seminars, research and publications have revolved around women's studies, Afro-Brazilian relations and Jewish cultural studies.

⁴ These questions are posed and developed by Zita Nunes in *Os males do Brasil: Antropofagia e a questão da raça*. Rio de Janeiro: CIEC/UFRJ, 1990. (Série Papéis Avulsos, 22).

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