

THE FEMALE IN IBERO-AMERICA:

An Essay on Research Bibliography and Research Directions

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“Woman has always been for man the ‘other,’
his opposite and complement.”¹

SCHOLARS OF LATIN AMERICA HAVE RECENTLY CONCERNED THEMSELVES WITH socially-oriented studies—not merely of structures, institutions, or groups, but about the individuals who comprise those entities. Despite analyses of political and military elites, students, peasants, blacks, and immigrants, little scholarly work has been undertaken on man’s “other,” the female. Only now are studies on the largest single sub-grouping in society beginning to appear, and these are primarily the work of women scholars. The undertaking is rife with problems, not the least of which is the lack of any comprehensive guide to sources or research directions. Few major subjects suffer such a lack of core bibliography, methodological apparatus, or thematic models as does the subject of the female. In an attempt to redress the balance and to encourage the study of man’s “opposite and complement,” I present here an essay dealing with research directions and a core of works on the female in Ibero-America.

Unlike their *norteamericano* counterparts, Latin America’s intellectuals have evinced little enthusiasm for feminist causes. One of the reasons for this has been basic differences of operational styles in “human rights” movements. North American scholars, unlike most Latin American scholars, have participated in and studied mass movements such as suffrage and civil rights. This basic difference in mode of social concern and analysis offers insight not only for the “condition” of the Ibero-American female but also for the lamentable quality of the analytical materials which researchers have available to consult before undertaking their field work on the topic.

Contemporary study of the female is a direct result of the inflammation of an old and angry wound: United States feminism and its new woman’s movement, both festering anew in the white heat of black protest. For North American females the ties between “racism” and “sexism” are historically close: our 72-year old suffrage movement was spawned by the nineteenth-century abolitionist struggle, just as today’s woman’s liberation has developed, in ideology and leadership, from the civil rights movements of the 1950s and 1960s. Latin Americans, on the other hand, have not had such points of reference; flaming abolitionists and the bitter fruits reaped by a bloody civil war in which slavery was a central issue were relatively non-existent south of the Rio Grande and thus momentum for other movements was not generated there. In addition, the cause of women in Latin America is bound to be somewhat different; despite some universals which are applicable to the treatment of women

in all societies, the Ibero-American scene is colored by its own peculiar mix of cultural antecedents and traditional precepts.

Perhaps no single social group in history except the female enjoys the paradoxical position of being simultaneously revered and reviled. This dichotomous view is frankly obvious in Iberianized culture areas. On the one hand, Iberian tradition has applauded women as "the repositories of the essential virtues of the race and the transmitters of its moral vitality across all the infinite accidents of our history."² On the other, Iberian law has identified woman as an *imbecilitas sexus*, one classed with children, invalids, and delinquents, in all the codes of Castile.³ The Spanish paradox in behavior, which saw legal inequality between male and female partially balanced by excessive gallantry and protectiveness toward the legally inferior sex, was most likely forged by the turbulent and uncertain living conditions of medieval Iberia; the elaborate protective system segregated its women and, for the upper classes, hardened into tradition. The women of the lower classes, less bound by the strictures of proper behavior, were able to engage in numerous occupations and "improper" activities, and were relatively dominant within their own households. Thus we have two separate and distinct female traditions emanating from the Peninsula, based on socio-economic status, and determinants of differences in behavior when transplanted to parts of the empire. The dichotomy between classes perpetuated itself through the centuries of Iberian imperial expansion, overseas colonization, and into the twentieth century.

Although Iberia was the culture-mold into which the South American countries were cast, those societies were a fusion of Amerindian and African elements which modified the dominant European civilization and reinforced or reshaped the roles of women. Through the centuries, attitudes nurtured in the precepts of the *Siete Partidas* and the Laws of Toro viewed women as property of the male members of their families, protected yet isolated from external, social and cultural contacts. In economic matters it appears that some Latin American women in the colonial era enjoyed some measure of financial power and of property privileges but by and large the female segment of the population remained almost totally illiterate and enjoyed few political perquisites.

The twentieth century has brought increasing pressures on the customary pattern of male-female relationships, on family traditions, and on the general social fabric, especially in light of the subtle shifts in the status of females within family and society. New ideas, new opportunities, new responsibilities allow Latin American women to move slowly but surely towards both the hazards and the benefits of behavior norms accepted by twentieth-century western society. Roles of women have undergone more changes in the past fifty years than at any other comparable time frame in their history.

Or, do they only *seem* to have changed? Octavio Paz has noted that "Women are imprisoned in the image masculine society has imposed on them." For example, if there is marital transgression, "In Mexico the punishment is often fatal if the transgressor is a woman, because like all Hispanic peoples, we have two sets of

morals: one for the "señor," another for women, children and the poor."⁴ The present stereotypical view of the Latin American female is that she embodies the "passive female ideal" and, as such, is antithetical to any major overhaul of the society in which she functions. Not only does the image exist but so also does the reality that women still remain virtually absent from top leadership positions in political and economic activities and still exhibit a tentativeness of commitment to grapple for power in the arena of public affairs.

The accuracy of either viewpoint is not yet documented for us and points to problems which present-day scholars face when undertaking research on the female in Latin America. One problem is definitely the dearth of substantive reference sources, aggravated by the lack of any bibliography, catalogue, or index of works, save what exists in the relatively selective Union List. A major reason for this is that women have been relatively insignificant in schema for scholarly studies—a part of the landscape, as it were, for mention of them in sources has generally been as an appendage to laws, activities, events, and other historical experience observed and written about from the male point of view.

Other and perhaps more perplexing problems for the scholar are those of the direction of the research she or he is undertaking and the methodological and conceptual trappings the scholar brings to the field. The perplexity here results not from the fact of narrowly defined parameters but rather from the almost nebulous framework within or without which one must operate. No suitable vocabulary has yet been devised; no models have been clearly delineated; the literature on the female is practically devoid of any conceptualization other than the threadbare and archaic feminist one. Until recently the only serious intellectual challenge to the lockstep of suffragettism had come, as might be expected, from Mary Beard, whose concern was women, not as an oppressed group but as a factor in the imprint of human history, a theme she carried throughout *Woman as Force in History, America Through Women's Eyes*, and *On Understanding Women*. No comparable theoretical treatment exists for women in Latin America; rather, the bulk of writing about them has been biographical or hagiographical in nature, serviceable only in personality analyses of the few feminine elites or for propaganda for the same groups.

Another problem is the accessibility of archival and documentary sources. In terms of the availability of documentary and archival sources, there is no doubt that they exist; it is access to them that is difficult. Materials abound in national and local archives and libraries: notarial, diocesan, and rural-urban parish registers; records of country estates and city manses; company, police, hospital, morgue, school, university, and other institutional holdings; newspapers, journals, magazines, pamphlets, manifestoes, prayer-books, handbills, posters, billboards, placards, gravestones, "morgues" of publication centers; travellers' accounts, personal memoirs; legislation; iconography, films, radio and television, music, folklore, architecture, literature; in oral tradition and oral history; in reports of specialists such as doctors, ecologists, demographers, clerics. In fact, almost any source is fair game whether approached within the context of uni- or interdisciplinary concepts and methods.

Latin American Research Review

But even in the traditional documentary collections such as the *maços*, *caixas*, and *legajos* of colonial archives one encounters the difficulties of getting at materials which deal directly or indirectly with the female. One can consult baptismal, school registry, marriage (and divorce) records, and wills, but one is less likely to encounter women in business registries, political rolls, or the like. Not only do investigators require guides to the abundant primary resources which must exist on the female but their work would also be enhanced by a systematic survey, country by country, of all primary and secondary sources on the Latin American female, a project, perhaps, for the Pan American Union. For the moment, most of the studies undertaken are, by necessity, ad hoc.

Faced with these and other problems, what has been or is being done in scholarship on the female in Latin America? To answer this question the remainder of this essay will be devoted to a discussion of published, soon to be published, and other unpublished works. The first and most important of two sections assesses in detail the most recent studies, all of which demonstrate sophistication in applying the methods of their respective disciplines, in devising theoretical frameworks for their findings, in uncovering and presenting materials of substantive content, and in providing the first series of books and articles of a scholarly nature on the female in the Ibero-American world. The second part, introduced by a brief commentary, is a bibliography of published items of a secondary or primary nature, arranged according to geographical areas.

NEW STUDIES ON THE FEMALE IN IBERO-AMERICA*

The reader now has the impression firmly fixed that the historiography on females in Ibero-American societies is sufficient neither in quantity nor quality to lend itself to any but the most superficial generalizations based on scattered travellers' accounts, on spotty references in secondary works which exhibit a perfunctory interest in the female presence, on poorly catalogued primary written documents, or on very unsystematic collections of quantitative and oral data. Yet, for the most part, these references have had to form the basis of my own, pioneering study, *The Outcaste: The Female in Iberian Societies*, the first synthesis and survey of its kind and one on which, hopefully, a generation of scholars will build, either to reaffirm or reject both its thesis and content. The theme of *The Outcaste* is that the female has been not only an outcast figure in most societies, but, especially has functioned as a

* Of the works cited herein, the results of the research of Pescatello, Harkess, Flora, Salper, Kaufman Purcell, Jaquette, Chaney, and Stevens were presented at the Third National Meeting of the Latin American Studies Association (LASA) held at the University of Texas in Austin, December 3-5, 1971 and, except Salper's, will appear in *Female and Male in Latin America*, edited by Ann Pescatello, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1972. Another study by Pescatello (Brazil), and papers by Hollander and Macias were presented at a session at the annual meeting of the American Historical Association held in New York in Dec., 1971. Pescatello's book, *The Outcaste*, is scheduled for publication in 1972 by the University of Chicago Press.

particular inferior caste within societal structures. The book considers theories about and roles of women in general, in the context of eastern, western, and African development, and in light of the post-Renaissance changes that have occurred in the West, particularly in the United States. Divided into three sections, the book begins with a general historical chapter analyzing the above-mentioned ideas. There follows a chapter on women in the Iberian Peninsula; then one on the various Asian societies and the results of culture contact therein. This formula is repeated in a chapter on Africa. The bulk of the book is devoted to Latin America: the Amerindians, the Colonial Mix, the Nineteenth Century, Twentieth-Century Hispano-America, and Twentieth-Century Luso-America all form separate chapters. *The Outcaste* concludes with observations on the continuity of and changes in the feminine tradition and notes the development of methodological and theoretical frameworks for analysis. All told, the book offers insights into all of the societies with which it deals and strongly implies comparisons not only among the various Iberianized areas but also with sectors of the non-Iberian *weltanschauung*, particularly the United States.

Other, more specialized secondary studies have been or are being completed and indicate the new dimensions of dissertation field work undertaken in American universities and ranging across the disciplines. In the field of demography-sociology Shirley Harkess has completed a study on women, part of which appears in *Female and Male in Latin America* as an essay, "Pursuit of an Ideal: Migration, Social Class, and Women's Roles in Bogotá, Colombia" using methodology of the two disciplines to determine how urban residence and socioeconomic status affected the roles of women in a Latin American context. The hypothesis was that very poor recent arrivals to the city would be traditional in the sense that they would differentiate women's roles from men's roles on the basis of prevailing sex-role dichotomies, whereas it was expected that working-class women who had lived in Bogotá for some time would be less traditional. The results, based on interviews conducted in two of Bogotá's *barrios*, were contrary to expectations. Both groups of women were traditional with respect to several dependent variables: political participation and political equality between sexes; educational equality; labor force participation; husband-wife relations; the ideas of wife-and-mother roles; ideal qualities of the sexes. Harkess explains that the attitudes of these two groups were similar because the goals and patterns of their lives were alike; both experienced deprivations and sought status *within* the world they knew and both groups were engaged in a relentless pursuit of "making it" within the neighborhood context of a Latin American capital. Harkess' study is valuable because it presents a model for analyzing working-class women in a contemporary urban setting and because it examines a neglected social group within the context of larger concerns of class status and rural-urban migration.

Contrasting in some ways is anthropologist Margo Smith's study "Institutionalized Servitude: The Female Domestic Servant in Lima, Peru" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana Univ., 1971). She examines the extent to which her subjects become acculturated to the urban scene, and also observes servitude as a channel of long-term upward mobility for lower-class female migrants, particularly those from the high-

Latin American Research Review

land areas. She found that the menial labor of lower-class women frees middle-class professional women for careers, yet the domestics are not trapped because their work is relatively the most liberating work such women can find. It integrates them into city life faster than street-vending and is less exploitative than prostitution, begging, or the like, and by choice these women leave domestic work rather quickly—far sooner than comparable Indian migrant women—since they are ready to cope with other kinds of urban life. Since there are so few data on lower-class women, their mobility, and the effects of that mobility on family life, Smith's study, based on interviews of "muchachas" living in Lima's *barriadas*, is of major interest.

Another study in sociology, this one combining social science with literary materials, is sociologist-anthropologist Cornelia Flora's "The Passive Female: Her Comparative Image By Class and Culture in Women's Magazine Fiction," (*Journal of Marriage and the Family*, Aug. 1971). Flora compares sex roles by cultures and by class (working and middle) and relates this to the basic social and economic position of women in the United States and Latin America; then she stresses the Latin American sex role stereotypes presented in the working and middle-class fiction from that area, comparing the present stereotypical roles—as noted—to the literature on ideal female on social change in Latin America and suggests that this ideal, the "passive" female, is antithetical to bringing about change in a societal context. Furthermore, in her analysis of the double-standard, birth control, abortion, female chastity, and childbearing, as noted in Latin American fiction—controlled for class—Flora argues that the childbearing-motherhood syndrome effectively de-fuses women as a planning pressure group for social change. The value of this study, apart from its presentation of yet another model for analyzing the Ibero-American woman, is its recognition of South American fiction as a promoter of identification of an oppressed group and its use of such variables as social status of hero and heroine, racial composition of the characters, and story setting as indicators of the anti-reality escapist nature of such female fiction. Using a random sampling of 202 short stories from such magazines as *Buen Hogar* (Latin America's *Good Housekeeping*), Mexico's *Vanidades*, Colombia's *Cromos*, and *fotonovelas* such as *Corin Tellado*, *Novelas de Amor*, and *Tu y Yo*, Flora has presented a strong argument for the existence of the ideal of female passivity across cultures and classes, indicating that the middle class is more apt to present passive behavior as an ideal feminine characteristic.

Another combination of method and ideas from sociology and literature is Roberta Salper's essay, "Sociology of Literature: Women in Cuba" (unpublished) which compares the position of women in Cuba before and after Castro's revolution. Using principally literary sources—novels, dramas, short stories, poetry, and recent Cuban newspapers and magazines—Salper explores whether a changing image of women is perceivable in post-Revolutionary literature and if so, to what extent the changed image in literature is substantiated by other sources of information. Salper stresses that the improved status of women is crucial to Cuba at this point in her historical development, because of the meaning of social and cultural revolution in *cubano* society. She was able to show from the literature that Cuban women not only

have a changed image of themselves and their worth in their society, but also are perceived in a more "progressive" light by their male counterparts. Salper's study is valuable for its focuses on the changing status of women within the broader context of a revolutionary society and its implied comparison with Woman's Liberation Movements in the United States today, and also valuable for its extrapolation from the writings of well-know and "class B" authors whose works are significant for the sociology of literature studies.

Political scientist Susan Kaufman Purcell is not so convinced as Salper of the changing image of women in post-revolutionary Cuba. In her essay "Modernizing Women for a Modern Society: The Cuban Case" Purcell notes that the Castro regime has committed itself to changing the traditional role of Cuban women in order that they may participate in the new society on equal terms with Cuban males. But she is convinced that the task to which Castro has committed himself and his regime may be too difficult a one since relationships between the sexes are obviously complex, enduring, and not easily modernized. Purcell is concerned that in the extensive body of literature on "modernization" little attention has been given to woman and what her role should or would be in a so-called "modern society." She has made a considerable methodological contribution by using David Apter's model of "mobilization systems"—believed to be better equipped than other types of systems for producing rapid social change—as a basis for analyzing the relationship between the Cuban political system—which since 1959 she considers a mobilization one—and optimum social change.

Another political scientist, Jane Jaquette, utilizing techniques and data from the fields of sociology, psychology, and literary criticism, has contributed a study on "Female Roles in Pre-Revolutionary (Non-Revolutionary?) Societies: Insights from the Modern Novel." Focusing primarily on Peru, Jaquette analyzes role models as offered in the literature, the range of roles available for women and their variance/lack of variance according to sociological distinctions, i.e., class, race, rural-urban, and discovers "stereotypes" which transcend the distinctions and which are valid across countries and novelists. She has determined that there is a "traditional feminine image" which is much more viable than its counterpart in the United States, one which is impervious to the key unifying issue that was the entering wedge for feminism in this country, the issue of job equality.

Jaquette offers more than sociological and literary analytical techniques by applying psychological methods to her subject matter in an attempt to get into the psychological backgrounds of roles. She does so by examining the literature in order to determine how women perceive themselves, their relationships with men, with children, with power and to detect possible conflict caused by the "tired mother syndrome." In her challenging study she concludes that male Latin American authors seldom concern themselves with possible internal conflict in women's acceptance or non-acceptance of their role, although she is not certain whether this is the result of the fact that Latin American writers never use conflict so dramatically as did Sinclair Lewis, D. H. Lawrence, Edward Albee, and others.

Latin American Research Review

Elsa Chaney, a political scientist who utilizes demographic data and techniques, has contributed two studies to the new body of scholarly literature: "The Political Participation of Women in Peru and Chile" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of Wisconsin, 1970), and her essay "Supermadre: Women as Policymakers: The Latin American Case." The first study was based on interview research and includes a history of feminism in Chile and Peru, two countries which she found provide sharp contrasts in the degree of women's activities in professions and public life. She also determined that the educated elites of the two nations face, in heightened form, the same problems as their western sisters, while Indian women share much of the lifestyle of peasant women throughout the third world. Chaney concludes that the Chilean and Peruvian women stand between the old and the new; the way they face the problems of their own liberation may provide clues for the rest of the world's women.

While the longer study is narrow in scope and is concerned primarily with feminism, in her "Supermadre," Chaney investigates women's virtual absence from top leadership and policy-making positions in any movement, party, government, or private agency working for development and socio-economic reform. Her study, based on interviews with 167 women officeholders in Peru and Chile, suggests that these Latin women, as well as their societies, view their contribution to professional and political life a merely an extrapolation of the motherhood role to the arena of public affairs. Feminine activism, Chaney concludes, is temporary and tentative and that factor plus the extension of the motherhood role to public affairs tends to bar women from positions where they could contribute to development, and biases them toward conservatism in their political activities and attitudes.

Historian Nancy Hollander, utilizing historical and political ideas and methodologies, has directed her attention to "The Politics of Oppression: The Struggles of Women in Argentina, 1900-1955" (unfinished Ph.D. dissertation, Univ. of California, Los Angeles), and analyzes the socio-economic position of women in that country. Hollander notes their involvement in the factories as a result of Argentina's expanding industrial base, their response to exploitation and the limited opportunities given middle-class and upper-class women in the professions, and the development of a feminist movement composed mainly of middle and upper-middle class immigrant women. Her study also analyzes the failure of groups in that early movement to reach the majority of Argentine women and contrasts that failure with the success of the feminist movement of the 1940s and 1950s, a success caused, according to the author, by its integration with the bourgeois, nationalist reform movement of Peronism. Hollander also concludes that the role and image of women, as perceived by Argentines, changed drastically during the Perón years, because Evita Perón exerted a significant impact on this change and manipulated the function of Peronist feminist ideology.

A dissenting viewpoint to female passivity and exploitation is expressed by political scientist Evelyn Stevens in her essays on "Mexican *Machismo*: Politics and Value Orientations," (*Western Political Quarterly*, Dec. 1965), and "*Marianismo*, The Other Face of *Machismo* in Latin America." Taking the Mexican case, Stevens sees

both machismo and marianismo as self-conscious attitudes which appear to have been unknown in pre-Colombian America and even today seem not to exercise much influence in predominantly Indian communities. The crux of her argument is that marianismo, based on pre-Christian beliefs manifested in Near Eastern mythology and imported into Latin America by Mediterranean migrants, teaches that women are semi-divine, morally superior to, and spiritually stronger than men. Based on literary, anthropological, and especially, psychiatric data Stevens concludes that far from being victims of dichotomous portrayals of sex roles, Latin American women are the deliberate perpetrators of the myth, by means of which they are able to dictate the division of labor in society. In a controversial conclusion she determines that marianismo, or female chauvinism, is not yet destined to disappear as a cultural pattern in Latin America.

Among other studies recently completed or in progress are historian Anna Macias' "Mexican Women in the Social Revolution," an examination of the impact women had on the adoption of revolutionary legislation between 1910–1921, especially the 1915 divorce law. Historian Cynthia Little is completing a yet unnamed dissertation on feminism in Guatemala, while sociologist Cynthia Tobias is concentrating on the role of women in the *challampas* of Santiago, Chile, their interactions, and political participation. Sociologist Geoffrey Fox's "Honor, Shame and Women's Liberation in Cuba: Views of Working Class Emigre Men" examines the relationship between male sexism and counterrevolution in Cuba. A Brazilian anthropologist, Verena Martinez-Alier, completed a dissertation on "Marriage, Class, and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba," (unpub. D. Phil., Oxford Univ., 1970), in which she dealt specifically with sexual values, as derived from court proceedings on elopements and seductions of that period. Anthropologist Eileen Anne Maynard has contributed "The Women of Palin: A Comparative Study of Indian and Ladino Women in a Guatemalan Village" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Cornell Univ., 1963). Emma Sánchez-Ramírez, President of the Academy of Psychology at the Federal Institute for Teacher Training in Mexico, is completing a study on "The Role of Woman in Mexican Family Structure" (unpub. MS). Folklorist Américo Paredes of the faculty of the Univ. of Texas at Austin is analyzing folk expressions of machismo in popular literature and songs. Susan Bourque of the Department of Government at Smith College is working on the life-style and politics of native and foreign nuns in Peru. Historian Asunción Lavrin has written "Religious Life of Mexican women in the Eighteenth Century" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation, Harvard Univ., 1963) and also "The Role of the Nunneries in the Economy of New Spain in the Eighteenth Century" (*Hispanic American Historical Review*, 1966: 371–393). An extremely insightful work has been anthropologist Mirta de la Torre Mulhare's "Sexual Ideology in Pre-Castro Cuba: A Cultural Analysis" (unpub. Ph.D. dissertation Univ. of Pittsburgh, 1970).

Many of the scholars whose work is discussed above are considered radicals or are sympathetic to radical causes; some of the studies bring Marxist analyses to bear on their subject matter and material; almost all deal with classes and in so doing can-

not help but deal with dichotomies in poverty and society and accompanying maladies such as racism or sexism. The contribution of all of these studies is the training that the researchers and writers—in both traditional and more revisionist methodology of their disciplines—bring to bear on their sources. This training is reflected in the conceptualizations, the models used or developed and, especially, the fact that for the first time in historical literature on the female we have empirical and more reliable studies that we have heretofore enjoyed. These studies go far beyond the mere descriptive and narrative nature of most previous literature on the subject; they do much more than say *what* has happened—they analyze *why* and *how* it has happened. Hopefully these more rigorous scholarly products will be emulated in their thoroughness of research and in the results obtained, and will conclusively point the way for future work on the subject of women in Latin America.

NOTES

1. Octavio Paz, *The Labyrinth of Solitude* (Trans. by Lysander Hemp, New York, 1961), 197.
2. From a commentary by Gregorio Marañón on El Conde-Duque de Olivares' ancestors, as 'cited' in Alicia Moreau de Justo, *La mujer en la democracia* (Buenos Aires, 1945), 30.
3. As cited in Mercedes Fómica de Careaga, "Spain." In: *Women in the Modern World*, Rafael Patai, ed. (N.Y., 1967), 179.
4. Paz, *Labyrinth*, 198–199.

II. BIBLIOGRAPHY

In the sections which follow I have categorized a select number of books and articles which, while not new in methodology or conceptualization (with the exception of Lockhart 1968), are valuable for the information they contain and interpretation they contribute toward our understanding of the female in Ibero-America. The first section includes materials which are general in nature but which are useful for their historical perspective. The Selected Bibliography is subdivided into national geographical units.

Due to space limitations there are certain useful sources which can not be annotated here but of which the reader should be aware. Since the 1920s the Pan American Union has been publishing hundreds of articles, pamphlets, and reports on various aspects of female life and activities—from women on juries to women in mines—in Latin America. These publications appear simultaneously in the Spanish, Portuguese, and English language *Bulletins* of the Union. The now defunct League of Nations and the various arms of the United Nations, particularly UNESCO, also have a substantial publication list concerning women in the world and include much of use for Latin America. Similarly, the individual governments of the Americas and their respective branches present articles, laws, statutes, and reports in the numerous *Gaceta oficial*, *Boletín oficial*, *Diario oficial*, and other publications. United States interest in the activities of latinás is expressed in a series of publications, especially from the Department of Labor and Bureau of the Census. These organizations pro-

THE FEMALE IN IBERO-AMERICA

vide several thousand published sources on the Ibero-American female and can, of course, be supplemented by newspapers and magazines in all countries of the Americas. Women's sections, personalia, and the like are valuable indicators of continuity and change, as are journals and other magazines which aim for the women's market. A prime general reference work is the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* which appears every year and which usually has rather extensive coverage, in its numerous sections, on female and family in Latin America. Other useful general references are such journals as *Demography*, *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, and *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*.

BACKGROUND REFERENCES AND GENERAL LATIN AMERICAN WORKS

AGUIRRE, MARTA

1947 *Influencia de la mujer en ibero-america*, ensayo. n.p.

BOXER, CHARLES R.

1973 *Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas: Some Facts, Fancies, and Personalities, 1415–1825*. Publication of the Mary Flexner Lectures at Byrn Mawr. Oxford.

CALDERÓN DE LA BARCA, FRANCES

1842 *Life in Mexico*. London.

CAMPOALANGE, MARIA LA FITTE

1964 *La mujer en España. Cien años de su historia 1860–1960*. Madrid.

Campoalange's study is a good basic reference to Iberian cultural patterns influential in Spanish American development.

CATÁLOGO

1940–46 *Catálogo de pasajeros á Indias*. Seville.

Its six volumes provide us basic information on the female in Iberian colonization in the Americas.

CRUZ, ELOIDA

1937 *Los políticos de la mujer en Mexico*. Mexico City.

DURÓ, CESAREO FERNÁNDEZ

1902 *La mujer española en Indias*. Madrid.

One of the few early commentaries in which an author devoted attention to the female experience.

FURLONG, GUILLERMO

1945 *La cultura femenina en la época colonial*. Buenos Aires.

GREY, VICENTE

1910 *Las mujeres de la independencia*. Santiago.

GUY, HENRY

1968 *Women in the Caribbean*. Jamaica.

VON HAGEN, VICTOR W.

1952 *The Four Seasons of Manuela: A Biography*. New York.

This biography of Simon Bolívar's lover is one of the best of its genre.

KONETZKE, RICHARD

1945 *La emigración de las mujeres españolas a América durante la época colonial*. *Revista Internacional de Sociología*.

Latin American Research Review

LAVALLE URBINA, M.

1964 Situación de la mujer en el derecho de familia latino americano. Bogotá.

NAVARRETE, IFEGENIA DE

1969 La mujer y los derechos sociales. Mexico City.

Navarrete explores the extent to which the position of women in Latin America contributes to their minimal participation in economically-productive endeavors.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

1967 The Economic Activity of Women in Latin America. Washington, D. C.

This is a good reference work prepared by Murray Gendell and Guillermo Rossell. It provides basic economic data for analyzing the economic participation of latinas.

ORGANIZATION OF AMERICAN STATES INTER-AMERICAN COMMISSION OF WOMEN

1969 Important Women in Public and Professional Life in Latin America. Washington, D. C.

This useful statistical and descriptive examination of middle and upper class Latin American women demonstrates areas of their influence or lack of it in economic, political, and cultural activities.

PEREYRA, CARLOS

n.d. Las huellas de los conquistadores. Madrid.

SCHURZ, WILLIAM

1954 This New World. New York.

Schurz contributes a good survey chapter on Latin American women.

VILLAFANE CASAL, MARIA TERESA

1958 La mujer en la pampa siglos XVIII y XIX. La Plata.

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BRAZIL

AZEVEDO, THALES DE

1962 Social Change in Brazil. University of Florida School of Inter-American Studies Monograph 22. Gainesville.

Azevedo provides a good introduction to bases for changes and continuity in women's roles in Brazilian society.

EXPILLY, CHARLES

1963 Les femmes et les moeurs du Brésil. Paris.

This latest edition of a nineteenth-century classic affords us the most detailed descriptions of female life in that time period.

LANDES, RUTH

1967 A cidade das mulheres. Rio de Janeiro.

A Portuguese translation of *The City of Women* (1947), Landes' book is a good description of ordinary Brazilian life and especially reflects on women's position in society and her influence on the development of sexual relations and social attitudes. It is particularly concerned with the Afro-Brazilian milieu.

MARIA DE JESUS, CAROLINA

1962 Child of the Dark. New York.

Her moving account of one woman's life and struggles within the world of Brazilian *favelas* reflects the exploitation of women but within the context of exploitation of the masses.

THE FEMALE IN IBERO-AMERICA

MURARO, ROSE MARIE

- 1967 *A mulher na construção do mundo futuro*. Petropolis.
The deaconess of Brazil's women liberationists presents a detailed argument for the female's position in the construction of a new society.

PEREIRA RODRIGUEZ, LEDA MARIA

- 1962 *A instrução femenina em São Paulo*. São Paulo.
This is a useful model for future studies with some good information on woman's education in Brazil's most progressive state.

ARGENTINA, PARAGUAY, AND URUGUAY

CARRANZA, ADOLFO P.

- 1910 *Patricias Argentinas*. Buenos Aires.
Here is an old-style but useful biographical account of the role women played in Argentina's war of liberation.

DEVEALI DE LANDIN, GABRIELA

- 1967 *El trabajo de las mujeres*. Buenos Aires.
This book is a useful account of working women and their contributions to the Argentine economy.

FLORES, MARIA

- 1952 *The Woman with the Whip: Eva Perón*. New York.
Although the commentary is biased and strident it provides another perspective on Argentina's most famous female, one valuable for its irreverent treatment of a woman exiled by the Peróns.

LYNCH, MARTA

- 1965 *Al vencedor*. Buenos Aires.
1966 *La alfombra roja*. Buenos Aires.
1967 *La señora Ordoñez*. Buenos Aires.
These three novels by one of Argentina's best young writers provide insights and incisive criticisms on the social structure of Argentina and, of course, the position of Argentine women.

MAFUD, JULIO

- 1966 *La revolución sexual argentina*. Buenos Aires.
In one of the better works on transformation of Argentine society, Mafud speaks in terms of change for women and its possible effects on national life.

MINISTERIO DE TRABAJO Y SEGURIDAD SOCIAL, DEPARTAMENTO DE LA MUJER

- 1965 *Evolución de la mujer en las profesiones liberales en Argentina—años 1900–1960*. Buenos Aires. (Mimeographed)
This milestone in data-gathering is one of the best sources on educated females in Argentina.

MOREAU DE JUSTO, ALICIA

- 1945 *La mujer en la democracia*. Buenos Aires.
The doyen of Argentina's feminist cause and possessor of one of the finest personal libraries on the female in Latin America, Moreau de Justo utilized her experience in suffragettism to report on the role women have played in Argentine history.

PERÓN, EVA DUARTE DE

- 1951 *La razón de mi vida*. Buenos Aires.
Essentially propagandistic, it affords insight into Evita's role in helping Perón to

Latin American Research Review

power and also provides information on her views of rights for the masses. Eva "gave" women the vote for she realized the effect lower class women would have at the polls.

SCHULTZ DE MANTOVANI, FRYDA

- 1960 *La mujer en la vida nacional*. Buenos Aires.
The first head of the Argentine Women's Bureau gives a superficial account of women in Argentine literature and history.

STABILE, BLANCA

- 1961 *La mujer en el desarrollo nacional*. Buenos Aires.
The author documents her very good summary of female contribution to Argentine development by providing the reader with good statistical and other data.

SUBSECRETARIA DE INFORMACIÓN DE LA PRESIDENCIA DE LA NACIÓN

- 1950 *The Writings of Eva Peron*. Buenos Aires.
This collection of the late First Lady of Argentina includes her speeches and articles on the rights, roles, and responsibilities of Argentine women. It is a good primary source.

VITTONI, LUIS

- 1968 *La mujer paraguaya en la vida nacional*. Asunción.
It is one of the very few works available on Paraguayan women and is a basic reference for investigation on female life and work in that country.

CHILE

ARCE DE VÁSQUEZ, MARGO

- 1964 *Gabriela Mistral: The Poet and Her Work*. New York.
This biography is valuable for its insights into Chilean society and also into the life of one of Latin America's most famous writers.

KLIMPEL ALVARADO, FELICITAS

- 1962 *La mujer chilena: el aporte femenino al progreso de Chile, 1910-1960*. Santiago.
An examination of Chilean law codes adds to a solid study of the progress of women in obtaining their civil rights.

LABARCA HUBERTSON, AMANDA

- 1952 *Women and Education in Chile*. Paris.
The education of Chilean women is treated with good historical documentation by Chile's most famous female educator.

MATTELART, ARMAND AND MICHELE

- 1968 *La mujer chilena en una nueva sociedad*. Santiago.
This excellent and well-documented work studies attitudes and roles of Chilean women.

PAUL, CATHERINE MANNY

- 1966 *Amanda Labarca H.: Educator to the Women of Chile*. (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, New York University).
Paul's is a very good study of an individual woman's contribution to her society's institutional processes.

VÉLIZ, BRUNILDA

- 1964 *Women's Political Behavior in Chile*. (Unpublished Master's Thesis, Univ. of California, Berkeley).
A solid analysis of voting patterns of middle and upper class women also explains

THE FEMALE IN IBERO-AMERICA

why, despite women's "rightist" tendencies, there was more polarization between right and left among lower-class women.

NORTHERN SPANISH AMERICA (Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Venezuela)

ARIAS ROBALINO, AUGUST

1935 *Mujeres de Quito*. America (Quito).

This article provides a brief survey of Ecuadorian women from colonial times and one of our relatively few sources on the subject.

GARCÍA Y GARCÍA, ELVIRA

n.d. *La mujer peruana a través de los siglos*. Lima.

The two-volume reference work is useful for identifying important female figures in Peruvian life and also lends some insights into their influence, if any, on their society.

GUTIÉRREZ DE PINEDA, VIRGINIA

1962 *La familia en Colombia*. Bogotá.

1968 *Familia y cultura en Colombia*. Bogotá.

These two volumes constitute the best sources for family life and the role of the female in Colombian culture. It is a must for any student of Colombian women.

LIRICA HISPANA

1953 *Breve antología de mujeres poetas de Venezuela y guía de autores*. Caracas.

One good reference to the cultural aspect of Venezuelan life, and it is valuable for its compilation of information on female intellectuals.

LOCKHART, JAMES

1968 *Spanish Peru, 1532–1560*. Madison, Wisconsin.

This excellent study of a colonial society includes an invaluable chapter on "Spanish women and the Second Generation." Lockhart carefully documents the contributions made by all classes of women in the formation of Peruvian culture.

PATCH, RICHARD W.

1970 *Attitudes Towards Sex, Reproduction and Contraception in Bolivia and Peru*. American University Field Staff, West Coast South America Series, 17:11.

Patch's valuable survey of female attitudes and position in Bolivian and Peruvian societies aids our understanding of the future role of women in these two nations.

PATRÓN FAURA, PEDRO

1955 *Legislación de la mujer peruana*. Lima.

The author examines legal rights and equality (or lack of it) in education and employment of Peruvian women.

PORTAL, MAGDA

1933 *El aprismo y la mujer*. Lima.

In an early study by Peruvian novelist, poet, and leader of Apra's woman's wing, Portal argued that only working and thinking women should be given the vote to avoid the election of reactionary men.

1946 *La trampa*. Lima.

This self-portrait in a novel is written by an insider of the Aprista party. Here Portal describes her relationships with the male-dominated executive councils and her frustrations in attempting to assert female influence in Peruvian political decisions.

Latin American Research Review

SANDERS, THOMAS G.

1971 *Family Planning in Ecuador*. American University Field Staff, West Coast South America Series, 18: 3.

Sanders' study is very useful as a basic reference to female positions and attitudes in Ecuador and promises for their future.

THE CARIBBEAN

BIESANZ, JOHN AND MAVIS BIESANZ

1955 *The People of Panama*. New York.

It provides a good reference for investigating female life in Panama.

HILL, REUBEN, J. MAYONE STYCOS AND KURT W. BLACK

1955 *The Family and Population Control: A Puerto Rican Experiment in Social Change*. Chapel Hill, North Carolina.

The title speaks for itself, for the book contains much information pertinent to women in a Spanish Caribbean society.

JENNESS, LINDA

1970 *Women and the Cuban Revolution: Speeches by Fidel Castro; Articles by Linda Jenness*. New York.

This basic source for policy and programs of contemporary Cuba concerns women and their role in the development of a new society.

MUJERES

Magazine of the FMC (Cuban Women's Federation).

The magazine publishes stories about women's contributions to education, economics, and culture and has a regular feature section and Gallery of Women, which gives brief biographies of exemplary women throughout the world.

STYCOS, J. MAYONE

1955 *Family and Fertility in Puerto Rico*. New York.

This source is essentially similar to the Hill, Stycos, and Back book and provides a solid picture of female existence on that island.

TEJEIRA, OTILIA A. DE

1963 *La mujer en la vida da panamena*. Panama City. Tejeira provides a general survey of female activities in education, economics, and society in Panama.

MEXICO

BERMUDEZ, MARÍA ELVIRA

1955 *La vida familiar del mexicano*. Mexico City.

Bermudez's general study of family life gives copious references to the role of women in Mexican society.

BRENNER, ANITA

1943 *The Wind that Swept Mexico*. New York.

Brenner's book has a good description of female participation in the Revolution.

INSTITUTO MEXICANO DE ESTUDIOS SOCIALES

1969 *¿Hacia donde va la mujer mexicana?* Mexico City.

This study provides useful materials about working-class women.

LEWIS, OSCAR

1959 *Five Families*. New York.

THE FEMALE IN IBERO-AMERICA

Lewis's work affords insight into the life and attitudes of women in five differing class group families. See also:

1949 *Husbands and Wives in a Mexican Village: A Study of Role Conflict*. *American Anthropologist*, 51: 602–610.

n.d. *Six Women*. New York. In progress, by Ms. Lewis.

MORTON, WARD M.

1962 *Woman Suffrage in Mexico*. Gainesville, Florida.

Here is a fine study of Mexico's feminist movement and could provide a model for future studies of other Latin American suffrage movements.

MUNDO NUEVO

1970 April issue.

The April issue of this journal was devoted entirely to a critical examination of the topic "machismo y feminismo." Of particular interest are the discussions on the relationship between women and Catholicism.

ADDENDUM

COHEN, LUCY

1972 *Las Colombianas ante la renovación universitaria*. Bogotá.

Anthropologist Cohen's study of the "first generation" of women in the professions in Colombia is a solid contribution to the study of the role of women in the evolution of contemporary Colombian society.