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MARÍLIA BÁRBARA FERNANDES GARCIA MOSCHKOVICH

FEMINIST GENDER WARS:
The reception of the concept of gender in Brazil (1980s -1990s) and the global dynamics of production and circulation of knowledge

FEMINIST GENDER WARS:
A recepção do conceito de gênero no Brasil (1980 -1999) e as dinâmicas globais de produção e circulação de conhecimento

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TESE DE DOUTORADO

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Maurício Ernica

A Ata da Defesa assinada pelos membros da Comissão Examinadora, consta no processo de vida acadêmica do aluno.

2018

This work is dedicated…

…to Liane Gutmanis de Lira, my lost love, and her memory still burning in my heart;

…to Ana Maria, who has been my supervisor since 2007 and has made me the researcher I am now;

…to the brave Brazilian students of social sciences and humanities in the beginning of their journeys now, and who are interested in gender studies. A word that comes from heart: courage; Tamo junta[1];

…to the feminist researchers of social sciences and humanities who, sometimes still as students, have made gender studies happen in Brazil; and who are now fighting against its extinction and thus, ultimately, also fighting for those of us who are and who have been their students;

Thank you;

…to Elizabeth Souza-Lobo and Maria Luiza Heilborn, who have both, in the 1980s, planted theoretical and political seeds to a new feminism, to a synthesis between academic and political fields; their work was so forward-thinking that many of such seeds are still invisible to us in 2017 – but I profoundly hope this work will do justice to their legacy and help making those seeds finally sprout;

…to our heritage, to our future. To resistance.

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[1] Popular Brazilian slang to show solidarity; it translates as "We are together".

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How I became an author and researcher

A PhD thesis section of acknowledgements should never be ignored. It's during the long hard process of preparing a thesis that we become researchers and authors, as sociologists, anthropologists, philosophers. Everything before that is training and acquiring preliminary tools. In the three, four or five years it takes us to prepare and defend a thesis, life doesn't stop and, in our society, nowadays, this period usually coincides with when we are establishing a supposedly steady adult life – the end of our twenties, beginning of our thirties. This coincidence has called my attention since my master's research[2], when I wondered if this would be part of what seemed to make academic careers more difficult to women (considering that a supposedly steady adult life, for us, normally involves a greater load of domestic chores, children, etc).

This is the reason why parts of this thesis are written in a literary style, bringing my personal and social experience, as an author, closer to the product of my research – precisely what I intend to do in this work. My supervisor Ana Maria told me, once, when I was having trouble to choose a topic of research for my PhD research project:

> *You are feeling lost because you have the impression that you can choose from anything. This isn't true – there is a particular research topic, an object and an approach that can only or can best be designed, proposed, studied and developed by you. You have to look into your dispositions, experiences, interests, and the knowledge you already have to find out what it is.*

In this sense, it could be said that this research chose me and not the other way around. I soon realized I couldn't keep avoiding any longer the moment when I would have to academically face the most difficult conflict of my life, that has since I was a child influenced in my decisions and in my personality: the conflict between politics and academia. I knew my work could be benefited by the fact that I have been a militant since age 12 (1999) and that I had been involved in feminism since then – when I first wrote a poem I called "feminist", took

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[2] See Moschkovich (2013) and Moschkovich (2017) to read more on the MA results.

it to school and got very angry when one of the teachers said it was "a feminine, not a feminist" poem – having been raised by a feminist mother and father in a family of militants where mostly everyone is quite passionate about politics. I also knew this would be one of my biggest challenges, and indeed it was. Or has been.

This is how I started to work with the reception of the concept of gender between academic and political fields, went from there to focus on academic feminists only when I realized that what happened among those researchers was crucial to the prominent place of such concept in society (well, at least in 2014, when I started the thesis, this is how it was…), created a comparative perspective between Brazil, Argentina and Mexico and ended up deciding to concentrate in Brazil. As I intend to show in the thesis itself, though, the Brazilian case contributes to a broader perspective on how knowledge is produced and circulates globally, and how the academic and the political field, as well as the relationships between them, play a central role in such dynamics.

Despite some forcedly very lonely moments in grieving and in writing as they must be, I was accompanied in this journey all the time, by people who gave me strength, inspiration and laugh, and who have took care of me and reminded me of taking care of myself, too.

MY ADVISOR, ANA MARIA ALMEIDA

I start by saying, then, that this thesis wouldn't have been possible – or I, myself, wouldn't have been possible – without the professor that has made me who I am as a researcher. I first met Ana Maria almost 11 years ago. I was a social sciences undergrad student who had been a teacher since the age of 16, and who worked in an international school as a teacher assistant during the day to then attend to classes in the evenings. I was having trouble finding a professor in the social sciences departments who would be interested in discussing inequalities in Brazilian schools and who would accept me as a junior research student. One day, a work colleague mentioned (and I am not sure if, to this day, she has any idea of the importance she will always have in my life; Patricia, thank you!) that the mom of one of her preschool students, was a sociologist of education. She spoke to Ana and gave me her phone number. I called her, from a home phone (mobile barely sent SMS at that time; or they did but typing was very exhaustive), and she asked me to send her the first draft of my research project. I did, and then we had a very long telephone conversation about it, in which I could only think: "I want my brain to be like this woman's brain; I want to be able to analyze things like she does; I want to

be as wise and intelligent as she is". This is how I became Ana's student in the year of 2007. I would still experience this same feeling with other researchers, during my journey to become one: an awe that fortunately doesn't seem to ever go away.

In the process of becoming a researcher, Ana Maria's guidance and support was fundamental. I can affirm with pride that she taught me how to be an author. In a very Bourdieusian fashion, of course, we know there were dispositions that came before her and others that were acquired with experiences that go beyond her. But it would be misleading to start this thesis without acknowledging her central role in such process. It would also be rather inaccurate to say this was a merely technical or professional contribution of Ana Maria in my life. Supervisor-Student relationships are complex and inevitably personal, even when distanced[3] (which was fortunately not my case). Ana was the first person I called for help when I was in a field internship in Argentina and my girlfriend passed away. In the middle of sudden, desperate grieving, she was the one who reminded me I should also call my mom and urged me to come back at least for a few days to be with my family and friends. She has always been caring for me without ever patronizing me or underestimating me. Much on the contrary, she has always stimulated me to be more than I, myself, was willing to try. As I began this section saying, I wouldn't be possible without her. Thank you.

MY FAMILY

It goes without saying that my mother, Maria do Carmo, has always been my biggest supporter and inspiration. Throughout the years she has also become my friend and an amazing partner in life. She taught me about feminism when I was still a child. She supported my political activities and my academic trajectory in all ways she could (and still does). She taught me to value autonomy and independence, and she supported me all the way through building the tools that allow me such things, without ever being either careless or overprotective. She was my role model for the biggest part of my life and now she's beyond that, she's a central reference who has introduced me to many of my new role models, too. Through each and every grief, passion, lost, gain, she was, is and will always be by my side. I love you, mom.

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[3] In 2012, during my Masters, I had the opportunity of giving an interview to a junior research student of PUC-Campinas about my relationship with Ana and about how her brilliant supervision style, which I know today has shaped me also as a professor and supervisor. This was later published as a short article in their journal – see Nogueira and Leite (2014).

My father has also played a central role in my emotional and political education, although probably more than he recognizes. I've had the luck of having a feminist dad, who aimed for gender equality – even if not perfectly, of course. He is loving, open-minded and passionate about politics, and like my mom he has always supported my autonomy and independence. I strongly believe that one of the effects of growing up with my dad was the complete lack of fear of men. It is unfortunately a privilege, in our gender system, to be a woman growing up fearless of men. This has impacted in my personal but also in my political points of view within feminism, and in my love for politics and in how those two things interact. Thank you, dad.

My sister Isabela Moschkovich has taught me how to appreciate different shades of feminine, respecting and celebrating all of them. Her passion for music and English/USA literature has also been inspiring to me, and she has patiently helped me revise my English during the writing of this thesis. This text wouldn't have been possible without her. My brother Diego Moschkovich has also inspired me with his ideas and experience in the field of theatre and drama, but his main contribution was probably that he has been a companion, a comrade, for all my life. Our similar interests in politics, art, and our struggle together in the LGBT movement has given me strength many times. Thank you both.

To Téo, whose name is Raphael Sponton Peres, who will marry me a few hours from the moment when I'm writing this, after finishing revising the full text of the thesis one more time; who will move to Germany with me; who has taken care of the house, cleaning, clothing, food, supermarket and everything since we moved in together, allowing me to dedicate myself to my career, projects and thesis. Mein Lieber, you are my home.

FRIENDS & OTHER LOVED ONES

It's maybe unexpected to many, but with some care I would also like to acknowledge the importance of my ex-partner Leonardo Guimarães, a Marxist economist and now teacher at Instituto Federal de São Paulo who is also finishing his thesis. Our encounter in life, right at the beginning of both our PhDs, has changed me forever, I think, for the better. Specially because of the intellectual exchange (which still goes on, although in a slower pace) between us and that is one of the most stimulating relationships I ever experienced. He was also the reason why I kept myself alive when everything in life seemed to have lost its purpose. During the hardest times of my grieving I would think of abandoning life many times a day.

When I told him about that, instead of getting desperate, he understood my grief (him, who knows what it feels like to lose the purpose of things in life) and asked me if I could, if not for anything or anyone else, keep myself alive for him. It immediately came to my mind that I would never want anyone – least of all, him, whom I have loved so much and so deeply – to experience the kind of grieving I was going through, this horribly lonely kind of premature widowing. And so I endured. Thank you, Leo.

I should also thank Tomaz Amorim Izabel for one of the greatest pieces of advice I received during a writing crisis. I was questioning my writing and the way I would structure my thesis, and I was lost trying to combine a more technically sociological language with accessible and literary bits, but I was afraid the jury and my research counselor wouldn't approve of it. It was his birthday, probably in 2016 and we were at an empty bar watching a Jimi Hendrix cover become a surprisingly delicious experience on a Sunday night in São Paulo. He looked at me and told me he had received this piece of advice himself from a really good friend. He said: "we shouldn't write our thesis to our professors, but to our future students; what would we like **them** to read in a few years on our research topics?". Tomaz was also great travelling company in Córdoba and Berlin, and have always been an inspiration with his delicious poems. This is my Thank You to him, and to all the moments of great insights and, not even a bit less important, pleasure we've shared.

Camilo Dominguez is now an essential part of my story, and of how I kept myself alive during writing journeys of up to 18 hours straight during my stay in Paris in 2017. He fed me, he reminded me of taking pauses, he listened to my emotional distress and gave me confidence to be more of myself and follow my intuition. He took care of my environment so I could focus. He reminded me of my political passion everyday – and of our plans for a better, more just and more equal society in the future. He reminded me I wasn't alone in facing the harsh times we saw ahead of us when social, civil and human rights started to be bent and dismissed in Brazil. He helped me think clearly about my path and the importance of my work in facing this new and horrifying era. I love you, my friend, and I thank you deeply for each and every moment we shared – and hopefully we will be able to meet again soon, either in Russia, Germany or home.

Friends have been an essential part of my journey to become a researcher. I luckily have many of them, but I would like to thank specially Iara Paiva and Vanessa Guedes. They have been among my strongest supporters in life for years, and I feel like they went through this PhD with me –calming my heart in troubled moments, encouraging me to carry on, listening

CO-WORKERS AND COLLEAGUES

The experience of participating of Ioana Cirstocea's seminars at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) in 2017 was also inspiring. Many insights in this research came from debates we had during the sessions, and others from sharing cups of coffee at Café Raspail. I also thank Mrs. Cirstocea for all her advice beyond this thesis.

I would like to mention all the help from Gisèle Sapiro in receiving me as her student for a semester at EHESS, too. What brings me to Gustavo Sorá, who has first introduced me to her when I was working temporarily as a visiting researcher in his team at the *Museo de Antropología* (Anthropology Museum) at *Universidad Nacional de Córdoba* (National University of Córdoba – UNC), Argentina. It was an unforgettable period in my life, not only for the excitement of exchanging research within Latin America, or for my long and loving relationship with Argentina (where my mom lived for a while trying to escape the harshness of the military period in Brazil), but especially for the friendship and intellectual partnership with Sorá. Thank you.

In Córdoba I also met dear friends and came back to life. It was the end of grieving and I felt alive again, running everyday by the river and walking at night by *La Cañada,* grabbing horrible coffee and medialunas, drinking mate while enjoying some August sun in *Sarmiento*. Wandering *Güemes'* streets randomly with Tomaz Amorim and discovering a parking lot with a huge luminous sign showing the portrait of Hegel (yes, Hegel, the philosopher – apparently). Dancing chacareras for hours at the most beautiful Peña possible. Watching Paola Bernal and Raly Barrionuevo live, playing with their neighbors, remembering the birthplace of Mercedes Sosa. I loved again and was loved back. Besides Gustavo, then, I should thank immensely Mariana, Danilo, Meli, Meli-Mack, Luna, Mariángel and, especially, Daniela.

Beyond Córdoba, in Buenos Aires I've had the help of Maria Laura Rosa, who ended up becoming a great friend, too. I was supported by Nora Dominguez, Dora Barrancos, Maria Luisa Femenías – authors I had only read and heard of, and who treated me and my work with much respect and consideration. I thank Margareth Rago for kindly introducing me to them, and Luana Saturnino for all the tips. It was in Buenos Aires that I had found out, a year before travelling to Córdoba, that my girlfriend had passed away. I couldn't have found force again without Vani Szlatyner and Yaya Firpo, who became friends, more than hosts, and supported me through an intense period of grieving away from home.

There was also Mendoza. The help and insights of Fernanda Beigel were inspiring, as well as afternoons of research exchange with her students, specially Osvaldo Gallardo and Maxi Salatino. Alejandra Ciriza, whom I haven't unfortunately met in person, was also a source of inspiration for all her work concerning Feminism and Marxism in Argentina.

Back home, at Unicamp, some colleagues and friends were an essential part of this journey. Vinicius Wohnrath has accompanied me through my graduate studies as a friend and now as an excellent researcher, and I am glad we can continue this friendship as Doctors and researchers. Agueda Bittencourt was inspiring, and has supported me not only in research but in many life experiences. Mauricio Ernica has consistently brought challenging questions about my research, making me move forward every time. Thank you all.

RESUMO

Hoje a palavra "gênero" é facilmente compreendida e reconhecida nas diferentes áreas das Ciências Sociais e Humanidades (CSH). Os "estudos de gênero" são vistos como uma parte legítima desse universo, e são reconhecidos por sua abordagem e objeto específicos. Mas o processo por meio do qual o conceito de Gênero se tornou amplamente difundido e aceito (e, mais do que isso, tornou-se a forma dominante de analisar uma dimensão específica da vida social) se deu no apenas no final do século XX. Esta tese procura contribuir com uma abordagem sociológica desse fenômeno, articulando-o a outros processos sociais que interagiram em sua produção, na interseção (ou ainda, interstício) dos campos científico e político. O objetivo é contribuir com uma compreensão ampliada dos processos de produção e circulação de conhecimento, por meio do caso específico do conceito de Gênero, no contexto específico de sua recepção no Brasil, durante o período específico das décadas de1980 e 1990. O caso brasileiro, sendo o caso de um país numa posição não-dominante nesse processo, nos força a observar o espaço de produção de conhecimento como um complexo sistema global em que o poder não é distribuído de forma igualitária, ou consistente, ou permanente. O conceito Bourdieusiano de campo orientou a pesquisa por possibilitar uma abordagem não-determinista e suficiente complexa que sobressaltasse o aspecto sistêmico (relacional e posicional) do objeto. A metodologia central utilizada foi a prosopografia de um grupo de 35 autoras consideradas agentes-chave da recepção do conceito de Gênero no Brasil. As fontes consistiram sobretudo em livros, artigos e documentos já publicados.

Palavras-chave:

Gênero, Sociologia do Conhecimento, Produção e Circulação de Conhecimento, Feminismo, Ciências Sociais e Humanidades

ABSTRACT

Nowadays, the word "gender" is easily understood and recognized in the fields of Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH). "Gender Studies" is frequently seen as a legitimate area of studies, and it is recognized for its specific objects and approach. But the process through which Gender became a largely spread and accepted concept (and, more than that, the dominant way of analyzing a specific dimension of social life) happened by the end of the 20th century. This thesis intends to contribute to a sociological approach to such phenomenon, articulating it with other social processes which interacted to produce it, in the intersection (or, rather, interstice) of the scientific and political fields. The goal is to contribute to a broader understanding of knowledge production and circulation, through the specific case of the concept of Gender, in the specific context of its reception in Brazil, during the specific time of the 1980s and 1990s. The Brazilian case forces us to look at the space of knowledge production as complex global system where power isn't either equally, steadily or permanently distributed, once we're dealing with a country in a non-dominant position in such system. The Bourdieusian concept of field has guided the research, for providing a non-deterministic and sufficiently complex approach while highlighting the systemic (relational and positional) aspect of the object. The core methodology used was the prosopographical approach of a group of 35 researchers identified as key agents in the reception of the concept of Gender in Brazil. The sources consisted mainly in already published books, papers and documents.

Keywords:

Gender, Sociology of Knowledge, Knowledge Production and Circulation, Feminism, Social Sciences and Humanities

RÉSUMÉ

Aujourd'hui le mot "genre" es facilement compris et reconnu dans les Sciences Sociales et Humanités (SSH). "Études de Genre" sont un domain d'études vu comme legitime, et reconnu pour son objet et approche spécifiques. Pourtant, le processus parmi lequel le Genre est dévenu un concept largement accepté (et, plus, la façon dominante d'analyser une dimension spécifique de la vie sociale) est arrivée à la fin du 20e siècle. Cette thèse a comme but faire une contribution pour une approche sociologique de ce phenomène, en y articulant avec des autres processus sociaux qu'ont intéragi dans sa production dans l'intersection (ou, encore, l'interstice) entre les champs scientifique et politique. On cherche à contribuer aussi avec un comprehension élargie sur la production et circulation de connaissance, parmi le cas spécifique du concept de Genre, dans le contexte spécifique de as réception au Brésil, pendant la période spécifique des décenies de 1980 et 1990. Le cas brésilien nous oblige à observer le space de la production de connaissance comme um systhème global complexe où le pouvoir n'est pas également distribué, et où il est distribué de façon impermanente – ça arrive puisqu'il s'agit d'um pays qui ocupe une position pas-dominante dans ce systhème. Le concept Bourdieusian de champ a guidé la recherche, pour offrir la possibilité d'une approche qui refuse les determinismes en gardant la complexité de ce type de processus, et en soulignant les aspects systhèmiques de l'objet (relationel/positionel). La méthode choisi a été la prosopographie d'un groupe de 35 chercheuses identifiée comme agents-clé de la réception du concept de Genre au Brésil. Les sources ont été surtout des livres, articles at documents déjà publiés.

RESUMEN

La palabra "género" es fácilmente comprendida hoy, y es reconocida en las Ciencias Sociales y Humanidades (CSH). Los "estudios de género" son normalmente vistos como un área de estudios legítima por sus obyectos y abordajes específicos. Pero el proceso por lo cual Género ha devenido un concepto ampliamente difundido y acepto (y, aún más, la forma dominante de analizar una dimensión específica de la vida social) se pasó en fines del siglo XX. Esta tesis busca contribuir con una mirada sociológica hacia ese fenómeno, lo articulando con otros procesos sociales que integraron su producción en la intersección (o, antes, en el intersticio) entre los campos científico y político. El objetivo es contribuir con una comprensión amplia de los procesos de producción y circulación del conocimiento por medio del caso específico del concepto de Género, en el contexto específico de su recepción en Brasil, durante el periodo específico de las décadas de 1980 y 1990. El caso brasileño nos impone una mirada hacia el espacio de producción de conocimiento como un sistema global complejo, en el cual el poder no es distribuido ni igualmente, ni permanentemente – eso porque tenemos como caso un país en una posición no-dominante en ese sistema. El concept Bourdieusiano de campo ha guiado la investigación, por ofrecer un abordaje no-determinista y suficientemente complejo mientras destacando la característica sistémica (relacional y posicional) del obyecto. La metodología central fue una prosopografia de un grupo de 35 investigadoras identificadas como agentes-clave de la recepción del concepto de Género en Brasil. Las fuentes consistieron principalmente en libros, artículos y documentos publicados.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ABA	*Associação Brasileira de Antropologia /* Brazilian Anthropological Association
ANPEC	*Associação Nacional dos Centros de Pós-Graduação em Economia /*
ANPEd	*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Educação /*
ANPEPP	*Associação Nacional de Pesquisa e Pós-graduação em Psicologia /*
ANPOCS	*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação e Pesquisa em Ciências Sociais* / National Association of Graduate Studies and Research in Social Sciences
ANPOF	*Associação Nacional de Pós-Graduação em Filosofia /*
ANPUH	*Associação Nacional de História* – National Association of History
APML	*Ação Popular Marxista Leninista* – Marxist-Leninist Popuar Action
CEBRAP	*Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento* / Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning
CMBP	*Círculo Brasileiro de Mulheres em Paris /* Brazilian Women Circle in Paris
CNPq	*Plataforma Lattes or Curriculum Lattes*
CPT	*Comissão Pastoral da Terra* / Pastoral Comision for Land
FCC	*Fundação Carlos Chagas* / Carlos Chagas Foundation
FE-UNICAMP	*Faculdade de Educação da Universidade Estadual de Campinas* – Faculty of Education at the State University of Campinas
FS	Feminist Studies
GDR	German Democratic Republic
GFWS	Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies
GS	Gender Studies
HE	Higher Education
IEL	*Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem /* Language Studies Institute
IFCH	*Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas /* Philosophy and Human Science Institute

ILO	International Labour Organization
LDB	*Lei de Diretrizes e Bases /* Education Law
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans* and other sexually non-conforming identities
MA	Masters (degree)
MDB	*Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* – Brazilian Democratic Movement
MLF	*Mouvement de Libération des Femmes /* Female Liberation Moement
MR8	*Movimento Revolucionário 8 de Outubro* – 8th of October Revolutionary Movement
NGO	Non Governamental Organization
NEIM	*Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre a Mulher /*
NEMGE	*Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre a Mulher / Núcleo de Estudos da Mulher e Relações Sociais de Gênero /*
NIGS	*Núcleo de Identidades de Gênero e Subjetividades /*
PCB	*Partido Comunista Brasileiro /* Brazilian Communist Party
PCdoB	*Partico Comunista do Brasil /* Communist Party of Brazil
PhD	Doctor of Philosophy (degree)
PMDB	*Partido do Movimento Democrático Brasileiro* – Brazilian Demoratic Movement Party
PSDB	*Partido da Social Democracia Brasileira /* Brazilian Social Democracy Party
PT	*Partidos dos Trabalhadores* – Workers Party
REF	*Revista Estudos Feministas /* Feminist Studies Magazine
SNJ	*Secretaria Nacional de Juventude* – Federal Government's Office for Youth Policy
SPM	*Secretaria de Políticas para Mulheres* – Federal Government's Office of Policies for Women
SSH	Social Sciences and Humanities
TFP	*Tradição, Família e Propriedade* – Tradition, Family and Property

UBA	*Universidad de Buenos Aires* – University of Buenos Aires
UBM	*União Brasileira de Mulheres* – Brazilian Women United
UERJ	*Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro* / State University of Rio de Janeiro
UFBA	*Universidade Federal da Bahia* / Federal University of Bahia
UFMG	*Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais* / Federal University of Minas Gerais
UFRJ	*Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro* / Federal University of Rio de Janeiro
UFSC	*Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina* / Federal University of Santa Catarina
UM	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICAMP	*Universidade Estadual de Campinas* – State University of Campinas
USSR	Union of the Soviet Socialists Republic
USP	*Universidade de São Paulo* – University of São Paulo
WG	Working Groups
WIEGO	Women in Informal Employment
WS	Women's Studies

SUMMARY

FOREWORD:

Finding the Feminist Gender Wars

The young and avid eyes lined up through the cold halls. The walls covered with posters, militant slogans, and announcements of "*comparto depto[4]*", followed by half a dozen official information about classes timetables and professors taking vacation periods. The old cigarette factory that, in 1973, was transformed into the *Facultad de Filosofia y Letras* da *Universidad de Buenos Aires* (UBA), was now room for a small crowd of excited students in that September afternoon in 2015. The line started at the large doors of *Aula 108*, an auditorium where someone distributed colored bracelets as tickets to the acclaimed and anxiously awaited performance. The public vibrated in the expectation of meeting, in flesh and bones, the author who seemed to reach the *status* of living legend of philosophy, gender/feminist/women and queer studies.

Elegantly briefly late, Judith Butler was highly applauded when she went into the stage, in all her greatness and shortness, followed by Graciela Morgade, a professor and researcher at the department of educational sciences and director of the institution. Under a second round of applause, the *Honoris Causa* PhD title was given to the Butler. According to the professor leading the ceremony, the decision to pay such tribute to Butler's work wasn't unanimous and the evaluating committee had to put such request to a vote, and this is why she was absolutely outraged during the ceremony, in her own words. Butler proceeded then to a quite interesting lecture called "*Foucault, obrando mal, diciendo la verdad*" (which can be translated as something like "Foucault, transgressing, saying truths").

The absolutely quiet public seemed to find delight in such lecture. Like a shaman, the philosopher hypnotized the crowd and, heavy on wit – *witz*, *chistes* or *mots d'esprit*[5] - she conducted the audience to laugh and astonishment, physically seen in raised eyebrows and nodding among the hundreds of heads who, at a certain point, were already squeezing through the corners of the stage and of the room. There were no empty chairs.

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[4] Expression used in Argentina by students looking for roommates. The literal translation of "*comparto departamento*" is "I share an apartment" or something close to that.

[5] The term *witz* (in English sometimes translated as joke, but more rigorously translated as "wit") was borrowed by Freud from German romanticism, and it was translated to Portuguese and Spanish as "*chiste*", and to French as "*esprit*" or "*mots d'esprit*". The concept was rescued by Jacques Lacan – an author to which Butler herself is quite close – and indicated a specific way in which the unconscious copes with reality, through humour.

At the end of the lecture, trying to establish some debate, she asked the public to write down and send their questions to the stage, so she could try to comment on and answer them. Of hundreds of people, a single and lonely piece of paper crossed the auditorium and landed in the philosopher's harsh bony hands. The Argentinian hostess then read, in Spanish, the question, and soon translated it to English. Someone wondered if she could discuss the issue of transgression in Foucault's work. "Well, the answer to that is the whole lecture I just gave", answered Butler, affirming she wouldn't repeat it. The question was, indeed, a quite general mix of the lecture's title with abstract pieces of it, discussed in the previous two hours by the author. After all, who cared about the relevance of questions? The whole point there wasn't actually clarifying anyone's understanding of Foucault's or even Butler's own work, but rather experience the living presence of an icon.

It is impossible to detach Butler's success from her solid, controversial and deep insights on gender and gender/feminist theory. Although her specific case opens various possibilities of research (questioning, for example, how was her work made into canon; the role of international circulation and media in such process; the role of translation in that journey; etc.), and although her main angles of discussion nowadays – almost 30 years past the first publication of Gender Trouble – are others, it is not an exaggeration to affirm that probably around 90% of the public in *Aula 108* in September 18th, 2015 (including myself) knew her first for describing the heterosexual matrix as being the central tool of how gender works as a system, and even that most of them could also have imagined that she was the first author (or one of the firsts) to discuss what we now call "gender" in such terms.

This episode raises interesting questions to a sociologist of knowledge: what are the conditions that allow for some authors (and not others) to become practically living legends in so many different national academic spaces? What is the relation of authors' trajectories with the trajectories of concepts, and how is this related to institutional structures created to support them? Authors and ideas don't exist detached from disciplinary traditions, national academic spaces intertwined in a global knowledge production system, or power relations. Although this work isn't focused primarily on Judith Butler's trajectory, the anecdote of an afternoon at UBA brings to life the main topic of this thesis: the production, circulation and reception of the concept of gender, more specifically looked into through the case of Brazil. It is impossible to separate Judith Butler's success from the concept of gender's success, as it will be discussed further on.

As all the other viewers in that crowd, I didn't have questions for Judith Butler either; or, at least, I didn't have questions at that time about her interpretations of Foucault's work. I had the chance, nevertheless, of mentioning to her how important her work was in the process of reception of the concept of gender in Latin America. "This is a hell lot of work!" she exclaimed, when I said this was my PhD research topic. "I know", I thought, while she quickly left the auditorium leaving me with an awkward smile on my face.

Butler's work first appeared in my life during my MA research about gender inequalities in the academic career. When interviewed by the professors at *Faculdade de Educação da UNICAMP* (FE-UNICAMP; Faculty of Education at the State University of Campinas) during the selection process to start the MA program, I was asked if my research was related to "sex" or "gender". My complete lack of words and tools to answer that question from the jury has led me to a deep dive into gender and feminist theories, through lots of reading and following post-graduation disciplines in both UNICAMP (*Universidade Estadual de Campinas* – State University of Campinas) and USP (*University of São Paulo* – University of São Paulo). Down inside that dive, I learned that "sex" and "gender" weren't merely different names to the same thing as I had thought during my undergraduate studies; and that "Gender[6]" wasn't just a "new name" to social inequalities supposedly based on sex or social relations established from biological sex; Gender was a very specific concept that, to my surprise, didn't seem to be unanimous at all. If Gender was such a central concept to Gender / Feminist / Women Studies (GFWS), why is it that there was so much confusion about its meaning, even among my colleagues and professors at university (that means, not only among militants and activists that I spoke to on a daily basis)?

At the same time, my militant *praxis* also intensified during the pursuit of my MA degree. In militant spaces at that time (between 2010 and 2014), the word "gender" was used in a descriptive manner, as a synonym of "sex", and any questioning on that interpretation was quickly classified and diminished as an "academicism". I faced, then, more trouble, trying to reconcile the academic and political worlds through which I navigated at that time as well as today. I started to notice, for example, the variations in interpretations of readings among Brazilian feminists in the political field at that time: Butler's book was refused and harshly criticized for being too difficult, too academic, too theoretical; Susan Faludi's "Backlash" (Faludi, 1991) or Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique" (Friedan, 1963) were glorified as truly feminists by many (if we wish to keep the references to examples from the United States only).

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[6] From this point on, the word is written with a capital G when referring to the concept of gender.

At the same time, when mentioned in the academic space of GFWS in both USP and UNICAMP Social Sciences departments, those last two were barely considered "theory". To each author and book, its place. But who defined such places? With what kind of criteria?

The conflict of being in these two worlds (militant space and academic space) had impacts over my curiosity, and over my perception of the disputes I followed in both academic and political debates. The first time I read about the "Feminist Sex Wars" in a Gayle Rubin reader (Rubin, 2011c), I understood that part of the conflicts and tensions I faced could have their origins in the United States, in the1970s. But how, if I was a Brazilian in the 2010s?

In the series of confrontations (sometimes physical) baptized of "Feminist Sex Wars" described not only in her book but by many other authors (Chapter 1 brings more discussion on that), scholars and militants were divided mainly in two groups: a group that was against the sexual practices of BDSM (Bondage, Domination, Submission, Sadism, Sadomasochism and Masochism), prostitution and pornography, getting to the extreme point of helping pass laws so that the State could control people's sexual practices considered inherently harmful to women; and another groups who questioned this moral statement in its roots, proposing quite radical approaches to such phenomena and developing many theoretical tools in order to do that. Rubin belonged in the second group. She mentions, in "Blood under the Bridge: Reflections on 'Thinking Sex'" (Rubin, 2011b), when describing the experience of the Barnard[7] conference: in 1982, sexuality was the theme of the "The Scholar and the Feminist" conference, which had been organized by various groups and researchers in Feminist and Women Studies in the USA. Rubin had her presentation cancelled for being an active member and militant in the BDSM community, because a group of anti-porn militants threatened her physical safety. Such disputes were intense at that time, in the particular historical, theoretical and political context in which, as it will be shown in Chapter 1, the concept of gender was being developed in SSH – not surprisingly, with a strong contribution from Rubin herself when debating with the Marxist canon (Engels, 2010), with Lévi-Strauss (Lévi-Strauss, 1963)'s structuralism and with Lacan's *Écrits* (Lacan, 1977), these last two having had their main books recently published in the USA at that point[8].

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[7] The Barnard conference is considered a special mark in the historical moment now called the Feminist Sex Wars; to read more about the case and its impact on GFWS, see Chapter 1 of this thesis and also Wilson (1983), Vance (1993) and Queen and Comella (2008).

[8] About the excitement when Lévi-Strauss's and Lacan's works were first published in the USA, Rubin writes: "*While my paper was thus a profoundly local product, it also resulted from both happy coincidence and deeper structural shifts affecting many feminist intellectuals. The accidental quality is best illustrated by an anecdote about timing. The English translation of Lévi-Strauss's Elementary Structures of Kinship was published in the*

One of the starting points for the research that based this thesis was questioning my own surprise when finding out that Gender and the theoretical tools associated with it weren't accepted unanimously. In 2009, when outlining the research project, the disputes and tensions around Gender seemed to me far from the Brazilian context. Such impression, as this thesis shall demonstrate, was only possible because I kept focused on my own personal experience: the BA and License in Social Sciences obtained between 2005 and 2009, when the concept of Gender was well-established in Brazil, in the Social Sciences course where GFWS professors were part of one of the most important groups who advocate in favor of that theoretical perspective (some of which are subjects in this research). I couldn't imagine, either, in 2010 or even in 2014, that in the second half of my PhD the concept of Gender would not only strongly break the barriers of the academic world, being steadily launched into the political field, but that it would also be object of violent dispute in the whole country – including an episode in which a doll characterized as Judith Butler and dresses as a witch was burnt at the stake (yes, literally) in a public display of anger and repulsion.

Reaching beyond my own personal experience in this journey, Gender and its reception in Brazil became my research object. In an almost poetic exercise, I searched for the keywords "gender studies", "feminist studies" and "women studies" in Google's Ngram Viewer – a tool that tracks all the content of all books available in Google Books. I set the period to be searched to 1900 to 2010. In both English and Spanish (the tool wasn't available for Portuguese at that time), the frequency of the term "gender studies" grows exponentially from the 1980s and never drops down, while, at the same time, the second most used term ("feminist studies" in English and "women's studies" in Spanish) decayed dramatically. It seemed to me, then, that Gender hadn't only been added to a theoretical background of authors and concepts already considered legitimate, but had effectively taken space from other concepts, terms, ideas, etc. produced and used in other times. Why did that happen? Was there a relation between such substitution and all the conflicting ways of defining, interpreting or defending specific uses of Gender?

Such questions helped to better delimit my thesis research problem, defined at that time as an attempt to better understand (the production and circulation of ideas and the creation of new areas of study in SSH, for which a particular research object was chosen: the reception of

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United States in 1969. Similarly, Althusser's article on Freud and Lacan (and Lévi-Strauss) appeared in the summer 1969 issue of New Left Review. Both texts were essentially hot off the presses when I read them in the fall of 1970. Had I taken the same class a year or two earlier, neither would have been available. Had I read them later, the possibilities they presented for feminist thought would have already been extracted, digested, and articulated by others" Rubin (2011d).

the concept of Gender in Brazil. I soon became fascinated and maybe even a little obsessed with those matters.

My fascination could be seen in my eyes while I listened to Dora Barrancos, one of the most known and important Argentinian GFWS researchers nowadays, describe to me, in her hotel room in Córdoba, in August 2016, a discussion she had with Heleieth Saffioti in the 1980s. She told me Saffioti was trying to conceal Gender with the idea that Gender had a "material base", which would be the biological sex. To Barrancos, that attempt didn't make any sense, so they started a fierce quarrel in a scientific reunion in Bahia, Brazil. My research questions were alive right in front of my eyes: concrete subjects, their circulation trajectory (Barrancos was in Brazil, at that time, exiled during the Argentinian dictatorship and, not by accident, working at Unicamp), their institutional context, their theoretical and political heritage. I was a Brazilian, in Argentina, listening to Barrancos, an Argentinian, tell me about her debate with Saffioti, a Brazilian, in Brazil, precisely about the object I decided to investigate: a central divergence concerning what Gender is, why and how it can or can't be used, and whether it can, can't, should or shouldn't be concealed with other theoretical matrixes from feminist theory.

As in the USA during the 1970s, the academic space of GFWS was taken by the harsh Feminist Sex Wars, my research has led me to find out that Brazilian GFWS – in a context of dictatorship, exile, political persecution, then democratic reopening, institutionalization of SSH, and more – was shaped and consolidated around the tensions and disputes that rose in the context of the reception of the concept of Gender. Thus a new narrative was born in order to understand and explain much of what goes on nowadays in both the political and the scientific field: that of the Feminist Gender Wars.

EPIGRAPHS

"Filha bastarda, ilegítima desse processo de perturbações que atingiu as ciências humanas, muito contra a vontade de alguns, a problemática das relações de gênero se constrói entre o gueto e a invisibilidade"

SOUZA-LOBO, Elisabeth. Os usos do gênero. In: ANPOCS. Anais. XII Encontro Anual da ANPOCS. Águas de São Pedro. 25-28/10/1988, Rio de Janeiro, 1988.

"Eu utilizo cada vez menos esse conceito, porque gênero é um conceito a-político, a-histórico e bastante palatável. Tão palatável, que o Banco Mundial só financia projetos com recorte de gênero. Se fizermos referência à 'ordem patriarcal de gênero', os projetos, certamente, não serão contemplados com as verbas solicitadas"

MENDES, Juliana Cavilha; BECKER, Simone. Entrevista com Heleieth Saffioti. **Revista Estudos Feministas**, v. 19, n. 1, p. 143–166, 2011.

"Em geral, a entrada da perspectiva do gênero foi saudada como uma grande renovação nas ciências sociais (...) Nos primeiros momentos imaginou-se que uma revolução estava em curso nas ciências sociais, mas um balanço um pouco menos ufanista assinala que a incorporação da perspectiva de gênero foi menos transformadora do que se supõe"

HEILBORN, Maria Luiza. De que gênero estamos falando. **Sexualidade, gênero e sociedade**, v. 1, n. 2, p. 1–8, 1994.

INTRODUCTION

Image 1 - Protest against Judith Butler and the concept of gender. São Paulo, Brazil, 2017. Nacho Doce/Reuters
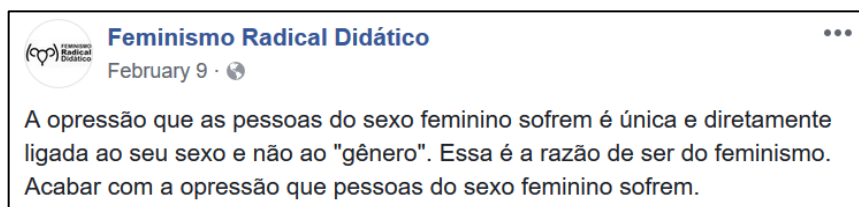
Image 2 - Brazilian RadFem (radical feminism) Facebook page post, February 2018.[9]

Image 3 - Protester in the USA Women's March criticizing gender. Taken from a Facebook page, La Voz de Las Mujeres, from 21st January 2018

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[9] Translation: "The oppression that people from the female sex are victims of, is uniquely and directly linked to their sex and not to "gender". This is the reason to be a feminist. To end the oppression that people from the female sex suffer"

BURN THE WITCHES OF GENDER

Still in Buenos Aires, news from Brazil start arriving in my inboxes and social networks: a protest at the gates of SESC Vila Mariana, in São Paulo (SP). Posters and slogans against the "gender ideology" were shaken and raised in the air while Judith Butler arrived at the stage and started to speak to a crowd of excited Brazilians, who had fought for the places in the auditorium. Among the protesters, the conservative youth of an NGO baptized with the name of one of the founders of TFP – Tradição, Família e Propriedade, a group known for having supported the Brazilian military dictatorship that started in 1964. In the months preceding (and following) Butler's visit to Brazil, intense debates and legislative votes took place, and "gender" was being censored from municipal education laws – a fact commented by her in her speech in 9th of September, 2015 (Assis, 2015). Not surprisingly, in the end 2017, in her second visit to Brazil, after two years of increased social tension in the country, another protest was set in front of the venue of her lecture. A doll with her face, dressed as a witch with a bra over the black clothes (a reference to feminism and burning bras), black pointy hat on top, was burnt by young and old, religious and non-religious militants.

During the preparation of this thesis, Gender has assumed a pivotal role in Brazilian society's political and public debate. It has been a challenge to follow so many debates in the present while focusing on a specific period and group of debaters from the past. However, as this thesis will indicate, the debates that happened during the process of reception of the concept of gender in Brazil, help us understand many of the present controversies around the word or the idea of gender. Differently than in such period (1980s-1990s), on the other hand, nowadays the idea (or an idea) of "gender" is widespread, reaching social spaces beyond academia, universities and the area of Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH) [10].

Besides public debate, when we consider the Higher Education system in Brazil, it is possible to notice that "gender" is a well-established idea, having been used to form and name different institutional spaces[11]. CAPES (2014), the Brazilian national research agency

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[10] There is a debate around the appropriate ways of referring to the larger área of studies and research that nowadays includes disciplines such as Philosophy, Sociology, Political Science, Anthropology, History, Linguistics, Languages, etc. The two most common ways of naming it are "Human and Social Sciences" and "Social Sciences and Humanities" (the latter being the most common in English). Once the main point in this thesis isn't debating what is a science or not (although such debate contributes to many of this thesis' insights), and considering that there is much debate as to whether some disciplines would or wouldn't be considered sciences, in this work the term used will be Social Sciences and Humanities, abbreviated as SSH.

[11] The term "institutional spaces" here indicates spaces where stable power distribution structures function, being able to legitimate and impose general norms to regulate and shape action of a large number of people, who in their turn act collectively in favor of the reproduction and maintenance of the institution itself – as discussed by Lagroye and Offerlé (2010). This proposition will be better developed along the thesis.

responsible for the evaluation and organization of the post-graduate level courses and programs, has three registered programs on "gender, women and feminism": one at specialization level, one Masters and one PhD. The term is also present in the names of dozens of research groups all around the country, and is legitimated by journals dedicated explicitly to scientific work related to gender (as a concept, as research topic, as a theme), some of which will be presented further on this thesis. There are also events, symposiums, and even scientific prizes that carry Gender in their names and goals (CNPq, 2013; Rosa, 2007).

This picture is, however, quite new. In one of the first important literature reviews about the concept of Gender, Scott (1986) mentions a 1940's English language dictionary that refers to the word "gender" as indicative of "male and female" as a joke or a mistake. This shows that this use to such term wasn't legitimate at that time, although possible in language (but, again, surely not as a concept). In the institutional spaces of knowledge production, the area of "Gender Studies" didn't always exist either. It is indeed a recent area of research and studies, having started in Brazil institutionally in the 1990s, as this work will better describe further on. Few years before that, "Women" and "Feminist" were more commonly used to name and describe what ended up nowadays being Gender / Feminist / Women Studies (abbreviated to GFWS to help the reading flow along this thesis). Each of these words and uses are linked to different theoretical and political perspectives, as described in Chapters 1 and 2. The combination of terms indicates not only the lack of unanimity regarding the concept of Gender, but also, as it will be presented especially in Chapter 3, the creative strategies used to affirm one's own research interests and legitimate it.

These complex variations and combinations of the terms "sex", "gender", "feminism" and "women" allows for a deeper questioning of the impression that they are somehow equivalent, and that "gender" only substituted what was before called "sex" (or that it has substituted the use of "men" and "women" as categories). Those are specific ways to give names and thus operate classifications of a specific sphere of social life. Such classifications, however, do not coexist independently or isolated from each other, carrying different political and theoretical-epistemological standpoints around a specific object, as it will be developed through the thesis.

This research seeks to contribute to a broader understanding of knowledge production and circulation (especially the intersections of science and politics within such sphere), through the specific case of the concept of Gender, in the specific context of its reception in Brazil, during the specific time of the 1980s and 1990s. This is an interesting object especially for two

reasons: (i) the fact that the concept of Gender is now well established in SSH, being considered a legitimate (if not the most legitimate) way of approaching a certain social phenomenon; (ii) the fact that it was born in the intersection of the scientific and political fields, differently from other concepts such as "race" or "class" which were scientifically reformulated but came first from everyday use and common language already bursting with different political connotations (Saunders, 2001; Schnapper, 2001; Tong, 2001).

The choice of a concrete specific case of study helps analyzing the phenomenon in a contextualized way. The Brazilian case forces us to look at the space of knowledge production as complex global system where power isn't either equally, steadily or permanently distributed, once we're dealing with a country in a non-dominant position[12] – in general terms – in such system; such perspective is facilitated by the selection of a case that is easily not seen as universal, being visibly linked to external influence. The assimilation, diffusion and production of knowledge in countries that are in non-dominant positions in the global knowledge production system, which may derive from knowledge presented as universal (coming from France and the United Stated, for example), have been considered an essential part of the process of building the legitimacy of some ideas, theories, authors, epistemologies as supposedly universal (Beigel, 2010; Dezalay & Garth, 2002). This indicated that the thesis might provide some insight in questioning how issues particular to some countries present themselves as extremely universal (such is the case of countries in dominant positions) or as extremely particular, while concretely none of such ways to look at them are complex as their structure (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1998).

In order to better outline the relations that structure such spaces – Brazilian SSH and the global knowledge production system – and that have thus shaped the actions of researchers involved in the reception of the concept of Gender in Brazil, this research is supported by Bourdieu's concept of *field* (1984c). A field, in such perspective, is a specific social space which operated with relative autonomy from a broader social space, although its structure is homologue to it; it's structures by social relations; and within each field the actions of its agents

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[12] There is much debate on different ways and concepts to classify and describe the global geopolitical dynamics of knowledge production and circulation; once this debate is brought during the discussion of the case presented, through the thesis the idea of "non-dominant position" is more commonly used, avoiding an automatic association with concepts such as "central/peripheric" or "North/South", systematically presented with quotation marks when used. This choice was made once the case presented helps questioning binary ways of describing knowledge production and circulation Beigel (2013); Grisendi (2015); Comaroff (2011); Santos and Gandarilla Salgado (2009).

(individuals, groups, institutions, organizations) are oriented to an accumulation of a specific form of symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1984a, 1984b, 1984c, 1985).

Although not enough *per se*, as the thesis indicates, such concept is a useful tool to analyze the selected case mainly for three reasons. First, because the *Bourdieusian* concept of field allows us to observe social phenomena from the standpoint that social spaces, its parts and structures exist concretely in a dialectic relation with the actions of subjects and agents (who, at the same time, battle constantly transforming it) – this aspect of the concept rejects at the same time an orthodox structuralism and a psychologicist individualism. Secondly, to analyze a phenomenon in terms of fields brings up the heterogeneity of the access to power positions, as well as the complex multiplicity of forms of power in social spaces, allowing for a dialectic analysis of processes of domination. Finally, because an analysis in terms of fields is forcedly an analysis that considers the object as a relational and positional system, refusing the essentialization of the subjects, their ideas, their standpoints and their actions as a whole.

The methodological approach chosen was to produce a prosopography, presented in the form of an essay in Chapter 3, divided in three parts. An introduction of how the concept of Gender arrived in Brazil and the main issues around its arrival are presented in Chapter 2, that paves the way to the main axes of the prosopography and is divided in two parts. They are preceded by a broader explanation and recovery of the history of the concept of gender itself, presented in Chapter 1, and the main controversies that were born (and that maybe have travelled) with it. The main sources of research used to produce such chapters were books, papers and documents already published, as described in Appendix 1, but also throughout the thesis when necessary. The final part of Chapter 3 also does the function of a conclusion, bringing new insight that can be better developed in further research.

CHAPTER 1
THE ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT OF GENDER:
A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON
GENDER / FEMINIST / WOMEN's STUDIES

Gayle Rubin giving a talk at the "Speakout on Politically Incorrect Sex," the day after the Barnard Conference April 1982 (Photo credit: Morgan Gwenwald, Lesbian Herstory Archives)
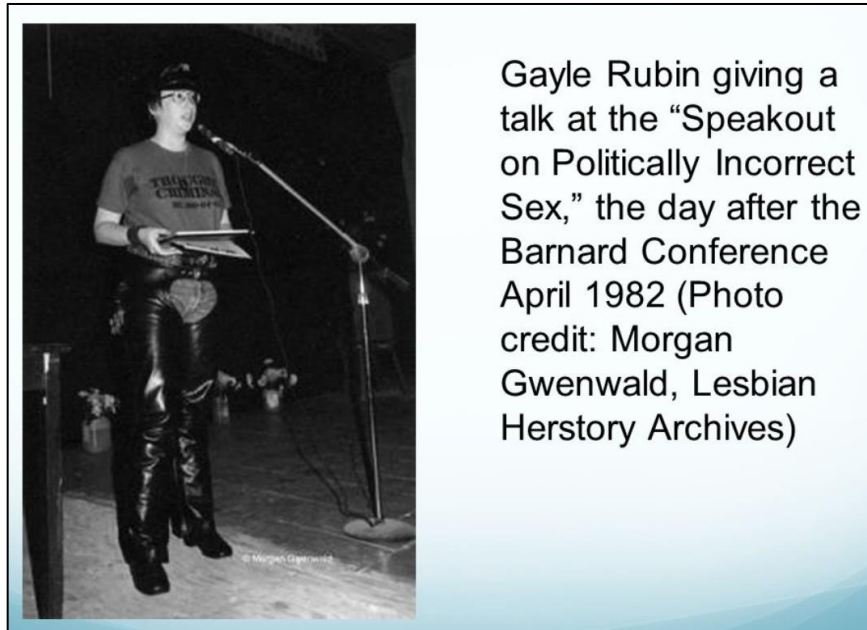
Image 4- Taken from http://slideplayer.com/slide/6019574/ , by Chad McGee

Image 5 - Protest in France in 1971, with presence of the Mouvent de Libération des Femmes

THE ORIGINS OF THE CONCEPT OF GENDER: A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE ON WOMEN'S / FEMINIST / GENDER STUDIES

From studies of women to Women's Studies – General conditions of SSH production and the creation of Women's Studies – From sex to gender; from biomedical sciences to SSH; from France to the USA – "*Rapports sociaux de sexe*" and the formation of Women's Studies in France – Women's Studies in the USA and the concept of gender

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Nowadays, the word "gender" is easily understood and recognized in the fields of Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH). "Gender Studies" is frequently seen as a legitimate area of studies, and it is recognized for its specific objects and approach. This means that when a student or researcher says she (or he) works with "gender studies", mostly everyone understands what they mean, although sometimes superficially. In the past, however, conveying the meaning of such word seemed to be more difficult. Researchers who work writing in languages such as Portuguese (*gênero*), Spanish (*género*) and French (*genre*), for example, often had to explain the meaning of this word, once in such languages the same word is used for gender and genre (as in a book's of a film's genre). In English, the word "gender" used to be understood in a purely grammatical sense (the gender of words or subjects in a sentence, for example). An article by Joan Scott (Scott, 1986) brought as its epigraph the citation of an English dictionary from the year of 1940:

> "*Gender. n. A grammatical term only. To talk of persons and creatures of the masculine and feminine gender, meaning the male or female sex, is either a jocularity (permissible or not according to context) or a blunder*.
>
> (*Fowler's Dictionary of Modern English Usage, Oxford, 1940)"* apud Scott (1986)

This definition indicates that the possible and socially acceptable meanings of the word "gender" have changed from 1940 to 2017. Well, if there used to be somewhat informal uses of such word to describe the "masculine and feminine gender" since the first half of the 20th century, it appears that such usage was not socially legitimate, and was surely far from hegemonic. As will later be explained in more detail in this chapter, this work from Scott

brought an already sophisticated debate on "gender" as a theoretical tool, articulating works by many authors of various fields in SSH published in the previous decade. This is an evidence that the process through which gender became a largely spread concept (and the dominant way of analyzing a specific dimension of social life) happened by the end of the 20th century. As pointed out in the Introduction, this thesis intends to contribute to a sociological approach to such phenomenon, articulating it with other social processes which interacted to produce it.

Although it is possible to affirm that the concept of gender is the dominant approach to analyzing a specific dimension of social life nowadays, a careful observation indicates that it is not exactly unanimous. Gender as a category is quite young and shares space – thus concurring and disputing – with other categories, terms, concepts and theoretical and epistemological perspectives in general. As this chapter intends to show, such concurring approaches and the relations established between them in the past, as well as their relation to the concept of gender itself have shaped the area of studies and research that is often called "gender studies" in the present.

Gender Studies, Feminist Studies, Women's Studies (and, in France, also "*études féminins*"[13], which translates literally for "female studies" or "feminine studies"): all these names are used now in referral to what is recognized as a legitimate area of studies, whether in courses at undergraduate and graduate studies programs, scientific journals which circulate such area's production, prizes academic writing prizes, research grants, scholarships which support the development of its main topics, or summits, congress and scientific meetings of all kinds. These are ways to name and, therefore, categorize from specific perspectives what can be defined as a broad interdisciplinary area of SSH which is based on academic work (research, teaching and community projects involving universities) that tackles the dimension of social life which now we call "gender". Such dimension comprehends a set of social relations, that guides various social practices[14], and that produces and operates categories such as "man" and "woman" (among others), and through which such categories work and are brought to reality.

The variations in naming this area of studies shouldn't be seen as a coincidence: they reveal much about the history and the social dynamics that shaped Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies (GFWS) as we know it. Such variations point towards a lack of unanimity – and necessarily, then, a dispute – about which theoretical and epistemological perspectives are more

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[13] See BERGER (2008) for a deeper debate on the names used in France for this area of studies.
[14] This is a preliminary approach to superficially define, more or less, what "gender" means. The end of the chapter will present a more refined discussion on that.

and which are less adequate when approaching the object. But what makes each of these perspectives the preferred ones in different times, spaces and by different groups? What does it mean and what is implied when any and each of these standpoints are taken?

This is the initial proposition of this chapter, which is aimed at offering a historical and sociological perspective on the conditions of the elaboration of the concept of gender. As previously pointed out (see Introduction), this thesis does not take the institutional structures created during the formation of the area of GFWS (like many interesting works have done over the past years[15]) as its main object, but rather tries to understand them as a result of previous tensions and disputes that precede and extrapolate institutional – and also geographical, economic and political – limits within the frontiers and intersections between the scientific field and the political field, in the Bourdieusian sense of the word.

The intent of this thesis is to analyze evidence that the disputes regarding the concept of gender at the moment of its reception in Brazil were not merely scientific or theoretical, thus putting forward the proposition that ideas are produced in complex networks of social relations and shaped by institutional, economic, political, geographic, geopolitical, and other kinds of structures. The analysis of such disputes would, then, contribute to a better understanding of how the scientific field and the political field work, as well as of the current processes of production and circulation of knowledge in SSH. In this sense, this chapter consists of the articulation of various works published in Portuguese, English, French and Spanish, seeking to approach the origins of the concept of gender beyond its theoretical development. At the same time, the articulation of such works is used as a starting point to show institutional, economic, historical, geographic, political, etc. relations which have allowed said concept to be formulated as it was, highlighting interesting possibilities and hypotheses to be further examined during the analysis of the Brazilian case in chapters 2 and 3.

From studies of women to Women's Studies

There is a common idea about Women's Studies, repeated nowadays as well as it was during the 1960s and 1970s, which states that before the formation of such area of studies and research in SSH, women (or the relations between "sexes", what we usually now would call "gender relations") were not seen as the object of empirical and theoretical studies. Well, if on

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[15] See Dagenais (1994) on Quebec, Zaïdman (1994) on France, Costa and Sardenberg (1994) on Brazil, Tobias (1978) and Boxer (2001) on theUSA and, more recently, Liinason (2011) on Sweden.

one hand this way of narrating the history of such object whether in SSH or in science in general is not quite precise, on the other hand it's impossible to deny that the creation of Women's Studies has made history in the 1960s.

"Sex" and the differences and social relations between men and women have been approached by authors from various fields of knowledge for centuries: texts produced by philosophers such as Plato and Aristotle, for instance, have dealt with differences between men and women and have also developed more specific theories about women as objects of knowledge (Lopes, 2010; Saïd, 1986). Much more recently, contractualists like Hobbes and Rousseau have also tried to socially place women while developing fundamental principles of the modern liberal perspective (Brennan & Pateman, 1979; Slomp, 1994). Beyond SSH-correlated disciplines, in medical and biological sciences women have also been chosen as research objects and topics of knowledge production (Laqueur & Whately, 2001). Such works (exemplified by the mentioned authors, but definitely not limited to them) usually approach women as a specific occurrence of a general or universal human being which is, in fact, as proposed by Simone de Beauvoir (1976, 1986), actually based on masculine social constructs.

Until the first half of the 20th century, then, this was the dominant way of approaching what we now call "gender": making general inferences about women as a group or studying their bodies and biology, always as a specific case within the abstract concept of a supposedly universal human being. The same was never done about "men", who hadn't been, to that moment, investigated as a specific case of a universal human being. When the social category of "men" was the topic, this was considered a study about humans in general, frequently erasing the gendered dimension of such subjects (Beauvoir, 1976; Collin, 2009).

"Sex" was the category used to analytically distinguish men and women. It was understood as a biological condition even when applied to analyze social aspects of each of these two groups (Laqueur & Whately, 2001). In the specific case of philosophy and the first forms of what could nowadays be called a "social theory" or "social thinking", the so-called "difference between sexes" was approached as a tool for understanding other more universal propositions about society, as already mentioned. This meant women were not seen as a social category or as political or social subject to be analyzed in itself, but rather as a particular case within universalistic ideas derived concretely from male subjects. Such works did not question the power relations between men and women, either. Such characteristics of the knowledge produced on the issue can be observed a result of the conditions of its production.

In different moments in history, the context and conditions in which knowledge was produced in the areas now categorized as SSH, have changed dramatically. Such conditions have varied in many aspects: until the second half of the 19th century, knowledge had been produced in centralized structures belonging to the Catholic Church in medieval Europe, and much earlier by autonomous philosophers with their students in ancient Greece; it was transmitted orally at times, but also written in paper, papyrus, leather or stone[16]. With some exceptions, such knowledge was also more commonly and easily produced by men – not because of something biological about them, but because of a series of gender domination and power mechanisms (Ainley, 1986; Beauvoir, 1976; Perrot, 2005). In short, this means that at specific times, places and cultures there have been specific social structures and requirements for someone to produce knowledge about social life; and that such social structures and requirements have changed until nowadays. This is to say that although "Social Sciences and Humanities" (SSH) is an expression associated to a whole *corpus* of knowledge produced since ancient times about social life and human intervention in the world, it is clear that the contexts for the production of such knowledge were not the same then as now.

Recent changes in the conditions of social knowledge production, particularly from the second half of the 19th century on, but with some emphasis at the second half of the 20th century, have also influenced the development of new perspectives on what we now call "gender". As the next pages will show, one of such influences was the formation of Women's Studies, an area of studies responsible for much advance on how to understand gender. Among those advancements, it can be counted the formulation of the concept of gender itself.

General conditions of SSH production and the creation of Women's Studies

By the end of the 19th century, as part of some of the already established effects of bourgeois and industrial revolutions in Europe, especially regarding the lawful separation between Church and State and the development of modern science, there was an effort to build social explanations for behaviors and phenomena previously seen as "natural" or "biological" (even by authors in disciplines we now understand as part of SSH). This is one of the characteristics of the context in which Sociology and Anthropology, for example, were founded. This is also the context in which the first theoretical formulations about women as a

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[16] Each one of these examples indicates different social structures and requirements so that knowledge on social life could be produced. This information is brought here as an attempt to explicitly show that the conditions of SSH production have changed along with the meaning of "SSH" itself.

social category in itself (and not as a particular case of the category "men" nor of a supposedly universal human being) were produced. Such formulations were also the first ones that took into account the dynamics of power and domination in women's lives as a central characteristic of what we now call gender relations as shown in Woolf (1929, 2012) and Goldman (1910, 2011). It should be highlighted that both texts were not produced in universities or by academic authors, at least in part because the number of women in these positions were quite low. It is worth noting that the role of universities in the intellectual production at that time was also different than it is nowadays.

Between the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th, political movements, sometimes "feminism" or "women's movement" at other times, became a tool for the organization of women around more or less general issues. In time, , these movements conquered some rights and the access, though still restrict and difficult in most cases, to spaces previously closed to them such as workers unions, voting, specific careers and professions, some public clerk jobs, and chairs as professors and teachers in both advanced secondary education (what would now be considered high school level education) and higher education (Gardey, 2000)[17]. Two of the research works that have planted the seeds for what would later become Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies were produced at that time, by pioneer women who had the opportunity to go to universities. Both *Sex and Temperament* (Mead, 1935) and *The Second Sex* (Beauvoir, 1949b, 1949a) have as their central arguments that "sex", "sex differences" and "sexed behavior", seen at that time as a legitimate object of medical and biological sciences, are in fact historical constructs, produced by and turned into action through social relations and, therefore, also shaped by power relations[18]. This shift in the comprehension of the analytical category of "sex" is directly related to the processes of formation of SSH as we know them.

Besides the political and social impact of feminism and the massive entrance of women in universities, the development of SSH should also be considered as part of the conditions that made such works possible. Heilbron (1995) calls the most recent phase of SSH, consolidated after World War II but in process of formation at least since the 1920s, "*disciplinary social*

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[17] An interesting and enriching debate about the entrance of women in such spaces, specially in universities and in professions that require higher education diplomas, between the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century, can be found in the journal *Travail, Genre et Societé* in an edition dedicated to the "history of pioneers" – see Rogerat (2000).

[18] The efforts made by the founders of Psychoanalysis in order to distance themselves from the medical approach to phenomena that we now understand as part of the social dimension of gender were also part of the same process. They have also strongly influenced the development of feminist theory in many ways. For an introductory approach to that, see Collin (2009) e Wittrock (2001).

sciences and humanities". In doing that, the author stresses the occurrence of a qualitative change in the ways social knowledge, social theory and social sciences are produced nowadays when compared to previous historical periods, thus, calling attention to the central role of the institutional structure in the production of knowledge. The author also suggests that this tendency have intensified along the century. Looking at SSH development seems to be, then, sociologically useful in the analysis of this thesis object, as it exposes the connections between the knowledge produced and the conditions of its production.

Bringing up the institutional trait of disciplinary SSH is a way of highlighting that the dynamics according to which they operate follow general rules, are valid for all of its members as well as are disputable by them, and it transcends its members' individuality (sometimes even going against it). Mentioning the disciplinary character of an area of study implies also that there are institutionalized subdivisions, understood as distinct from each other, and which internally count on some epistemological consensus and a common body of technical, methodological, theoretical and conceptual knowledge in order to be held together. The case of the classic ethnography written by Mead (1935) can be seen as an evidence of this argument. It was produced in a historical context in which anthropology, at least in Europe and the USA, already existed as a discipline and enjoyed a certain level of institutionalization – which in concrete terms meant there was an intellectual community dedicated to investigating more or less the same issues (Collins, 1994), and also that there was a certain technical, epistemological and methodological body of knowledge, making it possible for the author to consult other ethnographies, libraries, travelling, discussing her work, acquiring writing and reading tools and skills, etc.

Disciplinarization can be understood, then, as the institutional affirmation of legitimacy for a certain ensemble of scientific practices associated to specific objects of research, and to a specific theoretical and epistemological body of knowledge. The status of being a discipline, in turn, implies a position of stability and higher institutionalization of such ensemble in the scientific space, and, as a consequence, implies also a position of power when compared to less institutionalized or non-disciplinary bodies of knowledge – said position is always connected, more concretely, to the distribution of all kinds of resources that make knowledge production possible (ABBOTT, 2001). Thus, the change into what can be named disciplinary social sciences and humanities is an important step in the process of making SSH and its disciplines legitimate spaces and ways for the production of scientific knowledge. The search for objects

of its own was part of building legitimacy and has contributed directly to fulfill its material needs and possibilities (HEILBRON, LENOIR, SAPIRO, BOURDIEU, 2004).

The formation of Women's Studies became possible, thus, in the context of the institutional and disciplinary consolidation of SSH in European and United States' universities after World War II. At that time, there were important political and academic changes in US universities, and especially in SSH – an area that was being questioned about its political and social roles by its researchers, who tried to follow a great deal of new topics, subjects, questions and phenomena being presented as pertaining to their disciplines(Heilbron, 1995). In Europe, the French case of May 1968 is representative of a similar process and has had a meaningful impact in the formation of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in France, as will be further explored in this chapter.

At the same time, the social place of SSH was also changing in a more general way, at least in the USA and Europe; this area was starting to be understood as the place where State and Policy tools should be produced. The reinvention of said social place happened among other disputes, regarding what science should be, how should knowledge in SSH be produced, the role of universities in these processes, and more. Such disputes have also accompanied the development of "Women's" and then "Feminist" and "Gender" Studies, and can be seen through an examination of the debates that made it possible for the concept of gender to be formulated.

From sex to gender; from biomedical sciences to SSH; from France to the USA

As previously pointed out, until the 1950s the theoretical-epistemological and empirical research of authors such as Beauvoir (1976, 1986), French, and Mead (1935), from the USA, had focused on stating that what common sense and biomedical sciences thought was given by biological sex – the then called "sex roles" – and the differences of behavior between men and women had hardly any natural or biological explanation, and should be understood mainly as social constructs. Still, "sex" was preserved as a category, even if its meaning was in dispute. That means phenomena like the inequality of income or the double burden of women were explained largely by concepts and categories such as "relations between sexes", "sex inequalities", "sexual division of labor", etc. The "sex" was understood in such cases as based on the binary opposition of male and female, which was articulated with an idea of corporality built from genitals (the so-called "sexual difference" – penis/vagina). The work of these authors, as well as the works of other authors from the same period can be seen as embryos for

the following development of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, especially in France and the USA, and for the connections among feminist researchers in both countries. The development and dispute of ideas, as this chapter intends to show, have also impacted the way in which this field of knowledge has been consolidated and institutionalized.

Between the 1960s and the 1970s, the first attempts to establish courses and groups of Women's Studies were made in universities in several countries. In this process, as will be further shown, many authors have advanced the theory and research produced by pioneers such as Mead and Beauvoir, already cited, in the previous decades. Such innovative propositions went on to deepen the idea that women, as a specific section of society – or, as French authors commonly stated, as a "sex class"[19] (Daune-Richard & Devreux, 1992) – should be taken as a research object in themselves and not only as a particular or complementary case to the study of a supposedly universal human being based almost exclusively in the examples of men, often seen as neutral regarding their gender. In this context, French feminist authors developed a concept that can be considered the predecessor of the concept of gender. Such concept became a central theoretical tool to this new phase of Women's Studies: the concept of *rapports sociaux de sexe* or, translated to English, "social relations of sex" (Ferrand, Rial, Lago, & Grossi, 2005).

"Rapports sociaux de sexe" and the formation of Women's Studies in France

The idea of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, elaborated from the debate on the sexual division of labor, have brought significative change in the way we investigate and look at what we now often call gender relations, social relations of gender or, simply, gender (Kergoat, 2009). One of its main innovative points was proposing the understanding of this network of social relations as a system. As will be further discussed, the impact of such proposition can be seen, for example, in the formulation of the concept of "sex/gender system" by Rubin (2011f), often considered as the first theoretical formulation to the concept of gender in SSH (Haraway, 2004; Rubin & Butler, 2003; Scott, 1986). Without abandoning or refusing its heritage from the previous decades (which could be resumed in the understanding of sex as at least partially a social construct, and of the fact that it's engendered in power relations), the idea of *rapports sociaux de sexe* also brings the positional and relational notions to the categories understood as pertaining to sex as a system. In doing so, it exposes the relations of domination implied in the

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[19] As it will be better discussed throughout the chapter and the thesis, this way of conceiving social groups (men/women) is not similar to the Marxist concept of "social class" by accident; the relations between feminist theory and Marxism will be shown in more detail in the next pages.

heterogeneous distribution of power between specific positions occupied by each group, category or, as some authors say, by each "sexual class" (in comparison to "social class") or "class of sex" (Daune-Richard & Devreux, 1992; Ferrand et al., 2005; Kergoat, 2009).

This theoretical tool is described by Daune-Richard and Devreux (1992) as a *theoretical principle* repeated in the three main concepts used by French feminist authors in the 1970s and following decades:

(i) the concept of *système des sexes* or « system of sexes » developed by Mathieu (1971), which stated the impossibility of separately treating each of sex's categories (male/female; masculine/feminine/ men/women), and the need to analyze them as part of a broader system that exists in all human societies – in other words, the relational aspect of it;

(ii) the concept of "system of patriarchal exploitation" developed by Delphy (1970), which derives from the proposition according to which there is a domestic mode of production and domestic means of production in which men/husbands expropriate women's/wives' labor force, both understood as sexual classes; such system, in parallel with the capitalist mode of production, would also define how the production of goods and wealth operate, as well as tasks such as raising the children and all domestic labor (the resemblance with Marxist theory, as this chapter will explore later on, is not a coincidence);

(iii) the concept of *système de sexage* developed by Guillaumin (1978b, 1978a), sometimes translated to Spanish as *sistema de sexoesclavitud* (system of sex/sexual slavery), which says that women serve men in a system of servitude analogous to slavery; in such system, not only their labor is expropriated but they are also taken as property of men – including their physical bodies –, meaning there would be an appropriation of an entire group or sexual class by the other.

These three definitions form some sort of conceptual tripod in which propositions made by the authors complement, as well as establish tensions, among each other, composing the general principle that a certain aspect of social life would be better analyzed and understood from the perspective of *rapports sociaux de sexe* – that means, a specific system of social relations, composed by two "sexual classes" based in a dichotomic sexual difference between bodies and impossible to be dissociated from each other, which establish relations of power,

domination and exploitation one to another. In a relatively recent interview, the French sociologist Michèle Ferrand summarized the general meaning of *rapports sociaux de sexe*:

"Well, to think in terms of **social categories** or **sexual classes** demands a real rupture with naturalism and with a **purely biological** definition of sexes. To say that relations between sexes are social relations is to affirm, at the same time, that both form a **system**. Present in all levels of society, the **relations of sex** structure and organize them in the same way as **class** or **racial** relations. Such *rapports sociaux de sexe* have four main characteristics:

1. They are antagonistic; force relations that oppose **two** groups, one trying to maintain its **domination** and another one trying to be free from it;

2. They are **transversal**, not limited to a specific level of society and not being based, as frequently said, mainly on the **family**;[20]

3. They are dynamic and **socially constructed**, and they are the result of a correlation of forces in continuum movement. To affirm that **masculine domination** can be found in all societies does not mean it's and "invariant": it is a socio-historical construct and, as such, can be subverted. Men and women are born in a **society defined by social relations of sex** (*rapports sociaux de sexe*), but everyone participates in the **production** and **reproduction** of such relations.

4. They **bicategorize**, defining in a **hierarchical** way the social categories of sex, that means, they **define positions** for men and women in society.

To speak in terms of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, then, allowed us to show how masculine domination is the result of a double-sided process: the *biologization* of the social, and the *socialization* of the biological, which means that **the social interpreted the biological sex, giving it a determined sense or meaning.** (Ferrand et al., 2005)[21]

As in the previously mentioned cases, the idea of *rapports sociaux de sexe* isn't detached from the intellectual, political, historical and institutional context in which it was elaborated. There are four general characteristics of the 1960s and 1970s in France, as in other countries, that are exemplary of changes being carried on in the global SSH knowledge production system at that time, and which were crucial to the development of Women's Studies (and specially from the 1970s on, Feminist Studies): first of all, in this period, feminism was intensely brought to public and political debate, especially in the USA and in Europe[22]; besides that, there were changes in the educational systems of many countries at the same time, and part of such changes have allowed women to massively access universities in Europe, USA and Latin America. At the same time, the issues about social conditions imposed to women as a group or category started to be seen as a subject of study and debate in itself. Finally, with feminism entering

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[20] Here, Ferrand is referring to the fact that, at the beginning of Women's Studies as well as in previous decades (and centuries), the issues of "women" were systematically brought up only when there was a debate about the "Family" going on.

[21] From the original, in Portuguese. Translated by the thesis author for purposes of citation only.

[22] In Latin America, as well as in other countries, the insertion of feminism in public and political lives is slightly different in a specific way due to dictatorships and colonial struggles, as shall be discussed in the next chapters.

universities, it was understood by many that such subject would be better analyzed and investigated by women themselves, as a political milestone in scientific knowledge production (BERGER, 2008; Boxer, 2001; Mathieu, 2009; Perrot, 2009; Scott, 2001, 2008).

In this context, some aspects of the formation and institutionalization of Women's / Feminist Studies in France deserve to be better looked at, since they expose the relations between the academic and the political fields *(champs)*, partially revealing how they worked at that time – which helps us understand the institutional shape of Women's Studies in France, and sociologically contextualize the theoretical formulation of the idea / principle of *rapports sociaux de sexe*. In testimonials such as the one given by Picq (1994), there are important clues on distinction strategies used by researchers (agents focused mainly in the academic field) and militants (agents focused mainly in the political field). The author comments, for example, a situation in which her research work was questioned for being supposedly too distant from practical militant actions. Fougeyrollas-Schwebel (1994) describes the tension in this relationship by recalling the need of researchers to establish themselves as distinct group from militants in 1970s France. According to her, "it wasn't about rejecting *militantism*, on the contrary, we would have stolen the militant practices if that distinction wasn't well-established" (Fougeyrollas-Schwebel, 1994). Although for many academic or militant authors they appear to be two different groups, the Brazilian case – analyzed in the two following chapters – also helps us question such separation. Such tension and the intention of creating distinction, however, are privileged objects to better understand, at first, the context in which concepts like *rapports sociaux du sexe* and *gender* were formulated – and why.

In addition to discursive and practical strategies of distinction between groups focused in each of these fields (academic and political), as well as in the intersection between them, some testimonials also offer elements to highlight the strategies for building legitimacy in the academic field. Zaïdman (1994) and Ferrand (Ferrand et al., 2005), for instance, point to concrete requirements and impositions made by the dynamics of the scientific *milieu*, which defined at least partially the actions of the French authors: the need to be scientifically recognized and scientifically legitimated, that is, the need to do research work according to values and standards already accepted in the academic space, which concretely meant trying to dispute a position as close as possible to dominant positions in such field. The following passage of Ferrand's testimonial shows the tension between strategies of distinction used by groups of academic and groups of militant authors, as well as the academic authors' strategies to dispute space within the academic field:

"Some feminists, who had reached a professional position, had to comply to **institutional demands and requirements**, particularly in what concerns publications. Those who kept themselves **'outside'**, who didn't have stable jobs or made their living with other kinds of work [non-academic], **censored them** for having **lost interests in the common struggle** and being focused on their own research work instead. **The militants denounced this new division of labor, in which some focused on their careers, in a way, over the others. At the same time, feminist researchers had to prove the scientific condition of their work within institutions all the time: there was always an institutional belief that they were more militants than scientists.** This is a false dispute that still goes on nowadays, but that is based in a real process: the distance that grew between researches and feminists – who are always in the field, especially those in associations, fighting for women – has not been reduced. The first group highlight the importance of conditions so that they are scientifically accepted; the second criticize them for forgetting the role of the action" (Ferrand et al., 2005)

In other words, the tension between militants who focused in actions outside the university (whether in "women's" or in "feminist" movements [23]) and academic feminists in France at that time can be understood as a tension between two different political strategies or decisions: on one side, the strategy of prioritizing organized action in the sphere of public-political debate, demanding directly from the State, "out" of higher education institutions and "in" other kinds of institutions (parties, NGOs, associations, the State itself and its organisms). On the other side, the political decision or strategy of facing the structures of universities from the inside, in order to build and consolidate knowledge from a feminist perspective in the scientific field, elevating such knowledge to the status of science, with the social, political, institutional, economic and scientific implications of doing so. A passage of an article by Zaïdman (1994) points more specifically to the challenges of disputing the institutional spaces of scientific knowledge production:

"There is a fact in the field of French universities: **feminism**, although claimed by a quite important number of women as a dimension of their existence, including their professional existence, **is refused** when it starts being seen as a **label**, a **limit to their recognition in the scientific field**: the person has to be first a historian of the 19th century, of a political sociologist, leaving the feminist dimension of their research in second place. There is effectively a tendency of **hierarchization of research fields and topics**, where those topics who seem more general, thus fundamental, are seen as depending on a **universal**, whereas speaking about women or relations between sexes is seen as more **specific**: the sexed dimension of social existence would be nothing but a particular aspect of it. (…)

In fact, the creation and maintenance of new diplomas depend of the personal effort of professor who manage to arrive at a hierarchically **dominant** position. Such characteristics make Feminist Studies highly dependent on the persona projects of professors. Retirements, promotions, transferences from an university to another, etc. end up changing the conditions of existence of Feminist Studies." (Zaïdman, 1994)

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[23] Even though these terms might be used as interchangeable in everyday discourse, there is historically a conceptual and practical scission between these two conceptions on how to act in the political field towards the construction of what we now would commonly call "gender equality". Some examples can be seen in Sarti (2004), about Brazil, Maillé (2000) about Canada, Zelinka (2012) about France and the USA, and García and Valdivieso (2005) to Latin America as a whole.

Adding to that, another important aspect to be considered about that period of the academic field and SSH in France is the particular condition of being an immediately post-Mai-1968 period[24]. Feminism was politically close to the French socialist and communist left, which was also strongly present in universities. This fact helps us understand, at least partially, that the conceptual, theoretical and epistemological core of French feminist thought had been developed having the sexual division of labor debate as it's starting point. This topic was already seen as somewhat legitimate in the SSH knowledge production spaces in France, and had been legitimated among Marxists like Engels (2010) himself, and reaffirmed in the political struggle by feminist authors such as Kollontay (2000) and Zetkin (1934).

The development of the category "sexual classes" (or "classes of sex") itself, besides other theoretical schemes that form the idea of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, as previously mentioned, brings up such dialogue with Marxism, which was fundamental for the development of French feminist theory and has influenced – as will be soon and further discussed – the formulation and circulation of the concept of gender. In the context of researchers' and professors' strategies of feminist affirmation and building of legitimacy in the academic field, this apparently intense connection between feminism and Marxism also suggests that Marxism might have occupied a more dominant position (or a position closer to the dominant positions) in such spaces. This hypothesis deserves a more specific investigation, which unfortunately cannot be afforded by the present thesis, especially when considered the fact that the theoretical formulations established as legitimate in Women's / Feminist Studies in France for the following decades were, indeed, those more strictly related to Marxist Theory, working sometimes almost as an extension of it.

This perception allows us to also question an affirmation frequently made by French authors in various testimonials, according to which a supposedly more rigid and less flexible structure in the country's universities would be responsible for the biggest difficulties in establishing Women's Studies there. Besides Zaïdman (1994), authors such as Fassin (2008) and BERGER (2008), while reviewing such processes, have partially attributed the resistance in French universities in legitimating Women's / Feminist Studies to this lack of flexibility that would be typical of the French higher education system. Other works, as diverse among themselves as they can be, like those written by Bourdieu (1984c), Musselin (2005) and Clark

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[24] In order to better discuss the relationships between Mai-1968 and feminists in France, as well as the impacts of it in Brazil and Latin America, see Pinto (2010), Jenson (1989) and Picq (1994). For an exploration on the influences of such historical episode in French universities, see Prost (1989), Lévy-Garboua (1976) e Beneton and Touchard (1970).

(1986), have highlighted elements that show the French system as a system strongly based in very rigid institutional norms. However, such explanation shouldn't be considered enough to explain the case, after all, in what way could other interdisciplinary fields of research, equally connected to the political field, have obtained success in their institutional recognition at the time, as it seems to be the case of Marxism?

Another question demonstrates the limits of such kind of explanation: if the "institutional rigidity" or "institutional lack of flexibility" is something particular or specific of the French context, how can we explain similar tensions, difficulties and challenges also being found in other countries, such as the USA and Brazil (both to be discussed next in this and the following chapters)? A short analysis of the case of the United States allows us to reexamine these questions from a different perspective, contextualizing the concept of gender as somehow an heir of the *rapports sociaux de sexe* – and maybe, also an heir of its controversies and tensions.

Women's Studies in the USA and the concept of gender

The initial development of Women's Studies in the USA was also shaped by tensions between the academic and the political fields (and, more specifically, between militant practices of knowledge production and institutional requirements for the production of scientific knowledge). Such tensions came in the context of what some authors point as being a supposedly more flexible institutional structure at universities in the USA in the 1960s and specially in the 1970s: at that time there was an explosion of independent informal courses being offered in universities there (Tobias, 1978). These courses contributed directly to the formation of an intellectual community interested in common topics that were frequently incorporated to the formal structure of these universities afterwards, accompanying the trajectories of those who later became professors. This was the case of Women's Studies (Boxer, 2001; Brown, 2008; Rubin, 2011d; Scott, 2008).

According to Tobias (1978), this was part of a political response given by many groups, including the socialist and Marxist left, to an intense debate on the relationship between the academic and political fields, regarding especially the curriculum and the universities' governance, but also the international politics of the USA concerning the Vietnam war. These groups were questioning the role of university in society, and the possibilities of opening it to issues that were latent in the country – in a way, it is possible to affirm that this was actually a

debate on the relative autonomy of academic and political fields, and how they relate to each other.

At the same time, the historical context of a certain institutional crisis or instability allowed many of these informal courses to later be incorporated to the official undergraduate curriculums (especially from the second half of the 1970s and in the 1980s on), even though such processes of institutional incorporation were crossed by intense dispute and, of course, institutional and organizational limits. Convert and Heilbron (2004) show that this moment of crisis in SSH in the United States was not only accompanied by major changes in the composition of the body of students, professors and researchers, but it also opened possibilities to the development and institutionalization of new fields of study and research. Considering what the post-Mai-1968 did to French universities around the same time, it is possible to say that this flexibility and questioning of the relations between university, politics and society in general, which fostered change in the conditions of knowledge production as well as in the knowledge produced, were not exclusive of either France or the USA.

As previously mentioned, tensions between feminist groups which focused their actions in the academic field and those directly linked to the political field, can be understood as tensions about the political decision of where to concentrate efforts as feminist militants. The fact that the structures of higher education and universities in the USA allowed the progressive incorporation of informal courses to undergraduate curriculums, however, was not enough to spare feminist researchers from a series of tensions, difficulties and institutional challenges in the development of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in that country. In testimonials and documents published about such process, different sorts of problems can be found.

There was, for example, trouble in defining a curriculum for formal courses in Women's Studies due to the fact that, on the one hand, much of the knowledge recognized as pertaining to this then incipient area was available at that time in the form of political writings that were not necessarily rigorous scientific work. On the other hand, in cases in which there was already scientific knowledge produced on a certain topic, there was also a disciplinary dispute for space among researchers connected to different disciplines, who consistently questioned if the content of the courses didn't actually belong elsewhere (Boxer, 2001; Tobias, 1978). A second problem often mentioned was the difficulty in finding evaluation standards that were institutionally valid but, at the same time, did not reproduce what the authors used to call "male evaluation standards", by which they meant those already legitimated by universities (Boxer, 2001). In the end, much of the struggle for institutionalizing Women's Studies in the USA came from a very

intense debate, also present in France (Zaïdman, 1994) as well as in other countries that went through similar processes (Brazil included, as we intend to show during the next chapter), and which can also be found more recently out of academia with the idea of *gender mainstreaming*: should this new intrinsically interdisciplinary area be a transversal field, or should it be build and institutionalized as a discipline (or as a discipline-like area such as Marxism), with its own objects, methods and epistemology? (Scott, 2008)

As a result of these disputes, the forms of institutionalization of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in each country and/or university have largely varied. In some cases, research centers were created making possible to integrate researchers from different colleges and schools in specific units at the same university; in others, specific undergraduate courses dedicated to the topic were organized within colleges and schools. This variety and this debate bring up a particularity of the scientific field: the fact that disputes of position are disputes over scientific authority and, as an extreme consequence, they are also disputes about what scientific knowledge should be, how should it be organized and produced and thus, a dispute over what science itself should be (Bourdieu, 1975).

In both the cases of France and the United States, then, it is possible to say that this process was about political decisions that, through tensions and disputes between different groups, have shaped Women's / Feminist Studies, which would later be changed into or added to or joined by Gender Studies. These tensions and disputes occurred mainly in two dimensions: (i) intersections and relationships of proximity or distance between the academic and the political fields; and (ii) strategies of distinction performed by each group while trying to build legitimacy within the academic field. The knowledge produced along / by this process at the same time is a result of the established relationships between groups, institutions, etc. and impacts them, systematically provoking new knots of tension. The process through which the theoretical formulation of the concept of gender was produced brings to the surface such kinds of dynamics and finds some interesting correspondence with the French case, even though in the space of feminist disputes, both theoretical perspectives (*gender* vs *rapports sociaux de sexe*) are often seen and claimed as opposed to each other (an opposition that will be more profoundly questioned through the Brazilian case, examined in the following chapters).

The first resemblance to the French case lies on the connections between feminist and socialist left thinking in universities. With the growth of the *new left* in the USA at that time, Marxism was also present in its universities, especially among students in informal courses. Differently than in France, though, Marxism couldn't be given much institutional legitimacy

during the Cold War in the USA, due to explicitly anticommunist official politics and policies coming from the State. This suggests that, while the approximation of feminism and Marxism could be a strategy used by researchers in France willing to build legitimacy to Women's Studies within SSH, the situation was completely inverted in the USA: a theoretical or political continuity with Marxism could allow legitimacy in the political field but not in the academic field (at least, not institutionally).

Published for the first time in 1975, Gayle Rubin's paper "*The traffic in women – Notes on the 'political economy' of sex*" (Rubin, 2011f) is recognized as having brought the first (or one of the first) conceptual formulation of gender through the concept of "*sex/gender system*". Such paper begins by discussing "The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State" by Engels (2010) and, not by accident, uses the idea of "political economy" in its title – a formulation that was strongly associated to Marxism, opposite to "economics" (a formulation more strongly linked to a perspective on economy that became dominant specially after Chicago School[25]). Besides that, the way Rubin initially called such concept can also be seen as an interesting first evidence of her dialogue with French authors, especially if we consider the approximation of language between "*sex/gender system*" and "*système de sexage*" and "*système des sexes*", previously presented in this chapter. Beyond language resemblance, though, Rubin's propositions were actually strongly critical to approaches similar to those of Guillaumin (1978b, 1978a) and others, even though, in a way, she had Marxism as a starting point from which she tried to advance in what was still not explained by Marxist feminists. About the context of production of this work, Rubin states the following:

> "There were a lot of people working over Engels's The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State. Engels was part of the **Marxian canon**, and he did talk about women, so his work was granted **special status**. There were dozens of little schemas about the ostensible overthrow of the supposed early matriarchy and the invention of private property as the source of women's oppression. In retrospect, some of this literature seems quaint, but at the time it was taken very seriously. I doubt people who weren't there could begin to imagine the intensity with which people fought over whether or not there was an original matriarchy, and whether its demise accounted for **class** differences and the oppression of **women**.
>
> Even the best of Marxist work at that time tended to focus on issues that were closer to the **central concerns of Marxism, such as class, work, relations of production**, and even some very creative thinking about the social relations of reproduction. There was a wonderful, very interesting literature that came up around **housework**, for example. There was good work on the **sexual division of labor**, on the place of **women in the labor market**, on the role of women in the reproduction of labor. Some

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[25] About the changes in the disciplinary fields of economics/economy and the difference between those terms, see Dezalay and Garth (2002), Groenewegen (1991), Loureiro (1995) and Weintraub (2002). It is worth highlighting that such changes are closely linked to general SSH changes already presented in the works of Heilbron (1995); Heilbron, Guilhot, and Jeanpierre (2009); Duval and Heilbron (2006), and somehow pointed out also by Abbott (2001).

> of this literature was very interesting and very useful, but **it could not get at some core issues which concerned feminists: gender difference, gender oppression, and sexuality**. So, there was a general effort to **differentiate feminism from that political context and its dominant preoccupations**. There were a lot of people looking for leverage on the problem of women's oppression, and searching for tools with which one could get different angles of vision on it. "Traffic in Women" was a part of that effort and is an artifact of that set of problems." (Rubin & Butler, 2003)

It is possible to say that, in a certain way, the central categories and themes approached by Marxism (as is the case of all issues concerning labor) composed, with other non-Marxist works, the basis for what had been developed so far in terms of feminist thought in the academic field. At the same time, the political field in the USA counted on an extensive and fertile intellectual feminist production, which gained force in the 1960s with authors who somehow claimed to be the legitimate non-academic heirs of intellectuals from previous decades, such as Emma Goldman, directly cited in the epigraph of Dworkin (1974)'s first book. The works that followed such line of intellectual production – a very well-known example is "The feminine Mystique" by Friedan (1963) – didn't usually choose as their starting point, nor systematically proposed an explicit dialogue with the academic and scientific feminist production done in the previous decades, such as the Marxist feminists' works or the research by authors like Mead.

The tensions between academic and political fields, in such context, were also surrounded by disputes between these two lineages of intellectual production. It is important to highlight that disputes between intellectual groups considered as "insiders" and those considered "outsiders" to academia or universities are common and show, in fact, how they compete for the legitimacy of knowledge production and for better positions in either the scientific/academic or the political field. Works like those by Basiliere (2008), Showden (2016) and others, which described the so-called *Feminist Sex Wars* (a heated debate with extreme political divergences around feminist demands linked to sex, especially pornography and sex work[26]), for instance, have pointed out central scissions among feminist groups at that time, separating groups more connected to intellectuals who were writers or essayists such as Dworkin (1976, 1981), from those more connected to a disciplinary/academic tradition in a strict sense (university researchers, professors with titles), such as Vance (1984) and Rubin (2011c) herself [27].

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[26] For more on the *Feminist Sex Wars,* see Showden (2016), Rubin (2011g); (2011a); (2011e) and Basiliere (2008).

[27] Even though the Works by authors from each group would be and are still nowadays read inside spaces that claim the title of Women's Studies in many universities, the authors from the first group are not formally part of University staff nor have their Works recognized as of importance in any institutionalized disciplines in SSH.

The divergences around the concept of gender or, before that, the concept of "sex/gender system", as formulated by Rubin, were also linked to such division: on one side, there were works like the theoretical developments proposed by Rubin while attempting to analyze the dimension of sexuality and gender as intrinsically social in a very unorthodox way for that time, questioning Marxist canon and bringing up the limits of Lévi-Strauss' structuralism and of Freud's interpretations as proposed by Lacan (works that were disseminated among feminist study groups at the time, specially within undergraduate Anthropology courses). Those authors would recognizably discuss what had already been formulated in previous decades inside academia (some examples already mentioned are Mead, Beauvoir, Kollontai, Engels, etc.; especially the Marxists, who were discussed in works published by the *New Left Review* journal), and they would also be in a regular debate with French authors (Lévi-Strauss, Lacan, Beauvoir and others). On the other side of the axis of tension, and out of academia in a more strict sense, there was a set of various books written and published by these "academia outsiders" who focused on the circulation of knowledge within the political field, and which have become quite popular (Basiliere, 2008; Rubin, 2011d; Rubin & Butler, 2003).

The analysis recently presented by Boxer (2001) and Scott (2008) in works which try to point out the critical issues regarding the formation, development and institutionalization of Women's Studies and Feminist Studies in the USA, corroborate the aspects already examined in this chapter concerning the context where the concept of gender was formulated. When discussing the debate over the definition of courses' curriculums, they explicitly mention the competition between authors and sets of ideas that belonged to these "academia outsiders", or "non-academic political field intellectuals", and authors and sets of ideas more strictly academic, as a challenge to the institutionalization of Women's and Feminist Studies in many universities.

The troubles faced in this sense are evidently due to the attempt of formalizing Women's / Feminist Studies in a shape which resembles those of disciplines (Boxer, 2001; Tobias, 1978), which creates some space for knowledge that didn't previously belong to any existing disciplines (ABBOTT, 2001). This means that the institutionalization of this area of studies in different US universities brought the possibility of incorporating knowledge produced "outside" the academic world, and that such knowledge concurred with knowledge already legitimate in pre-existing disciplines. Ultimately, it can be said that the process of institutionalization of Women's and Feminist Studies in the USA, birthplace of the concept of gender, implied quite complex decisions about what to do with an entire set of feminist

knowledge already produced at that time. It can also be said and noted that such decisions appear in two poles of tension: the disciplinarization of such knowledge, on one side, and the acceptance and reaffirmation of its interdisciplinary character, on the other.

It's worth to point out that despite some common sense affirmations made nowadays, which state that interdisciplinarity would solve or soften disciplinary boundaries, recent research has shown that, in fact, it reinstated such boundaries and even benefited from it (Gingras & Heilbron, 2015). This seems to have been the case of what came to be Gender Studies afterwards.

In a text published by the end of the 1970s as an attempt to consolidate (and, of course, by doing so, to dispute) Women's Studies and Feminist Studies in USA at that time by discussing controversies around its institutionalization, Tobias (1978) already mentioned what would later be confirmed by Boxer (2001) and Scott (2008) in retrospect: Women's Studies ended up becoming an interdisciplinary area, institutionally, and not a discipline in itself. Even the formulation of the concept of gender and the theoretical developments associated with it – from the "sex/gender system" of Rubin to the "heterosexual matrix" of Butler (2006), going through a diversity of positions in a dispute about what it means to say "gender" [28] – can be understood in terms of the tensions, proximities, distinctions and intersections between disciplines and specific knowledge associated with them.

In one of the first literature reviews made about uses and interpretations of the concept of gender[29], Scott (1986) points out many of the interdisciplinary and *intra*disciplinary tensions condensed at the space of Women's Studies at that time. Intradisciplinary tensions are presented by her not so much through aspects of the universities' institutional structures (as did the previously mentioned authors who discussed the formation of Women and Feminist Studies in the USA), but specially through analyzing the theoretical and conceptual propositions of feminist authors that had been produced by then. The intradisciplinary tensions in the case of History (which is her main object in that work) are brought up in order to explain, even if only partially, how the concept of gender had been inserted and how it had obtained space, often

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[28] Some references of the theoretical debate on the concept of gender in the USA as well as in other countries can be found in Barbieri (1993); Bellucci (1992); Calvera (1982); Femenías (op2000), Lamas (1986, 1999), Scott (1986); Ciriza (2007), Scott (2010, 2013), Tubert and Fraisse (2011); Connell and Pearse (2015b), Costa (1998, 1998), Grossi, Silva, Miguel, and Maluf (1989); Haraway (2004); Machado (1998); Mathieu (2009); MORAES (1998); Nicholson (2008); PISCITELLI (1998); RAGO (1998); Rosa (2008); Saffioti (1999); Souza-Lobo (1988). These and other sources will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

[29] As will be better discussed further in the thesis, Joan Scott's text had a fundamental role in the circulation of the concept of gender in Latin America; for more on the influence of the author in that region, see Tinsman (2008).

reducing the use or importance of the category of "women" or "woman" in such discipline. According to her,

> "Feminist historians, trained as most historians are to be more comfortable with **description** than **theory**, have none the less increasingly looked for usable theoretical formulations. They have done so for at least two reasons. First, the proliferation of case studies in women's history seems to call for some synthesizing perspective that can explain continuities and discontinuities and account for persisting inequalities as well as radically different social experiences. Second, the discrepancy between the high quality of recent work in women's history and its continuing marginal status in the field as a whole (as measured by textbooks, syllabi, and monographic work) points up **the limits of descriptive approaches that do not address dominant disciplinary concepts**, or at least that do not address these concepts in terms that can shake their power and perhaps transform them. It has not been enough for historians of women to prove either that women had a history or that women participated in the major political upheavals of Western civilization. In the case of women's history, the response of most non-feminist historians has been acknowledgment and then separation or dismissal ('women had a history separate from men's, therefore let feminists do women's history which need not concern us'; or 'women's history is about sex and the family and should be done separately from political and economic history'). In the case of women's participation, the response has been minimal interest at best ('my understanding of the French Revolution is not changed by knowing that women participated in it'). The challenge posed by these responses is, in the end, a **theoretical one**." (SCOTT, 1986, p.1055)

When describing such theoretical debate, then, the author also shows interdisciplinary relations. She mentions contributions from Philosophy (O'Brien, 1981), Law (MacKinnon, 1982), Economics / Economy (Hartmann, 1976), Anthropology (Rosaldo, 1980; Ross & Rapp, 1983; Rubin, 2011f), Language and Linguistic Studies (Lauretis, 1984), Psychoanalysis in a dialogue with Sociology (Chodorow, 1978), and, of course, History (Kelly, 1984). More recent reviews and recent debates on such work by Scott have also pointed out the importance of interdisciplinarity in Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, whether by disputes internal to each discipline or by tensions and debate between disciplines. Such tensions are presented as belonging to Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, but many works have also reinforced the intensity of the dialogue and disputes with Marxism[30], an interestingly similar space of knowledge production in SSH in what concerns its interdisciplinarity (Elliott, 2008; Haraway, 2004; Rubin & Butler, 2003; Scott, 2010, 2013).

This is the context in which the concept of gender was born. Going back to the epigraph chosen by Scott and mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, if during the 1940s "gender" was already a term eventually used in reference to men and women, or male and female, or masculine and feminine (even though such use was not socially legitimate), it wasn't until the 1970s that it became a concept in SSH. In a little more than 20 years, however, during the

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[30] This mention should be read considering the trajectory of Scott herself, who begins her career as a Marxist Historian, specially working on French History. More in Tinsman (2008).

1990s, it was already obviously seen as the dominant way of dealing, analyzing and describing such aspect of social life in various countries.

One such evidence of a dominant position of the concept of gender, beyond the institutional recognition of this word to name practices, activities, spaces, structures (Gender Studies, undergraduate and graduate courses and programs in Gender, public policies regarding gender, prizes for those who work with Gender, etc.), is the huge variety of interpretations to the term "gender". As this thesis intends to show, such variety can be seen as part of disputes and dynamics of tension and collaboration between the academic and political fields, heirs of both the French and the USA's processes, as already discussed. The debates on which choices are more and less legitimate ways of approaching and interpreting the concept of gender also seem to condense these tensions and disputes – and, as the following chapter will attempt to show and examine, they also seem to be carried by the concept of gender when it travels and circulates. It is, thus, central to try to comprehend the main claims made over what the concept of gender means and how it should be used, besides understanding how it travelled to and arrived in Brazil.

CHAPTER 2:
THE CONCEPT OF GENDER AND ITS TRAVELS

Image 6 - Poster promoted by the Female Movement for Amnesty in Brazil, 1975.

PART I – SEMANTIC TRAVELS

USES, INTERPRETATIONS AND THE TRIPLE

SEMANTICS OF THE CONCEPT OF GENDER

The conceptual heritage of Gender – The triple semantics: three uses of Gender – A) The descriptive use of Gender: Gender as a term – B) The substitutive-conceptual use of Gender: Gender as a new name to previously formulated concepts – C) The original-conceptual use of Gender: Gender as a concept in itself – Sex, *rapports sociaux de sexe*, gender: beyond the centers of SSH production.

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It is, indeed, a tough task to present a unique, strict and rigorous theoretical definition to the concept of gender. The challenge of doing so, already mentioned by Scott in 1986, has systematically been reaffirmed by other literature reviews such as the one written by HARAWAY (1991), and has been pointed out by various encyclopedias published in different countries (Tong, 2001; Gamba, 2007b; Hirata, Laborie, Le Doaré, & Senotier, 2009). Despite being a concept – which means it's a theoretical device which can necessarily be defined – the disputes on how it should be defined make such enterprise a quite complex one.

In order to map and describe the uses and interpretations of the concept of gender, various theoretical reviews published in English, Spanish, Portuguese and French were analyzed[31]. Since it is not one of the objectives of this chapter, nor of this thesis, to present a final definition of what gender is – the present work is, rather, more interested in the disputes, variations and lack of unanimity about it –, the sources are not here presented in detail, for they include an even larger multitude of references. They were, nevertheless, the basis for the development of the typology presented ahead, which is here called "the triple semantics of gender". The typology was built from the articulation of the content presented by the consulted

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[31] SCOTT (1986); SOUZA-LOBO (2011); BARRANCOS (2005); TONG (2001); MATHIEU (2009); HARAWAY (2004); CONNELL E PEARSE (2015A); COSTA E BRUSCHINI (1992); COSTA (1998); FERRAND, RIAL, LAGO, GROSSI (2005); GREGORI (1999); GROSSI, SILVA, MIGUEL, MALUF (1989); HEILBORN (1994); HEILBORN E SORJ (1999); MACHADO (1998); MATOS (2008); MORAES (1998); NICHOLSON (2008); PINSKY (2009); PISCITELLI (1998); RAGO (1998); ROSA (2008); SAFFIOTI (1999); SOIHET (1998); BERGER (2006); BERGER (2008); FASSIN (2008); LÖWY E ROUCH (2003); BARBIERI (1993); BARBIERI (2004); BELLUCCI (1992B); CALVERA (1982); GAMBA (2007A); GAMBA (2007B); LAMAS (1999); LEÓN, MARIA ANTONIA GARCIA DE (1999); TUBERT E FRAISSE (2011); BUTLER (1998); CONNELL E PEARSE (2015B); EVANS (1990); EVANS (2011); HEINÄMAA (1997); MEYEROWITZ (2008); RISMAN E DAVIS (2013); MILLAN (2016); PEDRO (2005); SOUZA E CARRIERI (2010).

sources, with insights from the French and USA's case of the formation of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies as the context in which the concept of gender was elaborated, as already discussed in the previous pages.

To present the various claims on what gender is or is not in a sufficiently rigorous manner, it was central to first distinguish the descriptive uses of the word (which means, cases in which the word is used without an articulation of the concept aiming to explain something through it) from its conceptual uses. Then, regarding the conceptual uses of "gender", it was useful to consider the history of previous conceptual formulations in Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, which has helped verifying whether the word "gender" was being used merely as a new name for previous concepts or as a new original concept in itself. It was, thus, possible to categorize the most common and frequent ways of claiming "Gender" in three uses of it.

Before proceeding to them, it is useful highlight and summarize the conceptual, epistemological and theoretical content already mentioned and articulated throughout this chapter, since they play a central role in the way this analysis proposes the understanding of the uses of gender: through its heritage, as both a continuity and a rupture at the same time.

The conceptual heritage of Gender

As this chapter has attempted to show, the concept of gender carries a heritage not only in what concerns political relations and disputes and tensions occurred during the process of formation and institutionalization of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, but also in what concerns its theoretical core. It is not, after all, the only (nor the first) theoretical attempt made in SSH in order to explain how social relations and practices happen in that specific dimension of social life we now easily call "gender". It was built, thus, from debate with previously existent positions and theoretical tools. There also was not a single moment or author to which it is possible to point as the ground zero of the concept of gender. Although the formulation of the "sex/gender system" by Rubin is frequently mentioned as a synthesis that was central to the development of that concept, the author herself has repeatedly affirmed in interviews and texts (Rubin, 2011c; Rubin & Butler, 2003) that the idea of "gender" had been debated and reflected upon in many feminist spaces within the United States and United Kingdom's universities at that time, and that such idea was present, although still waiting for more concrete formulations. It is possible to state, because of that, that the task of formulating the concept of gender was carried on collectively by various authors (including those out of the USA and Europe, it will

be exposed through the analysis of the Brazilian case) throughout the past 40 years or so, taking the publication of Rubin's text as a starting point in that timeline (Connell & Pearse, 2015b; Gamba, 2007a; Haraway, 2004; Hirata et al., 2009; Scott, 1986).

This is what makes the theoretical heritage of the concept of gender so central in understanding the case here examined. We intend to bring it closer to the ideas of "sex" and "*rapports sociaux de sexe*" at first, to subsequently observe the distinctions that make it an original concept in itself, thus analytically understanding that while some of the variations of interpretations to it might actually be based in conceptual or theoretical divergence, many are, in fact, political or institutional/bureaucratical. The analysis of the Brazilian case, presented in chapters 2 and 3, will discuss these issues in more detail.

It is possible to find common propositions between the concept of gender and the ideas of "sex" as an analytical category (such as used by Mead and Beauvoir, mentioned at the beginning of the chapter) and *rapports sociaux de sexe*. In the first place, because all three formulations are part of a larger effort to bring to SSH the object we now call "gender" or "gender relations", which was before seen as a more legitimate object of the biological and medical or natural sciences. Such effort was broader than the case of sex / *rapports sociaux de sexe* / gender, comprehending similar processes to those of other objects and disciplines/areas of study, and integrated the building of legitimacy of SSH in the scientific field.

Secondly, the concept of gender and the theoretical principle of *rapports sociaux de sexe* are fundamentally similar in two other aspects (although the same cannot necessarily be said about "sex" as an analytical category): (i) the proposition that such object should be analyzed as a system (in which categories like "man" and "woman" occupy different places in a larger structure that comprises also other categories, subcategories and practices); and, as a consequence of this, (ii) the proposition that such object should always be invested of a relational perspective, meaning that researching and analyzing the system's categories and how they are related should always contribute to the comprehension of the system as a whole, at the same time as understanding the system collaborates with understanding its categories, since they can't be isolated once they are built from their relations to each other and from their positions in the system (such positions being determinant of the relations that can effectively take place).

Despite this common base, though, those are not identical concepts. Through examining what we call the triple semantics (or the three uses) of the concept of gender, we can better identify what the concept of gender has brought as innovative or original in theoretical terms.

None of this is, as the chapter has shown, disconnected from the relations of dispute, concurrence, tension and collaboration from which it emerged.

The triple semantics: three uses of Gender[32]

As previously mentioned, this categorization was built from a deep analysis of a broad set of specialized literature reviews published in four languages since Scott (1986)'s work. This analysis, articulated with the discussion already presented, resulted in a typology of the claims made regarding what "gender" is or is not, which comprehends three uses of it: (a) the **descriptive** use of Gender; (b) the **substitutive-conceptual** use of Gender; and (c) the **original-conceptual** use of Gender.

A) The descriptive use of Gender: Gender as a term

This is probably the most frequent use of Gender: the use of Gender as a term and not as a concept. In such cases, the word "gender" is used to superficially point to an object being mentioned by the work, but no theoretical interpretations of the concept are articulated in order to try to explain the case or phenomenon being investigated. Many works that fit in this category have been mentioned in reviews, memorials and interviews published in various countries as works in which the word "gender" has merely substituted the words "woman", "women", "sex", "sexes" and similar ones. Many examples of this kind of use of Gender can be found in recent papers published in journals from various disciplines, which are based in statistical work and/or surveys, and instead of separating the samples or populations according to "sex – male / female" are frequently using the key "gender – male / female" or "gender – masculine / feminine". These works usually don't mobilize or articulate the concept of gender when trying to explain their results (or even during the discussion on how the survey was built). There are less obvious but equally common examples in non-statistical work of all sorts.

The recurrence of this way of using the term "gender" can be seen, at first, as a result of its quick diffusion in academic spaces. However, as a much more interesting hypothesis, it is also possible to inquire whether the possibility of using the term "gender" in this

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[32] Since the term should be repeated throughout the thesis, a choice was made to indicate with an uppercase "G" when the word "Gender" refers to the concept of gender or the word/term "Gender", and keep the use of a lowercase "g" when the texts refers to the object – the part of social life we now call "gender".

descriptive, superficial and non-theoretical way (given by the whole of theoretical, political and institutional tensions which produced it in the first place, as well as by its own theoretical and epistemological aspects) was not, in fact, the reason or one of the reasons for its rather quick diffusion.

Many works mention the acceptance of the term "gender" out of feminist spaces, precisely because it usually sounds as supposedly more neutral than "women" or "feminism". This trait socially attributed to the word "gender" was actually strategically used by authors linked to Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in disputes within their disciplines in the academic field, as a way of building its legitimacy. Something similar happened in the political field, with the idea of *gender mainstreaming*, which means integrating a gender-equality perspective (in other words, one could say, a feminist perspective of sorts) in institutional structures such as State agencies, public policy, international organizations, etc. in a transversal way, instead of keeping it as a specific sector of public administration.

More concretely, such "neutrality", which can only be possible when Gender is claimed and used in this specific – descriptive, superficial and non-theoretical – way, is expressed as well in the fact that "gender" is commonly seen as a way of switching attention from a specific social group – women – to the whole of society (men and women), allowing for non-feminist uses and approaches of gender relations (as we now name it), that is, approaches which do not necessarily intend to observe and analyze the relations of power and domination within such system from a critical perspective. This also makes an idea of gender more welcome in non-feminist spaces, whether in or outside academia. The conceptual uses of Gender, described next, make such interpretations impossible.

B) The substitutive-conceptual use of Gender: Gender as a new name to previously formulated concepts

Another type of use of Gender is what we propose to call the "substitutive-conceptual" one. Differently than the one previously presented, this kind of use of Gender, which can be identified in the consulted sources, is indeed conceptual, articulated with a theoretical explanation of phenomena. It is very closely linked to propositions that came from the idea of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, and includes cases in which some authors use Gender as a way of naming or renaming what could more easily be described by the

French concepts. It becomes more common after the consolidation of Gender in a dominant position in the academic (and sometimes in the political) field, which took place generally between the 1980s and 1990s, varying a bit in each country.

This approach reaffirms that although Gender is a social construct operated as a system in which categories exist and work only in relation to each other – relations which are always power relations –, it would have its foundation on the differences between biological bodies (sexual dimorphism or sexual differences), particularly in what concerns their reproductive functions. This proposition is frequently associated with the concept of patriarchy by authors who claim this interpretation of Gender. Such approach sustains the affirmation that there would be a historical disadvantage of women in different societies at different times because of such sexual differences and socially built oppression. At the same time, the disadvantage is not seen as something mandatory, and it would be possible to subvert it, according to these authors.

It's not an accident that this is a very common approach to Gender, made by Marxist feminists who would rather talk about Gender instead of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, whatever are their reasons for it (obtaining research funding, establishing a dialogue that transcends the Marxist spaces, etc. – this will be better examined through the Brazilian case in the following chapters).

C) The original-conceptual use of Gender: Gender as a concept in itself

Finally, the third use of Gender is supported by its theoretical particularity or originality, and in what it brings as innovative to what had been previously produced and debated in the area that is now called Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies. This way of approaching Gender interprets it as a concept that opposes itself to a fixed division between a biological truth and a social construct. It's not surprising, then, that many authors who use this approach have their fundamental work elaborated in a dialogue with anthropologists (such as Rubin herself) and philosophers (like Judith Butler), that is, authors who come from disciplinary traditions in which the examination of relations between nature and culture have had a central role in the questioning of supposedly universally human characteristics. It would be possible to affirm that such understanding of the concept of gender is an extreme take on (or a very condensed form of) the process of bringing an object (the "gender relations") from the biological or natural sciences to SSH.

Such questioning of the division between a supposedly natural or biological body and the social construction made about it is possible once Gender is here understood as a symbolic system which works as a key to interpreting the body itself in each and every human society. Thus, speaking of Gender in such way means to assume that the sexual difference doesn't exist in itself, being part of a cultural determination from its principle. From that, it becomes possible to affirm that body practices guided by gender – including biological reproduction – vary according to historical periods and societies, not necessarily representing relations of advantage/disadvantage, like proposed by the idea of "patriarchy", even when considered the mandatory, asymmetric distribution of power within Gender as a system. Even in the works which focused on biological reproduction, this point of view is different than the one proposed by the conceptual-substitutive use of Gender (B), once the "biological reproduction" wouldn't be seen as purely biological either.

Sex, *rapports sociaux de sexe,* gender: beyond the centers of SSH production

Why is the word "gender" used when authors actually mean "women" or "sex" or even "*rapports sociaux de sexe*" if such categories were in fact used before the formulation of gender as a concept? This triple semantics of Gender, as previously mentioned, should be understood from its articulation with the conditions of its production, and also with a solid analysis of its diffusion and its position in SSH nowadays. This thesis attempts to bring a sociological perspective on the production, circulation and legitimacy of the concept of gender, which allows for a better understanding of the case, based in the relations and concrete actions/practices that shaped such processes.

Throughout this chapter, it was possible to map some of the crucial issues to the comprehension of the circulation, diffusion and reception of the concept of gender, as well as theoretical, conceptual as institutional results of it – both in the academic field and in its intersection with the political field:

(i) the multiple meanings of the term "gender", its proximity with previous theoretical formulations and its originality when compared to them;

(ii) the competition between authors, disciplines, concepts and intellectual production traditions already established – whether among them or regarding the new concept, and in the particular case of gender, the importance of the relations between Marxism and feminism;

(iii) the moment of political and scientific "crisis" in the 1960s and 1970s as a window of opportunity for changes in previously established relations, whether in the academic field, in its intersection with the political field or in the political field itself;

(iv) the expression of the controversial relations between academic and political fields in the questionings about the role of universities and scientific knowledge production in society, including competition between knowledge produced in academia and knowledge produced in other spaces; the way in which such relations are determined by the existence and relationships between such spaces; in this context, the opposition (at least in discourse) between "militants" and "academics" and their respective action strategies;

(v) the broader context of SSH establishing itself as a legitimately scientific area throughout the 20th century, including its disputes in the scientific field (particularly the dispute over objects and how they are better approached); the dynamics of circulation of knowledge in SSH more generally.

With this mapping as a starting point, the next chapters consist of an empirical analysis of the Brazilian case of the reception of the concept of Gender and the formation of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, comparing some of its characteristics to those of other Latin-American countries (specially Argentina) in order to better understand it and avoid isolating it. The objective of analyzing such case is to observe in which ways the dominant position of Gender in SSH was produced, considering its historical, social, economic, political and institutional conditions of production as well as its political, theoretical and epistemological particularities (seen as a result of the concept's conditions of production but also as part of what shaped them).

The Brazilian case shows some characteristics which contribute to the deepening of the analysis presented in this chapter. First, because it concerns a country that occupies a very different position in the global system of knowledge production in SSH when compared to France or the USA. This means, thus, analyzing a case in which institutional conditions, as well as the shape and intersections of academic and political fields (and, because of that, the internal disputes in each of them), are concretely not the same as those that have originated the concept of gender, the idea of *rapports sociaux de sexe* and the use of "sex" as an analytical category. In second place, analyzing a country that can be described as a "peripherical center" such as Brazil, implies also in considering strong political, cultural and economic relations to both France and the USA in what concerns the development of its national higher education system; in the Brazilian case, such influence is remarkably expressed even though the country has never

been colonized by France or England. Such a particular set of international relations will be discussed further in the thesis through examining bilateral agreements for research funding, the circulation of researchers, and more general – political and economic – bilateral relations in the context of the Brazilian public policies for higher education and science.

In what concerns the relations between academic and political fields, there is yet another relevant characteristic of the Brazilian case: the fact that this country has passed a significant part of the 20th century under dictatorships, which cannot be analyzed in isolation from its political relations to the USA and Europe. The authoritarian regimes intervened dramatically in the higher education systems in many ways. It is possible to question, then, if in such case the relative autonomy of the academic and political fields could be considered as being of the same intensity as in the cases of France and the USA. Considering the period of the Cold War, in which Brazil was under an explicitly anticommunist regime, it is worth asking about the effects of the political field on the relations between Marxism and feminism in the universities and out of them. How was the concept of gender mobilized Brazilian universities, in such context? How has the forced or self-imposed exile of feminist activist researchers to other Latin American countries, as well as to Europe defined the uses of the concept in Brazil?

Finally, this is also a case in which the reception of the concept of gender happened during a period of structural changes in the higher education system, such as in France and the USA. In addition to that, this was the same period, in the case of Brazil, in which the SSH were being institutionalized. Finally, the concept of gender started to be debated in the Brazilian academic space of SSH in the second half of the 1980s, being rapidly incorporated in an impressive number of institutional structures during the first half of the 1990s, indicating a possibly quicker process than in other countries. This should be analyzed by considering the characteristics already mentioned about the position of Brazil in general and academic geopolitics, but it should not obscure the possibility that the concept of gender has "traveled" to Brazil already packed with the reinterpretations, disputes and tensions originated in other contexts. The analysis of the case, presented in the next two chapters should, then, contribute to understanding the mechanisms of global production and circulation of knowledge in SSH as a system in which, like in Gender, power asymmetries are the norm.

PART II – GEOPOLITICAL TRAVELS

THE CONCEPT OF GENDER ARRIVES IN BRAZIL

Thinking the trajectory of a concept and its arrival to a new space – Scientific reunions, specialized journals: tracking the arrival of the concept in Brazil – The ANPOCS reunions welcome the concept of gender – Disciplines and their position in the academic field: History *versus* Social Sciences – The concept of gender and its controversies in the field of Brazilian SSH – Universities and institutionalization: background to the process of reception

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How does a new concept or theory reach a national academic space in particular? How does it travel there and what happens when it arrives at its destination? As Bourdieu (1975) demonstrates, disputes about the uses of a particular concept and its possible interpretations are essentially disputes about its legitimacy: considering what is already established in a determined space, what value does the new idea/concept have in this new place? As we have already seen in Chapter 1, while examining the development of some central concepts of feminist theory in France and the USA, new concepts or theories always arrive into complex networks of relations, disputes and power shaped in particular forms that were historically developed. At the same time, new concepts or theories aren't completely "pure" or totally new constructions; neither are they totally independent from the networks of relations and disputes which produced them (Bourdieu, 2004). The efforts made in the previous chapter to discuss the context of the development of the concept of gender between French and anglophone (specially US) theories, then, contribute to initiate an analysis concerning the Brazilian case. At the same time, the study of the Brazilian case offers a new perspective on the development of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in countries such as the USA and France, contextualizing them as part of a broader system of production and circulation of knowledge in Social Sciences and Humanities (SSH), in which power is not equally distributed among intellectuals, according (among other things) to the countries they are in or come from. It also offers a multidimensional approach to such phenomenon, once it points to the need of analyzing the different kinds of conditions (economic, political, institutional, cultural, etc) which shaped the process of reception, thus determining its outcomes.

Thinking the trajectory of a concept and its arrival to a new space

In the previous chapter it was pointed out how new concepts and theories partially keep characteristics of the network of tensions and disputes that originated them as some sort of heritage. Even when they are presented as being opposed to what was previously accepted as the legitimate way of understanding a social phenomenon or research object, it is possible to highlight continuities and aspects of it that were inherited or maintained from such previous bodies of theory. The analysis of how the concepts of gender and of *rapports sociaux de sexe* in the United States and France were developed and the context in which that happened also brings up the gains of adopting a sociological perspective on these phenomena. It allows us to connect the ideas produced in SSH to institutional, economic, political, etc. structures and to the relationships of people and groups of people within them, avoiding the treatment of such processes as abstract, passive or purely intellectual dynamics.

The institutional, political and epistemological changes occurred in Brazilian SSH and more specifically in what came to be the area of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in the country after the 1980s, when researchers started to debate and use the concept of gender, must be addressed, then, as the results of a complex interaction between theories and ideas which were already accepted, and structures and principles that organized the academic field at that time. This means understanding the "arrival" of the concept of gender in Brazil as the result of concrete actions from individuals, groups and institutions invested in political disputes (that is, disputes concerning the access to positions of power) and in the institutional, disciplinary, etc., structures which restrict and guide these actions (Bourdieu, 1976, 1984b).

As we could also observe concretely from the previous chapter, such processes have particularities in each national space (Bourdieu, 2002). This indicates that, from such theoretical perspective, thinking about any process of reception means also thinking about the possible and effective interactions between the new idea, theory or concept, with inheritances from the networks and disputes that produced them, and the networks and disputes present in the field where they are received. We can see good examples of this kind of analysis in the works of Garcia (2009a), regarding the tensions and political decisions during the foundation of an important anthropology graduate program in Brazil; of Sapiro (1999), regarding the tensions and disputes between groups of French writers seeking artistic, intellectual and political legitimacy during the German occupation of France in the II World War; and of Sorá (1998), regarding the social dynamics that shaped the production of a classic of Brazilian social theory.

Works such as those also demonstrate that such interactions are determinant of the reception as an active process of theoretical elaboration and reinterpreting. The arrival of the concept of gender in Brazil is not an exception to that. This chapter examines some characteristics of this phenomenon, bringing empirical possibilities to contribute to the construction of an answer to the following questions: how was the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil shaped? Which elements interacted (and how) to produce this phenomenon? What were the consequences of such interactions concerning how Brazilian SSH produces knowledge and its role in the global system of knowledge production and circulation?

Besides contributing to examine such questions, the initial analysis presented in this chapter brings new questions and aspects to be investigated about this kind of process, which will be addressed in more detail in Chapter 3 - for example: what is the impact of the national and international politics of research funding in the reception of this concept when analyzing a country that has at least some cultural and economic dependence of other countries, such as (but not only) France and the USA? How have the intellectual relations already established between these two countries (briefly pointed out during Chapter 1) and the intellectual relations of Brazilian researchers and institutions with each of them influenced in the theoretical and political positions regarding the concept of gender, its interpretations and specific uses? How have the relations between disciplines of SSH in Brazil and their position in the academic field influenced this process?

An attentive look into the controversies about the concept of gender and the disputes regarding its interpretations, the role of the category of "woman" / "women" and how this new area should or shouldn't be inserted in disciplinary SSH reveals interesting characteristics of the Brazilian case, and invites us to explore it even further by empirically building its place between the academic and political fields through a prosopographical essay of the group of researchers involved in such debates (Chapter 3). The analysis here presented also enhances the sociological gain in understanding such process in terms of field, as proposed by Pierre Bourdieu (1975, 1976, 1984c, 1985).

Scientific reunions, specialized journals: tracking the arrival of the concept in Brazil

This chapter analyzes some evidences of the process of reception of the concept of gender in Brazil in the decades of 1980 and 1990, allowing this thesis to establish relations between such phenomenon and the concrete conditions which have shaped them. It is pointed out by different articles that aimed at reconstructing the memory of the Gender/ Feminist /

Women's Studies area in Brazil, such as Costa (1994), Costa and Sardenberg (1994), Costa and Bruschini (1992), Corrêa (2001), Heilborn and Sorj (1999) and Gregori (1999) that the reunions of ANPOCS (the Brazilian National Association of Post-Graduation and Research in Social Sciences) were the space where the concept of gender was first formally and theoretically discussed in a systematic manner in Brazilian SSH[33]. An encounter dedicated to discussing "the gender perspective in SSH" (as named by many authors at that time) was also organized in the city of São Roque in the month of November 1990. The papers presented there were published in a book called "*Uma questão de gênero*" (which translated more or less to "A matter of gender") (Costa & Bruschini, 1992).

These two scientific reunion spaces can be considered the nest (or, even better, the womb) in which Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil started to acquire its theoretical, epistemological and institutional shape. It is also interesting to point out something that will be further discussed in more detail: while ANPOCS reunions were broader SSH reunions dealing with many subjects, the reunion in São Roque was exclusively dedicated to this then new area of studies. As discussed in Chapter 1, one of the debates around the formation of this area in France and the USA (especially in what concerns its institutional form) was precisely about its integration in SSH *versus* the creation of a separate discipline-like area with its own methods, curricula, epistemology, etc. In Brazil, researchers have occupied and developed both kinds of spaces, and the double-strategy of researchers in acting in both of them keeps alive – nowadays, gender is integrated in many of ANPOCS working groups, while it can also be debated in specific reunions such as *Fazendo Gênero*[34] (which translates to "Doing Gender"), which gathered more than 8,000 participants from various countries in its latest edition in 2017 (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina - UFSC, 2017). This is part of a successful strategy of Brazilian GFWS researchers in the process of establishing such area's legitimacy in SSH, as it will be better described in Chapter 3.

Reflexes of this division can also be seen in the creation of the first two specialized journals dedicated to Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in 1992 and 1993 – respectively

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[33]Thus, the main sources of support for the analysis presented in this chapter are the papers presented during ANPOCS reunions, especially by the end of the 1980s, through which researchers debated the concept of gender. The annals of the Brazilian National Association of History (ANPUH) were also consulted as a complementary source, although the full text of papers was not available and, in some cases, neither were abstracts. These were both online sources, since such institutions made the registers of their annual forums at their websites available, unlike other academic associations of SSH such as ANPOF (Philosophy), ANPEd (Education), ANPEPP (Psychology) or ANPEC (Economics) – the few inputs presented about the latter ones were based on recent bibliography discussing the raw data which the author of this thesis herself had no direct access to. More on the selection, organization and analysis of such sources can be found at Appendix 1.

[34] For further information and analysis of this reunion more specifically, see Rosa (2007).

REF or *Revista Estudos Feministas* (which translates to "Feminist Studies Journal") and *Cadernos Pagu* (which translates more or less to "Pagu[35] Journal"). Some of the papers published during the 1990s in these journals, remarkably the ones that aimed to theoretically discuss the concept of gender, were thus integrated in the analysis presented in this chapter[36]. The annals of ANPOCS reunions and the book organized by Costa and Bruschini (1992) have firmly documented the first tensions present in the formation of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil.

Women's Studies in Brazil started to grow during the 1970s, the same decade in which feminism began to spread and women's access to universities had a meaningful increase in numbers in the country (Costa & Sardenberg, 1994). Much was going on in Brazilian SSH, in Brazilian universities and in Brazil as a whole at that time. In 1964, during the Cold War, a civil-military dictatorship was installed in the country and it became a part of what was called the "Operation Condor" – a network that articulated anticommunist regimes in Latin America, supported and assisted by the USA intelligence (McSherry, 2016). Each of these regimes established different relationships to higher education systems in their own countries at that time, and the direct influence of bilateral agreements with the United States is central to understand the changes experienced by Brazilian researchers. The reform in higher education that was carried out by the Brazilian military regime in 1968 (Lei nº 5.540/68, 1968) promoted, among other things, the reorganization of the universities which had been created following the European model, especially the French one (i.e., with professors individually responsible for Chairs dedicated to a certain topic), towards something closer to the United States' model (i.e., with professors organized in multi-thematic Departments).

This is the context in which Women's Studies started in Brazil. Faria and Costa (2006) have shown that before Ford Foundation took the lead in financing research in WS in Brazil, the Rockefeller Foundation funded an important amount of research in public health aiming to influence Brazilian policies on populational control. A significant part of such research was dedicated to women's health. However, these works didn't produce systematic theoretical knowledge in SSH reflecting upon "women" as category, nor proposed a view on gender as social construction. This was mostly done by works that were later financed by Ford

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[35] "Pagu" was the nickname of Patrícia Galvão, a communist feminist who became an icon in Brazil. More on her work and life can be found at the postfaces of Galvão (1993).

[36] See Appendix 1 for more operational information on how publications were selected, organized, and analyzed.

Foundation, especially those concerned with the situation of women in the workforce, as it will be discussed in more detailed further on this chapter.

On the one hand, the influence of U.S. researchers and organizations in Brazilian SSH wasn't exactly new at the 1970s, as mentioned by Maio (1999), Faria and Costa (2006), Bittencourt (2011) and others. On the other hand, it is also pointed out by many authors such as Ortiz (1990) and Canêdo (2009), besides the previously mentioned ones, that research financing coming directly from the USA through foundations such as Ford Foundation or through bilateral agreements of international circulation of researchers strongly increased during the 1970s, the dictatorship's harshest phase, decreasing with the fall of the regime along the 1980s.

The lines of financing were usually directed to the promotion of specific themes and topics of research within universities and research institutions such as Fundação Carlos Chagas (FCC), a very important institution for the development of Women's Studies in Brazil that was mostly financed by Ford Foundation. It is also known that the research financing agreements proposed by Ford aimed to foster and influence the design of new public policies for social and economic development in peripherical countries – and this is why the same foundation steadily financed the Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) during those decades, taking part in the process of institutionalization of Brazilian SSH in a quite direct fashion (Canêdo, 2009; Ortiz, 1990).

While in Argentina universities were highly censored regarding their topics of study, books were publicly burnt and students and professors were forced to leave to preserve their lives (Funes, 2013), in Brazil the political persecution was accompanied by incisive policies for the development of the higher education system and of SSH – this was not a totally "free" or "autonomous" development, though, since the financing was available only for certain kinds of projects, prioritizing specific themes, never disconnected from theories and epistemologies (Ortiz, 1990). This can be interpreted as part of the military's strategies of control: fostering the development of SSH in a very specific manner instead of explicitly censoring them[37].

Such process should also be related to broader changes happening in SSH globally at that time, like the growing dominance of the idea that SSH should be in service of State policies, working almost as auxiliary sciences to the practice of politics (Convert & Heilbron, 2004;

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[37] This strategy of domination recalls what was described by Foucault (2007) when comparing society's mechanisms of control over sexuality, and their transformation during the 20th century, leaving na explicitly repressive tactic for a positive normatization of practices.

Heilbron et al., 2009). Not by accident, this was the period when Political Sciences developed as an independent discipline – a process which was, in Brazil, fostered by Ford Foundation through its financing of CEBRAP among other actions, as shown by Canêdo (2009). This was also the period when the institutionalization of SSH started in Brazil (even though it had its peak during the 1980s) and when, as a part of such effort, ANPOCS was created.

The ANPOCS reunions welcome the concept of gender

ANPOCS is an association founded in 1977 to support the promotion and development of Social Sciences in Brazil (ANPOCS, 2015). In an ethnography of its yearly meetings, Saint Martin (1988) shows that, in the 1980s, there was a visible subordination of Brazilian Social Sciences to the political field in the country. Therefore, the development of Brazilian Social Sciences shouldn't be understood as an autonomous process lead by Brazilian Social Sciences' own criteria and interests. Besides that, according to the author, these meetings not only presented an internal hierarchy of topics and themes of research, but also institutionally sealed the approval and legitimacy of such themes in spaces other than the meetings themselves, that is, in the field of SSH in general.

In 1989, the year when the concept of gender is systematically discussed for the first time in the annual meeting of ANPOCS, there were two working groups in which feminist researchers debated their works. The oldest one, that had been active since the 1979 meeting, was dedicated to discuss Women in the Workforce" (ANPOCS, 1979). The most recent one at that time, "Women in Politics", was created two years after that, at the association's 5th annual meeting (ANPOCS, 1981). A paper written by four researchers and presented by Grossi in 1989 at the "Women and Politics" working group brought a review on how the idea of "gender" had been used in the works discussed by the group, identifying its first descriptive use by researchers in 1986, and its first theoretical formulations in 1988 (Grossi et al., 1989).
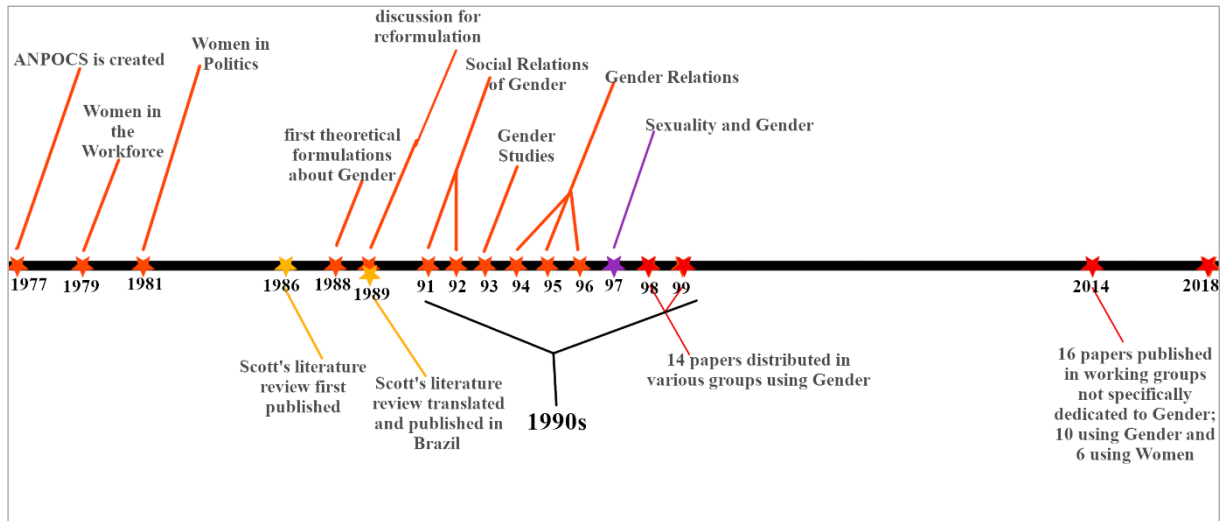
Image 7- ANPOCs' GFWS groups' timeline

According to them, in 1988 the works were already written using the idea of gender. Half out of twelve papers presented in that year used the concept in their analysis, while the other half was based on the category of "woman" or "women". Among the papers that used Gender as a concept or as a term, a text by Neves (1988) analyzed such concept's theoretical possibilities as a tool for Women's Studies in Brazil, deriving from the now famous work by Scott (1986), which hadn't yet been translated to Brazilian Portuguese[38].

In that same meeting, Souza-Lobo (1988)[39] presented a text in which she tried to elaborate on the concept of gender, in a theoretical perspective, referring not only to Scott (1986), but also to works from Perrot (1984), a French historian and a pioneer in History of Women. Beyond the theoretical effort, Souza-Lobo's text defended that the so-called gender perspective and Women's Studies should be transversally included in Brazilian SSH. The article might have captured the changes that were about to happen: in the following years, more and more papers were presented about the topic or using the word or concept of gender, in many different working groups. Even the already mentioned working groups went through a process of reassessment and ended up adopting "gender" in a more explicit way.

Grossi et al. (1989) have documented that there was a debate in the "Women and Politics" working group as to whether it should be changed to accommodate "the gender perspective". The proposition was that it adopted a new name and theme: "Domination and Gender Relations". Although such change didn't happen, the basis of the debate ended up

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[38] The fist translation of Scott's article was published in the following year in Brazil– see Scott (1989).
[39] A more recent version of Souza-Lobo (2011b)'s work was published in a new edition of "*A classe operária tem dois sexos*" (2011a) remembering the 20th anniversary of her death, in 1991.

shaping other changes: in 1990, as part of the biannual reorganization of ANPOCS, a new group was proposed, and it was called "The transversalism of Gender in Social Sciences", being coordinated by Lena Lavinas and counting with the participation of many researchers involved in the previously mentioned groups "Women and Politics" and "Women in the Workforce" (ANPOCS, 1990). In 1991 and 1992, the group was called "Social Relations of Gender" As it dialogued explicitly with the French theory, in the way it was mentioned in Chapter 1, this title could also be translated as "*Rapports sociaux* of Gender" (ANPOCS, 1991, 1992). In 1993, not only the name but also the idea of the only working group dedicated to the topic showed that "Gender Studies" were already established in Brazilian SSH: in that year, the research discussion coordinated by Neves focused on "Dilemmas and perspectives on Gender Studies in the decade of 1990" (ANPOCS, 1993). It went back to simply "Gender Relations" in 1994 and kept steadily with this name for three consecutive meetings (ANPOCS, 1994, 1995, 1996).

Such changes consolidated the legitimacy of the theoretical perspectives associated with the concept of gender, and thus it started to be transversally integrated in other working groups in a broader manner. During the 1990s, a growing number of activities beyond working groups start to bring up Gender as their topics: conferences, round tables, forums, symposiums, video exhibitions. Between 1998 and 1999 (a decade after the concept of gender started being theoretically discussed during the sessions of the Women and Politics working group), 14 papers using the concept of gender to explain social phenomena were presented in groups that were not dedicated exclusively to Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies. In fact, by that time, groups that aimed specifically at discussing women-and-gender related topics had recently disappeared. The last one, "Gender Relations", had its last edition in the 1996 meeting and it already showed a quite interdisciplinary and well-established area of research.

Since then, the cases in which the word "gender" was used in Working Groups' names were usually already associating gender to other areas or topics. In one of ANPOCS recent meetings in 2014, for example, there was a Working Group called "Sexuality and gender: subjects, practices, regulations", which appeared first in the 1997 meeting, right after "Gender Relations" ceased to exist. Beyond the papers presented there, out of 16 papers presented in other WGs that seemed to come from Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, 10 had the word "gender" in their title and 6 used the word "woman" (ANPOCS, 2014). Mentions to the category of "women" in WG titles, however, disappeared after the merger of "Women and Politics" and "Women in the Workforce" in the beginning of the 1990s. During the 1990s and

after that, "gender" kept being used also beyond WGs – in Forums, Round Tables, Conferences and other activities organized for ANPOCS meetings.

It is possible to affirm, thus, that the incorporation of Gender in ANPOCS spaces had a remarkably transversal characteristic: it was not presented as something to be discussed in itself, but rather as something to be used in order to better understand various social phenomena and add to knowledge that had been previously developed in SSH. The previously cited works mention how this was a topic in dispute until the end of the 1980s – and this is a dispute that seems to come from the one that happened in the United States, already presented in the previous chapter, as it will be better discussed further on this and the next chapter.

Another fact is remarkable about the process of transversal integration of a theoretical perspective linked to the concept of Gender in ANPOCS spaces: the fact that this was probably possible because scientific meetings especially dedicated to Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies were already being organized since the 1991 meeting in São Roque, in parallel, to coordinate efforts and promote more specific debates pertaining to the area. The *Seminário Internacional Fazendo Gênero* (International Seminar Doing Gender) (Rosa, 2007), previously mentioned, which had its first edition in 1994 and still takes place (biennially until 2010, and then with longer interruptions between the previous two editions, 2013 and 2017), is maybe the most known example, even though there were other local and regional events that played a role in this process.

The content of the papers presented at that first gathering in São Roque (Costa & Bruschini, 1992) also pictures the coexistence of two tracks of insertion of the concept of gender in Brazilian SSH: some papers trace the tools and assets of specific SSH disciplines and fields of research that could be useful to enhance the debate about gender, also questioning, on the other hand, how could the concept of gender add to the discipline or field of study as a whole (Heilborn, 1992; Souza-Lobo, 1992); while others intended to organize and present the ensemble of theoretical and empirical advances in the area of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies and how they could be improved (or not) with the use of the concept of gender, or, more rigorously, what should be the place of the concept of gender in such space (Castro & Lavinas, 1992; Sorj, 1992).

This indicates that Brazilian researchers, unlike those from France or the United Stated, profited from such period of change in the national scientific space and in the field of SSH by betting on two simultaneous strategies. On the one hand, these researchers were reaffirming themselves institutionally, by occupying spaces that were already consolidated (but open to

change at that time) and integrating gender to themes, topics and approaches already recognized as legitimate. On the other hand, they weren't doing this while isolated, but somehow coordinately with each other by debating in common spaces. This double-sided strategy allowed them to establish a channel of communication between the "new" area of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies and other spaces of SSH production and circulation in Brazil, such as ANPOCS. In this way, what was debated, produced and advanced in the "new" area wasn't restricted to it, and what was debated, produced and advanced in "older" themes or areas could also reach the "new" subjects. The specifics of how they did it are presented in Chapter 3.

Disciplines and their position in the academic field: History *versus* Social Sciences

The results of this double-sided strategy can also be seen when analyzing another disciplinary SSH space: the biennial meetings of the National Association of History (ANPUH). It is worth noting that this association is more than a decade and a half older than ANPOCS. Its first meeting was held in 1961. During the first, the only evidence of the debate going on among feminist researchers in Brazilian SSH during the 1980s is a paper presented during the 12th ANPUH biennial meeting by Soihet (1983), named "Female Criminality". This work showed results of what could be considered a typical research in History of Women at that time: the author analyzed criminal records of women from 1890 to 1930 in the city of Rio de Janeiro as documents that could provide a better understanding of women from poorer groups in the past. This approach illustrates well what was one of the most solid contributions of History of Women to Women's Studies and to what then became the whole area of GFWS: the empirical construction of women as a social category, an epistemic change which, as mentioned in the first chapter, can be considered a direct inheritance of Beauvoir's work. It is not a coincidence that feminist historians have been closer to French philosophy and historiography, even when they are anglophones (Joan Scott herself used to be a historian of France, and the same goes for Natalie Zemon Davis).

This relationship between feminist historians and the French feminist thought should also be considered when analyzing the arrival of the concept of gender in ANPUH's meetings. The word "gender" is only present in the symposium's program from 1993 on – that is, a decade after Soihet's paper. It is not introduced as something "new", however, but rather as an already useful category for historical analysis, as proposed by Scott (1986). A paper by Gallo (1996) on Fourier, presented in the 17th ANPUH biennial meeting and included in a book that assembled a selection of papers from this meeting (ANPUH, 1993), mentioned the word gender,

using it descriptively to indicate that Fourier's work would somehow consider relations between men and women. However, five other papers also presented in the same meeting had used the concept of gender as a theoretical tool to analyze specific cases and phenomena. It is perhaps worth mentioning that the authors were mostly young faculty and graduate students. In addition, a whole course was given that year, with the title of "History and Gender" (ANPUH, 1993).

From 1983 to 1993, though, just a few of the papers presented analyzed the "women" or the "feminine" or the "female" aspects of different subjects. The symposiums of 1985 and 1987 seemed to have been especially open to that, probably because of their themes. In 1985 the theme that guided the symposium was "Society and Labor throughout History" (ANPUH, 1985) and, in 1987, "Culture & Society" (ANPUH, 1987). Those are topics that had both been connected to feminist thought in academia since the 1960s and 1970s. It is also important to remark that both the ANPOCS and the ANPUH meetings from 1985 to the beginning of the 1990s were strongly filled with debates directly (and many times explicitly) linked to Marxism. This was possible once the military regime had officially come to an end in 1985. As a result of such major political changes and the social and political process to dispute and write a new Constitution for the country[40], there was in fact more space for academics and intellectuals in SSH to associate their work more freely with social interests and the disputes from the political field. Comparing the ANPUH and the ANPOCS meetings, though, it becomes evident that the political changes were not the only factors influencing how the concept of gender arrived in Brazilian SSH.

While the ANPUH's meetings were focused on descriptive works that could be considered typical of the field History of Women (Del Priore & Bassanezi, 2004; Perrot, 2005, 2009; Scott, 1986; Soihet, 1998) and that employed empirical categories of "women" and "woman", researchers at ANPOCS were discussing the limits of such kind of work and assessing the gains of "switching" to what they called "a gender perspective". An aspect that should be considered when comparing both associations, aside from relations of proximity and distance with French or anglophone feminist theories in each of these spaces and "traditions of thought", is the status of each discipline in the academic SSH field in Brazil.

While Social Sciences were still in the process of being institutionalized (Miceli, 1987; Ortiz, 1990; Trindade, 2004), History had long been a discipline recognized as such, having by

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[40] The new Constitution was officially approved in 1988, and stated the beginning of direct elections in 1989.

then formed many historians and shaped its own traditions - even if they were also being questioned at that time. This meant that institutional spaces dedicated to research of historians, such as ANPUH (already functioning for more than 20 years in 1983, when the first work about women was presented) probably presented more rigid, already established structures, thus more difficult to change and less open to new groups and spaces[41]. ANPOCS, on the other hand, was less than 10 years old and already had two working groups specifically dedicated to issues concerning "women" in 1983. Such characterization of institutional disciplinary spaces of research circulation and debate also helps us to understand the flow of researchers between those two disciplinary worlds – Social Sciences and History. As this chapter, and especially the next one, will further show in detail, researchers circulated between History and Social Sciences, and ANPOCS meetings often received researchers that were working on what came to be the area of GFWS who couldn't find space for their work in the mainstream spaces of exchange among historians.

This indicates that a careful observation of the disciplinary dimensions of the reception of the concept of gender can help in better understanding this phenomenon. It also shows the gains of analyzing processes of reception through the lens of the concept of field – by understanding the position of disciplinary spaces in the academic and scientific field at that time, it is possible to build new evidence and explain why the reception happened the specific way it did, within the specific spaces it did, and the relations of different groups and institutions to the concept of gender. Both of these propositions will be further developed in the analysis presented in this chapter, as well as in the next one. Such aspects also resonate, of course, in how Brazilian researchers interpreted and used the concept of gender in their theoretical formulations at that time.

The concept of gender and its controversies in the field of Brazilian SSH

The speed with which the concept of gender entered ANPOCS reunions – and even ANPUH's symposiums, in a certain way, considering its first theoretical formulation happened in 1975; the gathering in São Roque to discuss this approach was set in 1991, and in 1993 the concept was already being used and articulated by historians – could be mistakenly understood as an evidence of its unanimity. However, a more careful analysis of the controversies on the

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[41] Works by many authors have shown how new topics, areas or spaces are more likely to be created in "marginal" or less institutionalized spaces, where, therefore, rules are more open to dispute. This is the case of the works by Bourdieu (1975, 1976, 1984c, 1998, 2002), Convert and Heilbron (2004); Duval and Heilbron (2006); Heilbron et al. (2009); Heilbron, Lenoir, Sapiro, and Bourdieu (2004)

theoretical uses and interpretations of the concept of gender by Brazilian researchers shows that there wasn't (and there isn't still) a consensus as to what it means and as to how it should or shouldn't be used.[42]

Such controversies can be seen in the papers that contributed to a theoretical debate on the concept of gender during the 1980s and 1990s. These works were either presented at ANPOCS, published in the two most important specialized journals of GFWS in Brazil (*Cadernos Pagu* and *Revista Estudos Feministas*), or discussed during the gathering in São Roque in 1991. Although, in a lesser, more indirect scale, these disputes are also shown in interviews and works in which authors aimed to recover the history of the formation of the area of SSH in the country – some published during the 1990s, some after that; some in specialized journals, some elsewhere. A better view on these documents, and how they were obtained, organized and analyzed can be achieved by reading Appendix 1.

The most common theoretical formulations of the concept of gender in Brazil seem to be divided, more or less, in two groups: authors who claimed a conceptual and theoretical body of knowledge closer to those operated by Rubin or Scott, on one side (Gregori, 1999; Neves, 1988; PISCITELLI, 1998; Souza-Lobo, 2011b), and authors who claimed a theoretical body of knowledge closer to Marxist traditions and French theorists – with a very close connection, for example, to studies of the sexual division of labor (Heilborn, 1993; Mendes & Becker, 2011; Pinto, 2014; Saffioti, H. I. B., 1992).

These "clusters", however, were not exactly opposed, and some authors circulated in both spaces. That is the case with Elizabeth Souza-Lobo, cited as one of the responsible researchers for the foundation of *Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero Pagu*, one of the most known and respected institutions of research in Gender Studies in Brazil and Latin America nowadays. At the same time, the proximity with one or other theoretical cluster does not seem to be what actually divided and opposed these researchers, either by the end of the 1980s or afterwards, during the 1990s. One of the most central controversies that can be seen in the texts throughout those two decades, and that seems to touch all discussions about the concept of gender in Brazil at that time, concerns its political effect and the impacts of its uses in academia. Those are controversies strongly linked to decisions regarding the process of institutionalization and creation of scientific legitimacy for the new area of studies. At the same time, these disputes

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[42] Linking such disputes to its quick incorporation in Brazilian SSH also points towards the need of contextualizing the academic and political fields of the country in a broader system of knowledge production and circulation, in which power is not equally distributed among researchers, traditions of thought, schools, institutions, language communities, etc., as it will be further proposed along Chapter 3.

also influenced the theoretical perspectives and possibilities adopted in Brazilian SSH in what concerns Gender. This will be further discussed during this chapter, but it will be specially detailed during the next one.

In ANPOCS, authors such as Souza-Lobo (1988) and Neves (1988), on the one hand, discussed "gender" as theoretical tool that would be absolutely necessary in social analysis, and proposed its broader insertion in both the feminist theoretical debate and in Social Sciences in general. By doing this, they were also affirming a political position on what Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies and SSH should be. They stood for the integration of Gender in SSH transversally instead of the creation of a disciplinary or disciplinary-like area that should be more autonomously developed.

On the other hand, authors such as Saffioti (Mendes & Becker, 2011; 1976, 1999, 1992) and Heilborn (1993, 1994; Heilborn & Sorj, 1999)[43], on the other hand, have affirmed systematically their concern about how this kind of strategy would end up pulverizing the political potential and the inherently political force of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies. They stress the importance of a specific space for feminist knowledge as a critical episteme that would not fit in "hegemonically", "non-feminist", "male" or "misogynistic" social sciences (words that have been used to describe the SSH knowledge produced out of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies). They have also reinforced that the way of interpreting the concept of gender that was closer to Rubin's work, for instance (they refer to what was called the "conceptual-original" use of gender in the first chapter of this thesis), claimed as legitimate by Souza-Lobo, Neves and others, represented a risk of dissolving the political perspective of feminism, and that researchers should look for strategies to conceal the use of the concept of gender while keeping its political potential alive.

However, they still used and disputed the word "gender" by proposing interpretations to the concept. This can be seen as a strategy of building legitimacy for their own work in the field, especially considering that the concept (or, at least, the word "gender") was quickly incorporated in institutional spaces – which means it soon became attached to research funding, for example. So, instead of replicating the refusal of French authors in incorporating the concept of "gender" at that time[44], they remained critical of the most characteristic uses of it while claiming it should be something else – and this something else was a fusion and a synthesis, in

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[43] Those are examples that illustrate well this point of view; however, this standpoint is certainly not restricted to such authors, as it will become clear in Chapter 3.
[44] About such refusal, see BERGER (2008); Ferrand et al. (2005); Picq (1994); Zaïdman (1994) and, more recently, Möser (2013), some of them already mentioned and discussed in Chapter 1.

a way, of the anglophone propositions about gender and feminist French theory. The use of expressions such as "*rapports sociaux* of gender" (*relações sociais de gênero*) symbolizes these disputes This strategy should be contextualized in the broader changes that were going on in Brazilian SSH at the time and their impacts on how the area of GFWS was being developed. It should also be put in perspective when considering the double-sided strategy mentioned before – which means these authors were engaged in building a common space at the same time they were disputing institutional spaces not-specific to the area.

In 2004, Saffioti gave an interview to two young researchers of GFWS, reflecting upon her own intellectual and political trajectory and her theoretical production (Mendes & Becker, 2011). While answering the questions presented by the interviewers, she uses the word and a certain idea of gender to refer to feminist issues and to social conditions imposed to women. Still, she criticizes how the term and the concept were used in Brazil:

> "How can we isolate the concept of gender? We shouldn't isolate it from its economic, social and political context. By the way, I use this concept less and less, because it's an apolitical, ahistorical concept, and it's very friendly. So friendly that the World Bank only finances projects with a gender perspective. If we mention 'the patriarchal order of gender' our projects will likely not be approved. But patriarchy is there, in all human relations. We have come to a point where men sustain the existence of patriarchy and feminists deny it." (Mendes & Becker, 2011)[45]

Although she uses the term "gender" during the interview, she mentions that this was a choice guided not entirely by theoretical conviction but also by some sort of "external pressure". This can be better understood if we consider the adoption of the term (and not always the concept of) "gender" by international financing agencies like Ford Foundation itself[46]. One of the key forms of influencing the development of Brazilian SSH by such agencies was the offer of grants and scholarships promoting international circulation of Brazilian researchers specifically to the United States. This shaped a process of re-composition of Brazilian intellectual elites and the organization of knowledge production in Brazilian SSH (Miceli, 1995b)(Canêdo, 2004, 2009; Garcia, 2013).

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[45] Free translation by the author of the thesis, with marks in bold also by the author of the thesis. From the original in Portuguese: *"Como isolar o conceito de gênero? Não se deve isolá-lo de seu contexto econômico, social e político. Aliás, eu utilizo cada vez menos esse conceito, porque gênero é um conceito apolítico, a-histórico e bastante palatável. Tão palatável, que o Banco Mundial só financia projetos com recorte de gênero. Se fizermos referência à "ordem patriarcal de gênero", os projetos, certamente, não serão contemplados com as verbas solicitadas. Mas o patriarcado está aí, presente em todas as relações humanas. Chegamos ao paradoxo de os homens sustentarem a existência do patriarcado e a maioria das feministas mulheres a negarem."*

[46] Ford's research financing has been documented by Aquino, Barbosa, Heilborn, and Berquó (2003); Canêdo (2009); Corrêa (2001); Faria and Costa (2006); Gregori (1999); Heilborn and Sorj (1999).

Such "external pressure" to adopt "gender" in SSH production can be seen as a result of three inter-related forces, slightly more complex than a direct and unidirectional imposition from foreign funding agencies: (i) the articulation of the concept by many Brazilian authors and its adoption in different disciplines (especially in Social Sciences, as demonstrated by the analysis of ANPOCS papers) in a context where evaluation was basically done by peers; (ii) the influence of the French "*versus*" anglophone theories that was going on abroad, and the growing flow of Brazilian researchers to the US instead of Europe, especially after the 1990s – a result of the consolidation of a change in the position of the USA in the global knowledge production system remarkably after the II World War; (iii) local, regional, national and international sources of research financing also adopting gender either a concept or as a term/name[47].

In the scope of the factors that shaped the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil, the cultural relations to theories and authors from France or the United States should be considered as well. Despite most Brazilians using references from both French and US authors, it is common to see the ones more aligned with Souza-Lobo's interpretations citing more often anglophone texts and authors like Rubin, Scott, Butler (and using direct translations of concepts such as "gender", "gendering", "gendered", etc); while those more aligned with Saffioti citing more often francophone works and authors such as Badinter, Héritier, Irigaray (and using categories like "women", "patriarchy", "female", "feminine"). This is not a strict nor a rigid separation, though, with the exception of some authors, and the constant dialogue among researchers was probably responsible for that, along with the absence of need of alignment to a specific body of knowledge or authors.

It is indeed interesting to note how Brazilians have mixed the concept of gender with "*rapports sociaux de sexe*" and "patriarchy". This can also be seen as a result of some sort of pressure to use "gender" even though they didn't totally agree with it – as put by Saffioti. Such author, for example, published a book called "Gender, patriarchy and violence" (Saffioti, 2004), and often used the expression "patriarchal order of gender" and similar ones. By doing that, she was trying to convey the idea that gender is a useful concept for making it explicit that this specific part of social life is guided by something socially built and historically situated; at the same time, she wouldn't agree with the *original-conceptual* interpretation of the concept of

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[47] It should also be pointed out that the adoption of Gender as the most adequate way of analyzing a specific aspect of social life and producing public policy that concerns it, by such external agencies, is also a result of disputes and strategies by different groups.

gender (see Chapter 1) since, according to her, the duality of genitals and bodies would always be the material base for gender. This would be supported by the concept of patriarchy, in this logic, because patriarchy is itself understood by her as intrinsically connected to capitalism, working as a sub-regimen responsible for regulating the reproduction of life in favor of class structure and the domination of the bourgeoisie over the working class.

The theoretical and political disputes within the field have also influenced the shape of institutional structures, as well as they were influenced by them. The case of ANPOCS working groups is an example, but the way universities shaped their institutional inclusion of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies is also evidence of such process.

Universities and institutionalization: background to the process of reception

The University of São Paulo (USP) and the University of Campinas (UNICAMP) have been ranked as the two top universities in Latin America in 2017 by the Times Higher Education (THE, 2017). They are both located in the State of São Paulo, the richest state of Brazil, and dominate Brazilian scientific production and Brazilian graduate studies in number of students and research funding. Despite significant differences between their histories, they have both been spaces strongly linked to the development of Brazilian SSH due to specific financial, cultural, scientific and political investments made along the 20th century towards the development of universities, scientific and technological production (as an industrial state, this was also in the best interest of economic development) and also the social sciences in the state of São Paulo (Castilho & Soares, 2008; Fávero, 2006; Jackson, Blanco, & Miceli, 2014; Miceli, 1987, 1995a, 2001; Ortiz, 1990; Pinheiro, 2016).

USP was created formally as a university in the 1930s, based on the French university model. Its first researchers and professors, especially in SSH, were French researchers, sociologists, anthropologists and philosophers (Miceli, 1987, 2001). UNICAMP was only founded by the end of the 1960s and began to function in the early 1970s. As already mentioned, a broad higher education reform was going on at that time, and UNICAMP was design to fit the "new" university model, which resembled the one used by universities in the USA (Castilho & Soares, 2008).

In 1985, a group of professors (namely Blay, Barroso, Rossini, Azevedo, Cardoso, Fukui, Paoli, Souza-Lobo, Buitoni and Moreira Leite) founded the Center for Women's Studies and Research" at USP (NEMGE, Núcleo de Estudos da Mulher e Relações Sociais de Gênero,

2017). In 1988, it was renamed "Center for Women's and Social Relations of Gender Studies".

At UNICAMP, researchers inspired and lead by Souza-Lobo founded Pagu – *Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero* (Center for Gender Studies) in 1991 as a study group that was integrated as an official center of research at UNICAMP in 1993 (Corrêa, 2001; Gregori, 1999; PAGU - Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero, 2013).

It is important to note that the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil happened in the academic space of SSH during the 1980s and 1990s, so the people involved in that process were acting under certain norms that not necessarily the same ones they would nowadays. Not only general norms and regulations of society (given by culture, moral or law) change and have changed, but also institutional norms which regulated specific spaces of action and interaction – such as universities, their departments, and scientific meetings such as ANPOCS or ANPUH. This adds to the fact that they operated also according to disputable principles of the scientific and academic field in general, which, as should be better discussed throughout the next chapter, is in this case very strongly linked to the political field. To say that spaces such as universities or associations' scientific meetings like ANPOCS and ANPUH are "institutional spaces" means reinforcing that they counted on relatively stable structures of power distribution which go beyond individuals and groups at a specific point in time, and which are capable of legitimating and imposing general norms to those who want to access its benefits and who, in return, act collectively aiming, in a certain way, for the reproduction and maintenance of the institution itself (Lagroye & Offerlé, 2010).

The processes of definition for such norms and the creation of structures as tools of such operations can be called institutionalization processes. Works such as those by Bulmer (1984) in the United States and Trindade (2004), in Brazil[48], indicate some common characteristics of the institutionalization of SSH in different national contexts. Understanding such characteristics helps us to comprehend the complex process of the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil, the formation of a new area of studies in a country and context of supposedly more dependence to other countries (thus less autonomy), and likely more interdependence of scientific/academic and political fields (thus, again, less relative autonomy of each field when comparing to the cases of France and the USA). This means that institutionalization processes shouldn't be analyzed disconnected from broader political, cultural and economic spheres either.

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[48] See also Miceli (1987) and Ortiz (1990), already cited.

ANPOCS working groups "Women and Politics" and "Women in the Workforce" were, since the end of the 1970s, institutional spaces especially dedicated to those topics of research and debate. This made a difference in the possibilities of advancing with Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Social Sciences when compared to History, which caused, as pointed out before, historians to present their work along with social scientists at ANPOCS. This was also an important step towards the institutionalization of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil, which happened following, in general, the same transversal model proposed at ANPOCS working groups – for example, with the creation of Centers of Research integrating researchers of different disciplines who teach in undergraduate and graduate courses directly linked to those disciplines, instead of the creation of specific institutes and colleges devoted to the area (the exceptions being the Federal University of Santa Catarina – UFSC and, afterwards, during the 2000s, the Federal University of Bahia – UFBA). The whole process should be understood in light of the history of Brazilian SSH.

The institutionalization of Brazilian SSH was not a project carried out by intellectuals exclusively guided by their scientific curiosity and their will of organization. This was something made by intellectuals (Miceli, 1987; Ortiz, 1990) who were circulating in intersections of the academic and political fields and also between countries (Dezalay & Madsen, 2013; Garcia, 2013; Trindade, 2004), and who also acted through national and international agencies of various kinds (Bittencourt, 2011; Canêdo, 2009; Faria & Costa, 2006; Maio, 1999). Although this process started during the 1930s, it could only be more significantly carried on from the 1950s-1970s on, and it reached its peak during the 1990s, accompanied by the institutionalization of the higher education system in Brazil.

This means that when the concept of gender arrived in Brazilian SSH (second half of the 1980s), the academic field in which researchers acted and which they disputed was already somewhat organized. That means there were concrete conditions: jobs, courses, funding, etc., but structures were still young, and some were even recently-created, like ANPOCS itself, many of the Brazilian scientific journals, graduate schools and programs, and even universities (like UNICAMP) and departments. Because of that, and because of the expansion of the Brazilian postgraduation (since new professors were needed with the expansion of the Higher Education system) it wasn't uncommon that young researchers and graduate students (like Souza-Lobo, Gregori, Neves and others aforementioned) found space to act within their universities.

The generational aspect might be an important aspect to be taken into account when trying to understand how and why some spaces seemed to be especially open to "new" theories,

concepts and possibilities. Universities with professors who were pioneers as women in Brazilian SSH, and who were the pioneers of Women's Studies in Brazil such as USP (where Heleieth Saffioti and Eva Blay[49], both from the same generation, started their careers) seemed to have taken longer to adopt the concept of Gender and its researchers seem to have done it with more resistance. Younger ones like UNICAMP seemed to have rapidly opened up to the adoption of a more extreme perspective on the concept of gender (like the *original-conceptual* approach as classified in Chapter 1).

However, the age of universities, departments and even researchers doesn't seem to be enough to explain the phenomenon, since researchers from the same generation and from institutions created more or less at the same time presented different strategies during their disputes. It doesn't explain, either, why the concept wasn't refused (like in France in those decades) but rather appropriated and claimed in different ways. This, however, can be analyzed by observing other forces that influenced and shaped the spaces in which those researchers worked during the 1980s and 1990s: they not only acted within somewhat institutionalized spaces, but also in spaces that were or were being institutionalized according to specific logics and principles, which sometimes came from far beyond those spaces themselves.

In the political context of the Cold War and its final years (if we consider that the Cold War ended with the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989), Brazil and Latin America went through a strongly neoliberal period in which State policies were guided by principles of rationalization and management favored by previous policies[50]. The implementation of such changes in economy and State politics in Brazil was enhanced and made more efficient due to economic and educational policies introduced in previous decades, especially during the 1940s and 1950s with the development of a project of Nation by the State, and during the military dictatorship with the growth of the external debt, the expansion of the higher education system, the development of a post-graduation system, and the circulation of scientists and intellectuals to countries central for global capitalism (like the United States, United Kingdom, France and Germany).

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[49] See Blay (2013)

[50] Despite, in the common sense, the idea of "neoliberalism" is treated as equivalent to "minimum State", it isn't accurate to operate such equivalence in a sociological analysis. There was and there is systematically much State intervention in neoliberal periods (in the case of Brazil, the institutionalization of postgraduation and changes in the Higher Education systems are evidence of that), although the discourse is that of cooperation between public and private actors, or that of public policies aiming to foster private sector development.

According to Ortiz (1990) and Miceli (1987) the rationalization, "scientifization" and professionalization of Social Sciences in Brazil, already steady during the 1980s, gained its force during the military period as it was considered an important part of "rational State management" principles. Such principles were brought by countries to which Brazil owed in its enormous external debt, and by international financial organisms like the World Bank, being accepted and reformulated by the elites which traditionally occupied and accessed the positions of power and decision within the State (Ortiz, 1990).

The role of agencies and foundations in this complex process, as mentioned during this chapter, should not be minimized. By controlling funding and to which areas, themes or approaches it goes, such organizations could also shape the international circulation of specific ideas, theories and concepts, and influence in sculpting the development and institutionalization of Brazilian SSH[51]. A more detailed work by Dezalay and Garth (2002) shows how the international circulation of certain pieces of knowledge can be used as a political tool in processes like this. The appropriation and reinterpretation of ideas that circulate are, thus, part of a broader network of forces in dispute while actively contributing to it – even when claiming for its change, like in the cases when propositions are made concerning which theoretical perspectives should now be dominant and which are no longer useful[52].

The prosopography presented in Chapter 3 should help in discussing this kind of phenomena in more detail, shedding light over the structure of the academic field of Brazilian SSH during the 1980s and 1990s and helping in positioning researchers and their theoretical and political perspectives in that context. It should also help in understanding the role of some central agents such as Souza-Lobo and Saffioti, and in building a broader perspective that shows how other universities also became important centers of development for Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil.

The cases of the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and the Federal University of Santa Catarina (UFSC), discussed in the prosopography, will enrich this analysis, as well as the case of the Federal and State Universities of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ and UFRJ) which concentrated many important researchers of that field who played prominent roles, especially during the 1980s and beginning of the 1990s, but then seemed to have changed their position

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[51] Even though it concerns a more recent context, the descriptions of the Portuguese case made by Pereira (2015) show how funding changed the status of "gender studies" in Portugal, being useful to help us put similar processes from our past in perspective.

[52] Processes of such kind have been described by Bourdieu (1998); (2002); Dezalay and Madsen (2013); Garcia (2005).

in the space of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies when the "gender perspective" became more popular (a hypothesis that is taken into account during the prosopography is that the institutional structures built in Rio de Janeiro were more strongly linked to Women's Studies, which ended up losing space in the end of the 1990s). The prosopography will also help to understand the apparent contradiction in the central role played by Saffioti at that time and her institutional placement in a more "marginal" university and campus, even though still in the state of São Paulo.

CHAPTER 3:
THE WALLS AND BRIDGES OF GENDER STUDIES
AND HOW THEY WERE BUILT IN BRAZIL:
A PROSOPOGRAPHICAL ESSAY[53]

Image 8 - Scene from John Cameron Mitchell's movie "Hedwig & The Angry Inch", 2001

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[53] As a methodological strategy, the findings of the prosopographical analysis are here presented as an essay. Above all reasons, though, because it was the only way possible for me to put my heart in it. The more detailed research, data and analysis procedures can be found in the Appendixes of this thesis.

PART I - WHAT'S IN A NAME?

GENDER AS THE NEW BERLIN WALL

Introduction – On the impossibility of a clear prosopography – Naming the subjects, finding the sources – The prosopographical approach: a methodological note on tracing trajectories - Controversies and disputes about and around the concept of gender – Gender in microsystems of mixed categories – Suburbs, instead of ghettoes: a separatist transversalism

*   *   *   *   *

"The most memorable dispute was regarding the journal's name. Many names were considered, but the main division between us was opposing those who wanted the word 'feminist' as an adjective for 'studies' and those who preferred 'gender studies' as an alternative."

Costa, A. d. O. (2004)[54] describing the meetings that originated *Revista Estudos Feministas* in 1992, one of the most important journals dedicated to gender / feminist / women's studies in Brazil.

"What's in a name?"

Juliet Capulet to Romeo Montague in Shakespeare (2017)

*   *   *   *   *

"Don't you know me, Kansas City? I'm the new Berlin wall! Try and tear me down!" – This is the first phrase sang by the main character of the rock musical Hedwig & The Angry Inch (Mitchell, 2001). The musical is a movie by John Cameron Mitchell, based on his theatre play performed for the first time in 1994, that quickly became a success in a drag-punk club in New York. The main character, Hedwig (an ungendered name), is a genderqueer person who ends up without either "male" or "female" genitals due to a badly performed genital reassignment surgery. *"I'm the new Berlin wall",* the character sings.

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[54] Free translation from the original: "A disputa mais memorável disse respeito ao nome, muitos foram considerados, mas a cisão principal foi aquela que opôs as defensoras da inclusão do qualificativo feministas para estudos no título e as defensoras da alternativa estudos de gênero."

If the political debate in the 20th century could be symbolized by the separation of socialist and capitalist sides of the city of Berlin, it can easily be perceived now, in 2018, that the 21st century can't escape the centrality of the gender debate, to which feminism and women's rights now seem to belong. Further in that same opening song, the character is presented by one of the band's musicians:

> *On august 13th, 1961, a wall was erected down the*
> *Middle of the city of Berlin.*
> *The world was divided by a cold war and the Berlin wall*
> *Was the most hated symbol of that divide.*
> *Reviled. graffitied. spit upon.*
> *We thought the wall would stand forever,*
> *And now that it's gone we don't know who we are anymore.*
> *Ladies and gentlemen, Hedwig is like that wall,*
> *Standing before you in the divide between*
> *East and west,*
> *Slavery and freedom,*
> *Man and woman,*
> *Top and bottom.*
>
> *(Mitchell, 1994)*

Hedwig goes on, then, into the rest of the lyrics, and much dialectically describes with his/her words one of the most interesting characteristics of the concept of gender and its effect on social theory (that was starting to be noticed in the beginning of the 1990s), as this chapter intends to show:

> *Ain't much of a difference*
> *between a bridge and a wall*
> *Without me right in the middle, babe*
> *You would be nothing at all*
>
> *(Mitchell, 1994)*

By opening the film with such an intense statement, the author seems to capture the position of gender in the public debate in the United States at that time, and to announce the 21st century gender quarrels to come, which would expand way beyond the US borders, as the above mentioned conservative activists protesting outside Judith Butler's conferences in Brazil show quite clearly. Such quarrels and disputes are directly related to the processes of production, diffusion, circulation and reception of such concept, and can be better understood

by investigating the disputes around them. It is worth reinforcing what has been pointed out in previous chapters: that gender is a concept developed in the academic and the scientific fields prior to circulating in political debate and in non-academic spaces within social movements and, hence, its particularity as an extremely interesting case to sociology of knowledge and to investigate more about the bridges (and walls) between the academic and the political fields.

Studying this phenomenon through a concrete case and, beyond that, through the case of a national academic space such as the Brazilian one (which occupies a less central position in the global knowledge production system then the USA or central European countries, which had their theoretical debates as the basis for the development of such concept), allows us to pose new questions about this topic.

Recovering what has been pointed out in the previous chapters, the analysis of the Brazilian case contributes to posing both broader and specific questions such as: How does a concept become the legitimate way of analyzing a phenomenon, describing it and/or talking about it, worldwide? How does it reach a high degree of institutionalization? How does a concept transpose national barriers and language barriers while it circulates around the world? How does a new concept or theory reach a national academic space in particular? How does it travel there and what happens when it arrives somewhere new? How was the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil shaped? Which elements interacted (and how) to produce this phenomenon? What were the consequences of such interactions concerning how Brazilian SSH produces knowledge and its role in the global system of knowledge production and circulation in SSH? What is the impact of the national and international politics of research funding in the reception of this concept when analyzing a country that has at least some cultural and economic dependence of other countries, such as (but not only) France and the USA? How have the intellectual relations already established between such countries (as briefly pointed out during Chapter 1) influenced in the theoretical and political positions regarding the concept of gender and its interpretations and specific uses in Brazil (and what was the role of Brazil's relations with each of them in that process)? How have the relations between disciplines of SSH in Brazil and their position in the academic field influenced this process?

In the first chapter, the theoretical development of the concept of gender was presented and contextualized within the political and institutional conditions that have helped in shaping it, highlighting USA-France relations and theoretical transits as a way to establish which tensions and disputes travelled with the concept of gender to Brazil. The second chapter is a broader overview of the debate upon the arrival of the concept of gender in this country,

showing its main controversies, tensions and disputes and eliciting some factors that can help us understand such process (institutional and theoretical proximity with French or US theories, proximity with the political field, recurrence of some topics of investigation, the fidelity and/or belonging to different disciplines and/or schools of thought, etc.). Chapter 3, that starts here, intends to go deeper on these factors, producing an analysis that might help to explain why this area of studies was shaped and institutionalized the way it was – contributing to think about what it is today.

In order to do that, this chapter presents a prosopographical essay to contribute to the investigation and discussion of such questions. Although some insight about prosopography as a method (and it's particular use in this work) is offered, the chapter focuses on presenting its findings. A more detailed discussion about the research procedures that produced such data can be read in Appendix 2. The prosopographical essay[55] is used here as a means to describe and analyze the relations that shaped Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil, questioning its position in the academic field and questioning if it could be seen itself as a field in Bourdieusian terms.

To grant some fluency in reading, as it is an extensive analysis, the chapter was divided in three shorter parts that aim, together, to reveal the structure of knowledge production in GFWS in Brazil, along with the structures of its institutionalization. The first one indicates the methods of analysis, the main sources and data obtained, and wraps the prosopographical analysis with findings already discussed in the previous chapters. This should establish a solid ground for the more detailed analysis presented in the following two parts. The second part describes and analyses the trajectories of a group of 35 researchers through the lenses of apparent tensions between science and politics, between the scientific and the political fields. The third part focuses on institutional spaces (journals, universities, programs) as means of distinction, and their role on the international circulation, to question the position of GFWS production in Brazil beyond the supposed autonomy of "fields". The results of such analysis bring new questions as to how the "national" makes or doesn't make sense in order to think about knowledge production as a whole, as well as how knowledge can be produced from the margins of the margins or, as proposed, *interstitially*.

An *interstice* is "an intervening space, especially a very small one" according to the Oxford English Dictionary online (Oxford, 2018). The same source indicates that this word

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[55] The use of the essay text is one of the solutions found by the author to balance distance and approximation to such object, as it will be discussed in the next section of the chapter.

comes from the Latin word *interstitium*, which comes from *intersistere* – "to stand between" (*inter* being "between" and *sistere* "to stand"). That is: an interstice is the small space in which, standing in between other spaces, it is possible to act. As the prosopographical analysis will show, this idea can be an interesting key to interpret authors' trajectories between science and politics, between Brazil and France, between Brazil and the United States, between Sex and Gender. In all of those dimensions, their place – as interstitial subjects or interstitial agents – seem to be that of exile. That's where we'll start.

On the impossibility of a clear prosopography

EXÍLIO. Exile. The word written on a post-it falls from the large glass window full of drawings and schemes, where I trace the journey of the researchers involved in the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil. A tiny purple piece of paper carrying six letters and now, apparently, my whole life too. The contradictions of writing my thesis in English, of writing "exile" in a foreign language for knowing I need to have my work read abroad – and no longer where I come from. The need to leave, when existence becomes impossible. The choice between living a half-life where you can't really exist as who you are, and do what you do, or go away – it's not really a choice. If I would always call it an "exile" when people from the LGBT communities left their countries if they were forbidden to exist there, to lead their lives freely somewhere else, why wasn't I using this word to describe my decision to leave Brazil when so many of my activities are being harassed, chased, extinguished or even forbidden? It suddenly made sense. Exile.

There I was, in Paris, deciding that after going back to Brazil to defend my thesis I would pack my things and definitely move out of my country, when this word – *EXÍLIO* – fell from the chart I had sketched on the surface of one of *Maison du Brésil*'s huge glass windows. There I was, a Brazilian feminist researcher in Paris, reading Brazilian feminist researchers' autobiographical writings about being exiled in Paris. Less than thirty years after the end of our last dictatorship we managed to, again, have people going away to be able to exist and continue their intellectual work. This is where I speak from - the interstice of two cycles of the history of science and academia in Brazil[56].

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[56] Having started the last phase of the academic career preparation (the PhD) in 2014, it was surprising to see it in a crisis (a crisis of the model it once was: public employment, government funding, etc.) by the beginning of 2018. Brutal budgetary cuts have significantly diminished the job offer, especially during 2017. Beyond that, the year of 2017 was remarkable in what concerns political and ideological tensions in the country, which seem to have tackled universities with some intensity. Professors were threatened for studying gender relations, students had their

This is one among an enormous list of reasons why writing a prosopography can be so hard: the immediate identification with the subjects who, not by accident, have been my professors and sometimes even became friends; the fact that most of them are alive and still feel there's something to lose with a badly placed or a misused word, sentence, photograph; the specific position of being close to them, but not being one of them, which could grant me a somewhat objective perspective but, at the same time, could unauthorize me as someone who was allowed to tell their story. After all, the topic of this research has never been studied or discussed in Brazil by others than the researchers who have built this area of study themselves, and therefore are the subjects of this work (or by those who have had them as their research advisors, which isn't my case either). This is the link that presenting this chapter as an essay allows me to reinforce: the constant dialectic tension between researcher and object; the reflexivity needed to objectivate the subjective as in Bourdieu's Sketch for a Self-Analysis (Bourdieu, 2007).

I go back to the board where the prosopography was first sketched to then become a series or worksheets as presented in the Appendices of this work. I started by writing researchers' names and placing them as close to each other as they would show up in the documents when they co-authored each other, cited each other, defended the same position as each other or opposed each other directly. Then, I added small colored tags with information about their position in the SSH field (such as the discipline they studied), about possible affiliation to certain schools of thought (like Marxism), and other information on their trajectory, which will be more technically discussed further in this chapter. Besides "exile", the other words in tags are equally representative of places I have found myself in (and that are likely to be familiar to the reader, too): anthropology, Marxism, Cadernos Pagu, Revista Estudos Feministas, UNICAMP – UFRJ – UFSC – UFBA – USP[57], Fundação Carlos Chagas.

Looking at this information every morning, living with it on my walls. Their names and lives in my hands and in data bytes stored in a distant server somewhere. Names – it all starts with these 35 names and their quarrels about names and naming. When Juliet asks "What's in a name?" in Shakespeare's masterpiece and proceeds to question what does it mean to say

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dissertations' defenses guarded by school security because of violent threats concerning their subject of study in GFWS, study groups were notified of having been investigated by the judicial system because they focused on Marxism, and more. Although a more profound analysis of these times will only be possible in the years to come, it is evident that the conditions in which one is supposed to develop their research career have dramatically changed from what it was in 2014 (and, of course, it can still change from now on).

[57] As it will be further explained, these are the names of the 4 universities that show up as being more central to the development of Gender Studies in Brazil.

"Montague" (proposing it shouldn't concretely mean much) she most definitely ignores her own fate: that belonging to a name and the misunderstanding of names (what is an address if not a form of naming?) would bring her death. Names are carriers of social relations that limit our range of action in the world – and that define our possibilities within them – even though romantically, poetically or mystically we might choose to say, believe or wish otherwise.

Naming the subjects, finding the sources

The criteria used to select the 35 prosopography subjects was primarily their participation in the theoretical debate about the concept of gender and their legitimacy as guardians of history and memory of the area of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil. Their presence in building this area of study's institutional spaces and structures (journals, research groups, departments, programs, etc) was also considered, as well as their participation in conflicts or episodes remembered by their peers as significant at their time. Some of them were mapped as stronger pillars in this construction, for meeting more than one (and, in some cases, many) of these criteria. Those are the main characters of this essay, although, as a prosopographical analysis, its propositions and conclusions are based on the whole group's information and tendencies.

The identification and definition of which authors were relevant to the study, and even the description of their trajectories, were ongoing tasks during the four years of research. This search and systematization was based on a large and diverse set of documents, that can be presented in four subsets:

(i)   the first document selection started from an analysis of papers, published in journals indexed by the largest journal index in Brazil, Scielo[58], that either theoretically discussed the concept of gender or tried to tell the story of the area of gender / feminist / women studies in Brazil; since this index was only created in the year 2000 and the research focused on the decades of 1980 and 1990, this first set was auxiliary and served as guidance in looking for more documents, and in identifying some of the subjects either because they were authors of such papers or because they were mentioned by them as relevant;

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[58] For a more detailed description of how this data was gathered, and for a deeper discussion on Scielo as a scource, see Appendix 1.

(ii)   the second subset of documents was composed, then, by the articles published during the 1990s in the two first academic journals dedicated to gender / feminist / women's studies and that are still considered the most important nationally – Cadernos Pagu and Revista Estudos Feministas; more specifically, the articles selected were those who had the word "gender" in their titles and, among them, more importance was given to the ones that aimed to pose a theoretical debate on the concept of gender and/or that aimed to present a history or memory of this area of studies[59];

(iii)   a third phase of document selection involved going through ANPOCS online files and checking all papers presented in the 1980s and 1990s that, again, were either debating the theoretical gains and losses of using the concept of gender, and/or recovering/establishing a history or memory to the area of gender / feminist / women studies in Brazil; part of the findings from these documents were already presented in Chapter 2. However, they also formed the base to this prosopographical essay;

(iv)   beyond ANPOCS, the works discussed in the meeting of São Roque in 1991 were also analyzed, especially because the whole goal of such reunion was precisely to analyze and theoretically discuss the then-called "perspective of gender"; their authors were all included in the listing, although some were considered more relevant as active leaders in the shaping and institutionalization of the area.

From these documents, criteria of relevance were defined. The more these criteria applied for an individual, the stronger her relevance was assumed to be. To know whether this applied to them or not, the four document sets were consulted and, in the few cases where this was available, so were complementary documents such as published interviews and biographical or autobiographical writings. The criteria of relevance used were the presence of the authors in one or more of the following events:

- Author of paper where the concept of gender was being theoretically discussed, published in either *Cadernos Pagu* or *Revista Estudos Feministas* until 1999

- Author of paper that recovered the history of gender studies in Brazil, published in either *Cadernos Pagu* or *Revista Estudos Feministas* until 1999

- Author of paper presented and discussed during the reunion in São Roque in 1991

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[59] For a more detailed description of how these were scrutinized and analyzed, see Appendix 1.

- Author of paper that discussed the concept of gender theoretically, and that was presented in ANPOCS annual meetings from 1980 to 1999

- Member of editorial board, founding group or executive committee of either *Cadernos Pagu* or *Revista Estudos Feministas* until 1999

- Main organizer or coordinator of other initiatives highlighted by the subjects as important events:

  o Seminar about "Women in the Workforce" that took place in 1978 at the University of São Paulo, and that was the first reunion of the group that would become ANPOCS homonymous working group

  o Organization and publication of a series of four books about the topic of women, sex relations and gender in Anthropology (Franchetto, Heilborn, & Cavalcanti, 1981)

  o Founder of the first research and study group of Women's Studies in Brazil at the catholic university of Rio de Janeiro, PUC-RJ

  o Founder of the first research group of Women's Studies in universities that became pillars to the area of gender / feminist / women studies in Brazil[60]:

    ▪ *Universidade Estadual de Campinas* (Unicamp) – Pagu *Núcleo de Estudos de Gênero*

    ▪ *Universidade de São Paulo (USP)* – NEMGE - *Núcleo de Estudos e Pesquisas sobre a Mulher / Núcleo de Estudos da Mulher e Relações Sociais de Gênero*

    ▪ *Universidade Federal da Bahia* (UFBA) – NEIM - *Núcleo de Estudos Interdisciplinares sobre a Mulher*

    ▪ *Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina* (UFBA) – NIGS – *Núcleo de Identidades de Gênero e Subjetividades*

  o Organization of the first National Congress of Women's Studies Research Groups

  o Coordination of the first, longest and largest program of grants specially dedicated to Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in the country, provided by Ford Foundation and managed by *Fundação Carlos Chagas* (FCC)

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[60] Highlighted terms indicate use of "Gênero" (gender), "Mulher" or "Mulheres" (Woman/Women), "Relações Sociais" (*rapports sociaux,* social relations), "Identidades de Gênero" (gender identities). Such terms indicate differences in the theoretical and epistemological approach among the groups; this will be better discussed through the prosopographical analysis itself.

- Having occupied important positions at *Fundação Carlos Chagas* (FCC) until 1999
- Peer recognition: researchers pointed out by their peers as having had a fundamental role or impact in the beginning and institutionalization of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil

The prosopographical approach: a methodological note on tracing trajectories

Such sources and methods provided a broad map of who (and where) were the researchers involved in the reception of the concept of gender and in the center of the process of institutionalization of gender / feminist / women studies in Brazil. Besides their names and the names of institutions where they worked, these sources also made it possible to analyze and systematize the debates that were happening at that time and the position of these authors regarding the main controversies and disputes they were in. This is crucial for the development of a prosopographical method or, yet, a prosopographical research style (Lemercier & Picard, 2010). One of the gains of such style is precisely that it requires the object to be analyzed as part of larger social structures, on one hand, and, on the other hand, that it is a technique that emphasized the relational aspect of phenomena (Ferrari, 2010; Lemercier & Picard, 2010).

As summarized by Sapiro (1999), and as already discussed in the introduction of this thesis, a prosopographical approach that aims to investigate processes related to the production and circulation of symbolic goods can be efficient to make the connections between three dimensions of the phenomenon: (i) the disposition of the agents (in this case, the 35 researchers); (ii) their position in the field (in this case, the Brazilian field of social sciences and humanities and, more generally, the academic field); and (iii) their standpoints concerning the debates, divergences, disputes and controversies identified as central to the comprehension of the phenomenon and/or object studied (in the case here presented, most of them were already pointed out in Chapters 1 and 2 and will be shortly described again through this chapter). This is what this prosopographical essay has intended to do.

Following this approach, the group is considered an agent, and its subjects are treated as agents within. A prosopography is understood as the systematization of the biography of a group, rather than a sum of individual biographies (Ferrari, 2010; Lemercier & Picard, 2010; Stone, 2011). This systematization is based in criteria built from empirical and theoretical preliminary analysis, which tries to aggregate common aspects of the subjects' biographies,

tracing their trajectories as a group. It thus becomes possible that the analysis of the group makes up for the partial lack of information about individual biographies, which, in the particular case of this research, was remarkably useful: since most of the subjects are still alive, there were few detailed biographical data about them, and no interviews were conceded[61].

Interviews and biographies – which were both precarious in the case of these 35 subjects, since the work had to rely on already published material only – are usually the main sources to identify subjects' dispositions and position in the field, according to the already cited references in the prosopographical method and Sapiro's and Bourdieu's works. However, the Brazilian government's science and technology agency disposes publicly an online database with the detailed curriculums of professors, researchers and students – the Plataforma Lattes or Curriculum Lattes (CNPq, 2017) – with information such as: universities where the researcher has studied or worked (and years, degrees obtained, formal statuses, etc.), details of each publication authored or co-authored, research grants obtained, students they have advised, participation as editors of journals, prizes won, participation in thesis committees, and more .

The filling of its forms is mandatory to obtain research grants and financing, to apply for positions in public universities and to get promoted in the academic career. This means that the data available is as solid as possible (in applying for positions in public universities professors have to present certification of what they mention in such curriculums) and as complete as possible (since it's unlikely they would omit something considered prestigious). Of course, like any other data source, it has its limits (which will be discussed with the presentation of data itself further in this chapter and its appendixes, when appropriate).

Lattes Curriculums were, then, the main sources to trace the group's and individuals' trajectories. After sketching the previously mentioned chart that helped revealing broader tendencies within the group, a worksheet was created, allowing a more detailed comparison, and the chart was adapted with information from these curricula. More details on the worksheets

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[61]The difficulty with interviews can be understood by highlighting that most of the 35 subjects studied are still alive as are many of the controversies they've been through, as this work has intended to show. At the same time, this is a group that has produced a great deal of registries of its own history, in its own terms, throughout the years. The legitimacy or illegitimacy of speakers and speech that aim at telling the story and registering the memory of a group is frequently used as part of its strategies of action. As someone who is close but not part of the group (I have never had one of them – or their students – as my research advisors, for instance), I might have been perceived with some sort of ambiguity: someone who would understand enough the meaning and weight of facts and the way they tell them, to transform it into data, but who wouldn't necessarily be loyal to their version or to official versions or interpretations given. This adds to the fact that researchers are indeed very busy workers, and that my calendar of travels and theirs have made it even harder to schedule such interviews, in the few cases when they accepted to give me one (2 out of 10 subjects contacted from the total of 35).

as well as the raw worksheet data can be found in Appendix 2. From such analysis new data were created to support the prosopographical essay this chapter brings.

The prosopographical analysis starts with the mapping of the main theoretical, epistemological and political disputes around the concept of gender, recovering what was previously discussed in this thesis and adding new perspectives to it, in this part of the chapter. It then presents, in the following parts, the core findings of the prosopographical analysis: the role of Marxists and other militant groups and how it reflected in the development of the area; the case of Anthropologists and how their institutional insertion beyond this area benefitted its development and institutionalization; the implications of being closer to one, the other or both journals (*Cadernos Pagu* and *Revista Estudos Feministas*); the role of translation and international circulation of researchers in the group's trajectory; the centrality of institutional affiliations to understand the possibilities of action, research financing and others – and its importance in observing more generally the position the agents had in the academic/scientific field of Brazilian SSH. Finally, a new debate is posed based on this analysis, questioning whether this can be empirically considered a field in Bourdieusian terms and how can the issue of autonomy be addressed when dealing with a global system of production and circulation of knowledge (and that is when the notion of *interstice* is built and brought to use).

Controversies and disputes about and around the concept of gender

The main controversies and disputes about and around the concept of gender might have been originated out of Brazil but, as discussed in the previous chapter, they clearly had an impact in its reception there. A short presentation of them is useful, then, to start outlining the axes that organize the theoretical and epistemological divergences regarding the concept of gender among Brazilian feminist researchers in the 1980s and 1990s.

As discussed in the first chapter, the concept of gender can be understood as a radical approach to the idea that the part of human life it refers to is a social construct. Such idea was first theoretically presented by authors like Margaret Mead in the 1930s and Simone de Beauvoir in the 1940s/1950s, although using the same word – "*sex*" – that common discourse used when referring to biological aspects of the human experience. This proposition became stronger when French authors proposed the concept of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, which translates to "social relations of sex". They maintained that, while social relations were crucial if social sciences wanted to understand relations of power and inequality between men and women, they were nevertheless based on a biological sexual dichotomy or, as they used to say,

sexual difference. When the concept of gender was formulated and started being discussed, some researchers understood that it could potentially question the whole idea of a purely biological sex that precedes gender. These researchers, then, developed the concept towards a radical approach that sees biological sex as a product of Gender (understood as a symbolic system).

However, as shown with the cases of France and United States and as this chapter and the previous intended to show through the case of its Brazilian reception, the disputes around the concept of gender were also expressed in different appropriations, interpretations and claims about its meaning. Through an analysis of theoretical reviews published in four different languages, a system of classification was proposed for such interpretations in Chapter 1. The central criteria used to distinguish these different ways of approaching the word and/or the concept of gender balances both its use as concept or not (in some cases, gender is used as a word to substitute 'sex' or even 'woman/women', but not necessarily mobilized as part of a phenomenon's explanation), and its use to either simply rename what had already been introduced by 'sex' as a social construct and '*rapports sociaux de sexe*'.

The previous chapters also point out the growing dominant position of gender as the legitimate way of analyzing a certain dimension of social life as both effect and cause of such diversity. This means that, on one hand, the diversity of interpretations helps spreading the use of such word and/or concept, once it can be and is used in many different ways without necessarily a strict meaning or without the need to undergo deep and long theoretical investigations in order to use it in a way that is acceptable to other researchers – in a certain way, then, the legitimacy of the concept can be seen as partially an effect of the diversity of its uses. On the other hand, it has been previously pointed out how the dominant position of the concept of gender has given it the status of a condition to obtain research resources and funding, which means that reinterpretations and appropriations can be strategies of those who do not completely agree with its more radical and original propositions.

This is why the simple use or refusal of the concept or word "gender" is not enough to describe and identify theoretical and epistemological positions, especially in the case of a country that is poorer and more economically dependent such as Brazil in the 1980s and 1990s. As it will be discussed in more detail further in this chapter and in the next one, an impaired economy seems to increase the impact of foreign interests in what is or isn't possible to be researched or intellectually produced and how. This happens when national research becomes object of foreign investments that aim not only for the implantation of specific development

models but also for strengthening bonds and relations that guarantee certain symbolic goods their place of legitimacy worldwide, as it has been and will continue to be discussed in this work. In these cases, what happens is that the use of the concept and/or word *gender* is assimilated and, instead of refusing it like some French authors did, authors reinterpret it and claim specific meanings of it, inserting it in what this thesis proposes to be "microsystems of mixed categories".

Gender in microsystems of mixed categories

The Brazilian publications about Gender (as described earlier in this chapter) show that some sort of microsystem of categories emerge, then, when the uses of the word and the concept of Gender are more thoroughly analyzed in such context. By the association of two or more of these categories it becomes clearer what the epistemological and theoretical positions of a certain author are. It also becomes easier to identify the scope of different works and which areas or sub-areas and disciplines they are meant to reach. Besides *gender*, other three categories are constantly used to stress theoretical and epistemological positions on how such dimension of social life should be analyzed: *patriarchy, sex* and *women/woman*.

The use of *sex+women/woman* generally appears, for instance, in works that come from or are directed to disciplines and subareas of public health or medicine. The use of *patriarchy* is usually accompanied by *sex* and *women*, especially in works published during the 1980s and first half of the 1990s, which were either actively ignoring, non-explicitly refusing or hadn't yet been introduced to the concept of gender. It was uncommon, then, for these works to associate the combo *patriarchy-sex-women/woman* with *gender*, what would happen during the 1990s (distinctively during their second half) and keep on happening in a larger scale from the 2000s on – since the concept of gender spread and it became more unlikely for authors to not have been presented to it, or even to actively ignore it – was that the non-explicit and sometimes explicit refusal or divergence was, then, stressed by the simultaneous use of *gender* and the *patriarchy-sex-women/woman* combination. The word "*feminist*" is also used as some sort of accessory imprint of such divergence, as it will become clearer though this chapter. However, it can't be considered as such a powerful evidence of divergence, since "feminist" is not conceptually divergent from *Gender*, but rather takes the dispute to a different axis, proposing another perspective to deal with such object, that approximates it from the political field – because G*ender* is also associated with feminism in a different perspective than the one that

combines both *gender, feminist* and *patriarchy-sex-woman* as categories. This debate will be better developed along the three parts of this chapter.

At the same time, those who don't use concepts like *patriarchy* or *sex*, usually combining *gender* and *women* (the noun rarely appears in its singular form in these cases), tend to claim the conceptual-original interpretation of the concept of gender. There is, however, another concept that frequently appears associated with part of these works: *subjectivity* or *subject*. This marks the influence of the psychoanalytical debate, present in the theoretical development of the concept of gender at least since Rubin's work in 1975 (Rubin, 2011f), but which seems to have become more intense in Brazil during the 1990s, especially after Butler's *Gender Trouble* publication in 1990 (Butler, 1990). As mentioned in Chapter 2, the debate about the concept of gender in Brazil was more influenced by Joan Scott's text (Scott, 1986) than by previous publications, even those cited and discussed by the historian. This makes sense with findings presented in Chapter 2, as well as in the prosopographical analysis discussed during the next sections of this chapter: that the concept of gender would arrive through a text written by a Marxist historian and first published in 1986, when the dictatorship was ending and new spaces seemed to be open for dispute in the still weakly institutionalized Brazilian SSH.

The same political and institutional context matters to understand a central question asked and disputed by these researchers through their theoretical and epistemological standpoints: should this new area of study be built as a proto-disciplinary area such as Marxism, with its own epistemology and sets of categories, besides a very specific object (separatism)? Or should it be transversal, being spread through all disciplines and institutional spaces possible (transversalism)? Going further, it is worth noting that this same debate was frequently expressed in terms of Science/Academia *versus* politics. On one side, researchers that were resistant to using the concept of gender (and that, in Brazil, associated it with *patriarchy, sex* and *woman/women* as a strategy, as previously described) sustained that such concept was not political enough or, worse, depoliticizing – these researchers tended to focus sometimes in the idea of "Women" studies and in earlier attempts to form an area separated from disciplines already consolidated, which were frequently called "male science", "masculine science" or "*machista* science". On the other side, researchers that claimed the use of the concept of *gender* as an innovation and an important tool to SSH, tended to highlight its theoretical and scientific accuracy, reinforcing that it was flexible enough to be integrated in many different disciplines that were already consolidated and that such integration represented a gain for SSH as a whole.

Regarding either issues – science *versus* politics and/or *transversalism* versus *separatism* – Brazilian researchers seem to have associated strategies of action, producing their own synthesis of such oppositions. Oppositions do exist, but they have frequently been concretely turned into common strategies of action that ended up favoring the institutionalization of gender / feminist / women's studies in Brazil, what is sustained in the next subsection and during the next sections of this chapter.

Suburbs, instead of ghettoes: a separatist transversalism

The idea that gender / feminist / women's studies should be a separate proto-disciplinary and not a transversal area of research is commonly referred to as a "ghetto" – a homogeneous and forcedly isolated piece of a very heterogeneous social space, closed in itself. However, by using a double strategy as indicated in Chapter 2, Brazilian researchers seem to have built something more similar to suburbs. This allegory gives the idea of something more open and integrated with the heterogeneous space of a city, although it maintains its own life and, in a certain way, its own codes of conduct. Its inhabitants are integrated with the city life and crucial to it, sometimes even being present in important positions of power. This is an approximated image of what this area of studies and research became in Brazilian SSH, due to actions and strategies taken at the time of its institutionalization and that were expressed in controversies around the concept of gender. Calling it a "separatist transversalism" gives an outlined picture of the process, already indicated in the previous chapter: spaces of common articulation, production, circulation, debate, associated with researchers' insertion in their disciplines and other institutional spaces of SSH (not homogeneously, though, among individuals, groups, disciplines, etc., as this Chapter will show).

The discussion mentioned by Costa, A. d. O. (2004) in the epigraph of this chapter is an interesting anecdote that portrays the link between theoretical divergences and decisions made in the process of institutionalization of the area. The researchers who defended that the name of the journal should call it "Feminist Studies" were stating that their work shouldn't get too far from the political field, activism and feminism as a political movement. Those in favor of "Gender Studies" were concerned about the acceptance of the journal beyond feminism, in already institutionalized disciplines, programs, scientific spaces. As it will be pointed out in the third part of this chapter, the distancing of GFWS from the political field during the 1990s was listed by Ford Foundation as a reason for the end of their funding.

This reflects what had been discussed in São Roque in 1991: both the reunion and the journal (that was first proposed during this reunion) were spaces of articulation of gender / feminist / women studies; however, the papers presented in the meeting show the use of "*feminism*" in articles that tackled propositions for this specific area of research and studies (Dias, 1992; Machado, 1992; Sorj, 1992), while debates pertaining specific disciplines either chose to discuss *"woman/women"* as an object that shaped some sort of sub-discipline (i.e.: "women and Literature" mentioned by (Hollanda, 1992, 1992)Hollanda, 1992; "Formal education and women" mentioned by Rosemberg, 1992), or they chose to focus on *gender*, discussing its theoretical implications and possibilities for different objects that could fit transversally in various disciplines (i.e.: "Gender and social class" mentioned by Saffioti, H., 1992; "From feminine to gender" as proposed by Castro & Lavinas, 1992; "the gender of work" as described by Souza-Lobo, 1992; "gender relations" as mentioned by Bruschini, 1992).

A paper presented by Heilborn (1992) can be read as a bridge between these two approaches, once it uses the case of a sub-area or sub-discipline shaped by the selection of women as an object of study ("Anthropology of women" as mentioned by her) to question theoretically the limits and possibilities of the concept of gender and the formation of this new broader and more transversal area of research. Two other works focused on presenting specific study cases, either analyzing them through the category of *women* as an object (Pinto, 1992) or using an interpretation of the concept of gender to do it (Fonseca, 1992).

The difference in these approaches can be described through the analogy of a *ghetto* and a *suburb*: while the first two groups of papers (especially the second one) would be somehow more ghetto-oriented, the third one would be more suburb-oriented. Heilborn's work would represent a connection between the two kinds of approach, and both Fonseca's and Pinto's work would enrich empirically respectively the suburbs and the ghetto. Even when considering this approach that is allegorically being called "ghetto", though, it's remarkable that the supposed "separatism" and "isolation" couldn't be that radical, according to the researcher themselves: when presenting the results of the São Roque's reunion – that was originally called "Women Studies in Brazil" and was financed by the Ford Foundation –, Costa and Bruschini (1992) mentioned that

> "The fragile capacity of institutionalization of this field of studies, the absence of a systematic building of a body of solid theoretical concepts and the persistence of segregation in an exclusive space, along with difficulties in a broader dialogue, posed limits to the development of this area. In the

beginning of the 1990s, many initiatives tried to propose solutions to overcome such barriers"[62]

(Costa & Bruschini, 1992, p. 7)

More than just external pressure or theoretical assurance, then, it is possible to affirm that the reinforced use of the concept of gender by Brazilian researchers was part of the strategy of institutionalization of gender / feminist / women's studies in the country. The development of this *suburb strategy,* based on the formation of *microsystems of categories*, then, allowed for this particular kind of transversal approach while maintaining specific separated spaces for debate and articulation. This strategy seemed to have been conditioned and made possible by many factors – some of them linked to epistemological and theoretical particularities of the concept more directly, others linked to the position of the researchers in the academic and scientific field.

First, this research's subjects' positions as Brazilian researchers wouldn't allow them to refuse the concept of gender or the transversal approach for its integration in Brazilian SSH, even when they disagreed with both; unlike the French and part of the USA researchers, Brazilians had much to lose if they were out of the international debate and closed in a *ghetto* that would limit funding, but that would also limit the reach and the international circulation of their work (this will specifically be tackled further on this and the next chapter) and thus, their capability of building national and international prestige; this made a total *ghetto* impossible which ended up working in favor of the institutionalization of gender / feminist / women's studies in the country.

Second, the concept of *gender* was theoretically developed as being at the same time critical to the previous approaches (like sex as a social construct or *rapports sociaux de sexe*) but maintaining their core propositions and extending them to their maximum[63]; such characteristic made reinterpretations possible, and it made possible for researchers to keep some of their previous theoretical standpoints, while also making the new concept intelligible to authors. Third, this "maximum extent" of the proposition that what we consider to be "gender" is social – thus including even the idea of a biological sex as a social construct – also reinforces

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[62] Translated directly from the original: "*A pequena capacidade de institucionalização desse campo de estudos, a ausência da construção sistemática de um corpo consistente de conceitos teóricos e a persistência da segregação em um espaço exclusivo, acompanhada de dificuldades de diálogo mais amplo, configuram limitações ao desenvolvimento da área. No início da década de 90, várias iniciativas procuram apontar caminhos para a superação desses entraves*" (p.7)

[63] This can be analyzed as a dialectic movement of innovation through sublation (Aufheben/Aufhebung – a proposition comes from Hegel's dialectic and was used by Marx in this sense in many of his works). See Hegel (1969), Palm (2009).

such kind of phenomena as objects pertaining to SSH and no longer to medicine or health sciences only as it used to be in the past. Considering that the institutionalization of SSH in Brazil had recently started when the concept started being discussed there, this might also have represented a gain in the transversal approach, – helping in the consolidation of SSH themselves as a valid scientific area in the country[64].

Finally, the fact that part of the researchers involved were in favorable institutional positions in their disciplines indicates that the power of fostering the transversal integration of a perspective based on the concept of gender seem to have been crucial to the consolidation of the area, as it will be discussed in the next sessions. When the concept progressively became part of disciplines (in some of them faster than in others), it seems that the disciplines' general institutional and scientific statuses were lent to the concept of gender. This seems to have been significantly more efficient than creating space for a new discipline-like *ghetto* area with little dialogue among those already legitimate in the scientific field (and which frequently resist losing their legitimacy – and therefore power – to new ones, as reminded by Bourdieu, 1984c and Abbott, 2001 alike).

The strategy of simultaneously promoting transversal insertion in legitimate and more institutionalized disciplinary spaces and creating common separated spaces (which maintained some internal diversity, as it will also be discussed further in this chapter) simultaneously, have also had an effect in the "science *versus* politics" quarrel. Such spaces seem to have been central to the dialogue between those closer to the political field and those closer to the scientific field, which reflected in constant transit from some of the researchers between the two, and a relationship that resembles more one of collaboration than one of rivalry between them. Such findings are corroborated by the analysis of the trajectories of the 45 subjects which results are presented in the next part of the chapter. Part II, as follows, discusses both the opposition between transversalism and separatism, and the opposition between science and politics, through the exemplary cases of groups of researchers that put themselves as ambassadors of either science or politics in the area's formation main disputes: Marxists and other militants, on one side, and mainly Anthropologists on the other.

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[64] These propositions were better discussed in the Introduction and will be better analyzed in the next sections of Chapter 3.

PART II – SCIENCE AND POLITICS

FEMINISM AS A VOCATION

Ambassadors of the political field in academia– The rise and fall of the Militant cluster – Their common theme: gender and labor – Research institutions and models of development of SSH: science and politics – Exile, parties, newspapers, the State: actions in the political field – (i) Marxists, socialists, communists – (ii) The FCC core group – Ambassadors of the scientific field in academia: the Anthropologist cluster – Though love: feminism as an object for science, science as an object for feminism – Transversalism as a strategy in the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA) – Internal differences and cooperation in the Anthropologist cluster – Between Militants and Anthropologists, Politics and Science: a generational issue

* * *

"As you know, I was never a feminist militant. It hurts to say that, but I've never considered myself a real political-student-militant. I've been on the streets supporting many causes. I can even be considered a fanatic supporter, but I'm not what I would say a militant is. I nourish a profound admiration for militants and their hard work, and I think it would be naïve to mix my 'background' support with such work"[65]

(Fonseca, 2006)

"This was somehow the conclusion reached by two Latin American researchers hired by Ford Foundation during the 1990s, while judging that the area of Gender Studies in Brazil was quite consolidated and therefore foreign investments in such field weren't as necessary as before. Among all the criticism included in a confidential document, they said that Brazilian academics had been coopted by academic institutions and they had lost their critical capacities that was typical of feminist thought. This was the evaluation

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[65] In the original : *"Como você sabe, nunca fui realmente feminista militante. Quase me dói dizer isto, mas nunca me considerei uma verdadeira política-estudantil-militante. Marchei nas ruas por muitas causas. Posso até ser uma simpatizante fanática, mas não sou o que considero militante. Tenho profunda admiração pelo árduo trabalho dos militantes, e acho que seria leviano confundir o meu apoio 'dos bastidores' com aquele trabalho"* (Fonseca, 2006, p.44)

that made REF (Revista Estudos Feministas) loose its financing from Ford and, indirectly, be transferred to Santa Catarina"[66]

(Grossi, 2004)

"It is fundamental to remember that the demands of political practices in the [feminist] movement are different than the theoretical, scientific and academic ones. Thus, if in the first moments of the rebuilding of feminism such theoretical considerations focused on the political goals of changing the condition of women, now we can verify a growing distance between the movement and the theoretical production in academia. This distance carries, as a consequence, a de-politicization of the so-called Gender Studies. And, as its maximum effect, the non-consolidation of a feminist project in academia."[67]

(Costa & Sardenberg, 1994, p. 389)

* * * * *

Sociologist Heleieth Saffioti (1934-2010) was one of the oldest authors among the group of 35 subjects studied for this prosopographical essay and is often mentioned as a reference by many of them. She was born in 1934 and was already established as a respected intellectual in the 1980s. While already working as a professor at the State University of São Paulo (UNESP), she enrolled in 1966 as a PhD student at the University of São Paulo (USP), where she was one of the direct heirs of the Marxist professor Florestan Fernandes (1920-1995), one of the most important and recognized sociologists in the country still nowadays. Brazil had been under a

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[66] In the original: *"Esta foi de alguma forma a conclusão a que chegaram duas pesquisadoras latino-americanas contratadas pela Fundação Ford no decorrer dos anos 90 ao avaliar que o campo de estudos de gênero no Brasil estava bastante consolidado e que não era mais tão necessário investimentos estrangeiros nesta área no Brasil. Entre as críticas feitas em documento de circulação restrita, diziam que as acadêmicas brasileiras haviam sido cooptadas pelas instituições acadêmicas e que haviam perdido a capacidade crítica característica do ideário feminista. Foi esta avaliação, que de alguma forma, permitiu que a REF perdesse o financiamento da Ford e, de forma indireta viesse para Santa Catarina."* (Grossi, 2004, p.213)

[67] In the original: *É fundamental lembrar que as exigências das práticas políticas do movimento distinguem-se das exigências das práticas teóricas, científicas, acadêmicas. Assim, se nos primeiros momentos da retomada do feminismo as reflexões teóricas tinham como objetivo imediato os objetivos políticos de transformação da mulher, atualmente verifica-se um distanciamento entre o movimento e a produção teórica na academia. Esse distanciamento traz como conseqüência uma despolitização dos chamados estudos de gênero. E, como corolário, a não consolidação do projeto feminista na academia.* Costa and Sardenberg (1994, p. 389)

civil-military dictatorship (Azevedo & Sanjurjo, 2013; Codato, 2006; Lessa & Payne, 2012; Payne, 1990, 1991) for two years and one of the new imposed rules was that professors in public universities should submit their PhD theses to a state committee (external to the university, formed by politicians, military and priests indicated by the government) for evaluation if they were to maintain their jobs (Grossi, Minella, & Porto, 2006; Mendes & Becker, 2011; Sorj, 1995). The submission deadline was December that same year – 1966. She recalled (Mendes & Becker, 2011) having had her work strongly criticized by Fernandes when she showed him her idea of work to be presented to such jury. She said he refused to advise her as a PhD student and made her apply for a higher and more difficult title called *livre docência*[68], even if she didn't have a PhD yet. Some say this was a way of protecting her and her stability as a Marxist professor working under an anticommunist dictatorship (Almeida, 2011), but there weren't explicit mentions by her on this aspect of such episode.

Her thesis shocked the external jury not only for being a Marxist work (or, according to her as she recalled decades later, for criticizing the Weberian approach to social inequalities), but also for investigating a subject that was quite original in Brazilian SSH at that time, especially considering that there was a conservative dictatorship going on: "*A Mulher Na Sociedade de Classes*" (Saffioti, 1976; 2013), translated to English as "Women In Class Society" (Saffioti, 1978), was approved for her title in May, 1967 but could only be published in Brazil in 1976[69]. It is until the present day considered one of the most important books ever written in gender / feminist / women's studies in Brazil, and it is mentioned by different authors as having been a pioneer regarding many theoretical innovations that would follow, globally in this area - for instance, the book presents a solid debate with psychoanalysis, which became more common, especially in feminist anglophone works, during the 1980s; it also presents an intersectional approach linking class and gender in a very concrete way, a kind of analysis that would be more widespread in the anglophone academic world only in the following decades (Almeida, 2011; Connell & Pearse, 2015a; Sorj, 1995).

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[68] "*Livre docência*" is a title obtained after professors present a kind of tenured thesis. Nowadays, after the 1968 Higher Education reform, the 1996 general Education Law (LDB) and many changes in the institutionalization of HE in Brazil – a topic which will be further discussed in this thesis – it is only available for professors who have had their PhDs for some time, in some universities. To obtain such title, now, they normally need to present an original an extensive work in a public evaluation process (*concurso*), besides a complete dossier on their activities in the past decade or so.

[69] The period that goes from 1968 to 1974 is considered to have been the harshest one during the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil, in what concerns intellectual, political and artistic censorship, persecution, arrests, torture and executions of leftist militants (either communist, socialist, or simply those enrolled in the incipient LGBT movement or in feminism or black movements). For more on that period and on the civil-military dictatorship in Brazil, see Lessa and Payne (2012), Payne (1990, 1991), Skidmore (1993).

Although she has published a great number of papers (and, mainly, books) since then, "Women in Class Society" became a canon in Marxist feminism in Brazil, and is still a strong reference to gender / feminist / women studies in general, especially among those who usually claim feminist / women studies to be more than Gender. Saffioti herself, during the following decades, systematically used the word *gender* reinterpreting the concept and combining it frequently with *patriarchy* and *woman/women* as categories of analysis. In one of her last interviews, as already cited in Chapter 2, she reinforced her refusal of the massive use of the word *gender* and of the fact that using the concept became a requirement of SSH in general if one wanted to discuss what could have been analyzed in terms of *rapports sociaux de sexe*, *patriarchy* and other theoretical tools before. According to her, the problem of such appropriation of the concept of gender – which she uses and finds useful in different moments of her work – is that it can be used to separate politics from academia, from science and, more specifically, from SSH (because, according to this line of reasoning, the use of Gender alone, without other concepts and categories, would allow for a non-feminist perspective on certain issues such as violence against women). She is part of what is here being called the *Militant cluster*, that is, researchers who advocated for politics within academia.

Ambassadors of politics in academia

If we consider the opposition between scientific and militant academic work among Brazilian feminists in the 1980s and 1990s to be true, Marxists would definitely be with the *Militant* group. Not because they were necessarily militants beyond their intellectual work (many Marxist intellectuals in Brazil weren't and still aren't members of specific parties or action groups), and neither because the "non-militants" wouldn't engage in politics with their intellectual production; but because in their discourse and political standpoints within academia, politics precedes science. They constantly critically propose that the political aspect of scientific innovation, whether in SSH or in other disciplines, should be a starting point for research; that there is a political orientation in every intellectual work that is developed and published. This is a direct opposition to those who will be better analyzed in the next section of this chapter and who claim that, although there is politics in any scientific production, the scientific interest must be above (or separated from) the political goals, otherwise it wouldn't be science. This does not mean that one group or the other provides necessarily better or more rigorous work in scientific terms, but that there is a dispute not only as to whether the concept

of gender is the best way to analyze certain objects, or as to how it should be interpreted and used, but also about what science and SSH should be.

Such dispute often presents itself as an opposition between science and politics – which allows for it to function as a distinction criteria among researchers (Bourdieu, 1984c). In doing so, it makes concrete structures invisible, picturing a relationship of opposition between the political and the scientific fields that, when closely analyzed, crumbles or, better said, appears as something more complex like a collaboration-through-tension dynamics, as the case here studied shows. As already indicated in this work, there are strong concrete links between the scientific and the political fields. Disputes and phenomena originated in the scientific field are not only shaped by political limits (Saffioti's delayed book publication is a strong example of this), but can be carried to the political field through their intersections, being appropriated and reinterpreted there (the shocking example from the most recent visit of philosopher Judith Butler in Brazil, mentioned in the introduction of this work points to that).

The tension that should be discussed here, then, is not only one between science and politics or between the scientific and the political fields, but rather between groups that claim to be ambassadors of one or the other vision within the academic space (which, as it will be indicated and discussed better in the next chapter, includes but is not limited to the scientific field): the Militant and the Anthropologist clusters.

The rise and fall of the Militant cluster

According to what has been discussed so far in this chapter, its possible to establish two main characteristics that would identify someone as part of what is being called the Militant cluster: (i) their claim of a precedence of political over supposedly purely scientific interests in research work; (ii) the recurrent use of the term gender associated with *patriarchy+women/woman* in a specific microsystem of categories to convey an claim their own interpretation of the concept of gender. While the first aspect mentioned can be easily understood as an approximation of the political and scientific fields within academia, the second one doesn't point to that immediately. However, it becomes easy to associate it with such dynamic when considering one of the main critiques made to the original interpretation of Gender by such authors: according to them, at that time, the concept of gender wouldn't be easily translated into the political field (which was a central space for feminism) because it had the potential to erase the Woman or Women as a social and political subject or agent, being

hard to function as a basis for public policies (Gender was understood, in such cases, to be an abstract concept without empirical correspondence to political categories and subjects).

It could be said, then, that the Militant cluster was empirically built from these two evidences of approximation between the academic and the political fields in the works of these authors. A more detailed look into their trajectories, the themes they worked on, their political and institutional insertion, etc., however, shows us that: (a) this wasn't a homogeneous group; (b) there were specific conditions from the political field which allowed for this cluster to exist and act even under a strict dictatorship; (c) broader dynamics of SSH development in Brazil and beyond it were highly influential in this process; (d) the existence of the Militant cluster set the base for GFWS in Brazil to develop.

Their common theme: gender and labor

The example of Saffioti is uncommon: among the 35 researchers whose trajectories and production were analyzed, and within the Militant cluster, she is the closest one to academic Marxism. Not only because the concepts and theoretical approach used by the author were explicitly Marxist or because her advisor was a renowned Marxist, but especially because her work circulated in Marxist journals. She was one of the rare feminist researchers to enter the Marxist academic debate more directly, accompanied by only a few others like Maria Lygia Quartim de Moraes and Elizabeth Souza-Lobo[70]. Their work focused on social class relations and how gender shaped them, with a special interest for working class groups. This is one of the characteristics of works published by researchers in the Militant cluster: although covering a large variety of topics, until the 1990s practically all of them produced research about gender and labor.

Gender relations and labor, however, was a topic anything but uncommon at that time. Whether fostered by financing agencies and organizations (like previously-mentioned Ford Foundation and Rockefeller Foundation) or by international bi and multi-lateral agreements (such as those promoted at the United Nations with the creation of the Decade of Women starting in 1975, year known as the International Women's Year), the relationship between gender equality in the workforce and development was a central topic among researchers at that time. The SSH production about sexual division of labor, wage gap, professional glass ceiling,

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[70] Although Souza-Lobo's and Saffioti's theoretical standpoints on Gender were opposed – as discussed in Chapter 2 –, both of them had their work circulate in the academic sections of the Marxist world. This apparent contradiction will be discussed further in this chapter.

and other topics analyzing gender in the workforce became more widespread from then on, having been systematically financed for an important period of time. The idea that gender inequality was a waste of human resources in the scope of economic development under capitalism was often used – either by institutions or researchers – as an argument as to why the State, politicians, social movement, civil society and other agents of the political and academic fields should bother addressing that issue, in Brazil and in other countries. (Blay, 2013; Corrêa, 2001; Costa, S. G., 2004; Diniz & Foltran, 2004; Espinosa Miñoso & Leone, 2010-; Grossi, 2004; Pedro, 2006; Sarti, 2004; Zinsser, 2002).

Research institutions and models of development of SSH: science and politics

International financing of research on the topic, in Brazil, happened through independent institutions. The previously-mentioned Brazilian Center of Analysis and Planning (CEBRAP) and Carlos Chagas Foundation (FCC) received significant financing from Ford Foundation to foster the development not only of Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies, but more generally of SSH in Brazil. In this specific case, the financing of research linked to CEBRAP and FCC, being the latter closely linked to women and gender research, can be understood as part of a foreign interest in the development of a specific model of State and a specific model of integration between SSH and the political field (Dezalay & Garth, 2002; Dezalay & Madsen, 2013).

This process contributed to (and was integrated with) the Brazilian expression of a broader phenomenon of approximation between SSH and the political field, polarized in what seems to have been two projects for such integration, which were not necessarily incompatible with each other, and which were repeated in different countries (although with national and regional particularities): on one side, such approximation was seen as a way of improving State policies by developing SSH as a more technical field; on the other, it was envisioned as needed change in the role of SSH production, which should now follow interests from social movements and civil society as whole (Bulmer, 1984; Convert & Heilbron, 2004; Duval & Heilbron, 2006; Heilbron, 1995; Heilbron et al., 2009).

Both CEBRAP and FCC are research institutions that, although formally independent from universities, were founded by professors and have kept close relations to universities since their creation. At the same time, both have also been since then closely linked to the State and the political field, as public policy expertise and research centers. While CEBRAP is responsible for research concerning a variety of topics, FCC has concentrated on education

(with emphasis in higher education – it was created originally as a strategy to the institutionalization of objective systems of selection to higher education in Brazil) and, after 1975, also on issues related to gender. FCC managed since 1978 a grant program funded by Ford Foundation, to foster GFWS in Brazil. Such foundation was the main source of funds for CEBRAP's works and for the gender-related work at FCC until the 1990s (Costa, A. d. O., 2004; Faria & Costa, 2006; Grossi, 2004; Miceli, 1995b; Sorj, 2001).

It is not difficult to understand, then, how FCC became a space where both of the above-mentioned projects of approximation between the scientific and the political fields could coexist and collaborate in Brazil: if there was clearly an institutional and political interest of Ford Foundation in guiding SSH development towards a more technical approach, public policy-oriented, at the same time this aspect brought SSH a more solid presence in institutional politics, which meant that social movements' and civil society's interests could be (at least potentially) recognized and transformed into politics. This also explains why researchers more directly connected to FCC present standpoints typical to the Militant cluster: the use of a microsystem of categories that is formed by the combination of *gender+women+patriarchy* and the claim (sometimes not too explicit) that the political interest of knowledge production precedes a supposedly pure scientific interest.

The researchers that belong to the Militant cluster also share other similarities in their professional trajectories, besides their proximity or inside work with FCC, CEBRAP and other similar organizations (such as SOS Corpo, which was created and focused its actions in the Northeast of Brazil[71]): political engagement, militant work in the feminist newspapers *Mulherio*, *Brasil Mulher* and *Nós, Mulheres*, exile, insertion in institutional politics (State agencies, work as consultants to public policies, etc.), and a rare presence in institutional positions of power within their disciplines.

Exile, parties, newspapers, the State: actions in the political field

There is a tacit agreement on how to tell the story of Elizabeth Souza-Lobo's premature death, in the 15th of March, 1991. She was killed in a car crash in João Pessoa (PB), in the Northeast of Brazil, where she had been giving lectures and researching women in rural labor.

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[71] For being such a large and unequal country, regional differences must be considered in the analysis. Although the Southeast region, where São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are, can be indeed considered the national center of intellectual life (concentrating universities, human and financial resources, etc.) at that time, an important part of the Militants worked in the Northeast. This will be discussed better still in this chapter.

Whenever this event is mentioned, however, some important details are never missed: one of the other two militants who were with her in the car (and who were both also killed) was in the "marked for death" (*marcados para morrer*) list. Such list was compiled by a human rights organization linked to humanist sections of the Catholic Church, *Comissão Pastoral da Terra* (CPT; the name translates as "Pastoral Comision for Land"), and informed about militants engaged in land struggles who received serious death threats because of their actions in favor of rural workers and against *latifundiários*[72]. Such tragic car accident is never mentioned anywhere without that piece of information. During the military period, which had its end only a few years before Souza Lobo's death, car accidents were a common way of killing communist, socialist, left wing and human rights militants in a dissimulated manner. The fact that the presence of Maria da Penha Nascimento Silva and her listing as a marked-for-death militant are consistently mentioned when the crash is described is an indication that, although impossible to prove, those surrounding the killed militants have reason to believe the possibility that the crash wasn't exactly an accident – meaning it was politically motivated.

This passage of the end of the life of Souza-Lobo brings up to what extent politics affected the trajectories of researchers in the Militant cluster – being very likely responsible, such as in this case, even for some of their deaths and, more explicitly, in others, for the loss of their families, partners, friends and co-workers. One of the most remarkable effects of political engagement in their trajectories concerns the context of their international circulation, especially in the case of those who left the country during the dictatorship. As previously mentioned in a more literary fashion, exile was not uncommon among these researchers. However, it is not easy to identify with certainty if some of their circulation was exile or not, due to the lack of personal documents, ethnographic interviews and even recorded interview with a personal approach – as explained in Appendix 1. The interviews of truth commissions established in the 2010s to collect the history of persecution and torture during the dictatorship are not always fully available or catalogued, and do not necessarily include this research's subjects, unfortunately. As better described in the above-mentioned Appendix section of the thesis, when possible and useful these testimonials were analyzed as supplementary sources.

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[72] The word in Brazilian Portuguese refers not merely to landowners, but specifically to owners of immensely large properties which have been inherited from colonial times. Some context to the concentration of land and wealth in the country, as well as the social conflicts around it can be found in Smith (1964), Sorj (1980), Hall (1990), Robles (2001), Borras (2003) and Simmons et al. (2010). About the actions of the Catholic Church through the theology of liberation concerning that issue in Brazil, see French (2007).

The period when exile was more common was the end of the 1960s and the first half of the 1970s, sometimes being extended until the beginning of the 1980s. This indicates that those Militants who were either working or studying in Europe – especially France and Portugal – and even in other Latin-American countries – especially Chile – at that time very likely went through a period of exile[73]. Some examples are Souza-Lobo herself, Maria Lygia Quartim de Moraes, Albertina Costa and Céli Pinto[74]. For the majority of them, exile shows as an interruption in their trajectories, with periods abroad that usually start after they finish their undergraduate students. There are some exceptions such as Lena Lavinas, whose period abroad shows a different pattern (the researcher went abroad for undergraduate studies and remained there until finishing her PhD). This doesn't mean that the decision to go abroad (or to stay abroad) wasn't politically motivated, but a secure information about it was unfortunately not available during the research for comparison.

The exiled Militants are often (but not exclusively) those more strongly linked to communist and socialist parties which were illegal at that moment in Brazil[75]. This wasn't, however, the only kind of political action identified with the Militant cluster. Some of them, exemplified by the case of Eva Blay and Albertina Costa, were closer to MDB[76], one of the two only political parties officially authorized by the government. Others, like Maria Luiza Heilborn, were nor one or the other, despite acting in feminist groups and institutional political spaces that were disputed by all these three segments of the feminist movement in Brazil.

In a simple classification, then, it is possible to identify these two different sub-groups in the cluster: (i) The left: Marxists, communists and socialists, who often became closer to PT (Workers Party, the party of ex-presidents Lula and Dilma) upon its creation; (ii) the FCC core group.

It makes sense to highlight such divisions not only because their actions differed in the political field and in the ways the dictatorship impacted their lives, but especially, considering the scope of this thesis, because their scientific work also varied more or less according to their political lives, in broader terms. The association with parties matters, here, because of the subjects' direct and incisive action within State – either working in municipalities, State

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[73] France, Portugal and Chile are countries known to have sheltered a significant number of Brazilian militants in exile during the dictatorship.

[74] See the complete chart of research subjects and their trajectory information in Appendix 2

[75] A more detailed presentation of some of the many left wing communist and socialist parties which were clandestine in Brazil at that time can be found in Peritore (1988).

[76] For a deeper understanding of MDB and its role in Brazilian institutional politics at that time, see Kinzo (1988).

Government or Federal Government agencies dedicated to public policies for women. The categorization is not rigid, since this is an analytical approximation of their work and political actions. It is worth noting that such groups were not necessarily opposed to each other all the time or in all spaces, but they disputed common spaces in feminism and in politics many times as antagonists, while uniting to build common academic projects – what will be discussed next.

It is also important to highlight that being identified as primarily part of one subgroup doesn't mean that characteristics common to another don't exist in a subject's trajectory. This classification was made on a thorough analysis of their trajectories and intellectual production, as described in Appendix 2, and it's based on the most explicit associations and positions in them.

(i) Marxists, socialists, communists

There are two kinds of works from the researchers who were Marxists, socialists and/or communists: those which dialogued in very strictly Marxist theoretical terms (Saffioti being the most extreme example)[77], and those who used dialectical materialism as a principle and Marxist theory as a starting point, but were open to less orthodox dialogues and forms of writing (Maria Lygia Quartim de Moraes and, in a more intense way, Elizabeth Souza-Lobo being examples of that). The works of Joan Scott seem to have been an inspiration of the latter, which makes sense, since this historian had a similar approach to Marxism in her works discussing gender at that time.

This subgroup, however, is not homogeneous in what concerns their position regarding the concept of gender. Saffioti and Souza-Lobo, as previously mentioned, for example, had quite different points of view on that. Despite sharing the precedence of politics over science in their discourse (and in more subtle aspects, such as the topics they decided to investigate – class society and women workers), these two researchers had different ways of using the concept of gender. While Saffioti systematically used Gender associated with *patriarchy+woman/women*

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[77] The case of such Marxists, exemplified here with Saffioti, is particularly curious in that sense. On one hand, they claim politics' precedence over science, operating as ambassadors of the political field as proposed above; on the other hand, their debate with non-Marxist categories and authors seem to be quite limited in many cases, what produces an effect of epistemological isolation in the academic space (or it's maybe the cause of such isolation), as a very hermetic school of thought – more can be read in Matonti (2005). This particularity should be subject to future work, since it's a fertile and complex object to think bridges and walls between science and politics, and to think the effects of the Cold War in science production, as it will be mentioned further. However, it is possible to affirm that Brazilian feminist Marxists (or, in some cases, Marxist feminists) have dealt with different aspects of this particular form of Marxism with different strategies and outcomes. This perception will be discussed further again.

in her work, Souza-Lobo was consistent with the original interpretation of Gender[78], and Magda Neves (who was her student during the PhD) shared a similar theoretical point of view. Maria Lygia Quartim de Moraes, although sometimes closer to Souza-Lobo's approach, developed a more critical perspective, in theoretical terms, bringing up what she identified as limits of Gender as a concept in materialist analysis.

In an axis of how much they publicly "refused" or "accepted" the **concept** of Gender, Saffioti would be in an extreme "refusal" pole, Souza-Lobo and Neves would be in an extreme "acceptance" pole and Moraes would be in between them. Other researchers in the subgroup could be placed according to such coordinates: although they haven't as often publicly "accepted" or "refused" the concept, Lena Lavinas and Mary Garcia Castro, for instance, in their academic work as well as in their actions in the political field, seem to be closer to Moraes' points of views and subsystem of categories' use. Ana Alcântara could be positioned between Moraes and Saffioti in this specific sense, while Bila Sorj could be positioned betwwn Moares' and Souza-Lobo's points of view.

Image 9 - Axis of public refusal and acceptance of the concept of Gender (illustrative) among Marxists/socialists

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[78] As it will be better explained further, by doing that Souza-Lobo was able to propose the basis for a synthesis of materialist perspectives, on one side, and the original interpretation of the concept of gender (normally associated to culturalism and used by Anthropologists), on the other. This seem to have been made possible by her position as a bridge between the Militant and the Anthropologist clusters and, thus, also a bridge that could pave the way to conciliation between the scientific and the political fields at that time.

However, when it comes to political action, Saffioti is the Marxist odd-one-out. She focused her energy in within-academia politics, while others in the subgroup have been steadily inserted in institutional politics (State, policy-oriented or organized resistance during the dictatorship) with some frequency: Souza-Lobo was an important reference in the creation of PT and its program for women[79]; Alcântara had a central role in professors' unions (both locally in the state of Bahia and nationally) and collaborated directly with the *Secretaria de Políticas para Mulheres* (SPM – the Federal Government's Office for Policies for Women) during PT's governments, and with the city of Salvador's government's agencies for women's rights; Castro has cooperated with various international agencies such as ILO and UNESCO, and also with Secretaria Nacional de Juventude (SNJ – Federal Government's Office for Youth Policy), being an active and known member of *União Brasileira de Mulheres* (UBM – Brazilian Women United).

Neves, one of the first authors to discuss the concept of gender theoretically at ANPOCS, as pointed out in Chapter 2, was expelled from the social sciences graduate program at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG – *Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais*) when she was student due to the decree number 477 of 1969 (Decreto-lei nº477, 1969), instated by the military government, which made organized political activities inside universities and schools a crime (Neves, 2012). Despite that, nowadays her curriculum focuses on academic activities, mainly connected to UFMG's Women's Studies Centre that she founded (and which is still called "Women's Studies Centre", different than most groups that have changed their names to include the word "Gender" throughout the years). There was no evidence of her insertion in State-level structures or policy design research work in the documents consulted.

With a different kind of insertion in the political field, Lavinas has cooperated with designing public policies from a critical left perspective, as an economist, having collaborated with ILO and with Women in Informal Employment (WIEGO) as a researcher. In the same sense, Moraes' insertion in the political field was structured by her academic work, at least from the 1980s on: beyond her admirable engagement in radical socialist politics during the 1970s,

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[79] Since she passed away in 1991, her trajectory with PT is short – the party was created in 1980, when the new Constitution hadn't yet been written. PT's first presidential candidate was Lula, in 1989, same year when Luiza Eurindina was elected mayor, granting PT the administration of one of the largest cities in the country. PT only arrived at the Federal Government in 2002. This means that Souza-Lobo didn't profit, in her trajectory, from institutional structures supported by PT's administration such as SPM – *Secretaria de Políticas Para Mulheres*. This explains why, despite having been an important militant in the party, her trajectory is restricted to the party's creation, not extending to the party's actual governmental administration – as is the case of other researchers like Alcântara.

Moraes later concentrated her political work in intellectual production, and also acted through FCC and CEBRAP in research that aimed directly at developing public policies.

Both these researchers (Moraes and Lavinas), when not working in universities, then, would cooperate with public policy design and evaluation mainly through their academic work – which can be identified by their position during their work with organizations such as WIEGO and FCC, which are non-university research-centered organizations aiming directly at public policy design. The same can be said of Bila Sorj, closer to FCC in her collaboration. In Brazil, as previously mentioned, FCC's financing by Ford Foundation was part of broader changes in SSH, which combined interests of some researchers, of the State and of foreign organizations.

The political insertion of Bila Sorj seems to work on the margins between this subgroup and the FCC core group, presented next. Although her position in the political spectrum, as shown by the approach to themes such as the intersection of social class and gender, as well as by her analyses on anti-Semitism and Zionism, can be understood as explicitly left-oriented (as criticizing liberal and neoliberal reforms, for instance), Sorj was close to the FCC group (which as not necessarily left oriented, but rather combined perspectives from the left with more modest/social democrat points of view) in her collaboration, trajectory and in part of her work.

(ii) The FCC core group

Although many researchers – including some of the previous group and some who are not strongly linked to the Militant cluster – might have collaborated with initiatives of Fundação Carlos Chagas, there was a core group composed mainly by researchers who officially worked (and some still work) for such organization, and others who were strongly linked to them in their collaboration. This core group, which includes Abertina Costa, Cristina Bruschini, Eva Blay and Fúlvia Rosemberg, comprehends researchers who had or ended up having trajectories with their political insertion closer to moderate-left groups and parties (such as MDB, PMDB, PSDB). There are three remarkable characteristics within this group, which are interconnected:

(a) the first one is that the majority of these researchers were already working steadily with a Women's Studies perspective when the concept of gender started to be discussed in Brazil as an innovative and improved way of dealing with such object (the founders of "Women in the Workforce" working group at ANPOCS are part of this group, for instance);

(b) the second one is that their theoretical and epistemological standpoint regarding Gender is, of course, strongly marked by Women's Studies, and systematically use the idea of *rapport sociaux* of gender (as previously mentioned, the French feminism influence matters here), sometimes associated with *patriarchy* or *sex*, and many times associated with *woman/women* or *feminism* in a very explicit way;

(c) the third – and final – of the main characteristics of this subgroup's work is the centrality of policy-oriented quantitative analysis in their work (some of them being considered pioneers of quantitative analysis in Brazilian Social Sciences, like Bruschini), which works well with the use of categories such as *sex* and *woman/women* – as previously mentioned, the supposed impossibility of making Gender empirical was often an argument against its use in the political field.

Some broader aspects that touch the whole Militant cluster seem to be more evident in the case of the FCC core group. One of them is a crisis of divergence between the feminist movement and what many of these researchers called "the traditional politics" or, especially, "the traditional left". During the dictatorship it was common that left parties didn't embrace feminism for thinking this would disarticulate their internal cohesion, or that this would divide the left (Negrão, 2006). To moderate-left parties, this didn't seem to be a concern either, and gender issues were addressed as mere economic problems.

This particular process also explains at least partially the need for feminists from different groups in the political field to build common spaces, as well as it helps understand why many activists didn't engage in parties and political groups not specifically feminist. There were also, of course, broader political tendencies in the last decade of the Cold War which pushed social movements away from traditional leftist strategies of action – on one side, Soviet politics were being strongly questioned everywhere; on the other, heavy life-threatening persecution to militants was likely to be faced with fear and caution by many. This distance from "traditional left" or "traditional politics" was also fostered by the experiences of Brazilians who exiled in France and returned to the country in the 1980s, as it should be better discussed in Chapter 4.

In that same transition period, marked by the fall of the Berlin wall and the first years after such a crucial event, NGOs were achieving the status of policy-builders, giving a whole new shape to social movements in Brazil – FCC, SOS Corpo and SOS Mulher were three of the most important NGOs of the country when it came to public policies for women's rights in the 1980s and 1990s. At the same time, some researchers in the core group of FCC were more

strongly connected to institutional politics in "traditional" ways, like Blay (Negrão, 2006). The action through NGOs and the action in institutional politics don't seem to be opposed to each other, but rather complimentary forms of action in the trajectories here analyzed.

It is remarkable that quite a few of the subjects being analyzed were advised in their MA or PhDs by Ruth Cardoso, an anthropologist at USP who was close to PSDB (having been ex-president Fernando Henrique Cardoso's first lady) and who was, at the same time, one of the main advocates for civil society's cooperation with the State through NGOs in the 1990s. However, Cardoso's work focused in social movements in broader terms, not having been in the center of the process of reception of Gender in Brazil. Blay, who was her colleague at USP, was a pioneer in Women Studies who, besides working directly with FCC and CEBRAP, was a member of MDB and, later, of PMDB and PSDB (having been a second-chair Senator for Fernando Henrique Cardoso during the 1990s), and who focused her studies – during many years – on the presence of women as political representatives in executive and legislative powers in Brazil. The work of feminist researchers in CEBRAP and FCC was systematically and explicitly linked to public policy and institutional politics as objects of study, which might have contributed to the formation and institutionalization of Political Science as a discipline in the country.

Besides working with NGOs, one of the strategies of political action coming from feminists that – at least in their discourse – were distanced from political parties and institutional politics or, at least, distanced from communist and socialist parties and the traditional practices of the left, was the creation of feminist newspapers. Three newspapers became widely known in the feminist movement in that period: *Brasil Mulher* (1975-1980), *Nós Mulheres* (1976-1978) and *Mulherio* (1981-1988). Their story reflects the broader tendencies of the historical period here analyzed, and the dynamics of Brazilian intellectual feminism at that time, and it helps us understand the political position of FCC and the Ford Foundation financing beyond academic work.

Brasil Mulher was a feminist newspaper made by socialist and communist militants of some of the main clandestine parties in the second half of the 1970s, such as *Partido Comunista do Brasil* (PCdoB – Communist Party of Brazil), *Ação Popular Marxista Leninista* (APML – Marxist Leninist Popular Action) and *Movimento Revolucionário 8 de Outubro* (MR8 – 8th of October Revolutionary Movement). It was read not only by those in the country but especially by militants who were exiled in France and were part of a Brazilian feminist group there (Leite,

2003)[80]. However, when the exiled militants arrived back with their heavy criticism on such parties' politics, they founded an independent socialist/communist feminist newspaper and baptized it "Nós Mulheres" (which translates to English as "Us, Women"). Different from both of them was "Mulherio", financed by Ford Foundation and officially managed by FCC, with a discourse that wasn't explicitly anticapitalistic not reinforced political parties. The texts in Mulherio, as well as the journalists and researchers engaged in the project (such as Rosemberg) would often claim themselves to be some form of "independent" feminism. However, there is empirical evidence of FCC's strong links to institutional politics (and even to political parties), as already mentioned, which brings the question as to what "independent" actually meant.

Researchers here classified as part of this subgroup would vary the focus of their trajectories and actions. Like in the case of the previous subgroup, some of them would build their political action around the position of researcher or experts in designing public policy for women's rights – this is the case of Blay, as well as Sorj, who seems to have transited between the two already presented groups with some tranquility. Others would focus on their technical work at FCC, sometimes not even pursuing a PhD – the case of Costa, who was one of the organizers of the reunion in São Roque, proposed by FCC and Ford Foundation.

If on one side, some researchers of this subgroup were present in institutional non-feminist politics and in political parties too, and all were focused in producing knowledge as a means of contributing to new public policies for women's rights, the FCC group is also pointed by different researchers (Fonseca, 2006, is an example of that) as having a central role to researchers that don't clearly fit in any of these subgroups, and to those in the "Anthropologists" cluster. Many times this appears in their claim of what is sometimes understood as an "independent" feminism.

Some researchers like Maria Luiza Heilborn weren't – at least explicitly – members of parties, they didn't share a specific political project beyond feminism (like socialism or communism), they didn't work in a specific school or tradition of thought (such as Marxism), and they didn't build their trajectories towards a common project structured and managed within an organization (like FCC or CEBRAP), even when they collaborated with them[81]. Their political action was focused on what some authors call "an independent feminism".

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[80] Chapter 4 will approach the importance of exile to the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil in more detail, by inquiring about the role of international circulation of researchers in such process.

[81] As previously mentioned, collaborations were frequent, especially because the subgroups here described weren't opposed to each other, neither did they present themselves as groups (an exception might be the FCC core group, but since the projects they managed were collaborative, the data shows that it wasn't a closed group either).

Such term refers to the intention of such groups and spaces in distancing themselves discursively from political parties, even when profiting directly from parties' insertion in State-level structures (for example, when establishing reference centers for women in different municipalities, which was obtained with the aid of militants who were members of political parties and could mobilize their political capital for such enterprise).

The word "independent" means, in fact, that the political action within these groups and spaces wasn't subordinated to parties' projects and interests, and not that there wouldn't be any presence of parties' militants in them (Blay, as a member of a political party, acted in one of such spaces, the *Conselho da Condição Feminina* – Female Condition Council in the State of São Paulo). In these spaces, parties' militants had to dispute their positions with other militants whose political actions were focused solely on feminism. Researchers who don't see themselves as militants beyond academia often mention an "independent feminism" as being the space for their political experience. This is the case of some members of what is being here called the "Anthropologist" cluster.

Ambassadors of the scientific field in academia: the 'Anthropologist' cluster

In the phase of Brazilian GFWS that could be called the "pre-Gender" phase, or the "Women Studies" phase (that could be said to go from Saffioti's thesis presentation in 1966 to the second half of the 1970s, when the concept of Gender started to be discussed), debates such as the ones around "sexual division of labor" were constantly brought along with the subject of domestic life, domestic work and family. Sociologists and most members of the Militant cluster (even the ones who weren't exactly sociologists) focused on describing and analyzing the big trends related to such phenomenon, thus pointing consequences at the work place and labor market, discussing how unions dealt with the issue and how it affected women workers in unions, or claiming that policy-wise gender gaps were harmful, since powerful human resources were being lost because of gender bias and this would hinder economic development (a very popular argument among those belonging or close to the FCC group). Even when marriage and domestic work were being analyzed, their main preoccupation was with the effect of such phenomena in economy, labor market, and policy-wise.

Meanwhile, in Anthropology, the social relations based on the social determination of a biological sex – and, in many cases, also of a symbolic one – had systematically been observed and analyzed from within kinship groups in various societies. When dealing with data from our society and societies where "Family" is a central kinship category, this was often part of

"Family Studies". This approach also brought up the social norms concerning sexuality, once they are determinant of how kinship systems work since they are understood as symbolic systems directly responsible for the reproduction (biological and symbolic) of a given culture and/or society and/or group. In Anthropology, the issues connected to women, more specifically, had frequently been brought up as part of "Family" studies until the 1980s. It is not a surprise, then, that Family, Sexuality and their subjacent topics were common among the researchers categorized here as part of the Anthropologist cluster.

It is clear, on the other hand, that they were also (of course) highly influenced by the general environment of what Brazilian feminism and Brazilian GFWS were at that moment: the concern with social issues was clear, and so was their approximation with the world of militant feminism. Their approach to such topics, however, tended to be through scientific academic production: like Fonseca mentions in the epigraph, they kept some distance from the militant world, although always acting in relation to it or even taking it as subject for their studies. As it will be discussed further, this was one of the factors which made possible for them to ascend to a dominant position in what is now Brazilian GFWS, while the theoretical, epistemological and political approaches performed by the Militant cluster lost space, especially after the 2000s.

Though love: feminism as an object for science, science as an object for feminism

In the 'new' wake of Brazilian GFWS, in the year of 1980, three authors organized a short series of four books called "Anthropological Perspectives on Women" (Franchetto et al., 1981) with contributions from several authors on a range of topics that intended to show how Anthropology could contribute to the feminist debate, with theoretical and scientific input but without disregard for the political movement and militant needs. The first volume presented an introductory text by the organizers, followed by a short ethnographic presentation of a study done about women living in Brazilian slums. The second presents a study on women in old age, followed by the analysis of novels that were popular among teenager women in the 1950s in Brazil. The third, in its turn, brought four papers related to family and sexuality/reproduction. The last one was entirely dedicated to the topic of violence, more specifically domestic violence, with emphasis on feminist activism when dealing with domestic violence victims. This list of topics is a quite faithful representation of the main issues discussed and studied by feminist Anthropologists at that time, also expressed in the publications of the authors categorized in the Anthropologist cluster.

Some keywords are often used by such authors and were taken as an indication of their theoretical approach, following the microsystem of categories already presented. On the opposite side of the Militant authors who often mixed Gender with Woman/Women, Sex, Patriarchy and Feminism, Anthropologists often associated Gender with Sexuality, Body, Subjectitivy, Violence and Feminism. While most authors in the Militant cluster interpreted Gender almost as a way of renaming social relations of sex (*rapport sociaux de sexe*), that is, using what was called the substitutive-conceptual interpretation in the first part of Chapter 2, most Anthropologists claimed the original-conceptual interpretation for the concept to be the most rigorous approach to Gender as a scientific tool.

There are quite a few papers and interviews where a particular conflict between Militants and Anthropologists is described, and it shows the science-politics tension that has been discussed in the previous pages. In 1988, Gregori presented her Masters Dissertation (Gregori, 1988), which brought an ethnographic analysis of a feminist NGO called SOS Mulher. The NGO dealt with domestic violence cases. This was one of the first times (if not the first) in which the object of analysis weren't the women being helped by feminists, that is, the domestic violence victim themselves, but rather the feminist militants that were dealing with them and trying to help them. It is worth noting that the domestic violence act was only signed in 2006 in Brazil (Lei nº 11.340, 2006) and special police departments to support violence against women had barely started to function when Gregori finished her Master's degree (the first *Delegacia da Mulher,* a specialized police station, was founded in 1985). This means that the care for domestic violence victims wasn't officially handled by the State, increasing the importance of independent feminist organizations that aimed at providing such services. Providing care was understood as part of a political strategy, so that domestic violence and victim care would become politically recognized as social problems, thus becoming the focus of public policy (Santos, 2010).

Gregori's work disturbed the feminist/GFWS academic and political space, for proposing a more complex set of relationships than just the politically well accepted man=assaulter/woman=victim binary (Gregori, 1993). Her analysis also questioned the relationships between white middle class well educated feminists who worked at the NGO and black working-class women who reached the NGO for help, defying the notion of women as a single category, and pointing out differences and inequalities among them. Her work was received with much resistance, especially from older authors who were closer or part of the Militant cluster, such as Saffioti herself:

"Reactions to my work were enormous; everyone seemed fascinated at the beginning, so they invited me to debate… Suddenly, the invitations stopped, and no one discussed that with me publicly. (…) I was pushed away from the [feminist] movement, because I didn't feel comfortable there anymore. I didn't receive any direct criticism, but I knew from others that there were extremely aggressive references to my work being made, including in large meetings. I've heard that they were even questioning my work ethics. (…) I think they didn't like my interpretation, in the end. (…) As far as I know, only Miriam Grossi stood up for me. (…) It's not easy to have a struggle with a researcher like Heleieth Saffioti. First, because I deeply respect her, who was the first in our area, an extraordinary woman, of whom I like, but we indeed have a profound theoretical disagreement. She stands for and believes in presuppositions which I constantly question. (…) Where do I stand theoretically nowadays? I have affinities with the post-structuralist line of thought"

(Porto & Teixeira, 2006, pp. 260–262)

In this episode, the tensions between science and politics can be seen not only in the obvious discomfort of individuals in the political field for being analyzed by theoretical and epistemological points of view which aren't the ones they claim as legitimate, but also in the content of such debate, that is, in the crucial difference between Gregori's and Saffioti's perspectives on what it means to deal with a category such as 'woman' or 'women'. Such divergence, although not formulated explicitly in terms of a disagreement as to how Gender should be interpreted, is essentially possible because of the concept of Gender, as discussed in Chapter 1: the radicalization of the idea that 'woman' (as well as other categories of gender, as a system, including 'biological sex') is entirely a symbolic construction. To Saffioti and to most Marxist authors at that time, it was clear that there were biological differences which weren't socially determined, and that "gender" was a new trendy way of calling what was before said to be "sex" or "social relations of sex"; this was an attempt to make the social aspect of the phenomenon clear without denying a supposedly basic role of biology in it.

Such radicalization is, as also shown in Chapter 1, a condensed development of an epistemological and political change that started in the beginning of the 20th century and reached its peak in the 1960s, when what we name as "gender" now started to be claimed by SSH authors as a legitimate SSH object (instead of an object of biological or natural sciences). Anthropology played a central role in such process since long before the concept of Gender was

developed, as already mentioned. Chapter 1 also indicated how such transformation was part of the process of affirmation of SSH disciplines as legitimately scientific, in the scientific field. In this context, Brazilian feminist anthropologists seem to have had a very efficient strategy when dealing with their disciplinary space, which seems to have allowed them, as an effect of playing by the scientific field rules, to reach a dominant position in Brazilian GFWS as soon as the concept of Gender started to be debated. This process outlined Brazilian GFWS's institutionalization and formed such institutional structures as we know them nowadays.

Even before Gender was a popular concept in Brazil, in the opening chapter of Franchetto et al. (1981)'s series of books, anthropologists were already claiming that the most popular theoretical approaches in Women's Studies weren't as scientifically rigorous as they could be. This criticism is repeated in texts and interviews published later as well. The immersion of feminist authors' works in their politics was pointed by Anthropologists as a challenge – they mention how, by believing in its own myths, feminist authors had left many of their own presuppositions unquestioned and therefore not scientifically solid enough. They systematically point to ethnography and theoretical debate as scientific tools to overcome such challenge, defining what they see as contributions of Anthropology to Women's Studies. In that sense, these Anthropologists did the inverse of their other SSH feminist peers at that time. Historians, for instance, brought the perspective that History of Women could contribute to History; Language and Literature researchers brought a similar approach to their discipline; Sociologists often pointed out that Women Studies or Feminist Studies would dismantle a supposedly male academic logic in their discipline (an idea that was often shared by feminist researchers in other SSH disciplines).

Those were approaches that threatened and intended to dispute a very well-settled and consolidated system of knowledge production, which is the disciplinary system – that is, the idea that scientific knowledge is better organized in disciplines, which have their own legitimate objects, operating norms, methods, etc. (Abbott, 2001). This is part of the phenomenon of dispute and tension between scientific and political fields in academia, in which Brazilian feminist authors took part at that time: by proposing that politics should precede science, while operating inside academia (a space which is, as it will be further discussed, outlined by the tensions between science and politics), researchers in Sociology, History and other SSH disciplines necessarily questioned the principles of the scientific field of their time, setting tension in the disciplinary norms and in the system as a whole.

It is worth noting that, in the Brazilian case of the reception of the concept of Gender, more specifically, this process happened in a moment when SSH, graduate studies and the academic career itself were starting to be institutionalized, therefore open to dispute as to how they should operate; in a moment where, also, the political field was boiling with the end of a dictatorship which made SSH researchers in general question the role of knowledge production as a tool to build a democratic project for Brazil. This means that, in that particular moment from the beginning of the 1980s to the first half of the 1990s, researchers in Brazilian SSH faced the challenge of conciliating two apparently contradictory interests: the interest in affirming SSH as legitimately scientific disciplines; and the interest in including political concerns in their work. This process shouldn't be analyzed without considering that, especially from the 1960s on, SSH in central countries, especially in the United States (which, as previously mentioned, did have a very strong influence in Brazilian Higher Education reform in 1968, and also in GFWS through Ford Foundation) were progressively transformed to comply to a very specific project of conciliation of such interests: the understanding of SSH, especially Social Sciences and Economics, as scientific tools for policy-design and the operation of State structures in general. The importance of being recognized as a Science, then, was visibly growing to SSH disciplines since even in the political field scientificity was becoming an asset.

This can explain why Brazilian feminist anthropologists in the 1980s could reach a dominant position in both GFWS and in their discipline at the same time, challenging the discourses of their peers from other disciplines who claimed that GFWS wasn't well accepted in their disciplinary spaces and it was often a ghetto. By working as ambassadors of science in GFWS and within their discipline, these researchers were able to establish themselves as central references in Brazilian GFWS, and to establish Brazilian GFWS as a legitimate area of studies in Anthropology, contributing to a similar area recognition in other disciplines (through interdisciplinary SSH spaces such as ANPOCS).

Transversalism as a strategy in the Brazilian Anthropological Association (ABA)

In 1999, ANPOCS published a series of three books dedicated to present systematic reviews of the Brazilian production in Social Sciences from the previous three decades. Sergio Miceli, a professor at the University of Sao Paulo known for his work on Brazilian intellectuals (Miceli, 1987; Miceli, 1995b; Miceli, 2001), was the editor of such project and gathered social scientists from various areas to write about the main breakthroughs, dilemmas and issues faced

by Brazilian researchers in their work. The collection separated Anthropology, Sociology and Political Science thus presenting its content divided by disciplines. "Gender Studies" was placed in the second book, dedicated to Sociology. The authors invited to contribute in those two chapters, however, were mostly anthropologists – with the exception of Sorj: Maria Luiza Heilborn and Maria Filomena Gregori.

It is an interesting evidence of how Gender / Feminist / Women's Studies in Brazil had developed until then, that this is the only area that is presented in two different texts with two different authorships. While Heilborn and Sorj's (both researchers from Rio de Janeiro) text was commissioned by ANPOCS and Miceli, it is followed by what was named a "critical comment" on it, by Gregori (who works at the State University of Campinas, in the state of Sao Paulo). One could argue that this happened since there was a dispute as to what Gender Studies were, as to who were the most important authors in the area, which topics were central and essential to understand the knowledge produced by such researchers, etc.

The need to produce a critical comment could indicate, maybe due to the then very recent institutionalization of such area in Brazilian SSH, that those were ongoing disputes in 1999. However, all other Social Sciences areas are known to be equally disputed (sometimes equally or less intensively) by its researchers and all of them were coming from a fresh institutionalization process, as already discussed in Chapters 2 and 3A. Without deeper interviews it is risky to affirm where this particularity came from; but it is worth noting that Gregori, who is now a strong reference in Gender Studies in Brazil, was in direction positions both in ANPOCS, ABA and CEBRAP, trough the 1980s, 1990s and 2000s. This doesn't indicate any sort of privilege, but points to the possibility that her network of collaborations and even of personal relations opened the possibility of publicly criticizing Sorj and Heilborn's perspective in such publication. Neither Heilborn or Sorj have occupied high positions in such institutions, which were, as previously discussed, central to the process of institutionalization of SSH and of GFWS in Brazil.

This episode, crystalized in the publication of such book, points to a broader and more complex process that will be discussed through the case of the Anthropologist cluster: the shift in the dominant position in Brazilian GFWS, first occupied by the Militant perspective, and, with its "fall", occupied by the Anthropologist cluster perspective. This shift started to take place during the 1990s and was strongly linked to the dominance of Gender (used either as a concept or as a term) in such area, as this thesis has intended to show. Its effects were solid from the year 2000 on, as it will be discussed in the following sections and chapters. One of the

main aspects that seem to have influenced this shift was precisely the integration of Anthropologists in their discipline's institutional spaces transversally.

In the previous pages, the "double strategy" of GFWS researchers in Brazil was described: while keeping 'endogenous' spaces of articulation and debate among themselves, they also had institutional insertion in their disciplines (especially the social scientists and, among them, especially the anthropologists). That which was here pointed as being a "*transversalist*" approach to Gender (bringing Gender into established disciplines instead of creating a separate discipline-like area where it would be discussed), or *"Gender mainstreaming"* was particularly strong among Brazilian feminist anthropologists.

This is mentioned by many of such anthropologists as an epistemological effect of previous works in the discipline: since Anthropology had already been dealing with issues of sex relations and power for more than a century, always in a relational manner (understanding "man" and "woman" as empirical categories that were related within a system), and always in an effort to understand it as a social construction rather than a biological fact, it would have been "easier" or even "natural" that the concept of Gender was well accepted there (Heilborn, 1992), hence the development of its early version – the "*sex/gender system*" by an anthropologist (Gayle Rubin). However, this fact alone doesn't explain how or why the dominance and legitimacy of the concept of Gender would go beyond the discipline of Anthropology and spread to SSH in general.

In other words: on one hand, the fact that Gender was quickly accepted as a concept, in its most radical and original approach, in that discipline, didn't lead to an immediate acceptance of it in other SSH disciplines (and this thesis has shown enough evidence of that already). On the other hand, feminist Anthropologists seem to have "won" such battle and have managed to establish their place and theoretical standpoints in a very prestigious position within Brazilian SSH, reaching dominance in the area of GFWS and becoming the main references of GFWS nationally. This can be seen especially in the outcomes of the process analyzed here: the particular way in which GFWS were institutionalized in Brazil, its formal structures, requirements for research funding, and even public policies (although in a softer way, in that case) are all shaped according to the kind of interpretation and debate around Gender that was defended, promoted and claimed by feminist Anthropologists.

The political strength gained by feminist Anthropologists when occupying power positions within their discipline seems to have allowed for them to also reach power positions in Social Sciences as a whole, as 'representatives' of Anthropology. The foundation of ABA –

Associação Brasileira de Antropologia in 1955 marked a shift in the discipline of Anthropology itself (Corrêa, 1988), regarding its main themes, approaches to different objects, and more. Women had been present in Brazilian anthropology since its early days (the first decades of the 20th century, especially duringt he 1930s), although not obtaining equal recognition for their work as their male counterparts (Corrêa, 2003). The first woman to be in the direction of ABA was elected in 1959 in its 4th Annual Meeting as part of a board of three directors (ABA, 2018), and might have done mostly administrative work[82]. However, since 1974 all elected boards have had women in them. The first woman to preside ABA was Eunice Durham, elected in 1980. From 1988 on all elected boards had, as their members, at least one feminist Anthropologist who was working (at least partially) on GFWS, including many of whom belong to the "Anthropologist cluster" analyzed in this study: Lia Zanotta Machado, Cláudia Fonseca, Mariza Corrêa, Miriam Grossi and Maria Filomena Gregori.

The recognition they've had from their peers in the discipline is very likely a result of their work not only in GFWS, but also concerning other areas of Anthropology: those are researchers who share in their trajectory, among other characteristics, a very high engagement with non-GFWS-related knowledge production and circulation spaces, for example having worked as editors and members of the editorial board of several non-GFWS journals, having organized and published edited books on non-GFWS topics, etc. (see Appendix 2). At the same time, such recognition probably potentialized the prestige of GFWS in Anthropology as well. A more detailed study focusing on the case of feminist Anthropologists, with ethnographic interviews and systematic analyses of papers presented in ABA's reunions, should contribute to a more complex understanding of such process. Nevertheless, it is safe to say from what has been presented and discussed in this thesis until now, that the dominant position established by such researchers in GFWS is related to the dominant positions of pivotal agents in the academic field, through their dominant positions in disciplinary spaces (considering that disciplines are a central structure of the academic space).

It is also possible to state that playing with the established structures – and even reinforcing them in a certain way – was a key strategy for this group as well. If disciplines are indeed a central structure of the academic space, the same can be said of a particular approach to what Science should be. Advocating for transversalism and for scientific principles meant

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[82] The document provided doesn't explicit each of the elected members' positions but indicates that they are presented in a specific order, from president to less important positions. In this case, anthropologist Maria Júlia Pourchet was the last one to be mentioned.

operating according to the norms of functioning of the Brazilian academic space, especially after the institutionalization of the academic career during the 1990s, when a very specific and more technical approach to what "science" (and "Social Sciences") should mean was being reinforced by public policy, norms, rules and research financing processes, as previously mentioned in this work. This is how they made themselves reference of GFWS and in GFWS, which was determinant to the diffusion of the conceptual-original interpretation of the concept of Gender in the country.

Such process was determinant of the institutional structures that still define the area of GFWS in Brazil. As it will be demonstrated in the next subsection, the main research groups, journals, events, etc. reflect the "inside job" performed by Anthropologists. At the same time, as it will be discussed in the final section of this part of Chapter 3, comparing those to the institutional structures still linked with the Militant cluster nowadays, besides the researchers' trajectories, helps in remarking generational issues as central to the reception of the concept of Gender, as well as to the institutionalization of GFWS in Brazil. Despite acting in the same direction, the Anthropologist cluster also had internal differences between groups. Such differences, as it will be pointed out, were also connected to their position and relationship to the political field, even though they were all ambassadors of Science in academia.

Internal differences and cooperation in the Anthropologist cluster

The Anthropologist cluster shared a theoretical perspective on the relations of Anthropology and Gender and GFWS, and a strategy of action within their discipline and in GFWS, as pointed out in the previous pages. In this process, they often cooperated with each other (like when Gregori mentions that Grossi stood up for her work in meetings when she was only a recently MA in Anthropology), despite some differences. Differences and relationships of collaboration divide these researchers in three groups: the Pagu group in Campinas, the UFSC group in Florianópolis and a third group which includes researchers from Rio de Janeiro who were closer to the Militant group. These divisions, of course, are linked to the history and processes of creation and institutionalization of GFWS in the country, as it will be discussed next.

In 1991, Elizabeth Souza-Lobo was working at the State University of Campinas as a visiting professor in the department of History. Coming from a trip to the United States where she had contact for the first time with Joan Scott's "Gender: a useful category of historical analysis" (Scott, 1986) and reunited with anthropologists Mariza Corrêa and Adriana Piscitelli,

she proposed the creating of a research center dedicated to Gender. In the memories of Corrêa, this was an innovative idea precisely because of the more scientific approach to feminism that such perspective would make possible:

> "In the middle of 1989 or 1990, I can't remember, Elizabeth Souza-Lobo showed up; she was an old fellow of mine, in many struggles – the best of them not belonging to the 'public sphere'. She was enthousiastic about the reading of Joan Scott, which she discovered, I think, in a trip to the United States. Beth was coming to work in our Institute [*Instituto de Filosofia e Ciências Humanas* – IFCH at Unicamp] and she was going to give a course based in this and other readings on gender which, according to her and Adriana Piscitelli, were giving a new direction to feminist issues. Of course I was interested – those were two intelligent and captivating researchers whom I respected and I was, indeed, tired of the reinforcement of the 'poor little woman' in so many research papers that seemed to be all the same; I sat at a table at IEL [*Instituto de Estudos da Linguagem*, at Unicamp] and listened, enchanted, their plans of forming a research centre. Then, Adriana and a group of others who were interested in carrying on Beth's proposal formed the first study group that later became Pagu – the name was a tribute to her [Beth], who was very fond of Patricia Galvão [Pagu]. Still a little later on, Adriana showed up with another novelty on gender: Marilyn Strathern [The gender of the gift] which, I confess, I took a long time to face, for doubting it a little for being such a coherent system of thought but at the same time so distant and opposed to ours. Coming from feminism (women in my generation were called 'Beauvoir's daughters' by Paulo Francis), there was always a distinction to me between academic research and political engagement. In both senses: is, as an anthropologist, I can understand the cultural reasons of genital mutilation in some countries, as a feminist I am against them without hesitation (the same way I am against torture in 'primitive societies', child beating in our society and racial discrimination – probably limitations of my 'Occidentalism' – but we all have our limits. And if I know that precise political action requires the banalization or transformation of difficult steps of the necessarily slow task of thinking in slogans, I'd rather abstain from it."

> (Corrêa, 1998, pp. 47–48)[83]

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[83] In the original: "*Em meados de 1989 ou 90, não lembro bem, me apareceu a Elizabeth Souza Lobo, companheira antiga, ainda que intermitente, de muitas lutas – e as melhores delas não travadas na "esfera pública" – entusiasmada com a leitura de Joan Scott que tinha descoberto, creio, numa viagem aos Estados Unidos. Beth*

Even though Pagu has always been an interdisciplinary group, it was a space where anthropologists and Anthropology quickly became dominant. In a balance of their journal, *Cadernos Pagu*, for instance, Piscitelli, Beleli, and Lopes (2003) notice that 32% of the published papers in the first 19 editions of the journal were in Anthropology. Their council and coordination have also been systematically receptive of anthropologists.

The position of Anthropologists in this subgroup (Mariza Corrêa, Adriana Piscitelli, Maria Filomena Gregori) concerning Gender is generally closer to what Gregori points out as the "post-structuralist" approach. They claim that Gender is a concept that allows to think power relations beyond the approaches more traditional in politics, previously discussed, frequently using the conceptual-original interpretation of Gender. They also claim Science and scientific method in analyzing feminism and feminist issues. It is common, in their interviews and publications, that they mention that their academic work **is** their political engagement, separating themselves from militants and social movements. They also mention that their experience in politics was mainly inside the university with feminist groups concerned about research and studying.

Differently than Pagu, the group of researchers in the south of Brazil (Miriam Grossi, Cláudia de Lima Costa and Cláudia Fonseca) seem to be closer to social movements. The congress "Fazendo Gênero", previously mentioned in this thesis, is organized by researchers like Grossi at Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina (UFSC), for instance, and works as an international gathering of feminist knowledge production, reuniting academic and militant work in very intense days of an enormous diversity of activities. Anthropologists more strongly linked to the group, even though do not show in their trajectories an organic insertion in social

estava vindo dar um curso no Instituto, baseada nessa e em outras leituras sobre a questão de gênero que, segundo ela e Adriana Piscitelli, estavam dando novo rumo à questão feminista. É claro que fiquei interessada – tratava-se de duas interlocutoras inteligentes e instigantes que respeito e eu, que andava, de fato, enfarada pela reiteração da "mulher coitadinha" em tantas e tantas pesquisas que pareciam ser sempre a mesma, sentei com ambas num mesa da cantina do IEL, hoje demolida, e fiquei ouvindo, encantada, seus planos de constituição de um centro de pesquisas. Depois, Adriana e um grupo de outras pessoas interessadas na questão levaram adiante o curso que Beth tinha proposto e esse foi, creio, o primeiro grupo de estudos do que viria a ser o Pagu – em homenagem a ela, que tanto gostava de Patricia Galvão. Mais tarde um pouco, Adriana apareceu com outra novidade de gênero, o livro de Marilyn Strathern [The gender of the gift] que, confesso, levei um bom tempo para ter coragem de enfrentar a sério, tanto por uma certa desconfiança, que até hoje tenho, de um sistema tão coerente de pensamento e tão radicalmente oposto ao nosso que me dava vertigens, como porque, tendo vindo do feminismo [lembre-se que as mulheres de minha geração foram chamadas por Paulo Francis de "as filhas de Simone de Beauvoir"] sempre tive bem presentes as distinções entre a pesquisa acadêmica e a atuação política. Nos dois sentidos: se, como antropóloga, posso entender muito bem, por exemplo, as razões culturais das mutilações genitais de mulheres em alguns países, como feminista, sou contra elas sem qualquer hesitação. [Assim como sou contra a tortura em "sociedades primitivas", o espancamento de crianças na nossa sociedade e a discriminação racial – certamente limites do meu "ocidentalismo" – mas todos nós temos os nossos limites.] E, se sei que a ação política pontual requer a banalização, ou a transformação em palavras de ordem, de difíceis passos da necessariamente lenta tarefa de reflexão, prefiro me abster dela." Corrêa (1998, pp. 47–48)

movements, or in the State and policy-designing, are in constant dialogue with the political field. However, their research is directed to the academic world, and is closer to what has been produced by Pagu anthropologists in terms of their theoretical, epistemological and political views. Their themes are also similar, focusing often in body, sexuality, subjectivity and violence.

The approximation of Anthropology and politics done by Franchetto and Heilborn, who both work in Rio de Janeiro, is more easily seen in their academic work. Heilborn has developed her career working in the sector of public health and women's health studies in *Universidade Estadual do Rio de Janeiro* (UERJ – State University of Rio de Janeiro). Franchetto, on the other hand, left GFWS and focused her career in indigenous language, having had a strong insertion in institutional politics because of such work. Heilborn's standpoints on the concept of Gender show great divergence with other anthropologists, as mentioned in Chapter 2 and also in the previous pages of this part of Chapter 3. In her trajectory, she mentions attending to meetings as an "independent militant" during the 1980s – a category already discussed in the previous pages. Differently than the other anthropologists, too, her trajectory doesn't show a institutional insertion in disciplinary spaces in Anthropology. In terms of theoretical development on the concept of Gender, she was, with Souza-Lobo, one of the few authors who managed to actually conceal perspectives being presented as opposed by Anthropologists and Militants.

Between Militants and Anthropologists, Politics and Science: a generational issue

It is important to highlight that the researchers individually mentioned here weren't the only ones to discuss the concept of Gender and weren't the only ones analyzed. They were mentioned for being exemplary of the main "poles" that structure d the oppositions and disputes around Gender and Brazilian GFWS institutionalization at that time. Other researchers, who didn't "fit" exactly the mains patterns here presented, were also analyzed and the complete group is presented in more detail in the tables of Appendix 2.

Between Militants and Anthropologists, in the interstices of Politics and Science, some broader processes and questions emerge. One of them is the generational variation in terms of career pattern, theoretical standpoints, and closer association with either the Militant or the Anthropologist clusters. Three different generations of authors were identified: (i) the Pioneers (G1); (ii) the Professors (G2); (iii) the Students (G3). These labels were given according to their position in the moment when the concept of Gender started to be debated. "Pioneers" were

those like Saffioti, closely linked to WS, and who were already recognized authors at that time. "Professors" were the "middle" generation – like Souza-Lobo or Mariza Corrêa – who were teaching and researching in that moment, inside universities. "Students" were post graduation students at that time, such as Gregori herself. This isn't, however, a very exact division, but it helps understanding some of the researchers' struggles and disputes, especially considering that there was indeed a shift of perspective and of dominant group in Brazilian GFWS from that moment on.

Broader political and economic contexts also impact in generational differences. Firstly because of changes in the academic career and Higher Education system and in how they work (from the importance of journals to how professors are hired, including the duration of PhDs and tenure). Then, because of stronger influence of the United States due to bilateral agreements coming from the 1980s and especially the 1990s: as it will be discussed in the final part of Chapter 3, next, international circulation patterns have changed through the decades and have strongly influenced researchers' trajectories and production. Finally, because of global events like the end of the Cold War and the fall of the Belin Wall, which had a strong impact in how social movements engaged in politics, and in the possible distances and approximations with what researchers often refer to as "the traditional left".

PART III

THE SOUTH OF THE SOUTH:

INTERSTITIAL KNOWLEDGE PRODUCTION

Women, interrupted – Between science and politics: exile, international circulation and interstices – 35 lives: a prosopographical chart – Between science and political action, is there an academic field? – Of margins and gaps, from the South of the South: interstitial knowledge production

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Figure 1- Girl interrupted at her music, painting by Johannes Vermeer, 1858-1859

> *"I wasn't dead, yet something was dead. (...) This time I read the title of the painting: Girl Interrupted at Her Music. Interrupted at her music: as my life had been, interrupted in the music of being seventeen, as her life had been, snatched and fixed on canvas: one moment made to stand still and to stand for all the other moments, whatever they would be or might have been. What life can recover from that? (...)"*
> (Kaysen, 1993)

"France was supposed to be just a passage, while I couldn't move to Chile, where I decided to live when I left the exile in Cuba. In April, 1970, my husband went back to Brazil in a clandestine trip, having been arrested and murdered by the State institutions responsible for repressing and exterminating their opposition. I was in Paris, right after a year in Cuba, when I was informed of my husband's murder. Without psychological conditions of a new move between countries, I decided to stay in France and pursue my theoretical education."[84]

(MORAES, 2005)

* * *

Several works along the 20th century have pointed out how gender – as a system – operates dialectically, from opposing categories which can't exist if not as opposition to each other. Men and women, man and woman. Bridges and walls. Psychoanalysis with Freud and Lacan, philosophy with Beauvoir and Butler, anthropology with Lévi-Strauss and Mead: those and many other authors in their disciplines have described the existence of women as the negation of men. Negation, antithesis, absence, lack of: there is a fundamental role being played by such category – woman, women – in a broader system that regulates the production and reproduction of bodies as the material support for the production and reproduction of wealth, symbolic goods, culture (as put by Friedrich Engels, Alexandra Kollontai, Lou Andreas-Salomé and others). Men are. Women aren't. Such is that Men are the basis for positive universal subjects. Synonym of Human. Women aren't. Women can't represent anything other than itself. Women can't be anything other than itself: negation. Not Human, not Men. Impossible to answer "What is a woman" for a Woman isn't. A Woman is a non-place, an absence; and

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[84] Freely translated from the original in Portuguese: *"A França, inicialmente, seria apenas o lugar de passagem para o Chile, onde pretendia morar no retorno de Cuba. Em abril de 1970, meu marido retornara clandestino ao país, sendo a seguir preso e assassinado pelos órgãos encarregados da repressão política e extermínio dos opositores. Eu ainda estava em Paris, de retorno de Cuba, quando fui informada do assassinato de meu marido. Sem condições psicológicas para mais uma mudança de país, resolvi permanecer na França e dar seqüência à minha formação teórica (...)."*

hysteria, or borderline syndrome are empty addresses. Shades outlining this non-subject, non-being, non-place. There lies its power.

Being an intellectual and academic woman is, as shown in Moschkovich (2013), sailing in troubled waters. Producing knowledge from an interstitial place within the gender system: a crack in the wall, responsible for the existence of the wall itself and the way it bends and adapts to an earthquake, so it can go on existing. The researchers in this prosopographical essay were such, in various different levels: not militants, but not simply academics either; acting within a discipline but creating whole new areas of study in them, which were not always immediately recognized as legitimate; being not as womanly for being militants and intellectuals, but not being militants and intellectuals enough for being women. But that is not all. Besides all those aspects already pointed out, presented and debated in the previous chapters, there is still another determinant characteristic of their lives: they were Brazilian and/or working and studying and doing politics in Brazil; and this has shaped their trajectories as much as having been born with vaginas between their legs[85].

Women, interrupted

The quote from Moraes' memoir is representative of different events that defined her story: political persecution, exile, death. Events that have changed her course of action, her plans, her perception on what was to be done next. Such events, as mentioned and described in the previous chapter, can be seen as a direct result of her position in the political and scientific fields in Brazil at a very specific historical context. If it is true, on one hand, that scholars, intellectuals, militants and scientists in countries such as the USA and France (and others considered to be the "center" or the "North" in the global system of knowledge production) have also been influenced by their social and political contexts, as briefly discussed in Chapter 1, it is also true, on the other hand, that trajectories of researchers like Moraes and the rest of Militant cluster show a very specific dimension of such influence, directly related to the somewhat marginal position of Brazil in that system: the conditions in which international circulation happens.

In peripherical countries, also considered to be part of a supposedly subaltern "Global South" (Santos & Meneses, 2010), international circulation has been a particularly steady and effective strategy in making one's work legitimate, and in acquiring prestige when building a

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[85] In the case of the researchers in the prosopography, they were all cisgender.

successful intellectual trajectory (Almeida, Bittencourt, Canêdo, & Garcia, 2004; Beigel, 2010, 2013; Dezalay & Madsen, 2013; Garcia, 2005). The symbolic capital of renowned institutions from the 'center' is borrowed by researchers and recognized as such by their peers in their national context. Beyond the symbolic value of specific institutions, it is possible to add to the equation the symbolic value of languages and of the experience itself of living in one of those countries.

When international circulation is voluntary it assumes such trait, becoming an asset in a researcher's or group's struggle to achieve better positions in their national scientific field. This is already a particular aspect of Brazilians' international circulation experiences that can't be as easily found in analyzing researchers from the USA, France or other central countries in the 1970s and 1980s[86]. When it isn't – like in the case of exile – a new layer of such phenomenon can be analyzed. Exile due to political persecution during the Brazilian dictatorship is a direct result of bilateral politics with the USA during the Cold War, as already presented in the previous chapters. The trajectories of exiled researchers (and other militants) also assumes the shape of such times: they were often welcomed by Cuba, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), German Democratic Republic (GDR), Salvador Allende's Chile, Portugal after the Carnation Revolution in 1974. Other two common destinations of exiled militants were Argentina between military dictatorships (that is, between 1973 and 1976) and France, despite them not being socialist states. Argentina's proximity and language are often mentioned as reasons why militants fled there, besides the close contact of Brazilian radical left groups with Argentinian ones who could accommodate such flow of exile. However, the harshest dictatorial period in Argentina soon came, and Argentinians were also searching for exile more and more after 1976. A similar wave happened to and from Chile: after Allende's murder and the rise of Pinochet's regime, both Chilean militants and exiled Brazilians searched for new shelter worldwide.[87]

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[86] It is worth highlighting that, although this was more precisely the situation in the 1970s and 1980s, it has been changing dramatically especially from the 2000s on. The process of internationalization of science – and of SSH in particular – can't be limited to the false assumption that international circulation is a recent phenomenon; but rather understood as a specific moment in recent history when the experience of international circulation has acquired more and more symbolic value, becoming an essential part of what it means, nowadays, to have a successful academic career and/or intellectual trajectory. Such process has also been steadily influencing researchers' paths in "central" countries, which also count on bilateral agreements to foster their researchers' international circulation.

[87] More about Brazilian militants exiled during the military dictatorship can be read in Costa, Moraes, Marzola, and Lima (1980), Cavalcanti and Ramos (1976), Pedro and Scheibe Wolff (2010), Roniger and Green (2016), Garreton, Murmis, Sierra, and Trindade (2005), Azevedo and Sanjurjo (2013), Green (2003)

Between science and politics: exile, international circulation and fruitful interstices

In such context, France and Portugal were particularly popular destinations (Soihet, 2010). Portugal for the language. France, among other reasons, was often a source of new possibilities especially for militants who were academics/intellectuals. Of course the condition of being exiled never leaves much of a free choice about where to go; people went where they managed to be accepted, most of the times. However, the fact that so many scholars stood in France shouldn't be considered something isolated from the fact that France was going through the immediate effects of May 1968, with broad university reforms and a growing proximity of academia and politics, as already discussed in Chapter 1. Adding to that, there is the fact that Brazilian SSH had been strongly influenced by French authors, scholars and bilateral agreements since the beginning of the 20th century (as pointed out in the previous chapters), what indicates that Brazilian SSH researchers who were in political exile could find somewhat of a professional support system there – either because they knew the language, or because they knew professors, or because they were familiar with the scope of the current works in their field in France.

France was the most common destination of international circulation until 1989 (period of the dictatorship plus transition years to the democratic regimen) among the 35 researchers whose trajectories were analyzed in the preparation of this thesis. The following chart indicates some patterns that are useful to understand this specific phenomenon.

Chart 1 – Countries of international circulation, according to generation and period

Name	Generation	Int.Circ. until 1989	Int. Circ. 1990-1999	Int. Circ. after 1999
Aguiar, Neuma	G1	USA	None	USA
Barroso, Carmen	G1	Not found	Not found	Not found
Blay, Eva	G1	None	France	None
Corrêa, Mariza	G1	None	None	None
Costa, Albertina Gordo de Oliveira	G1	France, Portugal	None	None
Dias, Maria Odila Leite da Silva	G1	Not found	Not found	Not found
Hollanda, Heloísa Buarque de	G1	USA	USA	None
Machado, Lia Zanotta	G1	None	France	USA, Chile
Moraes, Maria Lygia Quartim De	G1	France, Chile	None	None
Rodrigues, Arakcy Martins	G1	Not found	Not found	Not applicable
Rosemberg, Fulvia	G1	France	France, USA	France
Saffioti, Heleieth	G1	France	None	None

Soihet, Rachel	G1	None	France	None
Tabak, Fanny	G1	USSR, Spain	None	None
Bruschini, Cristina	G1-G2	None	None	None
Azerêdo, Sandra	G2	USA	None	USA
Castro, Mary G.	G2	USA	USA	USA
Costa, Ana Alice Alcântara	G2	Mexico	None	Spain
Fonseca, Claudia	G2	USA	France	Canada, Argentina, USA, Peru, Portugal, Spain, Italy, France, UK
Franchetto, Bruna	G2	Italy	None	USA
Grossi, Miriam Pillar	G2	France	None	USA, Chile, France
Kofes, Suely	G2	France	Spain, UK	France, USA
Lavinas, Lena	G2	France	USA	Germany, Switzerland
Neves, Magda de Almeida	G2	France	None	None
Pedro, Joana Maria	G2	None	None	USA
Pinto, Céli Regina Jardim	G2	USA	USA	Germany, UK
Sorj, Bila	G2	Israel, UK	France	France
Cavalcanti, Maria Laura V. de Castro	G2-G3	None	USA	USA
Heilborn, Maria	G2-G3	None	None	France
Souza-Lobo, Elisabeth	G2-G3	France	Not applicable	Not applicable
Costa, Claudia Junqueira de Lima	G3	USA	USA	USA
Gregori, Maria Filomena*	G3	None	None	USA
Piscitelli, Adriana	G3	Argentina	None	Spain, USA, Chile, UK
Sardenberg, Cecília	G3	USA	USA	UK

Source: Lattes curriculums and biographical sources as described in Appendix 1

Considering that Generations 1 and 2, as described before, were the most impacted by the military period and the Cold War in general, it makes sense that France is prominent as an international circulation destination among those researchers, especially until 1989. This pattern changes with time and also, accordingly, with Generation: the more down and right in the chart, the strongest the presence of the United Stated as a destination. However, the USA doesn't appear with the same level of hegemony as France once did. It rather shares space with a broader variety of destinations, result of a more general process of internationalization of knowledge production (supported by multiple important bilateral and multilateral agreements on Higher Education).

It is worth highlighting that the process of internationalization of science – and of SSH in particular – can't be limited to the false assumption that international circulation is a recent

phenomenon but should be rather understood as a specific moment in recent history when the experience of international circulation has acquired more and more symbolic value, becoming an essential part of what it means, nowadays, to have a successful academic career and/or intellectual trajectory. Such process has also been steadily influencing researchers' paths in "central" countries, which also count on bilateral agreements to foster their researchers' international circulation. At the same time, it has systematically reinforced the importance of researchers in "peripherical" countries (such as Brazil) travelling and working abroad if they seek to build a professional trajectory that is recognized as successful in their own national contexts.

This explains, at least partially, why Generation 1 researchers more often didn't go abroad after 1999: at that time, they had already achieved top career levels and prestige and therefore there was no pressure for them to go abroad. Generation 2 researchers, trying to establish themselves in their fields, strategically invested in international circulation even when they hadn't done much of that before 1999. Generation 3, on its turn, still paving their way, couldn't probably afford to skip this experience – or, in case they did, they wouldn't probably have been able to participate in prestigious positions in the creation of a new area of studies (because they wouldn't have had the recognition needed from their peers in order to occupy decision-making positions in disciplinary associations and other institutional structures, as mentioned previously in this chapter). Generation 1 also includes researchers who didn't have any experience abroad and still managed to build a sufficiently legitimate position in the academic field – precisely by investing in their recognition in a new specific area (GFWS) and shifting it to a dominant (or at least sufficiently legitimate) position within their discipline – like Corrêa.

In a different angle, international circulation has also had profound impact in the researchers' trajectories when considering their position in the political field through the organization and scaffolding of the feminist movement in Brazil. More specifically, the international circulation towards France during the dictatorship has had such effect. It has been pointed out in many works and autobiographical documents (see complete list in Appendix Y) how the experience of Brazilian militants exiled in France right after May 1968 has fostered change in their relationship (and consequently also in their peers' relationships) with what they called "the traditional left" at that moment. The term "traditional left" is normally used in reference to communist and socialist parties and radical extreme left organized groups which,

at that point in time, often refused feminism and feminist causes claiming it was a struggle that would divide the proletariat and should thus be left to be solved after a revolution.

In France, after 1968, the *Mouvement de Libération des Femmes* (MLF) gathered many women who were or had been communist and socialist militants. Influenced by their articulation within such movement and the French left, Brazilian exiled militants created and maintained an organized feminist group that had regular meetings in Paris, where they could exchange experiences and ideas about feminist theory, specially what was being discussed by French authors and by the French militants. The group, baptized *Círculo de Mulheres Brasileiras em Paris* (Brazilian Women Circle in Paris - CMBP), reached up to 100 members, having a monthly assembly and local smaller groups that met more often, some in an almost daily basis, as described by Pedro and Wolff (2007). These authors also mention that, despite there were other groups of Latin-American and Brazilian women organized in Paris at that time (such as Nosotras, with exiled women and refugees from other South American countries), the Circle had a more politically engaged project, being directed by women who were exiled communist and socialist militants and who were beginning to criticize the limits of the Brazilian feminism as it had been until then – mostly separated from broader political struggles such as the struggle for amnesty and democracy with the end of the dictatorship, and especially the class struggle as a whole. Their differences with *Nosotras* and other so-called "conscience groups" (that is, groups that aimed at raising women's consciousness about the socially imposed limitations of being a woman, in a more individual-everyday-life fashion) ended up mirroring one of the fundamental disputes in the feminist movement, which has also been presented along the previous chapters as basis for disputes around the concept of gender: on one side, the interpretation that the feminine should have its separate, exclusive place; on the other, the interpretation that it should reorganize and rebalance a whole system (Pedro & Wolff, 2007).

It is interesting to notice how this place of not-belonging – not belonging exactly to the left for being feminist and women, not belonging exactly to the French MLF for not being French and being exiled, which meant the intention was to reside only temporarily in the country, not belonging to Brazilian everyday life for while – has allowed them distance and autonomy to criticize, question and reorganize feminist issues in a context of democratic openness (which was a lot harder for those who stayed in Brazil, because they had to deal more directly with both their parties and organization's structures, being within them all the time, and the repression of the dictatorship regimen). It would be impossible to call it a non-place or a place of not-belonging, though, had they only established their separate space in Paris and

dialogued within the French society exclusively. This wasn't the case: their experience in the Circle was kept alive by their inside actions within each of their parties and organized left groups, and especially by often publishing materials in Brazil, in the militant newspaper *Brasil Mulher*. However, as soon as the first exiled militants that had been part of the Circle arrived back in Brazil, they founded a new newspaper called *Nós, Mulheres*. As already mentioned in the previous chapters, *Nós, Mulheres* was the result of a process of criticism and distancing of the "traditional left" and also a way to fight the feminist struggle within the organized left (Leite, 2003).

Feminism, for Brazilian militants, then, appeared to be a comfortably soft (in the sense of less rigid, because of being new, not yet totally determined or structured) space in which new synthesis could be achieved, like the proposition of combining feminist causes with class struggle; or reinterpreting feminism as whole while focusing less in traditional discourses and causes of the left and more in concrete and practical public policies aimed at Brazilian women. From the second half of the 1970s, right after UN's International Year of Women in 1975, a period in which the dictatorship started to reduce censorship and persecutions until its end in 1985, new State structures were created in order to foster public policy aimed at Women, not necessarily in a feminist perspective. Such institutions, however, were occupied massively by feminist militants, whether communist and socialists or not, and reflected this sort of experimental space of Brazilian feminism at that time, as discussed in the previous parts of this chapter.

When in comes to the 35 researchers being analyzed in the present work, they have had different impacts of such processes in their careers. Of course, those belonging to the Militant cluster were active parts of this specific phenomenon. However, the creation of Brazilian feminism as this new soft space, related to but not abided to the organized left of those years, was fruitful to all of them in a way. In the previous pages of this thesis, it has been shown how being a feminist, even when not considering oneself a militant and adopting primarily a transversalist strategies of action within academia has collaborated to establish researchers' nowadays prestigious positions in their disciplines and in the univrsities where they work. The dialogue between politics and academia, done in different ways by those researchers in the Brazilian feminist movement, benefited from the criticism and propositions expressed and fostered by those exiled in France (although not brought exclusively by them, since similar processes had also started among those who didn't go to exile).

In the space of Brazilian feminism, these researchers occupied several interstitial positions: some, for being too "academics" when the group or space was primarily political; some for being too "political" when in universities within their disciplines; some, in the political field, for being feminists thus not "socialist" or "communist" enough, and some for not being "serious" enough in non-leftist spaces; for being too womanly in spaces traditionally occupied by men such as both the political and the scientific fields; for not being womanly enough for being scientists and militants. In the particular space of GFWS – that is, of a specific kind of feminism, which has as its fundamental activity knowledge production – such negations converged, debated, mixed up and disputed to produce new synthesis.

Metaphorically one could say that, the same way that exiled militants found more autonomy of thought for being distant from both the repressive regimen (thus prohibition, which is necessarily a positive norm) and the political parties/groups they built with their male communist and socialist peers (thus affirmation, also a series of positive norms), therefore being allowed to freely not-belong and not-be, these researchers found more autonomy of thought for being distant from both the scientific field and the political field while debating in GFWS spaces at that time, which was precisely what allowed them to gather resources in order to establish GFWS, later, as a legitimate space of knowledge production in both of them. With such recognition came the creation of institutional structures in the 1990s: research groups, disciplines, thematic events and, of course, journals.

The two main journals created in the beginning of the 1990s were, as previously mentioned, *Cadernos Pagu* and *Revista Estudos Feministas* (REF). Created by a research group with the same name established in the University of Campinas (UNICAMP), *Cadernos Pagu* was designed to prioritize the publication of works with approaches related to the concept of gender, especially in its conceptual-original interpretation, and it intended to be an academic journal from the beginning, fostering GFWS in Brazil. Differently, REF opted for keeping a stronger link with the political field and feminist militants even when non-academic, and it never stopped claiming the words "feminist" and "women" when expressing its editorial line, even with the incorporation of "gender" in it.

Their story recalls a shift in GFWS that mirrors a shift in Brazilian feminism, too: while, in a first moment, coming from Women Studies and Feminist Studies, still in the dictatorship and right at its end with the democratic opening and the possibility of discussing social topics publicly, Militants were in a dominant position. Marxist and Marxist-related issues were central in the feminist movement and in SSH in Brazil at that time, as already shown in the previous

pages. After 1990, however, with the fall of the Berlin wall, the end of USSR, the end of the Cold War and the consolidation of steady neoliberal politics which transferred at least partially to NGOs and companies the role of social-policy makers, such approach loses ground in GFWS.

One of the impacts of such shift is the prominence of Anthropologists and their following generations of students rather than Militants (either socialist/communist or not) and their following generations of students in the space of Brazilian GFWS in the second half of the 1990s and especially during the 2000s. GFWS has distanced itself from Marxism, and Marxism has also distanced itself from GFWS, sometimes even claiming, as Saffioti once did, that "gender" is a useless concept, brought to SSH in order to make it less radical or less critical to capitalism, fostered by international agencies and necessarily "post-modern" (whatever militant and intellectual Marxists understand of such term). This thesis has presented evidence that helps identifying how incomplete and fragile such line of argument is, at the same time refusing the idea that GFWS can be seen as totally independent from Marxism and the Marxist tradition of thought and action. Much more recently, especially after 2015, many authors around the world and in Brazil have been abandoning such division and have actually tried to reconcile or produce new synthesis from the dialogue between the concept of gender and the Marxist interpretation of what we nowadays can call the gender system or gender issues.

Other important factors have influence in this process in Brazil, such as the institutionalization of the academic careers, which included the reorganization of post-graduation also mirroring models proposed in the Bologna Convention: the institutional structure in which these 35 researchers had to produce knowledge became more rigid in what touched the principles of the scientific field, leaving less space for standards of evaluation that prioritized the political over the scientific. These transformations also show in the comparison of trajectories of researchers along the 3 generations identified in the present work.

Between science and political action, is there an academic field?

The concept of "field" has been thoroughly developed by Pierre Bourdieu, in many of his works, as a tool to describe, identify and explain disputes in the symbolic realm of social life which end up helping determine a significant part of concrete actions. Put shortly, a field is a symbolic space outlined by the tension between individuals and groups of individuals who dispute legitimacy and dominance within such space by accumulating and using a specific form of symbolic capital belonging to that field, either through their actions or various forms of

inheritance (Bourdieu, 1975, 1976, 1984a, 1984c, 1985, 1986, 1986, 1991, 1997, 1998, 2005, 2011; Bourdieu & Thompson, 1992).

Such concept has been used by different authors in different countries in order to explain a large variety of social phenomena, bringing important insights in how and why our society works the way it works, and why is it organized the way it is organized (Almeida et al., 2004; Beigel, 2010; Canêdo, 2009; Canêdo, Tomizaki, & Garcia, 2013; Cîrstocea, 2010; Convert & Heilbron, 2004; Garcia, 1993, 2005, 2009a, 2009b, 2013; Heilbron, 1995; Hey, 2008; Lebaron, 1997; Matonti & Poupeau, 2004a, 2004b; Sapiro, 1999; Sorá, 1998, 2011). Some of them have used such concept to explain the space of knowledge production in universities and the higher education system as a whole, following many of Bourdieu's propositions in his book *Homo Academicus* (Bourdieu, 1984c). It is often mentioned by posterior authors that there would be something that could be called an "academic field". Some, like Hey (2008) in Brazil, have even taken the task of empirically describing its structures in order to better understand how it works and try to define it in such terms.

However, Bourdieu himself has never claimed that there was an "academic field", rather affirming that the space of universities is disputed and touched by different kinds of fields – the political field, the scientific field, etc. – and that it operates with a combination of kinds of capital "borrowed" from these fields. He uses the concept of field to understand knowledge production within universities and research institutions, but he doesn't outline the space of knowledge production in universities and research institutions as a field in itself. To my knowledge, none of the authors who came after him could offer an empirical demonstration that such "space", as called by Bourdieu, could rigorously be called a "field" in Bourdieusian terms. While disputes are easy to find and recognize, the absence of a specific form of capital pertaining to such space often challenges any attempt to clearly define it as a field: in some cases the political capital ends up being more valued in the academic space, in some cases the scientific capital, and in some cases even what Bourdieu calls the "universitary" capital (that is, the knowledge of mastering the bureaucratic and institutional structures of universities, thus navigating it more easily than one's peers and obtaining advantage from it); more often, a combination of the three allows for individuals and groups to establish themselves in dominant positions within the space of knowledge production in universities and research institutions.

The previously mentioned work of Medvetz (2012), however, brings new insights to such matter. In his book, he identifies the space of USA's Think Tanks as an interstitial field. Such interesting concept is derived from the idea that Think Tanks are agents in multiple fields

(media/communications field, political field, scientific field, economic field), combining a variety of kinds of capital in the dispute for legitimacy either in their own space or in each of these fields. As agents in other fields, they bring tension by claiming they aren't "like the others" since they don't really belong there, while using the capital specific to that field to bring legitimacy to the condition of not-belonging. Describing his path to develop such concept, the author argues (bold remarks were made by the author of this thesis):

> "These observations push the discussion of think tanks **beyond a conventional reading of Bourdieu's field theory**. After all, I will argue, think tanks seem to thrive, not as members of a particular field, but in what sociologist Gil Eyal calls the 'spaces between fields.' The idea of a space between fields will therefore become useful for capturing a key dimension of the think tank's existence: namely, its **capacity to suspend conventional questions of identity, to establish novel forms and combinations, and to claim for itself a kind of mediating role in the social structure**. Yet there is a twist to my argument. The twist is that as think tanks have become ever more enmeshed in relations of 'antagonistic cooperation' with one another, they have also developed certain **field-like properties of their own**. To reconcile these two points, I will depict think tanks as members of an interstitial field, or a semi-structured network of organizations that traverses, links, and overlaps the more established spheres of academic, political, business, and media production. The upshot of this approach is that we must combine two separate but complementary modes of analysis: On the one side, we must pay special attention to the curious forms of **freedom and flexibility that think tanks enjoy by virtue of their liminal positions in social space**. On the other side, we must try to understand the specific *illusio* of policy research, or the **historically unique form of interest that makes membership in a think tank compelling to a particular category of social agents**.

This is the insight in Medvetz's work that helped in understanding the connections of Brazilian GFWS with the space of knowledge production, at least partially (since the present work focused on a very specific kind of knowledge production, which is the one that happens in academia, that is, in higher education and research institutions). More research would be needed and welcome in order to affirm more securely what seems to be an interesting hypothesis: that, despite there is no such thing as an "academic field" as many often say, it is indeed possible to investigate if academics somehow form something closer to an "interstitial field". In case such hypothesis is confirmed, it would also bring new questions to Medvetz's findings: would it be, then, that not only those agents in liminal positions in social space, but also those closer to dominant positions (like academics often are) who can profit from freedom

and flexibility in their disputes? Or would academics enjoy more freedom and flexibility out of academia than in it (where they would have to keep their positions, thus needing to be more "firm")? What is the impact of the concrete conditions of academic work in such network of relations that outline such supposedly interstitial field (more or less subordinated to the economic field, for instance, or to the political field, depending if they are public employees or not, etc.)?

In the case of Brazilian GFWS, especially in the process of reception of the concept of gender, agents are individuals and smaller groups that don't always correspond directly to institutional structures, although, as shown in the prosopographical chart, can often be overlapped by them. GFWS could be seen as a specific part within this maybe-interstitial-field that is the academic space, highly influenced by its processes and by how its relations change with the economic, political, scientific and other fields over time. However, as also a part of Feminism, and being nowadays its main space of knowledge production, it can't be defined as merely part of the academic world either. Beyond that, being part of Feminism too, it is directly linked to particular symbolic characteristics of the anti-subjects or negative subjects that take part in building it – whether we consider that such subjects are women (as it was once the dominant form of interpreting such question in Feminism) or when we also include non-cisgender and/or non-heterosexual people more generally in that group.

Therefore, I propose that GFWS shouldn't be considered neither a field, or an interstitial field, but simply an *interstice*. Further arguing would be needed in order to better establish the new concept I am proposing here, but put in a simplified manner, such concept derives from the idea that even within interstitial fields (such as, maybe, the academic space, or, maybe, Feminism in itself, too) there are marginal positions overlapping the interstitial field and the establish fields, not only being impossible to define them as belonging to any of them, but more specifically gathering their force from the particular place of non-belonging (negativity) in all its dimensions. Such *black holes* work as providers of specific tensions in the process of creation and rearranging of symbolic, social and economic established structures (such as, but not limited to, fields).

In the case of Brazilian GFWS in the 1980s and 1990s, when the reception of the concept of gender happened, it is interesting to observe how such tension allowed for researchers to create their own interpretations of theories, to change what was being discussed in their disciplines, to refuse or reinterpret ideas, seeing the limit of what came from the "central" countries. They have moved and changed established structures, with impact that, as mentioned

in the Introduction, trespassed the walls of universities, SSH and theory along the years. Brazilian, women, academic-militants and militants-academics: the set of social relations that produce such interstice can't be simply explained by a metaphor or dominant-subaltern, center-periphery, North-South, colonizer-colonized.

Of margins and gaps, from the South of the South: interstitial knowledge production

When discussing the global system of knowledge production, authors such as Santos and Meneses (2010), Connell, Collyer, Maia, and Morrell (2017), Comaroff (2011) and others have been using the idea of global North and South to convey that there are inequalities in such space, and that the position and legitimacy of authors and ideas in that system are not merely a matter of merit but rather related to their national origin. One of the main problems with such metaphor is that it makes invisible that relations in a field-like system can be far more complex than a binary opposition. A fairly simple example is the multiplicity of relationships within the South. In a somewhat fractal structure, better described as aa system of homologous networks of power, "southern" agents acquire more or less value and prestige according to – as shown by Beigel (2013) – their language. Not only the language they publish in, since globally known authors publish more or less in the same languages as a requirement to be able to maybe become globally known. Specially, in that context, the language they were raised in.

Brazilian authors, for example, usually learn English or Spanish as a second language and hardly ever, in SSH, have a fairly good mastery of the language, enough to confidently write and publish in it. This means that, in order to be read in other countries, even in Latin America, they have to either pay for translators or be made important enough that someone will pay for translators for their work. This can't, in concrete terms, be considered to be an equally deprivileged situation as Australians, for instance, claim for themselves when they considered themselves to be part of the same global South. Going beyond language: many countries that were colonies of France, for instance, have educational systems still nowadays equivalent with the French, facilitating international circulation processes and work abroad. Or countries like Spain that maintain bilateral agreements of international circulation, grants and scholarships specially dedicated to students from Hispanic American countries.

Those are some examples of aspects that create very diverse conditions of work for academics coming from the supposedly same South. When I propose metaphorically that Brazil is the South of the South, despite its economic wealth (although extremely concentrated), this is what I mean: to make their production go beyond their own country, Brazilians need to

activate a series of strategies and tools that, in the case of authors coming from ex-French and ex-British colonies, for instance, are facilitated. More research is needed in order to better develop such perception, but it is clear that there are important shades to the whole of binary metaphors and this is why they have been refused along this thesis.

The central matter in this criticism, though, is related to the position of more or less autonomy that authors can or can't assume in such system. In SSH, authors who can read and write in different languages or who have their language as a mandatory study in the curriculums of other countries, have the possibility of circulating their work beyond their national context. Often their success out of their national context also contributes to their affirmation in their national context, as put by Bourdieu (2002), being therefore used as part of their strategy in search for legitimacy.

Such process has been described as a process that opens the possibility of creation, since the structures that originated theories, concepts and ideas do not travel steadily with them. However, in a more and more connected world, in a global knowledge production system post-internationalization of SSH, it seems mandatory to ask whether this remains truthful. From the case of the reception of the concept of gender in Brazil one could assume that although the structures that have originated the concept haven't precisely travelled with it, the low level of autonomy (economic, political, scientific) of the Brazilian academic-perhaps-interstitial-field was such that the structures that received it mirrored the structures that had originated it, thus creating an impression that the same disputes would take place here. However, a more detailed analysis, as presented, shows how Brazilians managed to creatively converge their acceptance and refusal of certain standards, ideas, interpretations, structures, by playing them and with them. The smart moves of using a structure one can't control but is dependent on, in order to criticize and question that same structure, was perhaps a possible creation of those who specifically saw themselves in a non-place in so many levels. From such non-places, from interstices: black holes devour everything in their particular way, provoking forcedly new original synthesis that can't belong anywhere because they simply aren't. This is our anthropophagy, this is our strength; and it has deeply shaped this still controversial area in SSH that can't even be simply named: Gender, Feminist and Women Studies.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Sources, methods and procedures

The main sources of this research were papers, books and documents that had been previously published. A preliminary exploration of materials was done by drawing data from Scielo – an important journal index in Latin America – and organizing it using the software Citavi (A). With a system of publications classification developed, more material was added (B), especially non-indexed documents from the two first journals dedicated to GFWS in Brazil. Then, complimentary documents were added – the ANPOCS annals, for instance, as well as published interviews and others. A full list of materials consulted as research documents is presented in the last section (C) of this Appendix.

(A) Preliminary materials investigation

In order to better understand the presence of Gender in Brazilian SSH nowadays, at the beginning of the research the Scielo index was consulted. In a first search, considering that such index was created in the year 2000, the limit of time defined was 2005. Then, in a second search, the period from 2005 to 2010 was included. The main difference between these two parameters' results was that, when the post-2005 period was excluded, the proportion of papers discussing gender as a theoretical tool was higher, and the frequency of this kind of work decreased from 2005 on, while the frequency of works using the word "gender" in a descriptive manner increased. This was when it became clear that the thesis should bring an attempt of classifying the different uses and semantics of Gender, and this was when the hypothesis that those uses could be clues or evidence of the disputes.

However, Scielo has its limits as a research tool. In the case of this research, more specifically, it doesn't cover the period analyzed. To understand the period of GFWS that started in the decade of 2000, of course, has helped contextualizing the hypothesis and questions aimed at the decades of 1980s and 1990s. But more sources were necessary in order to produce a firmer research. Journal papers also need to be contextualized as sources. Despite being now the main tool of knowledge circulation in the scientific field, they haven't always been shaped the way they are nowadays.

The search was conducted according to the following parameters:

- keyword "gender", in Portuguese, in the title

- published in Brazilian journals
- published between 2000 and 2010 (including)
- published in the area of Human Sciences, Linguistics, Language and Arts or Applied Social Sciences

The results were exported to RIS and added to Citavi (version 5.0). The search results immediately showed an interesting conflict concerning the keyword "gender". In Portuguese, the word for "gender" (gênero) is the same for "genre" (gênero), as in a text's or book's genre. This meant that journals of Linguistics, Language and Arts presented papers that were using "gênero" in both ways. In Applied Social Sciences journals, "gender" was used as a mere substitute for "male/female sex" in descriptive studies – having been systematically translated as "sex" in their English abstracts. The raw data returned by the search was, then, filtered, by associating "gender" with other keywords such as "woman", "women", "text", "novel", etc. and these results were excluded. After filtering, all abstracts and titles were read, and papers that weren't dealing more specifically with Gender as a concept (regardless of the interpretation given to the term) were excluded. The final list had 1063 papers.

These papers were then organized and classified. The classification system developed was the base for the search and organization of the more consistent documents used in the research. Papers were divided in three large categories:

1. Papers that used the concept of Gender (88% of the total of 1063)
2. Papers that debated theoretically such concept (3% of the total of 1063)
3. Papers that focused on memory and history of Brazilian GFWS (9% of the total of 1063)

A second filtering process was done, by excluding translations and interviews with foreign authors. The same system of classification was used in the following phase (B) of the work with sources.

(B) Expanding sources and materials

From the systematic reading of the papers classified as categories 2 and 3 (above described), the first research insights were provided, along with insights on how to expand the consulted sources. *Cadernos Pagu* and *Revista Estudos Feministas* were indicated by many authors as the oldest and most relevant journals of GFWS in Brazil. Their first editions, however, aren't indexed. Fortunately they were available at their official websites for a quite artisanal research: one by one, the summaries of each edition until 1999 were opened, and all

the titles were read. Articles that had "gender" in their titles were downloaded, abstracts read, and they were put in one of the 3 categories (use / theory / memory). Beyond that, the investigation also included ANPOCS annals, as discussed and presented especially in Chapter 2. Other books and published interviews were added, and some of them are directly cited along the thesis. The total of documents increased to 1217.

Because of the scope of the thesis, documents pertaining to category 1 weren't thoroughly analyzed and aren't included in the following list. A total of 170 documents form the core source of this research's first phase, having been complemented by curriculums in the construction of the prosopography, as described in Appendix 2. The next section presents the list of 170 documents included in this analysis.

(C) List of materials analyzed

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Appendix 2: Producing the prosopography and prosopographical tables and charts

As pointed out in the thesis chapters, the approach proposed in this research work considers the trajectories of a group of agents as a tool to analyze broader social relations, structures and power struggles that have shaped a particular phenomenon. By connecting the agents' theoretical and political standpoints – mapped with the help from the sources previously described in Appendix 1 – to their positions in the scientific field and their dispositions historically and socially built, a prosopographical research style (Lemercier & Picard, 2010) allows for a complex description of the interactions of multiple social processes at the same time within a field.

A prosopography can be understood as a systematization of a group's biography which isn't the simple sum of individual biographies (Ferrari, 2010; Lemercier & Picard, 2010; Stone, 2011). In such approach, gaps in biographies of certain individuals can be filled by general context provided by others, as well as the meaning of each information changes according to such context. A prosopography is based in common aspects among the group of individuals and their trajectories, so that the group can be considered an agent in society as whole. At the same time, characteristics of individuals and their trajectories raised in a prosopographical analysis shouldn't be limited to the ones common to the whole group, once they can also function as bridges to other fields, spaces, groups, institutions, etc.

To build this prosopography, there were four phases:

1. Defining which individuals belong in the group for the prosopography
2. Organizing a prosopographical grid with the main information to be gathered
3. Finding sources for such information and filling the grid
4. Comparing individuals' trajectories and identifying patterns in the analysis

The core source for the prosopography, besides documents presented in Appendix 1, were academic curriculums drawn from the Lattes database, as already mentioned and described in Chapter 3. The core prosopographical information gathered is presented in the following section in the form of charts and tables.

(A) Authors in the prosopography – Basic information

Sobrenome, Nome	Group	Relevance	Ger.	Main Discipline	University/Main Institution
Aguiar, Neuma		E	G1	Sociology	UFMG
Barroso, Carmen		E	G1		
Blay, Eva	FCC	D	G1	Sociology	USP
Corrêa, Mariza	ANTR	C	G1	Anthropology	UNICAMP
Costa, Albertina Gordo de Oliveira	FCC	B	G1	Sociology	Fundação Carlos Chagas
Dias, Maria Odila Leite da Silva		D	G1	History	USP
Hollanda, Heloísa Buarque de		D	G1	Language	UFRJ
Machado, Lia Zanotta	MARX	B	G1	Sociology	UnB
Moraes, Maria Lygia Quartim De	MARX	C	G1	Sociology	Unicamp
Rodrigues, Arakcy Martins		E	G1	Sociology	USP
Rosemberg, Fulvia	FCC	D	G1	Psychology	Fundação Carlos Chagas
Saffioti, Heleieth	MARX	C	G1	Sociology	PUC-SP
Soihet, Rachel		D	G1	History	UFF
Tabak, Fanny		D	G1	Sociology	PUC-RJ
Bruschini, Cristina	FCC	D	G1-G2	Sociology	Fundação Carlos Chagas
Azerêdo, Sandra		D	G2	Psychology	UFMG
Castro, Mary G.	MARX	D	G2	Sociology	Fundação Carlos Chagas
Costa, Ana Alice Alcântara	MARX	D	G2	Sociology	UFBA
Fonseca, Claudia	ANTR	D	G2	Anthropology	UFRGS
Franchetto, Bruna	ANTR	D	G2	Anthropology	UFRJ
Grossi, Miriam Pillar	ANTR	B	G2	Anthropology	UFSC
KOFES, SUELY	ANTR	D	G2	Anthropology	Unicamp
Lavinas, Lena	MARX	D	G2	Economics	UFRJ
Neves, Magda de Almeida	MARX	C	G2	Sociology	UFMG
Pedro, Joana Maria	MARX OU FCC?	D	G2	History	UFSC
Pinto, Céli Regina Jardim		E	G2	History	UFRGS
Sorj, Bila	MARX-FCC	C	G2	Sociology	UFRJ
Cavalcanti, Maria Laura Viveiros de Castro		D	G2-G3	Anthropology	UFRJ
Heilborn, Maria	ANTR	A	G2-G3	Anthropology	UERJ
Souza-Lobo, Elisabeth	MARX-ANTR	B	G2-G3	Sociology	
Costa, Claudia Junqueira de Lima		D	G3	Language/Literature	UFSC
Gregori, Maria Filomena*	ANTR	C	G3	Anthropology	Unicamp
Piscitelli, Adriana	ANTR	C	G3	Anthropology	Unicamp
Sardenberg, Cecília	MARX	D	G3	Anthropology	UFBA

(B) Authors in the prosopography – Publication in REF or Cadernos Pagu

Sobrenome, Nome	Grupo	Relev.	Ger.	Corpo Editorial GENERO[88]	Corpo Editorial DISC.[89]	Corpo Editorial Pagu / REF	More pub. in REF/Pagu[90]	Palavras-chave publicações (M / F/ G / P / S)[91]
Aguiar, Neuma		E	G1	1	3	nenhuma	None	M / G / P / F
Barroso, Carmen		E	G1				Unknown	
Blay, Eva	FCC	D	G1	2	1	REF	REF	M / G
Corrêa, Mariza	ANTR	C	G1	2	3	Pagu, REF	Pagu	G / M / F
Costa, Albertina Gordo de Oliveira	FCC	B	G1	1	1	REF	REF	F / M / S / G
Dias, Maria Odila Leite da Silva		D	G1	0	1	Nenhuma	REF	F / M / G
Hollanda, Heloísa Buarque de		D	G1	1	15	Nenhuma	REF	M / F / G
Machado, Lia Zanotta	MARX	B	G1	0	5	REF	Pagu	G / M
Moraes, Maria Lygia Quartim De	MARX	C	G1	2	1	Pagu	Pagu	M / F / G
Rodrigues, Arakcy Martins		E	G1	0	0	Nenhuma	None	M / G / F
Rosemberg, Fulvia	FCC	D	G1	0	3	Nenhuma	Pagu	M / G
Saffioti, Heleieth	MARX	C	G1	Nenhuma	Nenhuma	Nenhuma	Pagu	M / G / P
Soihet, Rachel		D	G1	4	3	Pagu	REF	M / F / G
Tabak, Fanny		D	G1	0	0	Nenhuma	None	M / F
Bruschini, Cristina	FCC	D	G1-G2	1	1	REF	REF	M / G
Azerêdo, Sandra		D	G2	1	2	REF	REF	M / G
Castro, Mary G.	MARX	D	G2	3	3	Nenhuma	REF	G / P / M
Costa, Ana Alice Alcântara	MARX	D	G2	2	2	Nenhuma	REF	F / M / G / P
Fonseca, Claudia	ANTR	D	G2	0	6	Nenhuma	Pagu	G
Franchetto, Bruna	ANTR	D	G2	0	5	Nenhuma	REF	G / M
Grossi, Miriam Pillar	ANTR	B	G2	4	5	Pagu, REF	REF	G / F / S / M
KOFES, SUELY	ANTR	D	G2	0	0	0	Pagu	M / g
Lavinas, Lena	MARX	D	G2	2	1	REF	REF	G / M
Neves, Magda de Almeida	MARX	C	G2	2	5	REF	None	M / S / G
Pedro, Joana Maria	MARX OU FCC?	D	G2	1	2	REF	REF	M / G / F
Pinto, Céli Regina Jardim		E	G2	0	8	Nenhuma	REF	M / F / G
Sorj, Bila	MARX-FCC	C	G2	2	5	Pagu, REF	REF	M / G / F
Cavalcanti, Maria Laura Viveiros de Castro		D	G2-G3	0	2	Nenhuma	None	M / F
Heilborn, Maria	ANTR	A	G2-G3	2	2	Pagu, REF	REF	G / S / M

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[88] If the author is part of the editorial council of GFWS journals (any)

[89] In the author if part of the editorial council of her discipline's journals (any)

[90] If the author published more in either one of the two main GFWS Brazilian journals

[91] Which Keywords appear more commonly in each authors' works: G (Gender), M (women), F (Feminism), S (Sex), P (Patriarchy).

Souza-Lobo, Elisabeth	MARX-ANTR	B	G2-G3				None	
Costa, Claudia Junqueira de Lima		D	G3	3	2	REF	REF	F / G
Gregori, Maria Filomena*	ANTR	C	G3	1	7	Nenhuma	Pagu	G / F / S
Piscitelli, Adriana	ANTR	C	G3	8	5	Pagu ; REF	Pagu	G / S / M
Sardenberg, Cecília	MARX	D	G3	4	0	Pagu REF	REF	M / G / F