WOMEN AND WORKING-CLASS MOBILIZATION IN POSTWAR SÃO PAULO, 1945–1948*

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It has often been observed that "Where power is, women are not." Noting women's virtual absence from the realm of conventional politics, Jane Jaquette urged scholars in 1980 to look beyond elections in studying female political participation in Latin America. Arguing for an "expanded notion of the political," she called for research on female participation within different social classes, especially their role in "informal networks, . . . clientele linkages, . . . strike activities, urban land seizures and barrio politics" (Jaquette 1980). This article employs a community study method to investigate women's grass-roots participation in politics and labor mobilization following World War II in the region of greater São Paulo known as ABC (named after the *municípios* of Santo André, São Bernardo do Campo, and São Caetano).

One of Latin America's preeminent industrial centers, the ABC region has expanded at an accelerating pace since its first factories were established at the turn of the century. From a population of ten thousand in 1900 (including one thousand industrial workers), the ABC region grew to a population of two hundred and sixteen thousand by 1950 (including forty-six thousand industrial workers). Brazil's fourth-largest industrial center, the socially homogeneous factory districts of Santo André and São Caetano represented one of the most dramatic concentrations of modern large-scale industrial production in postwar Brazil.[1]

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This article will focus on the role of women during the extraordinary political and trade-union mobilizations that began in 1945 (French 1985). This postwar upsurge was vigorously repressed after 1947, however, and was soon forgotten, its significance largely ignored by later historians and activists. While some scholars have dealt schematically with working-class activism during this period, none of them have seriously examined the role of working-class women, their organizations, and their leaders in postwar strikes, neighborhood agitation, and electoral politics (Maranhão 1979; Weffort 1973).

Between 1945 and 1948, workers in Brazil were drawn into public and political activity on an unprecedented scale. During such periods of popular ferment, the dynamics of women's sociopolitical participation emerges more clearly than in normal times. The broader generalization about such unusual periods holds true for Santo André and São Caetano: the greater the extent, depth, and intensity of working-class mobilization, the greater the involvement and visibility of working-class women,[2] housewives as well as women workers.[3] This article is thus intended to fill two lacunae in recent research on women in Latin America: the scarcity of historical studies of women and politics (Hahner 1985; Lavrin 1987) and the lack of detailed examinations of women's participation in trade unions (Stoner 1987; for an exception, see Navarro 1985).

WORKING-CLASS CONSCIOUSNESS AND GENDER IDEOLOGY

Although women have long been assumed to be irrelevant to "real" (that is, male) class politics,[4] Brazilian researchers in the last fifteen years have published a number of fine empirical investigations into the lives of women workers and working-class housewives (A. Rodrigues 1978; Bilac 1978; Macedo 1979; J. Rodrigues 1979; Saffioti 1981, 1986; Fausto Neto 1982). Yet these dimensions of female working-class life have not yet been successfully integrated into an understanding of the broader dynamics of working-class struggle. Moreover, the "snapshot" nature of most of this sociological fieldwork has obscured patterns of development over time.

Observers of Brazilian working-class life have repeatedly emphasized the influence of patriarchal family ideology with its biological determinism and stereotypical assertion that women's rightful place is in the home. Researchers have also linked the prevailing gender ideology to women's greater passivity at work and to their lesser participation in unions and politics. Unfortunately, the assumption that a given social class necessarily has or should have a particular type of consciousness has lead some scholars to adopt a crude typology of "class-conscious" or "non-class-conscious" workers, the latter being a residual category

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where women and other "failed" or "backward" workers are relegated. For example, one study asserted that working women did not "identify with their work," failed to maintain "any identification as a worker," and behaved "much more like passive and dependent housewives than militant workers, which they are not" (Saffioti 1980).

Luis Pereira's excellent sociological investigation in Santo André in 1958 suggested the importance of a nuanced understanding of the relationship between gender ideology and behavior. The industrial working-class families he studied believed that "women—mothers and daughters—should live as much as possible within the household" and restrict themselves to domestic activities. In keeping with these patriarchal ideals, he found clear notions of male and female spheres and less family interest in educating daughters than sons (Pereira 1976).

Although male supremacist ideology is deeply entrenched in all social classes, it is also a class-specific phenomenon that is shaped to fit differing economic realities, in this case the needs of a wage-dependent urban working-class household. Pereira found that community residents "highly value the wife who works outside the home for pay, to 'help the husband'. . . [even as they] value more highly the situation of the wife who does not have to do so because the husband earns a good living or because the sons 'already have a wage.' " While by no means eliminating gender conflict, the interdependent nature of the household unit nonetheless has important implications for working-class behavior (Pereira 1976; Schmink 1986; Leacock et al. 1986; Macedo 1979; on the United States, see Montgomery 1987, 139–40).

The persistence of such attitudes in the ABC region was confirmed in Carmen Macedo's impressive study of eighty-two families of São Caetano ceramic workers in 1974. She found that women's work outside the home, whether that of wives or daughters, was viewed as a woman's duty rather than her right. "It is not," she concluded, "an ideology of equality of the sexes that impels the woman toward the labor market . . . [rather, she does so] *despite* an ideology of inequality between the sexes" (emphasis in original). Macedo cautioned that this gap between the ideal of female domesticity and the reality of women's work outside the home does not necessarily imply "the abandonment of the ideal of different roles" for male and female. Instead, women's work outside the home is viewed as an exception stemming from economic difficulties or the family's desire for upward social mobility (Macedo 1979; see also Blay 1973 and Wells 1983).[5]

Other observers have cited working-class women's partial or sporadic participation in the work force, explaining that "they tend to see work outside the home as something compulsory and, hence, undesirable" (Saffioti 1986). But this apparent female acceptance of patriarchal norms also contains an element of protest and class feeling. As Jessita

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Rodrigues and Carmen Macedo have argued, it is incorrect to say that working-class women reject work outside of the home per se. Rather, in using the widely accepted conventions of patriarchal discourse, they are implicitly criticizing the employment opportunities open to them and the actual conditions of labor that they experience in the industrial workplace (J. Rodrigues 1979; Macedo 1979).

Despite the seemingly unambiguous patriarchal language invoking separate spheres, working-class women's expressed distaste for work outside the home actually conceals a distinctly feminine reflection of their consciousness of class. Moreover, their expressed desire not to enter into social production can also be interpreted as a desire to avoid women's double workday, as has been suggested by Rosalina de Santa Cruz Leite. Her interviews with twenty-two activist female metalworkers in São Paulo revealed these women's awareness that "the woman who works is more the master of her own nose." Yet her interviewees were also aware of the unequal division of domestic tasks between working wives and husbands, arguing that "there's no advantage to getting married if all it means is double work" (Leite 1982).

WOMEN WORKERS, HOUSEWIVES, AND VOTERS IN SANTO ANDRE AND SÃO CAETANO

Industrial employment in the ABC region grew rapidly after the establishment of the first large textile factories in 1900. By 1920 some forty-three hundred workers were employed in the ABC region, with at least 15 percent of local laborers being women (see table 1). Employed in several large local textile factories, women workers actively participated in the 1919 Ipiranguinha textile strike in Santo André. As part of the broader labor upsurge that swept male and female workers in São Paulo between 1917 and 1919, the strikers paraded through the streets in an effort to call out workers at other factories. At the strike's dramatic climax, a vocal nineteen-year-old weaver named Constantino Castellani was killed by a policeman protecting a local factory (French 1985).

Female participation in industrial employment among local residents stood at one-quarter of the total resident work force in 1940 and 1950, with some women employed in neighboring São Paulo. Census statistics documenting female employment in factories located in the ABC region (whose work forces have typically included commuters from São Paulo) would be far more revealing than this demographic data on local residents. Unfortunately, only the industrial census of 1940 broke down even the total industrial work force by gender. But we do have unpublished statistical data from the municipal archives that allow analysis of factory work forces by gender in Santo André and São Caetano for 1938, 1942, and 1947 (see table 2).

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TABLE 1 Female Participation in Industry among Residents of the ABC Region of Brazil, 1920–1950

Year	*Total Resident Workers*	*Resident Women Working*	*Female Workers (%)*
1920	2,648	388	15
1940	23,190	5,372	23
1950	59,550	14,591	25

Sources: Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estadística (IBGE), *Recenseamento . . . 1920, Censo Demográfico*, vol. 4, pt. 5, tomo 2, pp. 776–77; IBGE, *Recenseamento . . . 1940, Censo Demográfico*, vol. 17, tomo 2, pp. 448–49; IBGE, *Recenseamento . . . 1950, Censo Demográfico*, vol. 25, tomo I, pp. 130–31.

TABLE 2 Female Participation in the Industrial Work Force Employed in Santo André and São Caetano, 1938–1947

Workers in Santo André[a] *and São Caetano*	*1938*	*1942*	*1947*
Total work force	17,125	22,914	44,350
Women workers	6,120	6,124	11,908
Percentage of women workers	36	27	27

Source: Prefeitura Municipal de Santo André, unpublished documents, "Estatística Industrial" for 1938, 1942, and 1947.

[a]Figures for Santo André include the districts of Paranapiacaba and Utinga.

Significant changes in women's participation in the labor force in Santo André and São Caetano occurred between 1938 and 1947. While the absolute number of women working increased substantially, their relative share of the total factory work force declined moderately (see tables 3 and 4). Yet disaggregated analysis reveals that women were by no means tangential to the factory proletariat because of their overwhelming concentration in larger enterprises with significant female work forces (see tables 3 and 4).

In 1947, 47 percent of all women workers in Santo André and São Caetano were found in ten enterprises employing 300 or more women workers (see table 5). Moreover, the average total work force of all enterprises employing 49 or more women had increased from 544 in 1938 to 926 by 1947 (see table 3). Women were also present in significant numbers in certain metalworking, chemical, and rubber factories (see table 6). Moreover, the largest employers of women in 1947 were two enormous, ultramodern rayon-fiber factories that ranked among the largest enterprises in the region. Although classified as textile plants, the Rhodiaceta factory (with 1879 workers) and the plant operated by

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TABLE 3 *Industrial Enterprises Employing Forty-Nine or More Women in Santo André and São Caetano in 1938 and 1947*

Category	*1938*	*1947*
Enterprises employing 49 or more women	22	27
Total number of employees	11,970	25,015
Women employees	5,487	8,305
Percentage of all women employees	90	70
Average number of employees per enterprise	545	926
Average number of women employees per enterprise	249	308

Source: PMSA, unpublished documents, "Estatística Industrial" for 1938 and 1947.

TABLE 4 *Industrial Enterprises in Santo André and São Caetano Employing Forty-Nine Women or More and Having 50 Percent or More Female Employees in 1938 and 1947*

Category	*1938*	*1947*
Enterprises employing 50 percent or more women	12	13
Total number of employees	6,787	6,777
Women employees	4,076	4,459
Percentage of all women employees	66	48

Source: PMSA, unpublished documents, "Estatística Industrial" for 1938 and 1947.

TABLE 5 *Industrial Enterprises Employing Three Hundred or More Women in Santo André and São Caetano in 1938 and 1947*

Category	*1938*	*1947*
Enterprises employing 300 or more women	6	10
Total number of employees	6,740	14,173
Women employees	3,761	5,601
Women employed in these enterprises as a percentage of all employed women in Santo André and São Caetano	61	47

Source: PMSA, unpublished documents, "Estatística Industrial" for 1938 and 1947.

Indústrias Reunidas Francisco Matarrazo (with 2619 workers) differed radically from the spinning and weaving sector of the textile industry that had traditionally employed large numbers of women.

As might be expected from the literature, women's industrial employment was concentrated disproportionately in two stages of the family life cycle: the teenage years and, to a lesser extent, the years of

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TABLE 6 Work Forces and Strike Activity at Enterprises Employing Three Hundred or More Women in Postwar Santo André and São Caetano

Enterprise (activity)	*Work Force*			*Strikes in 1946–47*
	Total	*Women*	*% Women*	
Rhodiaceta (rayon fiber)	1,879	1,176	58	yes
Indústrias Reunidas Francisco Matarazzo (rayon fiber)	2,619	823	31	no
Sociedade Anónima Moinho Santista (textiles)	1,266	766	61	yes
Pirelli (electrical cable, tires)	3,268	623	19	yes
Companhia Brasileira de Cartuchos (munitions)	832	408	49	yes
Lanifício Kowarick (spinning and weaving wool)	692	431	62	no
Justifício Maria Luisa (spinning and weaving wool)	488	342	70	no
Indústrias Reunidas Francisco Matarazzo (ceramic dishes)	947	334	35	no
Compania Química Rhodia (chemical products)	1,737	306	18	yes
Valisere (textiles)	445	392	88	no
Totals	14,173	5,601		

Source: PMSA, unpublished documents, "Estatística Industrial" for 1938 and 1947.

early family constitution (Zylberstajn 1985; Vangelista 1978). While 27 percent of all industrial workers in the ABC region were between the ages of ten and nineteen, fully 54 percent of all women who worked in factories were teenagers. Indeed, women provided 47 percent of all industrial workers between ten and nineteen years of age. In all, more than two-thirds of the women working in industry were under twenty-nine years of age (see French 1985, table D–6).

These female factory workers experienced far higher rates of turnover than did their male counterparts due to such life-cycle events as marriage and childbirth. These realities have led many industrial sociologists to talk of women's "incomplete commitment" to industrial labor. Yet the age-specific concentration and high turnover rates also

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document the ubiquity of the factory-labor experience among local working-class women. Few workers' families would have lacked a mother, daughter, sister, or aunt who had worked in a factory, which undoubtedly contributed to women's understanding of the demands and problems of factory life.

The enormous increase in industrial employment in the ABC region between 1938 and 1950 was paralleled in other big cities. On contemplating the spectacular growth of the nation's industrial working class, Brazilian dictator Getúlio Vargas (who had first enfranchised women in 1932) framed electoral legislation in 1945 designed to favor urban areas over rural areas. Moreover, an ex officio group registration procedure was established to enfranchise industrial workers disproportionately through factory payroll lists. Although Vargas's reasons need not concern this discussion, the dramatic events of 1945 marked the moment of effective mass enfranchisement of the urban working class in Brazil (French 1985). The impact of Vargas's electoral legislation was direct and striking. Electoral participation in the ABC region jumped fivefold from six thousand voters in 1936 to twenty-eight thousand in December 1945, with women comprising a third of the total electorate.

The results of a large-scale statistical investigation of women's electoral participation by the authors are not yet available (French and Pedersen n.d.). But several provisions of the 1945 electoral legislation bore directly on women. Although retaining the literacy requirement favored urban potential voters over rural potential voters, it also affected women's participation negatively because of their higher rate of illiteracy. More important was the fact that the legislation made voting obligatory by imposing fines for nonparticipation on all but one major group: women who did not work outside the home could vote but were not required to do so.[6]

Although the reasons for adopting the housewives' provision remain unclear, this feature of the legislation gave wage-earning women disproportionate weight in the female electorate. In examining the local electorate's occupational breakdown in 1948, it can be seen that women made up 33 percent of the total of registered voters, this proportion being split almost evenly between housewives (17 percent) and working women (16 percent). The ABC region's most industrialized district with the largest number of working women also had the most voters per population and the largest percentage of registered women voters. While the ex officio registration procedure made the electoral inscription of female factory workers automatic, the fact that fifty-six hundred housewives went individually to their local electoral notaries to register suggests something of the general ferment and excitement during 1945.

In the three elections between 1945 and November 1947, the Santo André electorate split into three parts: one-third voted for Var-

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gas's Partido Trabalhista Brasileiro (PTB), one-third voted for the Partido Comunista do Brasil (PCB) of Luis Carlos Prestes, and one-third voted for various middle-class parties on the right. Brazilian electoral findings, unlike those in some European countries with strong traditions of popular religiosity, show absolutely no evidence that women workers voted disproportionately for conservative or rightist parties (Lovenduski and Hills 1981; Peterson 1977).

The most widespread unifying sentiment among men and women workers and residents in the ABC region during these years was a positive assessment of Getúlio Vargas, or what I have called "popular *getulismo*" (in 1950 Vargas received an astonishing 84 percent of the total vote in the município of Santo André). Although verging on the speculative at this point, some evidence suggests that women may have been especially strong supporters of Vargas and the populist Labor party in preference to the more radical Communists. Less support for the far left has been found among women working-class voters in a number of European and Latin American countries (Lovenduski and Hills 1981; Peterson 1977; Lewis 1971; Zeitlin and Petras 1970; Kyle and Francis 1978).

Women can be shown to have been disproportionately mobilized for the presidential contests of 1945 and 1950, in which Getúlio Vargas played a major role. These two elections attracted a far higher voter turnout in the ABC region than did state or municipal elections. It is possible to calculate the minimum number of women who must have voted by assuming an unrealistically high turnout of 100 percent of registered male voters. This approach allows the conclusion that at least 50 percent of all registered women turned out for these presidential contests (compared with a minimum of 28 percent in the state and municipal elections in 1947).

Some evidence suggests that working-class women may have benefited more from Vargas's social and labor legislation than men did. The 1943 labor law codification included many provisions of interest to women, including protective legislation, equal pay for equal work, and mandatory day-care centers in large factories, even though most of these provisos lacked enforcement (Cesarino 1957). Especially relevant to women was effective establishment of a minimum wage in 1939–40. Although it was set far below the level sought by the unions, the 1940 minimum wage did not depress industrial wage levels as some have believed (Pena 1981).[7] While largely irrelevant for male workers in the region's most modern, highly mechanized, and profitable factories, the new minimum wage represented a dramatic improvement for poorly paid women workers at many large enterprises like the Pirelli metalworking plant.[8]

If urban women supported Vargas disproportionately, it seems

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peculiar that the 1945 electoral law exempted housewives from compulsory voting. That provision might have been adopted to further decrease the vote in rural areas, where few women worked outside the home. Or perhaps, as Asunción Lavrin suggests, Vargas "was leaving the housewives and their husbands one option to 'decently' preserve patriarchal norms" by giving these traditional, nonmobilized women "an option of rejecting a change on which they (and possibly their husbands) would not agree."[9]

WOMEN, THE FAMILY, AND THE COMMUNITY

The end of World War II represented a hopeful moment for working-class men and women in Brazil, with nearly full employment and the government's campaign to promote union membership since 1943. The lessening of workers' fears that union or political participation might lead to dismissal was joined with the widespread belief that Getúlio Vargas's populist rhetoric and social and labor legislation represented promises that would be fulfilled after the war.

Under these conditions, the ouster of Vargas in October 1945 by "the rich" and the military prompted anger and protest among workers. Casting their votes for the first time in December 1945, local workers experienced a heady feeling of political success that enhanced the sense of self-confidence already flowing from relatively favorable labor-market conditions. The results—71 percent of the total vote cast for the informally allied PTB and PCB parties—amply confirmed the workers' sense of common identity and soaring hope. Within working-class families, these conditions created a lessening of the disincentives to struggle that prevailed in normal times.

Local workers did not restrict their activism to the voting booth, however. Working-class anger, protest, and hope also revitalized the trade unions and spurred an early 1946 strike wave that involved one hundred thousand workers in metropolitan São Paulo. Strikes in February and March of 1946 proved a baptism of fire for the emerging left-center trade-union movement (French 1989). A third of the local workers participated in some form of mobilization, and at least one-fifth of all workers joined in the strikes sweeping greater São Paulo. While workers were exercising their "rights," the streets of Santo André and São Caetano were taken over by mass picketing and occasional, although usually nonviolent, confrontations with the police.

Strikes were generally observed in the factories affected. Many workers struck for reasons of "solidarity" with other workers, and nonstrikers were quickly organized to contribute funds to support the major stoppages, which lasted an average of two weeks. During these

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strikes, a new locus of identity emerged among local workers. For working-class housewives, this new extrafamilial, nonprivatized interest reinforced their bonds with their husbands while opening a window on the wider world. If housewives did no more than prepare family meals on smaller rations, they were nevertheless contributing in their own way to the workers' victory. Thus many women who were conservative about matters of gender roles could still feel comfortable with this small expansion of their family role as wives "loyal" to their husbands.

For other less traditional housewives, the years 1946 and 1947 offered opportunities to expand their "traditional" responsibilities beyond the boundaries of the family. In normal times, the family's subsistence problems were dealt with individually through the wife's small triumphs at getting a "good deal" or knowing the "right connections" to acquire a scarce product. But during these years, hours of standing in line and constant bargain-hunting emphasized that these problems were now common to all. Yet no opportunities existed to deal with these problems collectively until the first neighborhood Comités Democráticos Progressistas (CDPs) were formed by the Communist party in October 1945.

Phenomenally successful, these officially nonpartisan neighborhood organizations were designed to serve as the community analogue of the workplace-based trade-union mobilizations of the day. From the outset, the CDPs were aimed at providing the unemployed, the young, and especially housewives with an outlet for their desire to participate (Carone 1982, II, 57–59). With the support of many women, these committees dealt with the high cost of living (*carestia*) and other consumer problems such as diluted milk, inedible bread, and shortages of sugar and cooking oil. By organizing picket lines and petitions, the CDPs demanded government action while trying to oversee local shopkeepers.[10]

The Communist party's top women leaders explicitly expressed their goal of mobilizing more and more women through such practical, close-to-home concerns. As Communist Deputy Zuleika Alambert told the São Paulo State Assembly in 1947, the days were gone when Brazilian women lived "exclusively for their home and their children without directly participating in political, social, and economic life." Beset by carestia in their homes and exploitation on the job, women were now demanding their rights as a matter of justice, not charity (ALESP 1947).

Yet as a visiting Communist city councilwoman from Rio de Janeiro complained, many Brazilians still insisted that "women shouldn't participate in the political life of the country . . . [and] that woman's place is in the home." Emphasizing this point at a women's election rally in São Caetano, Arcelina Mochel argued that every time a woman

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"waits in long lines for her tiny ration of meat, oil or bread and protests, . . . she is making politics of the highest sort."[11]

In discussing the PCB's postwar effort to organize women, one recent scholar has criticized the Communists for considering "demands linked to carestia as typically female" and the basis for "women's political action." She argued that in doing so, the PCB took "the sexual division of labor in the interior of the family [as a given]: the men fight for better salaries, the women fight against carestia" (Pena 1981). A more sympathetic scholar, however, has defended this emphasis on carestia, which she believes provided the strongest incentive for working-class housewives to mobilize (Tabak 1983).

Yet it would be wrong to assume that the PCB's neighborhood and women's organizations were exclusively concerned with carestia. They would have failed miserably had they concentrated primarily on problems of inflation and scarcity that were virtually insoluble at the local, much less neighborhood, level. Examination of CDP activity suggests instead that far more energy was devoted to a range of "doable" activities that could produce small victories that would encourage group participants. For example, one committee in Vila Guiomar reported success in modestly reducing municipal water and sewer rates and establishing better garbage pickups. Elsewhere, the municipal CDP in Santo André collected five thousand signatures and got the São Paulo Railway to agree to restore train service that had been reduced during the war.[12]

Other CDPs worked actively to register voters, especially housewives, and they organized neighborhood literacy classes to help residents meet the legal requirements for voting. Everywhere, these committees focused attention on the problems of children and petitioned for the establishment of primary schools in ill-served neighborhoods. In São Caetano, they proposed the establishment of a hospital and a night school for local residents over fourteen who had never had an opportunity to attend school. They also organized Christmas parties for neighborhood children and held educational celebrations of events like the birthday of independence hero Tiradentes and the centenary of the poet Castro Alves.[13] In this sense, the postwar emphasis on carestia may be more accurately interpreted as the opening wedge of a far more ambitious and multifaceted drive to raise "diversified demands, based on local problems" (Leite 1982).

WOMEN, THE WORKPLACE, AND THE UNION

However they visualized their work experience, female factory workers in Santo André and São Caetano faced difficulties and problems that were specific to women in the workplace. Although commu-

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nity norms sanctioned "necessary" work outside the home, women still faced many discriminatory attitudes and behaviors in this consciously male domain. Women were completely absent from many workplaces, and when they were employed in local factories, they were segregated into lower-paying, less-skilled, and inferior industrial jobs.

Women also faced deprecatory male supremacist attitudes from some of their fellow workers as well as from factory managers and foremen. Even men who did not express overt prejudice were influenced by implicit comparisons of male and female workers. The common wisdom held that women were not "serious" or real workers, that they worked only to supplement family income, that they were willing to work for less, that they took more abuse from foremen than any man would, and so on.

Male workers even expressed concern over the danger of exposing women to immodesty. One of the complaints of 950 strikers at the Companhia Brasileira de Metalúrgica e Mineração (which was 2 percent female) was that workers were forced to eat lunch in an uncomfortable area that doubled as a locker room. They demanded a proper lunchroom, complaining that their wives and daughters were often embarrassed by the sight of undressed men when they arrived at lunchtime with their husbands' or fathers' *marmitas* (tin pails for hot lunches).[14]

The male workers' factory life also affected the world of home and family in other ways. Strikers at one textile plant complained that wages were so low that they had to work twelve hours a day in order to earn enough to support their families, which deprived them of time with their families. The metalworking firm of Fichet and Schwartz (0 percent female) won union praise for humane treatment when it rehired a male worker dismissed for absenteeism due to a family situation.[15] Nevertheless, male prejudice and belief in notions like "proper spheres" must be placed in the larger context of substantively discriminatory employer policies.

The largest postwar strike involving women in the ABC region took place in March 1947 among the 1,879 workers (58 percent of them women) at the French-owned Rhodiaceta rayon-fiber factory. The workers' negotiating committee cited a number of specific demands and complaints from women. The committee reported that women in general were paid even less than the inadequate wages paid to men. In one factory section, women were having difficulty meeting the base piecerate quota because management was running the machines at too fast a pace. Moreover, women were constantly threatened with suspension by foremen for failing to meet quotas and were criticized for not being able to carry out the heavy work demanded. According to the committee, the plant had even failed to provide a sufficient number of dressing rooms for women employees.[16]

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In advancing these demands, Rhodiaceta's male and female negotiating committee was undoubtedly seeking to guarantee women's support for the strike. Yet scholars' understanding of male-female workplace and union dynamics would be fatally flawed by failing to perceive the interdependence of male and female interests vis-à-vis management. Whatever prejudice existed among workers, every male worker in the shop would also benefit from these "women's demands." Establishing equal pay for equal work would lessen the downward pressure on male wage levels. Also, adjustments in piece-rate quotas for women would lessen on-the-job production pressures throughout the plant. Indeed, another strike complaint at Rhodia was a recent doubling of the number of machines that a single worker was expected to tend.

Finally, both male and female Rhodia workers stood to benefit from increasing wages, improving bad working conditions, or providing time for those in dirty departments to wash up. Who could disagree with the demand that more bathrooms should be installed (and kept clean) to prevent disagreeable backups? Shared grievances also included a twenty-minute lunch break and management's castelike maintenance of the division of white- and blue-collar personnel. For example, the strikers complained that office workers had recently been provided with a shower while manual workers who needed showers had none.

Thus attention to women's specific grievances at Rhodia by no means conflicted with male working-class interests. Moreover, the prevailing gender ideology also gave working-class men a special "responsibility" for their women (and other weaker groups within their class).[17] Women were indeed subject to special abuses because they were women—especially sexual harassment by foremen—and were less able and willing to speak up in their own defense. With fewer long-term job prospects, a working-class woman's chance to earn real money (as opposed to washing clothes) came only once in life. The fact that women worked outside of the home due to family necessity also meant that their wages were used to meet specific household financial exigencies and obligations, whether to parents or to husbands.

Although verging on paternalism at times, this sense of *companheirismo* and men's special responsibilities had worked to the benefit of wage-earning women in the past. In 1934 the Pirelli metal-working plant was closed in a strike that included as a major demand an end to the *beliscão* or "pinching" of female workers by foremen supposedly seeking to increase production. The strike also set limits on foremen's prerogatives that benefited all Pirelli workers.[18]

Demands focusing on the differences in the workplace interests of male and female workers could also have been formulated in 1947. For example, women could have demanded equal hiring in the better-

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paying jobs and skilled positions that were predominantly male. Such zero-sum demands for access to male occupations or professions have played a crucial historical role in middle-class women's movements in the United States and Europe. Yet such a challenge to the sexual division of labor within the factory made no real sense for workers in the ABC region in the 1940s. Without established negotiating power, even a united Rhodia work force had a doubtful capacity to force agreement on an intransigent management.

In fact, the success of any group of workers depended on the unity of all workers. Whatever the diverging interests within the working class, all subgroups were forced to confront the need for unity at the moment when they exercised their ultimate bargaining chip: the withdrawal of labor power. Especially in the male-female workplace, a strike situation emphasized the essential and very practical equality of men and women. Even a group of viciously misogynist males moved to strike strictly in defense of their own interests would quickly realize that the despised women could defeat the work stoppage by nonparticipation as easily as any men.

In this regard, the mixed male and female workplace was potentially at the forefront of change in gender relations within the labor movement.[19] Whether motivated by pragmatism or principle, Brazilian labor leaders recognized the need for women's support in their conduct of strikes during 1946 and 1947. Whether consciously or not, local left-center union leaders applied the principles of working-class unity in order to maximize workers' leverage vis-à-vis the employers and their powerful allies. Thus every effort was made to incorporate women into strike activities on a large scale. Where women comprised a significant portion of the work force, women strikers were always found among the speakers at local rallies.

At the mass level, the broader assertion of a common class identity served to lessen resistance to innovation and changes in consciousness, including ideas about gender. The Firestone factory in Santo André, with twelve hundred workers (13 percent female), was one of the first to be struck. From the outset, Lúzia de Lourdes Gonçalves emerged as one the three most active rank-and-file leaders of the striking rubber workers. In the excitement of the strike, acceptance of leadership from a woman *companheira* was not inconceivable to her male compatriots.[20]

A passionate orator, Gonçalves was given the honor of welcoming the legendary *cavaleiro de esperança*, Communist Senator Luis Carlos Prestes, to Santo André in February 1946. In denouncing the police, she told her audience of perhaps twenty thousand that striking was supposed to be a crime. She then cited police statements that the PCB had taught the workers to strike and defiantly declared that if this were

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true, she would join the Communist party forthwith. Hailing the solidarity of the workers, she concluded, "This fight is forging the unity of the working class . . . so that, from now on, we will march more united than ever" in the fight against misery.[21]

Substantial unity of purpose did characterize the one hundred thousand strikers in greater São Paulo in February and March of 1946. Unlike the strikes during the First Republic (1889–1930), no laments were heard about the abject behavior of women in refusing to strike. Nor was the likelihood of a work stoppage tied to the percentage of women employed in a given factory, as is indicated by the fact that four of the five largest factories employing women were struck in 1946 and 1947 (see table 6). Only one enterprise, the Swift meat-packing plant, was reported to have tried to operate with strikebreakers, which led to a number of clashes with police. In denouncing the "traitors," however, labor leaders did not single out the female sex from among the "girls, women, and men" still going to work. Moreover, at least one woman was among the dozen Swift strikers arrested by the local police. In response to a union appeal, the police released the woman before her male compatriots.[22]

During and after the strike, union and PCB leaders consciously sought to foster a general companheirismo among local workers. Actively implementing a system of union factory commissions in the workplace, they also created an elaborate recreational and social life for male and female workers. On at least two different occasions, groups of more than one thousand workers and their families participated in union-sponsored trips to the beaches in nearby Santos. During the strike and afterwards, large-scale dances, picnics, and barbecues were organized to celebrate particular victories and general working-class togetherness.[23]

In an effort to unite every group within the work force as the strikes ebbed in March 1946, an ad hoc committee was established to crown the "Queen of the Santo André Workers." Modeled after a similar effort in São Paulo, this contest was aimed at the beauty-conscious "proletarian girls" who worked in local factories. The "queen" was chosen based on ballots cast by workers from among the nominated "princesses" (one to a factory) and was awarded a permanent, a manicure, perfume, and similar prizes. Articles during the contest published photographs of the candidates and described their hair and eye color, age (between 17 and 21 years), and popularity with fellow workers.[24]

While the aim of the union contest was to promote working-class togetherness, little evidence suggests that the workers' contest replaced the employer-sponsored beauty contests with their more lucrative prizes. Moreover, none of the names of the ten or so nominees appeared in any political or union context then or later. Activist women

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workers like Lúzia Gonçalves apparently did not take such efforts (which were organized by men) very seriously. Indeed, not a single trade-union or politically active woman in Santo André or São Caetano was ever mentioned in relationship to the contest, which might indicate an informal boycott of what activist women might have viewed as an insulting or "frivolous" activity.

POLICY AND LEADERSHIP IN THE LEFTIST WOMEN'S MOVEMENT IN SÃO PAULO

After World War II, the Communist party and its female leaders, members, and sympathizers created Brazil's first sustained mass organizations of working-class women. Unlike what occurred among radical labor groups in the First Republic, women not only participated actively in major strikes in 1946 and 1947 but created ongoing women's organizations of a kind that were "almost non-existent" before 1930 (Bolsonaro de Moura 1982; Pena 1981).[25] Moreover, the social base of this leftist women's movement differed from that of the women's suffrage movement of the 1920s and 1930s, which was "exclusively composed of women of the middle class and bourgeoisie" (Alves 1980; see also Tabak 1983; Blachman 1976).

Far too little is known about the policies of this radical postwar women's movement or the individuals who founded and led the numerous organizations that created the Federação de Mulheres Brasileiras in 1949 (Saffioti 1976; Leite 1982; Tabak 1983; Montenegro 1981).[26] The movement has been criticized generally for organizing women "primarily around political events, against the high cost of living, and only secondarily, in favor of women's rights" (Saffioti 1976). Women are said to have been mobilized between 1945 and 1950 "not around their position in the family or in society but in terms of political objectives" defined by men (Pena 1981).

Such criticisms, however, risk the danger of historical anachronism in judging the efforts of four decades ago according to the ideas of the feminist "second wave" since the 1960s. Indeed, examination of this postwar ferment provides evidence that these women's organizations were conceived in a broader and more autonomous sense than has been commonly thought. Although these women were far from advancing a feminist critique of sex roles (Leite 1982),[27] they nonetheless represented a profound challenge to prevailing cultural mores and gender ideologies.

The objectives of this movement were set forth in a 1947 inaugural speech to the São Paulo State Assembly by Zuleika Alambert, the leading woman Communist in São Paulo who later served as a longtime member of the PCB Central Committee (Alambert 1980). A twenty-five-

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year-old store clerk in 1947, Alambert hailed from the radical port city of Santos, the only jurisdiction in São Paulo where the Communist presidential candidate came in first in December 1945. Alambert explained that the União de Mulheres Democráticas organized in Santo André and in other São Paulo cities in 1946 were intended to "develop a peaceful but intransigent fight to conquer women's rights in all sectors of human life" and to resolve their vital problems such as carestia and equal pay for equal work (ALESP 1947).

Alambert defined the relationship between working-class men and women exclusively in cooperative terms: women stood "shoulder to shoulder with their companheiros . . . [in] daily struggle." Framed within a context of male-female interdependence among workers, this approach also coincided with aspects of prevailing gender ideology at the mass level. For example, a female salesclerk from Santo André interviewed at a gigantic Prestes rally in São Paulo asserted: "I'm going without lunch to be here . . . and [although I'm pleased with the turnout], I'm even happier because I see so many women, which is to say that the Brazilian woman is at man's side in the fight for our demands."[28]

At the same time, women PCB leaders like Alambert were capable of enunciating a broad and ambitious definition of the responsibilities they sought to assume. Not satisfied with separate women's organizations, Alambert also spoke of women organizing "in their neighborhoods, in women's commissions in cultural and recreational associations, in anti-carestia leagues, in their workplace, [and] in the women's division of their unions. . . ." At this point, however, a male fellow deputy jeeringly interrupted to inquire: "And in cooking schools too?" The same deputy had complained earlier in the speech that "the mouth of a woman is a weapon far worse than firearms" (ALESP 1947).

This expansive jurisdictional definition of women's work seems to have created tensions with some male PCB and labor leaders, especially regarding the demand for separate women's divisions in trade unions. Speaking to a meeting of the local União de Mulheres Democráticas, Santo André's Communist state deputy, Armando Mazzo (a former furniture maker), offered a different definition in which male and female workers joined together in their male-led unions, which in turn engaged in joint struggle with women organized in their own groups.[29]

Analysis of the biographies of leftist women active in Santo André and São Caetano during the period from 1945 to 1948 sheds light not only on leftist ideas and praxis but on the slow process of change in gender ideologies at the individual level. These activists were mainly young working women in their mid-twenties who seized upon the new opportunities of the day more quickly than did their elders. Most were

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single, reflecting the fact that a full political life placed demands on individuals that were hard for married women with children to fulfill—especially when their husband expected meals on time when arriving home from work.

It has also been noted that women workers were often discouraged from participating in trade-union and political activities by disapproval from parents, husbands, or boyfriends. Yet the family did not serve solely as a drag on female political participation (Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina 1985). According to ideology (if not conviction), PCB leaders and many male trade unionists in this period professed to believe in the equality of women and sought to mobilize them in workers' struggles. This approach opened the way for another avenue of recruiting female activists—from among the wives and daughters of militant workers. Indeed, at least five key female activists were wives of worker leaders, and another five were daughters of such families. As Leite noted about the 1980s, "It is hard to find a married woman who is a union activist whose husband is not [also an activist]" (Leite 1982).

Carmen Edwiges Savietto stood at the center of Communist activism and PCB-led women's organization in postwar Santo André. Then in her mid-twenties, this lifelong Communist had been born to a working-class family in the ABC district of Ribeirão Pires, the center of anarchist radicalism among local stonecutters before 1930. Carmen Savietto emerged from a remarkable family of activists. Her father had served as president of the metalworkers' union in Santo André during the difficult years between 1938 and 1942. Augusto Savietto was succeeded in this position first by his son Euclydes (1942–1945) and then by his other son, Víctor Gentil (1945–1947). Euclydes, a teenage enthusiast of Prestes in 1935, received five thousand votes in December 1945 in Santo André and barely missed being elected to serve as a Communist federal deputy (French 1985).

Trained as a bookkeeper, Carmen Savietto became actively involved in the metalworkers' union during the war as a volunteer who kept track of dues payments in an institution without money. Her sister Mercedes served as secretary for the 685-member consumers' cooperative of unionized workers.[30] If family connections aided Carmen Savietto in establishing her credentials, her rise to political prominence within the PCB resulted from her own individual talents and dedication. In mid-1945 she was the only publicly identified speaker at the PCB's first small rally of sixty in Santo André, which tested the apparent legalization of the Communists. Heavily involved in supporting strikes in early 1946, she led many of the women's delegations that visited her brother and other union leaders when they were arrested later in the year.[31]

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Carmen Savietto was also deeply committed to organizing women as women, a task she undertook in October 1945 that led to the founding of the União de Mulheres Democráticas in Santo André in 1946. As UMD president, she experienced her share of police harassment. For example, in August 1946, the vigorously repressive local police chief raided a Vila Guiomar house where a UMD meeting was taking place. While the police were arresting Carmen and the woman of the house, the forty women assembled joined in a shouting match with the police contingent until they were allowed to send a ten-person delegation to accompany the prisoners to the jail. The latter were subsequently released without being charged.[32]

A leader of her cell and a member of the PCB Municipal Committee, Carmen Savietto was the party's official representative in negotiating with the police in May 1947 when they closed six local headquarters after the Communist party was outlawed. Nevertheless, as Santo André's largest single party, the PCB participated actively in the municipal election campaign of November 1947 under a different party label. When Communists won the office of mayor and thirteen of thirty council seats in November 1947, Carmen Savietto was one of only two women on the PCB slate, but she received the fourth-highest number of votes of all the thirty-three PCB nominees.

Carmen Savietto's recognized leadership is suggested by the victory manifesto distributed in the name of the thirteen victorious Communist candidates. She was one of three named signatories along with Armando Mazzo, the former state deputy and newly elected mayor, and Marcos Andreotti, the founding president of the metalworkers' union in the 1930s (French 1985).[33] If the government had allowed the winners to assume office, Carmen Savietto would have been the first woman in the history of Santo André and São Caetano to serve in an elected post.[34]

Despite such accomplishments, it is clear that the rise of outstanding individuals like Alambert and Savietto to PCB leadership and elective office did not take place without resistance. In fact, neither the party nor the labor movement followed a conscious policy of female inclusion in leadership. In December 1945, only two out of thirty-five PCB candidates for federal deputy in São Paulo were women. Again in January 1947, only four of seventy-four PCB candidates for Paulista state deputy were women, including Carmen Savietto and Zuleika Alambert (who was elected *suplente* and served in that capacity).[35] Again, some discontent among women Communists was expressed in this regard. In her speeches in the ABC region, Rio's Communist councilwoman Arcelina Mochel stressed the importance of nominating women for office at all levels.[36]

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CONCLUSION

Scholars in the past have failed to understand the enormous political significance of the exceptional years between 1945 and 1948, which gave birth to the Populist Republic that lasted until the military coup of 1964. The sustained mobilizations that occurred in Brazil's urban-industrial regions unleashed new social forces that included the working class and women and set in motion a series of fundamental changes in the nature of politics and the interests represented in the political arena.

Although women had been formally enfranchised since 1932, few of them, especially in the popular classes, had ever voted prior to 1945. Female interest in politics in the 1940s was unusually high given the larger society's relatively rigid gender roles and patriarchal cultural norms, and this interest thus represented a decisive break with the past. Extensive mass participation during these years led to important changes in popular behavior and mass consciousness. New notions of "rights" emerged; new ideas of what was and was not "acceptable" became widespread; and workers and women came to a new understanding of the ballot, neighborhood organizations, and trade unions as means of advancing their interests.

It is evident that the years between 1945 and 1948 resulted in important breakthroughs for women. Individuals like Carmen Savietto and Zuleika Alambert shattered the prevailing stereotypes of gender and class that had denied women, especially working-class women, active political involvement in the broader world outside the home. The working-class left and its women activists thus made a decisive contribution to defining the terrain, tactics, and forms of urban politics and left an enduring legacy to Brazil's radical, labor, and feminist movements of years to come.

NOTES

1. This analysis focuses exclusively on the factory districts of Santo André and São Caetano, leaving aside the largely nonindustrial município of São Bernardo do Campo.
2. Participation by working-class women in the labor movement has been greatest and most visible at moments of intense class mobilizations such as strikes. Conversely, women have been largely absent from the ongoing organizational activities of the workers movement. On the Brazilian First Republic, see Bolsonaro de Moura (1982); on contemporary Peru, see Barrig (1986); and on Colombia, see Steffen (1978). This widespread pattern of intense yet intermittent participation is not unique to women but rather mirrors in an exaggerated way the ups and downs of male working-class participation as well. Women's diminutive role in union leadership and ongoing labor militancy might be explained as the result of their exclusion by an overwhelmingly male labor leadership. Yet the observations of scholars and activist female workers suggest that such an explanation is too facile (Barrig 1986; Conselho Esta-

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dual da Condição Feminina 1985). Leite has observed this pattern among contemporary São Paulo metalworkers, where only a small group of female activists participates in union affairs, and the same is true of São Bernardo do Campo, according to Gitahy et al. (1982). In explaining the failure of most women to participate, Leite's activist female interviewees cited women's greater fear and passivity in the face of authority. Yet these activists have also emphasized that once women overcome these obstacles, they become "extremely combative and enter into the fight with passion, with an immediate involvement even greater than that of men." This transition occurs most often during peaks of intense working-class mobilization such as mass strikes. In the aftermath, however, women were more likely to quickly abandon systematic trade-union work than were men (Leite 1982).

3. The terms *housewives* and *women workers* suggest a false distinction between women who work and others who do not. As Catherine Taylor has pointed out, this deceptive language merely reflects the distinction between women whose labor inside the home is denied and devalued and those whose labor outside the home is recognized through a formal wage. In this essay, we will nonetheless use the term *housewife* in order to avoid unnecessary confusion.
4. Marxist views of the "woman question" have been decisively transformed since the late 1960s. In his 1970 book, Brazilian Communist leader Moisés Vinhas still judged women workers largely in terms of what they did and did not contribute to the male working class. Although aware of their special situation and potential contribution, Vinhas characterized women as "carriers of conservative ideas and habits" within the working class (Vinhas 1970). This definition of the working class as male, with only a secondary role played by women, has been vigorously challenged in the last two decades even within the PCB. See the self-critical 1977 PCB resolution on women in Nogueira (1980). See Souza-Lobo and Higgs (1983) for a critique of the invisibility of women in the earlier sociological discourse on Brazilian workers.
5. The prevailing gender ideology among workers in Santo André and São Caetano nevertheless represented an important advance over the profound gender inequalities prevailing in the rural areas from which these workers had migrated. See Blachman (1976) for a summary of the relevant findings of five studies of rural communities in São Paulo. As has been demonstrated in Puerto Rico, proletarianization and urbanization indeed contribute to "the breakdown of patriarchy" (see Safa 1986).
6. Voting was finally made obligatory for all Brazilian women, including housewives, in 1965 (Blachman 1976).
7. In making her case, Pena points out that the initial 1940 minimum-wage decree allowed a 10 percent discount for women and children, allegedly to compensate employers for the extra costs of required protective measures. But this feature was revoked as unconstitutional in the 1943 labor code (Pena 1981).
8. Interview with Augusto Savietto, president of the Santo André metalworkers' union, *Diário do Grande ABC*, 11 Nov. 1979; also see the warm tribute to the law and to Getúlio Vargas by Angelina Jerônimo in Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina (1985). For a later period, see Smith (1988).
9. Private communication from Asunción Lavrin to John French, 13 May 1987.
10. See "Centenas de Mulheres de Santo André Dirigem-se ao Prefeito," *Hoje*, 28 Aug. 1946; "O Pão e o Leite Estão Envenenando," *Hoje*, 3 Sept. 1946; and "São Caetano Não Recebe Oleo Nem Açúcar," *Hoje*, 14 Sept. 1946.
11. "As Mulheres de Santo André Participarão Ativamenta das Eleições," *Hoje*, 21 Oct. 1947. For biographical information on Arcelina Mochel, see Montenegro (1981). Teresa Veccia kindly provided me with this citation.
12. "Santo André, Comité Democrático de Vila Guiomar," *Hoje*, 10 Dec. 1945; "Congratula-se com a Sociedade Amigos da Cidade o Comité Democrático de São Caetano," *Hoje*, 23 Jan. 1946; and "Comité Democrático Progressista de São Caetano," *Hoje*, 28 Dec. 1945.
13. "Grande Comício Pró-Constituinte Realizou-se Dia 24 em Santo André," *Hoje*, 28 Oct. 1945; "Noticiário Geral dos Comités Democráticos," *Hoje*, 22 Feb. 1946; "O Povo de São Caetano contra a Carta de 37," *Hoje*, 27 Feb. 1946; "Voltarão a Circular Mais

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Dois Subúrbios para Santo André," *Hoje*, 7 Mar. 1946; "O Povo de São Caetano Pede a Revogação do Ato Concessão de Serviço de Aguas no Munícipio," *Hoje*, 18 Mar. 1946; "O 'Dia de Tiradentes' Condignamente Comemorado em Santo André," *Hoje*, 23 Apr. 1946; and "S. Caetano Comemorou o Aniversário de Castro Alves," *Hoje*, 21 Mar. 1947.

14. "Greve Pacífica dos Operários de Cia. Brasileira de Metalúrgia e Mineração," *Hoje*, 18 Feb. 1946.
15. "Atitude Louvável da Cia. Fichet & Schwartz," *Hoje*, 19 Feb. 1946.
16. "Unidos, os Tecelões de S. André Levantam Suas Reivindicações," *Hoje*, 18 Mar. 1947; "Vão ao Dessídio [sic] Coletivo 10 Mil Operários de 25 Fábricas de Tecidos de Santo André," *Hoje*, 19 Mar. 1947; "Os Donos da 'Rhodiaseta' Mandaram Parar as Máquinas," *Hoje*, 22 Mar. 1947; and "A Intransigência da 'Rodiaseta' [sic] Impede a Solução Conciliatória do Dissídio," *Hoje*, 25 Mar. 1947.
17. In discussing the First Republic, Bolsonaro notes that adult male workers and the organizations that represented them, many of which enrolled women, often assumed this stance as "defenders of the interests of woman, minors, and children." This tendency was especially pronounced when championing such groups involved "the defense of their own interests" as understood by male workers (Bolsonaro de Moura 1982).
18. Interview with Marcos Andreotti, 21 Sept. 1982, Santo André.
19. The proposition that gender dynamics in labor organizations are influenced by the proportion of women in the total work force can be tested empirically. Male labor leaders in overwhelmingly male industries might be expected to display less sensitivity to such issues than male leaders of predominantly female industries. As proof, consider the example of the autoworkers of São Bernardo do Campo, an industry where women comprised only 9 percent of the total work force. Although their militant union leaders created special initiatives to mobilize women metalworkers in 1978, the union newspaper explicitly and repeatedly defined such efforts as a means of "reinforcing the men's struggle" against employers (Gitahy et al. 1982). Indeed, the vigorous masculinity of union president Luis Inácio "Lula" da Silva undoubtedly contributed to his initial popularity among male autoworkers. See the remarkable 1978 interview with "Lula" on machismo, family, abortion, birth control, and feminism in Silva (1981, 234–42). Lula's views have evolved considerably since then, however.
20. "Movimentada a Assembléia dos Trabalhadores da Firestone," *Hoje*, 8 Feb. 1946.
21. "Os Alunos de Felinto Defendem a Causa dos Patrões," *Hoje*, 9 Feb. 1946.
22. "Protestam os Grevistas da Swift do Brasil S.A.," *Hoje*, 7 Mar. 1946.
23. "Homenagem de Santo André ao Proletariado e Povo Santista," Hoje, 12 Feb. 1946; "Solucionada a Greve dos Trabalhadores de 'Rhodia,'" *Hoje*, 20 Feb. 1946; "Divertem-se os Grevistas da Swift," *Hoje*, 26 Feb. 1946; and "Trabalhadores de Santo André em Visita de Cordialidade aos Seus Companheiros de Santos," *Hoje*, 3 Sept. 1946.
24. "Santo André Tambem Terá Sua Rainha dos Trabalhadores," *Hoje*, 26 Mar. 1946; "Foi Realizada Domingo a Primeira Apuração do Concurso 'Rainha dos Trabalhadores de Santo André,'" *Hoje*, 13 Apr. 1946; "A 'Rainha dos Trabalhadores de S. Paulo de 1946' Vai Ser Homenageada pelo Trabalhador de Santo André," *Hoje*, 19 July 1946; and "Concurso 'Rainha dos Trabalhadores de Santo André de 1946' Desperta Grande Interesse o Certame de Santo André," *Hoje*, 6 June 1947.
25. For profiles of radical female activists of that era, see Cândido (1980) and Correia (1986).
26. For a profile of one important post–World War II activist, see Miranda (1980).
27. Challenging the ideology of traditional sex roles was not a priority of the leftist women's movement after 1945. As Pena points out, the Communist's major challenge to patriarchal mores stemmed from their unsuccessful advocacy of legalized divorce during the Constituent Assembly in 1946 (Pena 1981). Divorce was an extremely touchy issue in this overwhelmingly Catholic society, and the PCB's position favoring divorce was not emphasized by the female party leaders like Alambert or Savietto in São Paulo.

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28. "São Paulo Unido Aclamou Prestes," *Hoje*, 24 Apr. 1946.
29. "Centenas de Mulheres de Santo André Dirigem-se ao Prefeito," *Hoje*, 28 Aug. 1946. No ABC trade unions at this time maintained separate women's divisions, although such divisions subsequently flourished in the Paulista labor movement in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The female proponents of women's divisions at that time justified them with the argument that women could be mobilized most successfully in different ways than men were (Conselho Estadual da Condição Feminina 1985). Creating separate women's divisions in unions remains a controversial idea and was rejected as divisive at the 1978 Congress of Women Metalworkers of São Bernardo do Campo. On this meeting and the ensuing controversy, see Leite (1982), Rainho and Bargas (1983), and Gitahy et al. (1982).
30. See Prefeitura Municipal de Santo André, or PMSA, Processo 6567/46.
31. "Comício Comunista," *Borda do Campo*, 15 July 1945; "Visitou os Trabalhadores Santistas uma Comissão de Mulheres do Município de Santo André," *Hoje*, 27 June 1946; and "As Mulheres de Santo André Solidárias com os Trabalhadores Presos," *Hoje*, 19 July 1946.
32. "Quis Implantar a Ditadura Fascista em Santo André," *Hoje*, 13 Aug. 1946.
33. Tribunal Regional Eleitoral de São Paulo (TRE SP), Processo 6254/174 (1947).
34. After World War II, the ABC region also produced a very different kind of successful female political leader: the populist Tereza Delta, who was elected mayor of São Bernardo do Campo and later as state deputy (see French 1988a).
35. The PCB's poor record of nominating women should be placed in the larger context of the extremely small number of female nominees for office in postwar Brazil. Blachman and Toscano both report that only 18 women ran for federal deputy in 1945 out of 950, and none were elected. Estimates for 1947 vary between 8 and 17 women among the 1464 candidates for state assembly posts nationwide, with either 9 or 5 having been elected (Blachman 1976; Tabak and Toscano 1982).
36. See TRE SP, Processos 8A (1945) and 8B (1946); and "As Mulheres de Santo André Participarão Ativamente das Eleições," *Hoje*, 21 Oct. 1947.

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