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**WOMEN, LABOUR AND HEALTH IN A RECENTLY COLONIZED REGION
IN SOUTHERN BRAZIL: A GENDER APPROACH**

Hilda Pívaro Stadniky*

Introduction

Although Women Studies are sometimes relegated to a marginal and restricted area of knowledge, they have shown their ability to reconstitute social facts and to empower focuses and approaches of the object of history¹. Thematics on women makes possible the historicizing of certain concepts and categories such as the relationship of gender, reproduction, family, citizenship, public and private life, expropriation and health, with the aim of transcending and overcoming concepts and values considered proper to the female nature.

DIAS² points to the importance of studies on differences and the diversity of feminine roles when the aim is the reconstruction of social relations. Freeing oneself from abstract categories and universal notions such as the feminine condition is a concern that decidedly enhances the interest in deconstructing ideological values and follows the paths of concrete historical knowledge. Reducing space and time to restrictive and specific structures leads the scholar to rediscover the informal roles and the atypical and singular situations which may reconstitute social processes beyond their strictly normative strictures. When one documents the atypical, one does not focus on the exceptional in the episodic or anecdotal sense. It rather means the discovery of an interpretation method that reveals a hitherto invisible but important process by means of the restrictive tone of questions made from a strictly normative point of view³. One should not refrain from questioning in a partial and contradictory way the level of the so-called changes verified in the female condition, such as the increase in instruction, greater participation in the work force, new family options, which by themselves are constitutive differences among women.

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In the early 80s DERRIDA remarked that the history of women also belongs to the movement and that there is no theoretically neutral interpretation of history on women studies⁴. During that decade the deviation towards gender in academic research work on women places the topic of the history of women as a study field. The history of women has sought somewhat to include women as objects of study and subjects of history.

However, the History of Women has to face the dilemma of difference. This happens because difference is constructed and this process has non-established comparative points within the categories that hide their perspective and mistakenly imply a natural adjustment with the world. Undoubtedly the universal approach implies in a comparison with the specific and the private. Comparisons between men and women are considered necessary and they begin to be understood more as distinct natural categories than as relation terms. The masculine and the feminine, however, may not be conceived as natural data but as historical and cultural constructions. Thus, Joan SCOTT emphasizes that claiming the importance of women in history means necessary going against the definitions of history and its agents which consider them true or, at least, as reflections of what happened (or was important) in the past⁵.

One of the most fundamental positions of the history of women is the questioning of the relative priority that has been given till now to the history of men, as against the history of women. It challenges the competence of all claims of history to register completely and impartially the history of universal man. There is a general inference and agreement that the deeds of women have been underestimated, subordinated and restricted to a particular, less important field. The aim is to seek the effects of established practice in history to understand the events and activities by means of the point of view of other subjects or women. Michel de CERTEAU adds that the history of women brings to light questions of dominion and of objectivity over which disciplinary norms has been built⁶.

A highly relevant factor establishes itself by the stance of Social History as a comparatively new field. Historians of women indicate reality of experience lived by women and introduce new fields, stages and institutions as objects of analysis. In fact, the

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history of women reach a certain legitimacy as a historical endeavor when it insists on the separate nature and experience of women. It thus consolidates the collective identity of women. The emergence of the history of women and the praxis of the historians of women⁷ cause the necessity of thinking about difference and how its construction would define relationships among individuals and social groups. Gender⁸ has been thus considered within social and cultural contexts and, by means of this category, in terms of different systems of gender and in relation to other categories, taking also into account the transformations that occurred.

According to SCOTT, another important aspect is the notion of gender relationship leading to changeable constructions of meaning. Although the constituent meaning of gender differences may be operative at all times, they are counter-crossed by other discourses: discourses of other identities and repetition discourses, tradition discourses, stereotype discourses, all set up in specific contexts. From a methodological point of view, it is supposed that what constitutes specific analytic operation orientated by gender relationship – clearing of differences inscribed simultaneously in nature, culture and history as discourses - is always revealed in the same way. On the other hand, it implies that gender may or may not be present as a centrally assumed meaning, in spite of not always being the founding identity of a subject and of his/her action. One should not necessarily infer that women and men think of their action from this perspective which may be diluted in another structuring discourse of the movement, such as that of class or social lack, color or ethnicity, as Maria Celia PAOLI observes. According to this author it is clear that one should respect identity inserted in time⁹.

1. Family work in the colonization process in the Northern region of the state of Paraná

The São Paulo experience beginning in the 19th century is not just a model of non-salaried family work. It is more than that. It promotes colonization in the state of Paraná favoring an internal migratory wave without any burden whatsoever. Besides, it is

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favored by the previous experience in coffee plantations by means of which accumulation of wealth occurred which made possible the buying of land. The family unit of production becomes the chief requirement of economic activity either as a consequence of the buying of land or as a consequence of typology of production social relations.

The percentage or sharing system used in the region has an endogenous necessity for family work. On the other hand, it shuns the necessity of individual workers as a predominant form. The vicissitudes of the coffee plantation determine specific factors of the calendar and the agricultural year, working out the numerical necessities in terms of the working force that should be available at a low price.

These demands are already met with a priori and should not be linked to any other factor that might raise the labor cost. In this respect, the family unit adjusts itself in a precise way and is able to perform efficiently all the functions imposed by the natural flexibility of the cyclic demands of the coffee industry¹⁰. The capacity of the suitability of the family unit to the dynamics of coffee plantation tasks should also be added.

Consequently, there is an extremely complex exercise in task and function adjustments that doesn't boil down to mere role alternations within the family unit. It needs a more elastic adaptability among the family members according to circumstances and the season of the required work. First of all, family members are considered as a work force whose sum of forces establishes itself by solidarity explored through the maintenance of the family unit. Apparently the authority of the family head is predominant. It is he who decides on the task required by each member of the family. In their turn, the family members commit and oblige themselves as in a labor or a buying and selling contract. In fact, the authority of capital is dominant. It places the family unit in the production process and disposes of it as an instrument of collective expropriation.

It is worthwhile to reconsider the adaptability of the family and the seasonal factor in work on coffee plantations. There are interesting aspects that should be considered for a wider understanding on the woman's role in the work force and on the sexual division of labor. These aspects disclose the determining of children in the family through ideology produced and reproduced in two way system by social classes.

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Family work should be taken for granted. Throughout the whole process the principal economic activity will reserve a place for complementary activities. The subsistence sector implies a demand of hands and its vigor will be calculated by the work demand of the coffee economy. A perfect adjustment occurs. However, this adjustment requires a greater versatility of the work force on one hand and a strict sexual division of labor, on the other. The sexual division of labor in capitalist exploitation dims the problem of the versatility of the work force in the process of role and function alternations.

Adjustment in the two sectors of agricultural activity causes adjustment in the roles and functions of the labor force because of the sexual division of labor which demands much more versatility, particularly of the female. Participation rates in social production are liable to be greater for men and women in the agricultural area where schooling is less and the exclusion of old people from economic activity is less evident. In the case of women, one should call attention to the fact that, using the conventional procedures in computing labor force, results would be different. This means that a greater rate of participation in social productivity would be found in the town. The possibility of uniting economic activity to home tasks is greater in the agricultural zone where the place of work and the home frequently coincide. Since productive tasks performed by women in the plantations are not calculated as a salary, they are frequently not considered in official statistics. This fact undervalues women's participation in agricultural social production¹¹.

In normal conditions, men dedicate themselves to coffee plantations and the females devote themselves to the subsistence section. Work in the coffee plantations is reserved to the male and is attributed according to the age of the children and the size of the area to be cultivated. Task hierarchy is established as a function of the seasonal factor of the plants which may demand a greater polyvalence of the female without any exclusion from the task list in the home service. This presupposes the over-exploration of female work within the family in the first place, and, above all, in the context of capital. At the time of coffee harvesting the work of the females and children is indispensable. Rhythm of work may be accelerated because of the possibility of rain damaging the crop

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or its quality. The working day was from early morning to late evening. Women and children had to rake and heap up the coffee beans at the end of the day as a complementary activity. Coffee harvesting, sieving and gathering were exhausting works. The human body and the shrub are in an aggressive contact with one another because of work to which men and women alike are subjected.

Women and children are responsible for subsistence crops. The rhythm is accelerated according to the seasonal factor proper to these crops. Rice, beans, millet, cotton and manioc are planted and harvested by women and children.

New structures begin to develop after the war according to different price positions of coffee. This fact determines even more intense exploration which provokes population movements unheard of in the region. High demographic density makes access to property a highly competitive factor and causes a more intense exploration of land. Agricultural space, its meaning and the character of subsistence activity are redefined.

The process of population density characteristic of the 50s transforms the Norte Novo (New North) region of Maringá into the chief point of attraction for new landowners. The decisive factor for the dynamic expansionism of coffee monoculture, albeit in small and middle sized properties, was the coincidence of prices of the product in the world market. The subsistence production in the land structure was associated to the necessity of self-sufficiency in food and of surplus for selling. Coffee culture permitted the intercalation of temporary crops and small pasture areas in direct proportion to family necessities and to local market. However, as coffee culture developed, space for subsistence crops was allotted in different places and finally its previous intercalation character was lost.

The process of population density in the region of Londrina and Maringá is thus another aspect of the displacement of the dynamic center of coffee culture towards the Paraná area. Polarization would be viable owing to the agricultural differentiated structure. In so far as the agricultural structure admits differentiated cultures under the coffee hegemony, culture compatibility will define the nature of the small and middle

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size property. These factors explain the absorption process of the population that settled in the region. It will also define the intensive nature of agriculture.

The 60s witnessed an extraordinary expansion of coffee culture and the establishment of its monocultural character. Coffee culture becomes more resistant to all regulatory policy of production or to agricultural diversification. However, this expansion had internal limits, since reasonability is counterpointed by superproduction. The coffee shrub eradication policy reverts to discourses on agricultural reasonability and causes deep changes in property structure and in population reorganization whose greatest density occurred in the rural area.

The introduction of new cultures, especially represented by soya bean/wheat brings about the reorganization of property in the region and the consequent regrouping of small and middle sized properties. The enrolment of rural properties by the INCRA in 1972 already witnesses this process. There was still a very high percentage of small properties, even though in area or in extension it was significantly less with regard to middle and large size properties.

Likewise, from the point of view of composition and organization of population stocks in the region, transformations are felt and are visibly shown in a more drastic form. A violent process of expropriation follows, since the new cultures don't need any more family work. If, for the time being, it is impossible to transform the small property owner into a big landowner, the new structure reorganizes the social relationships in the rural area and, at the same time, makes impractical, on account of mechanization, the capitalist relationships of production in the rural area. Together with the process of the introduction of capitalism in the rural area, social relationships of production with the utilization of the rural day worker are organized. The limit imposed on the salary process in the rural area completes the expropriation process, engendering surplus in workers, who start living in the periphery of the neighboring towns.

Such transformations disqualify family work as an ideal form of labor force in the rural area and, at the same time, restricts salary limits. Due to these changes the roles of farms and towns are exchanged. The role reserved to farms as a natural space for the

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integration of workers in larger properties is not valid anymore. This role has been taken over by the town. As they are close to each other, the towns hire great numbers of unemployed workers who are easily susceptible to capitalist exploitation. These concentrations of cheap workers develop according to contingencies of the new agricultural model imposed by mechanization.

The dynamics of the capitalist expansion process in the northern region of Paraná shows two aspects. On one hand, the autonomy of family work hides difficult life condition; on the other hand, the fact that the day worker works on alien land predisposes them to various disease associated to mal-nutrition. It also jeopardizes human reproduction with statistics of still born children or children dead within a year of birth, especially due to lack of medical assistance. Deaths without medical assistance of still born children, of 0 – 1 year olds and of people over 60 years disclose a form of violence produced by capitalist exploitation hidden beneath the question of land ownership.

2. Work, health and mortality patterns: the gender problem

While our attention is turned towards the dynamic process of the concentration of land ownership, the increasingly direct and indirect subjugation of the agricultural product by capital and drastic expulsion of workers from farm lands, the forms of violence against the population seem to be subjugated to economic presuppositions. We should follow the aftermath of capitalist exploitation in which capital, through diverse manners and by different means of production, exerts pressure so that workers would produce more and more agricultural surplus or surplus work. There are mortality patterns that differently mark the three decades of colonization and in which women, children and old people are influenced in a special manner.

High rates of infant mortality¹² are caused by mal-nutrition associated with infectious and parasite diseases, diseases of the respiratory and digestive systems and diseases of unknown causes. When the natural selection process (which boils down to very high rates of still born and 0 – 1 year old children, deaths by unknown causes and

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without medical assistance) is overcome, children reach adult age to work. Eventually, there is another age barrier to be overcome. In the 50s many women over 60 died without medical assistance, from diseases of the circulatory system and from unknown causes. Children from 0 – 1 year old were basically victims of diseases of the respiratory system throughout the three decades. Diseases were chiefly represented by bronchitis, pneumonia associated with general conditions of serious mal-nutrition.

In the 60s, women over sixty were victims of diseases of the circulatory system. In this case, there is a profound change in the cause of death, even though the sick women continue to be the oldest. The age group of the population, victim of this cause of death, is reduced. High incidence in age groups beginning from 30 years is registered. Similarly, in the 70s, the age group victim of the circulatory system is greatly anticipated. High blood pressure, heart conditions, pericarditis, cardiomyopathy and vascular diseases are on the roll.

Throughout these decades this group of mortality causes shows with great clarity a pattern of deaths in adults, indifferent to men and women, linked to the transformational process within the region's economy. In proportion to the acuteness of transformations in agriculture, in the process of expropriation and in the acceleration of urbanization, the age group susceptible to these diseases widens and affects people as from 20 years of age.

This picture, marked by age group extremes, reveals the violence against those that, in one way or another, are outside the production process. High mortality rates in children institutionalize themselves in the context of capitalist colonization in such a natural manner as occurs with the process of absorption of surplus population which is not assimilated by industrialization in the dynamic centers of Brazilian economy. On the other hand, loss of children in childhood may be compensated by new births, guaranteed by the family institution in the colonization model. In this context, it is clear that the female executes the role of reproduction of the work force. Performing this role in a relapsing manner, she reproduces the factors of morbidity and mortality.

On the other extreme, there are women over 60 years of age exhausted by the extraction process of surplus work, placed outside the production force, destined to die

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without medical assistance, from diseases of the circulatory system or of unknown causes. With the approach of the 60s, the situation is worsened by high incidents of deaths without medical assistance in women over 50 years old. In the 70s, the mark reaches women over 40 years old. The same remarks may be made with regard to disease from unknown causes which register the same age groups.

In the historical context of the colonization of the North of Paraná, which produced intense population displacement, we are tempted to analyze the expropriation process, the movement of capital and the urbanization process. Since we have chosen labor exploitation as the aim of this analysis, immediately the question of the workers' health will be automatically dealt with.

Morbidity and mortality are inherent to work exploitation by capital, whether in the country or in the town. The institution of morbidity and mortality factors, existing in a more intense or diversified form to the extent that mortality patterns are produced, occurs in direct proportion to exploitation and extraction of surplus value. The factory and the farm worker face capital in different ways. In family or collective labor the exploitation and the exploration of work inscribe distinct horizons and limits to both workers. Both the farm worker and the factory worker are violated by capital even though the forms of violence are not alike. The most recent regions of colonization in the North of Paraná witness a dynamic process of capital expansion that it is able to articulate exploitation and exploration concomitantly. Capitalism produces tensions and forms of violence that are capable of rupturing minimal health condition of workers to the point of establishing mortality patterns common to both sexes. José de Souza Martins emphasizes the process of the expansion of capitalism in the rural area, multiple forms of violence and the non-proletarianization of the workers. It is extremely important to understand the pattern of the causes of death produced by capitalist exploitation, especially in such recently occupied regions as those under analysis. Some questions may be asked: Does the differentiated manner of relationship between capital and worker produce equally distinct death patterns in the region? Is work organization capable of subverting the exploration of capital and minimize exploration forms so that more violent patterns of death are avoided and the workers' life could be prolonged? Is collective work a less fragile system and is

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it capable of reverting patterns of the causes of death socially produced by capital ? In what proportion ? All transpositions of other historical experiences in the attempt to explain the regional historical situation make explicative models impracticable. One has to consider the concomitant factors of exploitation and exploration and the necessary non-proletarianization of the rural worker. The transmutation of the rural ex-proprietor into day worker reveals a new aspect of violence produced by capital. Together with other forms of violence, they make the worker more susceptible to a potential exploration.

While considering such specific factors and the very short space of time in which the process of expropriation and the exploration of capital is achieved in the region under analysis, it may be simply inferred that the different forms of violence against the worker will be made uniform by similar processes of death. Or rather, the definitions of death patterns, more or less uniform and linear, during three decades, reveal, on one hand, the dynamics of capitalist exploration and, on the other hand, the mediation form between capital and the worker.

Life and working conditions of the population have two limits: childhood and old age. They help us to evaluate the attention given to two age groups formally outside the production process. The problem becomes more acute when it concerns the female population. In the present case, 0 – 1 year old children are violently attacked by high mortality rates throughout the 50s. One may also speak of patterns of cause of death for women. These patterns are linear throughout the 60s and 70s with considerable changes. Infectious and parasite diseases, deaths without medical assistance, diseases from unknown causes and after birth complications are, in this order, the cause of death pattern for the 50s. Childhood and old age are the most affected age groups. These facts show an association between grave mal-nutrition and negligence towards public health because of the high mortality rates without medical assistance and diseases from unknown causes. They witness endogenous factors in the definition of patterns of cause of death brought about by bad conditions of life and bad working conditions. Similarly, the causes of death after birth represent the violence against women. Added to bad life conditions, they witness the women's condition of reproducers of workers. At this stage, the problem is not to discuss whether women's labor in the family unit is reproductive or not. What

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should be evaluated are the reproduction conditions of the work force in its widest sense. Numerically, the 50s may be detailed by diseases of the respiratory system, diseases of the circulatory system, endocrine glands, nutrition and metabolism, blood and hematopoietic organs, diseases of the digestive system, birth and pregnancy complications and finally, poisoning and violent deaths. Generally, women die in childbirth without any medical assistance, placing their cause of death within the group of those without medical assistance. This explains why deaths after childbirth, in so far as patterns of causes of death are concerned, occupy the ninth ranking and are not among the first.

Structural economic changes that occur during the period of coffee eradication policy and the consequent landownership structure lead towards the acceleration of the expropriation process and the intensification of violence by capital against rural workers. These statements are confirmed by patterns of causes of death in the 60s. Deaths without medical assistance occupy first place for girls and old women. Negligence in the health of the female population is shown by high death rates of birth complications, diseases of unknown causes and infectious and parasite diseases. Life and health conditions found in the previous decade become worse, especially when one considers the process of capital accumulation in coffee culture and rapid urbanization¹³.

Another important datum revealing social tensions of the decade is the incidence of diseases of the circulatory system as causes of death in the female population, coming fifth in ranking. If one wants to have other evidence about social tensions it is sufficient to mention the incidence, eighth in ranking, of deaths caused by accidents, poisoning and violence. These were high in the male population. It is sufficient to see neoplasm, ranking tenth, as the cause of death in females, without declaration of cancer in death certificates as the cause of death.

Structural transformations that marked the 70s brought the introduction of soya bean/wheat as a substitute for coffee culture. The mechanization of the country and the concentration of land give a precise idea of the expropriation process and reveal the violence and the distinct forms of exploration of the workers¹⁴. New mediation forms of capital in the country and in the towns cause a wide range of violence against women in

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childhood and in old age. In this case, a new chronological mark is established concerning the exclusion of women from the productive process. In the 70s, there is a greater number of women over 40 years affected by non-defined diseases or whose cause of death is neoplasm. These causes affect women as from their 30th year, which do not exempt women from their 20th birthday in many cancer cases. Death in childhood now affects children within the 2 to 5 years age group where mal-nutrition lies constantly in the background.

The most significant changes in patterns of causes of death are diseases of the circulatory system, ranking first place. Taking into consideration all the social tensions in the 70s, the patterns of the causes of death in the female prove the thesis. Neoplasm diseases are seventh in rank, while poisoning and violence are ninth. If one considers mortality rates in the male for the three decades under consideration and compares them to mortality rate in the female, one finds similar patterns of death causes. The only difference is greater incidence of neoplasm diseases in women and greater number of deaths by violence and accidents in men.

Final considerations

Our aim has been the civil recuperation of women within the analysis of founding discourses of difference between the male and the female, with special reference to work, expropriation and health. The first task is the insertion of women in work. It presupposes that female professions, defined by natural qualifications, are mere products of language.

The founding elements of capitalist and democratic colonization in the North of Paraná made possible the extraction of surplus value and produced a dynamic process of expropriation of settlers. During the short space of three decades it has also revealed the expropriation of the health of the worker and his family, in which the health of the female is heavily taxed.

Our task is to analyze the new functions and roles of women in the various fields of social life and in work, feasible projects and possibilities in the urban areas as a

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privileged place opposed to the rural area. In this context one should ask about productions elaborated on a discourse level about women's work, the role of women in the public and private environment and the access of women and the family to the consumption of collective health goods. An analysis is urgent with regard to the constructive elements of representative discourses and of female representations in the regional press on the character and nature of the work of women within the discourse of the state as administrator of resources and health collective goods. Our aim will be achieved with the insertion of women in human rights movements for better conditions in work and health, extensive to the rural and urban family.

Gender is thus a method for a study of societies and events. One should verify how sexual difference is built and reconstructed in all levels of discourse and practice, representations and reality. Or rather, to analyze everything that changes the role of women as subjects of these transformations. In this manner, when interacting with other cognitive items, gender transcends its primary context without any dilution, as a means of knowledge of relationships and social action. According to Maria Celia PAOLI, everything depends on how identities in the movements are managing these relationships. Consequently, it isn't sufficient to operate gender relationships as synonym of women's movement but to lead towards changeable constructions of meaning.

According to Michelle PERROT, recovering the dynamics of women in history is to understand how women are produced, to understand the models and the stereotypes in which they support their customs, to understand what they produce as the result of what they received in the past. The notion of gender works towards changeable constructions of meaning. This means that gender meanings pass through other discourses such as those of identities and discourses of repetition, traditions, stereotypes, all placed in operation in specific contexts. From a methodological point of view, it is supposed that what constitutes specific analytic operation commanded by gender relations may be always revealed in like manner. One should verify how sexual differences are built and are reconstructed in all levels of discourse and practice, of representations and reality. One should understand representations, models of thought and formulas about women's work and health, proper to the process of the colonization and urbanization of the New North

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of Paraná taking history as the place of continuities, of unspoken permanence and of transformations as a counterpoint.

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¹ According to SARACENO, it is not proper to speak of women in a generic sense because of the differences and inequalities of opportunities among women of different social classes, countries, ethnicity, culture etc. SARACENO, Chiara. In: BONACCHI, Gabriela & GROPPI, Angela (editors). **O dilema da cidadania: direitos e deveres das mulheres** [The Dilemma of Citizenship: Rights and Duties of Women] São Paulo: UNESP, 1995.

² See Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias's *Teoria e métodos dos estudos feministas: perspectiva histórica e hermenêutica do cotidiano* [Theory and Methods of Women Studies: Historical Perspective and Hermeneutics of Daily Life]. In: COSTA, Albertina da & BRUSCHINI, Cristina (editors). **Uma questão de gênero**. [The Gender Problem]. Rio de Janeiro: Rosa dos Tempos, 1992, p. 39-53.

³ Dias, Maria Odila Leite da Silva. *op. cit.*, p. 40.

⁴ Apud SCOTT, Joan. *Historia das mulheres*. [The History of Women]. In: BURKE, Peter (editor). **A escrita da história: novas perspectivas**. [The Writing of History: New Perspectives]. Trans. Madga Lopes. São Paulo: UNESP, 1992, p. 17.

⁵ SCOTT, Joan W. *História das mulheres*. [The History of Women]. In: BURKE, Peter (editor). *op.cit.*, p. 77.

⁶ CERTEAU, Michel de. *History: Science and Fiction*. In: **Heterologies: Discourse on the Other**. Mineapolis: UMP, 1986, p. 217-8.

⁷ It is interesting to consult works dealing with female work: TILLY, Louise A & SCOTT, Joan W. **Women, Work and Family**. New York, 1987; COOPER, Patricia A. **Once a Cigar Maker: Men, Women and Work Culture in American Cigar Factories 1900-1919**. Urbana, 1987; LAURETIS, Teresa de (editor). **Feminist Studies/Critical Studies**. Bloomington, 1986; Idem, *Displacing Hegemonic Discourses: Reflections on Feminist Theory in the 1980s*. **Inscriptions**, 3 / 4. P. 127-141, 1988.

⁸ See SCOTT, Joan W. *Women's History: The Modern Period*. In: **Past and Present**, 101, p. 141-57, 1983. Idem, Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. In: **American Historical Review**, 91: 5, p. 1053-75, December 1986.

⁹ PAOLI, Maria Celia. *As Ciências Sociais, os movimentos sociais e a questão do gênero*. [Social Sciences, Social Movements and the Gender Question]. In: **Novos Estudos CEBRAP**. October 1991, p. 107-20. An important contribution may be found in TELLES, Vera da Silva. *Espaço público e espaço privado na constituição do social: notas sobre o pensamento de Hannah Arendt*. [Public and Private Space in Social Constitution: Notes on the Thought of Hannah Arendt] In **Tempo Social**. 2 (1), 1990.

¹⁰ See article by STOLCKE, Verena. *A família que não é sagrada (sistema de trabalho e estrutura familiar: o caso das fazendas de café)*. [The non-sacred family: (work system and family structure: coffee plantations] In: **Colcha de retalhos** (Estudos sobre a família no Brasil). São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982.

¹¹ See BRUSCHINI, Maria Cristina & ROSEMBERG, Fúlvia. *A mulher e o trabalho*. [Women and work] In: BRUSCHINI & ROSEMBERG (editors). **Trabalhadores do Brasil**. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1982.

¹² See VICTORIA, César G. et al., **Epidemiologia da desigualdade**. [Epidemiology of inequality]. São Paulo: Hucitec, 1989. for an analysis of child health within the class of the family, in which mediating factors such as mother's health, food, environmental conditions are present, especially basic sanitary conditions and housing, availability of medical assistance.

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¹³ The analysis of female mortality is the result of the data systematization for the study of morbidity, causes of death and patterns of mortality in the population of Maringá from the data bank: Morbidity and Mortality from Causes of Death in Maringá 1949-1980.

¹⁴ See RIBEIRO, Herval Pina. *Doença e causa de morte na classe trabalhadora*. [Disease and Cause of Death in Workers] In: **População e saúde**. Campinas: UNICAMP, 1986, vol 2, p. 135-144.

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