

In the last years everybody started speaking about women. But the most important is that women have started to speak about themselves. And <sup>they did so</sup> ~~this~~ in such a way, with such intensity, in so many different instances (from the local level to the international forum), that a qualitative leap in the condition of women has taken place.

Indeed, let us not be fooled - when we are speaking of the contemporary women's movement, we are facing one of the most important social movements in this century <sup>which has nothing to do with the</sup> ~~and far away from the~~ simple insatisfaction of bourgeois middle-class women.

Such a movement is at the convergence of many factors. We will look at the most obvious ones.

First of all, there is among women a new awareness - we realize that, as women, we constitute a well-differentiated group in society.

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In sociological terms, we can go further and say that women form a "bio-social" class. (Of course, we understand the concept of "class" as encompassing more than the <sup>opposition</sup> ~~division~~ between <sup>different</sup> ~~different~~ social groups created by the process of production in the beginning of industrialization). Such a class is a social formation determined by cultural features linked to biological conditions as well as by socio-economic structures.

The biological definition of women assumed, century by century, as an inferiority, <sup>and</sup> considered as such in law and behaviour, <sup>is at the root</sup> of their specific situation of civic minority, of social and economic exploitation.

Though these features appear as <sup>common to other</sup> ~~communitary~~ groups <sup>they are</sup> ~~giving~~ a new emphasis ~~of women~~ by their biological basis. Let us see how: <sup>in the case of the social</sup> ~~groups~~ <sup>formed by</sup> ~~women~~.

Because of their capacity for <sup>procreation</sup> ~~reproduction~~, women are reduced to a second class status of citizenship and consigned to the mere condition of housewife.

This is such a <sup>seen as</sup> link <sup>strong</sup> that ~~as fact~~ <sup>to be</sup> being a house-wife, that is, <sup>to be</sup> being involved in the process of procreation and reproduction, becomes an *ersatz* for the participation in the whole system of production, may it be of services or of goods, in the whole of society.

Because women are taken ~~by the making of~~ <sup>by the building-up of the</sup> infrastructures of daily existence, <sup>and</sup> by the continuous care for the well-being of people, <sup>They</sup> see themselves reduced to the bottom of the professional scale, earning the lowest salaries and <sup>almost</sup> movable to the top of the ladder. <sup>the may ask: is this situation</sup> Again, ~~what is in them~~ connected with their procreation

role? <sup>yes, indeed.</sup> A certain affinity for concern ~~for others~~ and care for others, ~~as self~~ <sup>flowing from their capacity for procreation</sup> is used by the mechanism of society in order to keep them where men don't want to be.

*They are merely a reserve of manpower in the ~~the world of~~ labour market.*

Because women, in their image, assimilate themselves to this biological function and <sup>conformed</sup> <sup>without questioning</sup> to the established standards, <sup>too easily</sup> their social status is in fact affected in all societies, <sup>preventing</sup> <sup>defending</sup> them from the possibility to play a role in society as a whole and to change ~~this~~ society by a new contribution.

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For the quick reader, these different aspects ~~are~~ connected with the possibility of women to procreate ~~and~~ may appear only as a "narrow" in relation to other groups. It can be said that other groups are confined to the house-hold, that other groups are affected to <sup>menial tasks,</sup> the ~~lowest~~ scales of ~~professional life,~~ that other groups are ~~much~~ marginal in relation to the whole of society. However, in the condition of women, something ~~xxxxxx~~ very special appears. Because all this happens at once, we are somehow beyond the sound-barrier. The accumulation of so many different factors constitutes <sup>what we call</sup> a qualitative leap. <sup>It leads us to</sup> That's why we can say that women are the most under-privileged group of <sup>man-kind.</sup> ~~society as a whole.~~

Therefore, it's not a surprise that, in the last ten years, an increasing wave of discontent, discouragement, <sup>and</sup> ~~if not~~ rebellion, has emerged amongst women. Often, this takes only the form of a vague <sup>and uncomfortable</sup> awareness of their oppressive condition and of <sup>the variety</sup> ~~of~~ the different levels at which this oppression takes place. ~~More important,~~ <sup>and</sup> as a result of this personal awareness, we are facing the collective discovery made by women of their own strength as a group, ~~and~~ <sup>this</sup> is undoubtedly a new sociological trend, ~~as we are facing a new social movement.~~

<sup>Such a</sup> This social movement doesn't come out of a sudden awareness <sup>realized</sup> by women and in total independence <sup>from</sup> other movements in society. ~~No.~~ In fact, <sup>it is just the opposite,</sup> ~~it is the~~ last of the successive <sup>waves</sup> of conquest for self-determination and for <sup>human</sup> ~~women~~ rights which has gone through all the discrimination + oppression of <sup>the</sup> exploited groups in mankind. We have seen first (and we are still seeing) the working classes fighting against the oppression of <sup>those who buy their</sup> ~~which they are~~ victims and this, apparently, in all kinds of societies, ~~if they are specially~~

The w's movement is the labour in order to make profit for themselves.

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~~In the principles of some social and economic structures they have nevertheless present as a question of status in all types of societies.~~  
 We have seen the colonized peoples <sup>coming up</sup> at once ~~working~~ against <sup>those who deprived them of fundamental rights, of raw</sup> the oppression of ~~which they were the victims.~~ They fight for independence, <sup>materials, of and</sup> ~~for~~ liberation, first on the political level and then on the social economic and cultural level is still <sup>a fact of today.</sup> ~~too much present in our minds~~

materials, of and fundamental identity.

Last but not least, we are seeing young people <sup>also</sup> ~~in~~ <sup>some</sup> ~~young~~ continents constitute more than half of the population) fighting ..... (fim da fita)

+ 3a/3b/3c

We want to be able to contribute to the building-up of an utopia which may not be far away in the horizon to be attained only in several generations time, but which will transform today our concrete life. We know that we have in ourselves energies that have never ~~been~~ played a real part in the global development of history, and we are firmly aware that when that field

will be possible to happen certainly the very course of history will  
be changed;

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what's right and what it's good for them. (Of course society needs them as an element in the chain of reproduction.) <sup>Neither did</sup> The first wave of feminism ~~did not abolish either~~ the subjection of women to legal norms of domination. The ~~Mexico~~ conference of 75 - International women's year - has shown very clearly that practically all societies still have in their laws some <sup>subtle</sup> ~~subtle~~ distinctions by which women are kept at the second level of citizenship - and if not the letter of the law at least its spirit as the practical behavior is totally different from the liberal approach ~~the laws convey~~. What shall we say about this first feminism then? Was it <sup>un</sup>necessary? No, on the contrary. The first feminism was a necessary landmark in the evolution of the condition of women. However, it ~~merely~~ <sup>merely</sup> brought women to the ~~threshold~~ <sup>threshold</sup> of ~~human~~ <sup>human</sup> dignity and social participation.

A second wave of feminism had necessarily to come about by the ~~mis~~ <sup>almost universal</sup> realization of the rather ~~incomplete~~ <sup>incomplete</sup> stage of the first wave of feminism. So, it moved gradually to social rights: ~~of the equality of wages, of the possibility of returning to the work~~ <sup>life</sup> ~~after women link to the household choice, were free from the education of children, of social security, of health-care, of collective equipment, at the service of the family, children, patients and elderly people.~~ <sup>bringing up the</sup> ~~(All these needs are fields answered by women's effort)~~ <sup>new measures of</sup> Such a feminism was not a popular movement at first. It developed itself mainly at the level of the highly technical and cultural ~~structure~~ <sup>structure</sup> among the women's population whose instruments of analysis allowed them to recognize the ~~failure~~ of the first stage of feminism in the overall situation of women. That's why in the second feminism equality is not a solution and to ~~try to attain the~~ <sup>same</sup> ~~oppressive~~ <sup>as the oppressor</sup> situation is clearly seen as a way of perpetuating the status quo. ~~It is when~~ <sup>it</sup> Women realized collectively that their liberation is not to be equated with the situation of men as it is now. ~~It is then that we can say that a new social movement has indeed begun.~~ ~~And begun with~~ <sup>it</sup> ~~its~~ ~~all~~ ~~consequences,~~ ~~that is, is~~ <sup>able</sup> to transform itself into a political vector and to acquire gradually the political ideology which may ~~bring~~ <sup>enable</sup> it to have a truly and serious contribution to society in ~~its~~ ~~evolution.~~ It cannot be ignored however that ~~in the~~ <sup>trend</sup> towards its full ~~embodiment~~ <sup>embodiment</sup> in political life, such social movement, such wave, finds in women themselves a tremendous ~~hindrance,~~ <sup>hindrance,</sup>

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Ability

and to which they have to conform.

It's true that <sup>and are</sup> women were involved in all these fights and they are <sup>in what remains</sup> still operative ~~and~~ a working class ~~is~~ struggle <sup>has the many facets of</sup> in the movement for total independence of the new nations, <sup>in the</sup> different waves of the <sup>in</sup> counter-culture. However, for those <sup>women</sup> who are more lucid about their own situation, <sup>it is clear</sup> they realize that their commitment in those fights common to all mankind don't liberate them from their specific oppressions. They realize <sup>that they continue to be dominated,</sup> the country that colonized and kept <sup>under</sup> a guardianship. In a way, they are repeating <sup>in</sup> their own lives the three stages of the groups with which or within which they were working. It is through these different steps that we can say that we come to the greatest social movement of self-determination in history. Some may call it the fight against sexism, <sup>others</sup> some may reduce it to its <sup>most</sup> ~~most~~ <sup>specific</sup> practical expression, namely the women's liberation movements. Some of us speak about neo-feminism or the new left, whatever it may be. What is important is the realization that <sup>it</sup> is an irreversible movement ~~which is~~ in pace with the other social movements of our century.

and whatever their degree of personal achievement

A question may come to our minds: what do we mean when we say our collective effort? <sup>to reflect about its meaning.</sup> Maybe it's not ~~as~~ important <sup>to reflect about its meaning.</sup> to ~~highlight~~ it. Let's not forget that feminism ~~had~~ already two significant movements in this century.

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The feminism of the beginning of the century was born of industrialization and claimed for equality of political and ~~economic~~ civic rights for women. In fact women <sup>also</sup> worked <sup>14</sup> hours ~~per~~ a day, were put ~~at~~ the lowest and most difficult jobs in industry, realized that if they were good for producing <sup>from</sup> <sup>steps</sup> a step in the economic chain they should as well have a possibility to participate in political life. However, the voting right has not brought automatically <sup>the</sup> social right of being eligible for public functions. It's amazing to see: how fifty years <sup>after</sup> the first wave of feminism women are still a surprise in many political <sup>arena</sup> or even when it's a question to discuss <sup>of</sup> highly technical matters.

— and this, regardless of the political regime in which women are living.

It's true also that ~~the~~ first <sup>the</sup> age of feminism didn't bring with it the right to choose <sup>the</sup> freely what kind of life women like to lead ~~or to be~~ <sup>able to choose in</sup> partnership her own husbands <sup>if a choice could</sup> ~~be~~ marriage. In fact, women are somehow carried on by society towards <sup>an ideal</sup> of marriage without a possibility to think for themselves <sup>what</sup> <sup>has the only way</sup>

Most women

We can say that such <sup>a</sup> current is ~~by~~ <sup>by</sup> women themselves, are alienated by the values and tasks of the so-called womanhood, which was ~~designed~~ <sup>conceived for</sup> by men and ~~made possible~~ <sup>idolized</sup> by men ~~and in a way even by~~ <sup>the society man created</sup>.

the <sup>great</sup> ~~tremendous~~ <sup>But is also</sup> change has taken place. Many studies have shown that ~~this~~ <sup>the</sup> image of womanhood was conveyed by very wide <sup>spread</sup> literature which propagate itself to the less privileged layers of ~~women~~ <sup>society's</sup> and gradually that image of womanhood was going to clash with the problems the ~~most~~ <sup>most</sup> intellectual strata ~~had~~ <sup>are</sup> been identifying and denouncing ~~by a~~ <sup>by a</sup> change which in some countries was very well planned and determined. This literature ~~was finally met~~ <sup>invaded</sup> by the introduction of full ~~documents~~ <sup>documents</sup> regarding some fundamental questions. <sup>concerning</sup> The most important problems the more sophisticated women were ~~evolving~~ <sup>developing</sup>. Thus, if we follow the analysis of the anthropology <sup>at Edgar Morin, we have</sup> it is the fusion between the wide-wave and the shock-wave. ~~that~~ <sup>as</sup> Feminism <sup>at</sup> the shock-wave acquires in the contact with womanhood a concrete, existential and human language. Reciprocally, womanhood in contact with feminism acquires ~~weapons~~ <sup>weapons</sup>, begins to discover the specificity of its ~~battle~~ <sup>battle</sup> fields. When this fusion takes place or whenever ~~the~~ <sup>such a</sup> possibility appears, a new political force ~~breaks~~ <sup>breaks</sup> through: ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> women's force coming from their solidarity among themselves. ~~For~~ <sup>For</sup> the enthusiasm we put in our own personal and collective liberation. Our concern is not about only our own reality as a human person, ~~herself~~ <sup>herself</sup> as a complete being, winning over the ancestral determinings of society. We do not want ~~our~~ <sup>our</sup> force kept as a secret, kept ~~s segregated~~ <sup>s segregated</sup> in the world as if we were putting ourselves against men. We certainly wish that all barriers of class, age, race, nationality, ideology, may ~~fall~~ <sup>fall</sup> ~~it~~ <sup>between</sup> in women. And if that happens, we can say that political project embodied in the solidarity of women carries profound subversion of society as it touched the very foundations of each society.

be most common

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How can we say that? <sup>let us</sup> just say ~~if~~ <sup>if</sup> a few things.

by society ~~than~~ <sup>than</sup> by the State, we believe more in the free organization of people than in institutions, we play with the dinamism of the provisional against the well established . We accept the impulse of intuitions and feelings as the antidote of a racionalization which has become ~~too~~ <sup>too</sup> humanized and too logical to be capable to govern our world. We ~~bel~~ <sup>bel</sup> that the particular and the punctual are the very ~~fabrics~~ <sup>fabrics</sup> in which society is generating itself. We reject with our total being the ~~myths~~ <sup>myths</sup> of the political life and all its

rituals and lithurgâes as we <sup>see them</sup> all history is there to show all  
its own ~~w~~ ineffectiveness. We laugh about short-terms, medium-terms,  
long-terms plans because so very sudden have they been in  
simple things as food,

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