

Above: Cover of *Realidade* magazine, January 1967, special edition on women, confiscated by the military government. Below: *Cláudia* magazine, launched in 1961.



Gender, Women, and Literary Journalism Studies: A Brazilian Perspective

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Abstract: This study discusses gender, particularly from within the field of women's studies, from the perspective of Brazilian literary journalism studies. It traces the origins of the literary journalism field in the country, especially under Portuguese and French influences. It also suggests the paradox of a large scientific community like the Brazilian not having an expressive voice in the scenario of global journalism research because of factors that include a language bottleneck. The analysis points to the presence of pioneer Brazilian female journalists and journalism researchers, who, for ideological and/or cultural reasons, were ignored or ostracized by historiographies. It also discusses the pillars of Brazilian literary journalism through the viewpoint of gender, arguing that, based on recent studies, there is a need to conduct more in-depth research to establish the relations of literary journalism and gender based on the approaches of other fields of knowledge, namely, anthropology, sociology, and psychology.

Keywords: literary journalism – Brazilian literary journalism – gender – women's studies – life stories

*Sempre chega a hora em que descobrimos
que sabíamos muito mais do que antes julgávamos.*

(The time comes when we find out
we knew much more than we had thought before.)

— José Saramago (1922–2010),
Portuguese writer, *Ensaio sobre a Lucidez*

Eu quase que nada não sei. Mas desconfio de muita coisa.

(I almost do not know anything. But I suspect a lot.)

— Guimarães Rosa (1908–1967),
Brazilian writer, *Grande Sertão Veredas*

All over the world, historians have worked hard to establish the diverse histories of literary journalism.¹ The situation is not different in Brazil, where some researchers, such as Edvaldo Pereira Lima,² have been devoting themselves since the 1990s to consolidate the foundations of this field of study, which John S. Bak argues is consistent enough to be considered a discipline, that is, a field of study with international recognition and institutional support from university administrators, scholars, associations and learned societies, governmental and private funding agencies, as well as journals and publishing houses.³ Before moving ahead with the argument that gender relations is a pivotal issue to Brazilian literary journalism studies, there are three brief points of discussion that are needed to help clarify the foundations of the field in Brazil.

The first point is related to the late start of the press in Brazil in relation to that of the press in the Spanish colonies in Latin America. From the start, the Brazilian press was inspired, as was the Portuguese, by the British and French press.⁴ However, printing presses were authorized for import to the then-Portuguese colony only in 1808, when the Lusitanian court arrived, successfully fleeing from the Napoleonic invasion of Portugal.⁵ The delay in the availability of printing presses, in contrast with the Spanish colonies, also affected the establishment of the schools of journalism. The first, Faculdade Casper Líbero in São Paulo, dates back to only 1947. The strong French influence on the press was also reflected in academia itself. Since its founding in 1934, the University of São Paulo was home to a group of French intellectuals from different disciplines, such as French anthropologist and ethnologist Claude Lévi-Strauss (1908–2009) and sociologist and anthropologist Roger Bastide (1898–1974). This European influence began to wane with the advent of World War II, when the United States gradually increased its economic and

cultural presence in Brazil, especially via its media and cultural industries.⁶

The second point is related to the consequences of the late start of journalism research in Brazil. Some national researchers see the 1963 founding of Instituto de Ciências da Informação (Institute of Information Sciences), or Inciform, by the journalist and professor Luiz Beltrão (1918–1986), as the watershed in the history of theoretical research in Brazilian journalism.⁷ The first research project at the country's first journalism school, Faculdade Casper Líbero, was a comparative study of five weekly magazines—Brazil's *Manchete* and the international publications, *Paris Match*, *l'Europe*, *Stern*, and *Life*. Directed by José Marques de Melo and published in 1968, the study reflects the influence of the emerging influences of mass communication theory and its methodological approaches on journalism studies that were coming out of the United States and Canada.⁸

However, research in journalism as a field began consistently in Brazil only in the early 1970s, after several small steps. There was an earlier, innovative research proposal submitted in 1964 through the University of Brasília's embryonic Faculty of Mass Communication, but it was aborted when a U.S.-backed military government was installed in April of the same year. The University of São Paulo's School of Communications and Arts, which was founded in 1967, offered the first master's program, the Sciences of Communication Graduate Program, in 1972. The first doctoral thesis in journalism—about the sociocultural factors that delayed the establishment of the press in Brazil, which, as mentioned, occurred only in 1808—was presented in 1973.⁹

The 1964 coup d'état disrupted the consolidation of the Faculty of Mass Communication at University of Brasília and constrained the activities of the faculty of the School of Communications and Arts at the University of São Paulo. It also cooled acceptance of the U.S.-based mass communication theory and methods approach to communication research and journalism studies because of ideology: the support the United States gave to the local military government. One of the results was that it swayed Brazilian scholars to look once again to French and other European and Latin American intelligentsia for inspiration and methodology. The military dictatorship lasted until 1985 and greatly affected the nature of scholarship over that two-decade span. Most of the nation's first scholars in journalism studies were directed in their master's theses and doctoral dissertations by literature professors, not journalism professors. As such, the research conducted during this period reflected the Frankfurt School and its theoretical approaches. It was a scholarly way to resist the non-democratically imposed regime and, especially, Brazilian conglomerate media. The scholars' antagonism toward U.S. imperialistic

policy led to a politically biased attitude against U.S. methodological approaches in this field, in particular, its mass media quantitative, empirical, and functionalist approaches.¹⁰

There was also a receptivity to the theoretical and methodological approaches proposed by Russian and German thinkers, especially in the field of semiotics.¹¹ This openness extended to Latin American researchers as well, who, moving away from U.S. perspectives on mass media research, conducted studies from the perspective of local problems. The researchers were focused on local social transformation, stressing the use of specific methodologies, such as ethnography¹² and participant observation, to collect data about audiences and media practices.¹³ This can be seen in the works of Argentinian anthropologist Néstor García Canclini¹⁴ and Colombian philosopher and anthropologist Jesús Martín-Barbero,¹⁵ who focused on understanding popular movements and media participation in the construction of the citizenship process. The result was the emergence of solid Brazilian research labs devoted to the study of community media, among other forms.

This background is important for bringing to light the invisible roots of literary journalism studies in Brazil. In the 1990s, there was a timid and non-continuous effort on the part of Brazilian researchers to establish solid collaborations with international research teams. Most of the studies conducted in Brazil tended to focus on the disciplinary frontiers when analyzing pieces—is it journalism or literature?—not on the notion of journalism *as* literature as proposed by the IALJS.

The Language Bottleneck: Portuguese

The Portuguese poet Luís Vaz de Camões (1524–1580), author of the epic *Os Lusíadas* (*The Lusiad*), probably represents for the Portuguese language what the English bard William Shakespeare (1564–1616) signifies for English. Actual ranking depends on the source used but, in general, Portuguese is considered one of the ten most spoken languages in the world. The so-called lusophone world is present in Europe, Africa, South America, and Southeast Asia. Figures may vary according to the source, but Portuguese is spoken daily by approximately 250 million up to 279 million people, considering the Portuguese-speaking, world-wide diaspora.¹⁶ The last Brazilian census records some 210,147,125 people.¹⁷ Therefore an estimated three out of every four speakers are from Brazil. Portuguese is the official language not only in Portugal and Brazil, but also in Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, São Tomé and Príncipe, and East Timor.

Despite the importance of the Portuguese language in the world, this special issue on Portuguese literary journalism is being produced in English,

because it is the current academic *lingua franca*. This synthesizes the challenge to the lusophone community of researchers in the field, shared by many other countries: the language barrier. It is a complex topic, for it is not only a matter of *corpora*, of costs to get quality translations, but essentially of mindsets, that is, theoretical and methodological differences in approaches.

One of the positive aspects of the shared Portuguese language is the common link it provides between the Brazilian and the larger, world-wide Portuguese academic communities of researchers,¹⁸ for they have never ceased their interaction and influence. Brazil and Portugal might be described as two nations divided by the same language, as British and American English speakers are, meaning they have their own language identity, despite the Portuguese New Orthographic Agreement that came into effect in 2009, which rules the standardization of the spelling of words among Portuguese-speaking countries. However, perhaps because Brazil's gaining its independence in 1822 was, according to some contemporary historians,¹⁹ more a father and son issue rather than a bloody revolution as happened in some Spanish colonies, the relationship between the two countries has been, to some extent, cordial since the return of the royal court to Portugal in 1821. This is reflected in the strong tradition of research collaboration between Portuguese and Brazilian scholars.

This common ground and the fact that the Portuguese—together with the African and Native Peoples—formed the first three pillars of Brazilian culture have enabled Brazil and Portugal to have a close relationship. Because of the familiarity with culture and language, a substantially large number of Brazilian researchers have done their post-doctoral studies in Portugal. However, publishing Portuguese and Brazilian researchers' work in Portuguese is a disadvantage for academics of both nationalities because it is then seldom read in anglophone and Spanish-speaking countries.

While a mother tongue unifies Brazilians throughout the nation's vast 8,515,767.049 square kilometers, an expanse which makes Brazil the largest country in the Southern Hemisphere and the fifth largest in the world,²⁰ it also divides and even isolates Brazilian citizens on two separate fronts.

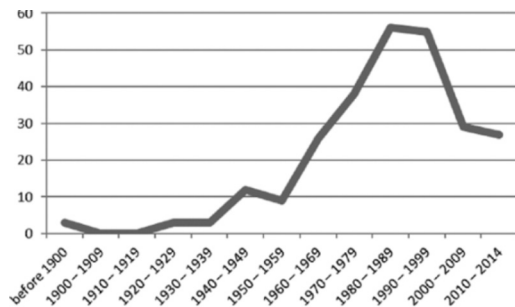
The first front concerns Brazil's ten neighbors, which include seven Spanish-speaking countries (Argentina, Bolivia, Colombia, Paraguay, Peru, Uruguay, and Venezuela). Because of its rich and varied phonetics, the Portuguese language is nearly unintelligible to hispanophones, while most Portuguese speakers can understand Spanish reasonably well.²¹ Communication among South American nations has thus become essentially unilateral, even though Brazil's 207 million people account for nearly half of the continent's entire population.²² To speak and to compete on an international stage, Brazil is be-

ing forced to adopt a foreign language, and, like many rising world powers, it has chosen English.

The second front, however, deals precisely with the nation's newly adopted *lingua franca*. Like its four BRICS companions (Russia, India, China, South Africa), Brazil has historically had a checkered past with the English language. But unlike India, for example, where English is one of the country's eighteen official languages, Brazil continues to struggle to even accept English on a national level. On the one hand, the country today boasts of educating one of the largest numbers of nonnative English students in the world. A survey conducted in 2011 by Anísio Teixeira Research and the Studies for Education Institute (INEP) estimates that fifty-seven million students attending primary and secondary public educational systems in Brazil are learning English. However, because the teaching of English in Brazilian public schools is not standardized, it is difficult to implement evaluation processes at the national level.²³ As a result, each Brazilian's knowledge of English is in direct relation to his or her educational opportunities, meaning that, in Brazil, only 5.1 percent of the population aged sixteen and over can claim to have some actual knowledge of the English language.²⁴

Research has shown that over a period of 108 years (1886–1994), only 165 works of eighty Brazilian authors (see Figure 1) were translated into English, comprising novels, memoirs, diaries, biographies, short stories, poetry, plays, and essays, such as Gilberto Freyre's classic 1933 study of Brazilian culture, *Casa grande e senzala* (*The Masters and the Slaves: A Study of the Development of Brazilian Civilization*).²⁵ Moreover, Melo's analysis includes only one nonfiction work of literary journalism, Euclides da Cunha's seminal reportage of the nation's civil war, *Os sertões*, published in 1902, with the English translation, *Rebellion in the Backlands*, published in 1944. Apart from the peak translation years of the 1980s and 1990s, which coincide with the 1988 publication of Brazilian author Paulo Coelho's international bestseller, *The*

Figure 1: Number of translations of Brazilian books into English, from Melo's 2017 study.²⁶ The data suggest a growing trend in the translation of Brazilian authors' works, but the total is still a pale representation of the literary journalistic production in the country.



Alchemist, one interesting fact to learn from the line graph is that the number of translations from 2010 through 2014 (twenty-seven) is nearly the same as in the entire previous decade (twenty-nine).

The Methodological Approach

A great many of the discussions in the 2000s on literary journalism in Brazil were about the term itself, suggesting the origins of journalism studies were closely linked to literary studies. Therefore, a consensus is not expected or perhaps even possible to achieve, but the investigation should be open to researchers who want to devote their time to pursue it.²⁷ Eventually, a more fertile approach would be to envisaging literary journalism as a discipline, that is, a field of study with international and institutional support, that might lead to advancement in and expansion of Brazilian literary journalism studies.²⁸ Achieving this goal might include the recovery of lost texts for the literary journalism canon. In other words, in order to see the big picture required for fruitful debate of this field in Brazil, it will be necessary to survey researchers working on these projects—as well as to discover the range of academic disciplines in which research on this phenomenon is occurring.

In matters of textual analysis, literary journalism studies in Brazil inherit the methodologies of literary as well as of journalism studies and include discourse analysis, content analysis, and narrative analysis. All three are linked to French traditions, again presenting evidence of the strong bonds that unite both academic communities. Examples are Rogério Borges's study, which uses discourse analysis,²⁹ and Martinez and Pessoni's screening of the communication field as a whole, which found French researcher Laurence Bardin's—in a Portuguese and not Brazilian translation—to be the most used content analysis approach.³⁰ These methodological approaches are evidence of the essayistic tradition used in the field, although a slight increase in more empirical-leaning approaches—employing methods such as content analysis, for example—is gaining traction. It may also suggest the ongoing impact on the communication field of the ideological issue, as a consistent portion of its researchers perceive themselves or claim to be related to left-wing parties, therefore following a Latin American tradition of doing politically left-wing-engaged research.

Founders of Brazilian Literary Journalism Studies and Gender Studies

The first corpus of primary texts on which Brazilian literary journalism studies was founded in the 1990s consisted of four bodies of literature:

- (1) Theoretical discussions about the nature of literary journalism in its interface with literature,³¹ with some works confronting the point, “journalism that is literature”³²;

(2) Panoramic perspectives of the field, establishing its landmarks³³;

(3) Literary journalism pioneers, such as the journalist, short-story writer, and playwright João Paulo Emílio Cristóvão dos Santos Coelho Barreto (1881–1921), known as João do Rio.³⁴ Above all, studies on Euclides da Cunha, who covered the Canudos's 1897 insurrection for the newspaper *O Estado de S.Paulo*. Cunha used surplus material (mostly the reports not printed by the daily) to write *Os Sertões*,³⁵ which was published in Portuguese, in 1902, then translated and published in English as *Rebellion in the Backlands* in 1944.³⁶

(4) Studies about historic publications, such as *Revista Realidade*,³⁷ still considered the Brazilian *New Yorker*, particularly the 1966–68 period, known as its golden years, that is, immediately before the military dictatorship issued AI5, the decree that suspended the constitutional guarantees and resulted in the institutionalization of torture as a state tool, including the torture of journalists.

The literature that provides this brief background of the founding of the field has two specific characteristics in the Brazilian case. First, most references used in past studies are from books. As a result, more recent studies published in academic journals are sometimes left out of scholarly research. This is slowly changing as a result of the internationalization process taking place in graduate program policies instituted by Brazilian governmental agencies such as Capes (Coordenação de Aperfeiçoamento de Pessoal de Nível Superior). Capes is linked to the Brazilian Ministry of Education, which regulates private, community, and government universities; and under these several influences, scholars are increasingly becoming aware of the need to include the more current research that is available in scholarly journals.

A second characteristic is that the history of literary journalism in Brazil is narrated predominantly by male voices. This suggests inequality of gender and a possible gender bias in this history. There is substantial evidence that women had an important presence in nineteenth-century Brazilian journalism. They wrote for newspapers and magazines and belonged to diverse fields of knowledge, social classes, and regions. One of the reasons for the creation of journals during this period was the struggle for the right to female education, for access to male-dominated professions and, later, to win the right to vote. Nevertheless, ignored by journalistic and literary historiographies, most of these pioneers—especially free-spirited women who were fighting for gender rights and divorce causes—have been condemned to oblivion.³⁸ Buitoni stresses in her seminal work that until the mid-twentieth century, journalism by women could be reduced to the three Cs: *casa, cozinha, coração* (home,

kitchen, heart).³⁹ The ideological and cultural connotations of the three Cs indicated the limits of the private spheres of life.

From the 1950s on, university-educated female journalists started their careers in Brazilian newsrooms, following the flux of sociopolitical and economic changes, including the processes of urbanization and technical modernization of the press. Nonetheless, the modest move was not yet a conscious movement towards gender equality. Ramos notes that when she started to work in a newspaper in 1952, there were no more than thirty female journalists active in the São Paulo press, most of them working for stereotypical feminine magazines, writing social columns or soft stories.⁴⁰ Until the 1970s, Brazilian journalism was far from being considered a suitable environment for “good girls,” due to the bohemian atmosphere around it,⁴¹ including foul language—insults, regardless of the gender of the reporter, were cried out through the newsrooms when someone did something the editor considered foolish.⁴² However, the harsh environment did not stop pioneers like Carmen da Silva, who, in 1963, at *Cláudia*, the first women’s magazine of Abril Publishers, was assigned the column, The Art of Being a Woman (a title she hated). She made it a resounding success, talking about relationships, female orgasm, and abuse of male authority, among other taboo topics.⁴³

Revista *Realidade*’s Special Edition

Only four years later, the flowering of sociocultural advancements in Brazil was clearly stopped. Revista *Realidade*’s special edition on women, *A mulher brasileira, hoje* (Brazilian women today), published in January 1967, was confiscated upon arrival in newsstands by the military government on the grounds that its content was not appropriate (See frontispiece photo). If this magazine’s coverlines were analyzed now, a half century later, they might be considered naïve. The first issue, “Pesquisa: o que elas pensam e querem” (Survey: what women think and want), and second, “Confissões de uma moça livre” (Confessions of a free young lady), suggest an approach towards sex that conservative military society would have considered offensive. The third issue’s coverlines, “Ciência: o corpo feminino” (Science: the feminine body), and fourth, “Eu me orgulho de ser mãe solteira” (I am proud to be a single mother), would also break a taboo. In the 1960s, Brazilian society in general—and particularly the middle class, the social group targeted by the magazine—was conservative and would not consider the idea of extramarital offspring appropriate. The fifth coverline, “Por que a mulher é superior” (Why women are superior), suggested that being able to give birth makes women naturally superior to men. All of the other coverlines suggest reports related to women’s rights claims, that is, the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century

movements focused on legal issues, such as the power to decide what to do with one's own body.⁴⁴ Finally, the sixth coverline, "Assista a um parto até o fim" (Watch a birth from start to finish), goes back to the biological/scientific explanation of the body viewed as in opposition to the religious perspective, that the woman's body and consequent behavior were supposed to be chaste and, therefore, kept within private spaces and spouse's eyes.⁴⁵ This set of coverlines evidences the sociocultural, regressive tidal wave Brazilian literary journalism faced in the 1960s, as compared with previous years in Brazil and the United States, where topics such as women's rights, birth control, and sex were being openly discussed in journalistic publications. Even today, in 2020, despite cultural production related to major cultural events such as Carnival,⁴⁶ Brazilian social customs are more conservative than the images of the country usually represented abroad.

This Marlboro land of men found in newsrooms is somehow reproduced in journalism studies, where male scholars are cited in historical studies as founding fathers of the field.⁴⁷ The founding mothers are usually excluded. Again, the omission reflects the relative invisibility of female researchers such as Adísia Sá, Cremilda Medina, Lucia Santaella, Sonia Virgínia Moreira, and Zélia Leal Aduirni, despite the important output of their work.⁴⁸ An in-depth review of the role of female scholars in journalism studies, including in literary journalism, is still to be conducted.

The same opaque phenomenon that haunts female journalists and journalism researchers is also observed when considering the discussion of gender and Brazilian literary journalism. Despite solid work, such as the several studies conducted by Biroli, Miguel, and Veiga,⁴⁹ there are still gaps to be filled. A recent study of the holdings in the Brazilian Journalism Research Association database, with more than 1,500 papers delivered at its annual conference since 2004, shows only seven instances of the keyword *gender*, with the number reduced to five in the period covered by the analysis, 2010–14. Only one paper is connected to the strong tradition of gender studies produced in the country in other fields of knowledge, such as anthropology and psychology.⁵⁰

A recent comparative study on Brazilian journalism, for which data were collected using rigorous protocols among 144 male and female journalists from four Brazilian cities (Rio de Janeiro, Brasília, Juiz de Fora, and Vitória), also highlights current perceptions of professionals towards gender. The findings give strong evidence that the gender variable is not currently included in studies of the field. Nonetheless, the qualitative analysis suggests useful findings, one of which is that, despite sociocultural changes, Brazilian women might be ghettoizing themselves. Some male respondents reported believing females undersell and limit themselves in various ways, although

the men admit women are more educated, hardworking, and efficient than men are. Notwithstanding equality concerns, sexist narratives still emerge in workplaces,⁵¹ as part of the perception that men are more suited to perform activities such as covering hard news, for example.

The Feminization of the Field

In the introductory essay of the 2015 *Literary Studies Journal* special edition devoted to women and literary journalism, Leonora Flis endorsed Barbara Ehrenreich's point of view that the transformation of the journalism business model is the problem, not sexism.⁵² Yes, and no, and, above all, in the Brazilian case, it depends.

This statement might be limited to the conception of journalism as a space of work, that is, as a profession. In relation to that, it can be said that the post-1990s period in Brazil, because of economic liberalization and other social processes, advanced the feminization of the Brazilian press and corresponding research. And here the reference to the phenomenon is limited to indicate an increase in the number of women in the profession. It is important to remember that technology has both radically changed newsrooms and created new opportunities for women, empowering them and transforming gender relations.⁵³ In the Brazilian case, according to demographic characteristics, there were by the second decade of the twenty-first century more women than men in the newsrooms, 63.7 percent, based on data from Jacques Mick and Samuel Lima's 2012 study, which is the best known Brazilian study on the issue. Mick and Lima found that only 8.7 percent of women have incomes higher than the incomes of people working in ten minimum-wage jobs (around US\$2,700).⁵⁴ However, a more recent, international study, the Worlds of Journalism Study, released in 2018, shows different results in relation to gender equality in Brazilian newsrooms. Conducted with simple random sampling and convenience sample—a non-probability method for which the sample is taken from a group of people easy to contact or to reach—of 376 working journalists, the findings paradoxically show a gender balance: 50.8 percent are men and 49.2 percent are women, “an outcome that is nonetheless surprising, as during the last two decades the image of newsrooms as spaces of an ever-growing female presence was common.” In addition, the findings show the typical Brazilian journalist is young, on average 34.68 years old, and only 11.7 percent of journalists are over fifty years old.⁵⁵

Education has always been a hot issue in Brazil. For forty years (1969–2009), a university degree was mandatory in order to work in a newsroom. Although that is no longer required, of the 376 journalists interviewed by investigators in the World of Journalism Study, 271, that is, 72.1 percent, have

a university degree.⁵⁶ This means more than seven out of ten journalists hold a bachelor's degree either in journalism or in other areas, "14.2 percent have obtained a master's, and 1.6 percent have completed a doctorate. Another 5.1 percent undertook some university studies but did not complete their degrees."⁵⁷ These findings follow the national statistics. In Brazil, women present a higher level of education than men, but 60.9 percent of management positions (public or private) are occupied by men.⁵⁸

The fact is that, despite the different findings of the studies, the increase in the participation of women in the journalistic work market occurs in a context of journalism market precariousness,⁵⁹ which can be hypothesized as occurring in the literary journalism and journalism research fields as well. Traditional journalism, as it was known until the end of the 1990s as a profession and a way of living, has been to a great extent transformed by the emergence of digital technologies—as suggested by Ehrenreich. As a result, some journalistic practices, such as the use of search engines, have changed greatly over the last five years. Brazilian journalists are keenly aware that their profession is in a state of flux.⁶⁰ In the *Worlds of Journalism Study*, 76.1 percent of respondents pointed to a strong deterioration of working conditions in the profession, reporting an increase in their average working hours, the rise of social media, user-generated content, and audience feedback and involvement in news production. "Two-thirds of Brazilian journalists also reported an increase for market-related influences, such as profit making pressures, audience research, competition, pressure toward sensational news, and advertising considerations."⁶¹ On the other hand, "ethical standards and journalism education were the two sources of influence that had weakened significantly over the years."⁶² This suggests, by extension, that the same phenomena affecting Brazilian journalism are occurring in Brazilian literary journalism studies, causing an overload of work and pressures on professionals in both fields, which is still to be investigated further.

Therefore, specifically in the Brazilian case, a hypothesis can be defended that the journalism business model transformation is the problem, but sexism might also be a contributing factor. Perhaps the most impressive data to support the existence of sexism in the country is the fact that Brazilian women devote almost twice the amount of time, on average, to home care than do men (20.9 hours per week versus 11.1 hours per week⁶³). These data might corroborate evidence of the predominance of masculine mentality on news making,⁶⁴ including the presence of a glass ceiling, the invisible barrier that prevents women from reaching the top of the hierarchy and participating in decision-making processes. In Brazil, a country most known for images associated with Carnival, sexism still today seems to be a whispered, not an openly talked about issue.

It is not simply about who is doing the dishes tonight. Miguel and Biroli note that there are primarily three resources necessary to join public/political activities: financial resources, free time, and a network.⁶⁵ The lack of free time associated with an inequitable domestic workload, along with less access to economic resources, directly results in less female presence in public spheres.⁶⁶ An alarming report is that the number of Brazilian households headed by women jumped from 23 percent to 40 percent between 1995 and 2015.⁶⁷ These data certainly evidence the entry of Brazilian women into the labor market. But 49.3 percent of these families are headed by a woman alone, without a spouse—meaning both less free time and fewer financial resources. Putting these data together with the cultural tradition of women being engaged only in private spheres,⁶⁸ may help explain why, despite the existence of a minimum quota (30 percent) of candidacies of each sex in elections established by law in 2017, women were only 10.5 percent of the federal deputies in office—the lowest in South America, while the world average of deputies is 23.6 percent.⁶⁹ At this pace, the political sphere in Brazil might remain a naturalized space for men in years to come.

However, if journalism, in addition to being a space of work, is also considered a historical and collective construction, based on permanencies and changes,⁷⁰ the discussion can be extended to other layers of complexity,⁷¹ including the female journalist and researcher. The argument, then, is not simply about a journalistic *écriture féminine*, as correctly pointed out by Isabelle Meuret, when she discusses female war correspondents in the Spanish Civil War.⁷² That is, women writing. It is about layers of representations, including identity, culture, history, and power, among others, which permeate the interface between gender and literary journalism studies.

Considerations and the Need for Further Studies

So far, literary journalism studies may have focused too much on literary techniques and not enough on establishing dialogues with important disciplines, such as anthropology, cultural studies, economics, history, and political areas where gender studies are based. Despite the growth in Brazilian literary journalism field research,⁷³ Brazilian studies are still not present in the dialogue, due possibly to the language bottleneck, for only a small portion of the national Brazilian journalistic-literary corpus of writings is available to the international scholarly community.

On the issue of gender equity, the predominance of men long found in the newsrooms is somehow reproduced in literary journalism studies, where male scholars are cited in the historical studies as the founding fathers of the field—reflecting to a certain extent the invisibility of the *founding mothers*.

As is true of female journalists, female journalism researchers are cited far less than men. Nonetheless, a comprehensive review of the role of female researchers in journalism studies, including literary journalism, is still to be conducted in Brazil.

Despite the gloomy state of the Brazilian scene, some of the journalists—and probably journalism researchers as well—even choose to look at the bright side. In a recent interview, Brazilian war correspondent Patrícia Campos Mello said that being a female reporter:

helps more than it disturbs, for I pass more easily through check points and can get into places men journalists can't, like inside the people's houses, so *machismo* itself works in my favor. However, it is true we have limitations, for there are some places I will not be allowed to go alone without the presence of a man, as once in Libya, when I interviewed soldiers fighting against the fundamentalist state.⁷⁴

Integrating literary journalism studies, by using a transdisciplinary approach, and thereby linking this area of study to the gender studies field—with its relationships to anthropological, cultural, economic, historical, ideological, and political spheres—might be easier said than done, especially in Latin American countries such as Brazil. However, this in-depth perspective might generate a sort of a Kintsugi effect—the Japanese art of repairing broken pottery with lacquer mixed with powdered gold. The philosophical attempt is to include the breakage as part of the history of the object, and therefore the repair makes the piece even more beautiful and unique than when it was not damaged.

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Notes

- ¹ Sims, *True Stories*; Hartsock, *History of American Literary Journalism*; Thérenty, *La Littérature au Quotidien*; among others.
- ² Lima, *Páginas Ampliadas*.
- ³ Bak, introduction to *Literary Journalism across the Globe*, 18–19.
- ⁴ Soares, “Literary Journalism’s Magnetic Pull,” 118–33.
- ⁵ Martinez, “Literary Journalism: Conceptual Review, History and New Perspectives,” 21–36.
- ⁶ Queiróz, “Roger Bastide, Professor da Universidade de São Paulo,” 215–20; Melo, Rahde, and Beatriz, *Memórias das Ciências da Comunicação no Brasil*, 11–15.
- ⁷ Melo, “Quem Sabe, Faz a Hora,” 198.
- ⁸ Martinez, “Meio Século de Pesquisa Sobre Revistas Segmentadas” [Half a century of research on segmented magazines], 1:191–204. See also Melo, *Jornalismo semanal ilustrado*, in which his description of North American influences includes U.S. and Canadian scholars and the seminal work of Marshall McLuhan, among others.
- ⁹ Melo, *Fatores Sócio-Culturais Que Retardaram a Implantação da Imprensa no Brasil* [Socio-cultural factors that delayed the deployment of the press in Brazil].
- ¹⁰ Lima, “Breve Roteiro Histórico ao Campo de Estudo da Comunicação no Brasil” [Brief historical roadmap to the field of study of communication in Brazil], 21–53.
- ¹¹ Baitello, “Semiótica da Cultura: Busca de uma Visão Sistemática,” 87–89.
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- ¹⁶ Martins, “Ciências da Comunicação e Mundo Lusófono,” 11; see also, Laguna, *Global Impact of the Portuguese Language*.
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- ¹⁹ Schwarcz and Starling, *Brasil: Uma Biografia*.
- ²⁰ IBGE, “Brazilian Territory Area.”
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- ²² IBGE, “População,” tabelas.
- ²³ British Council, *O Ensino de Inglês na Educação Pública Brasileira*, 7.
- ²⁴ British Council, *Demandas de Aprendizagem de Inglês no Brasil*, 7.
- ²⁵ Melo, “Mapping Brazilian Literature Translated into English,” 1–37; Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* [*Casa grande e senzala*].
- ²⁶ Melo, “Mapping Brazilian Literature Translated into English,” 27.
- ²⁷ Hartsock, *Literary Journalism and the Aesthetics of Experience*, 1–8.
- ²⁸ Bak, introduction, 1–20.

- ²⁹ Borges, *Jornalismo Literário: Teoria e Análise*.
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- ³¹ Costa, *Pena de Aluguel*; Pena, *Jornalismo Literário*; Castro and Galeno, *Jornalismo e Literatura*, Castro, *Jornalismo Literário: Uma Introdução*.
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- ³³ Lima, *Páginas Ampliadas*.
- ³⁴ Rio, *Religions in Rio/As Religiões no Rio, Bilingual Edition*; Rio, *Vertiginous Life*.
- ³⁵ See Cunha, *Rebellion in the Backlands [Os Sertões]*.
- ³⁶ Martinez, "Literary Journalism: Conceptual Review, History and New Perspectives," 26.
- ³⁷ Faro, *Revista Realidade 1966–1968*; Moraes, *Leituras da Revista Realidade, 1966–1968*.
- ³⁸ Muzart, "Uma Espiada na Imprensa das Mulheres no Século XIX," 225–33.
- ³⁹ Buitoni, *Mulher de Papel*, 135–36.
- ⁴⁰ Ramos, *Mulheres Jornalistas*, 16.
- ⁴¹ Gudupaty et al., "Gender: Towards Equality?" 107.
- ⁴² Ramos, *Mulheres Jornalistas*, 22.
- ⁴³ Buitoni, *Mulher de Papel*, 94–95.
- ⁴⁴ Martinez, Lago, and Lago, "Estudos de Gênero na Pesquisa em Jornalismo no Brasil: Uma Tênuê Relação," 3.
- ⁴⁵ Priore, *História do Amor no Brasil*, 24.
- ⁴⁶ The most popular holiday in Brazil, Carnival is a mixture of Christian and afro-descendent traditions, where one can be free to live life not as a burden and/or punishment. Matta, *O Que Faz do Brasil, Brasil?* 49.
- ⁴⁷ Park, "A Notícia Como Forma de Conhecimento," 168–85.
- ⁴⁸ Melo and Assis, *Valquírias Midiáticas*. The authors provide profiles of seven women researchers, pioneers in the field of communication in Brazil, 19–41.
- ⁴⁹ Biroli, "Gênero e Política no Noticiário das Revistas Semanais Brasileiras," 269–99; Miguel and Biroli, *Caleidoscópio Convexo*; Veiga, *Masculino, o Gênero do Jornalismo*; Veiga, "Gênero: Um Ingrediente Distintivo Nas Rotinas Produtivas do Jornalismo," 490–505.
- ⁵⁰ Martinez, Lago, and Lago, "Gender Studies in Brazilian Journalism Research, A Tenuous Relationship"; Martinez, Lago, and Lago, "Estudos de Gênero na Pesquisa em Jornalismo no Brasil, uma Tênuê Relação."
- ⁵¹ Gudupaty et al., "Gender: Towards Equality?" 19.
- ⁵² Flis, "On Recognition of Quality Writing," 8; see also Dow and Flis, "An Interview with Barbara Ehrenreich," 146–58.
- ⁵³ Gudupaty et al., 109.
- ⁵⁴ Mick and Lima, *Perfil do Jornalista Brasileiro*, 47.
- ⁵⁵ Moreira, "Journalists in Brazil," 1.
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- ⁵⁸ IBGE, *Estatísticas de Gênero: Indicadores Sociais das Mulheres no Brasil*, table.
- ⁵⁹ Paulino, Nonato, and Grohmann, *As Mudanças no Mundo do Trabalho do Jornalista* [The journalist as audience and worker], 4.
- ⁶⁰ Moreira, “Journalists in Brazil,” 1; see also Moreira and Alonso, “Journalists in Newsrooms,” 304–17.
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- ⁶⁴ Veiga, *Masculino, o Gênero do Jornalismo*, 4.
- ⁶⁵ Miguel and Biroli, *Caleidoscópio Convexo*, 95.
- ⁶⁶ Miguel and Biroli, 95.
- ⁶⁷ Cavenaghi and Lopes, *Mulheres Chefes de Família No Brasil*, 74.
- ⁶⁸ Tabak and Toscano, *Mulher e Política*, 319–21.
- ⁶⁹ IBGE, *Estatísticas de Gênero*, table 1.
- ⁷⁰ Ruellan and Le Cam, *Emotions de Journalistes*, 5.
- ⁷¹ Morin, “O Pensamento Complexo, Um Pensamento Que Pensa,” 199–213.
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- ⁷³ Hanc, Lewis, and Martinez, “Essentials of the Craft.”
- ⁷⁴ Mello, interview by Monica Martinez, undated.

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