



Putting Women in their Place: Contributions to a
Portuguese Historiography of Geography (1955 to
1974)

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Abstract

This thesis examines the relationship between gender and the production of geographical knowledge. It provides a critical analysis of women's positions within Portuguese Geography from 1955 to 1974, a time when Salazar's dictatorship sought to impose severe restrictions on women's horizons.

The originality of this work relies not only on the time frame under scrutiny but also in the fact that a work of this kind has never previously been attempted. In the Portuguese geographical context, contrary to its Anglo-American counterpart, feminist historiography is not a well-established field. As such, this study not only intends to incorporate women into the history of the discipline, making it more inclusive, but also to contribute to a growing interest and expansion of the field in Portugal.

Mixed qualitative methods were employed in this study. (1) Eleven Portuguese women geographers were interviewed, in each case through sustained and successive meetings, which took time to explore their experiences in depth. (2) Sustained archival research was conducted in Lisbon, Oporto and Coimbra. (3) Published textual material, by and about Portuguese women geographers, was systematically collated and analysed.

This study addresses the history of the discipline, questions of gender, patriarchy and women's positionality through the lenses of critical postcolonial and feminist geographies. It establishes the need to introduce feminist perspectives into scholarship and teaching about histories of geographical knowledge. It contributes to a new chapter in the history of Portuguese Geography and a larger awareness of other voices in the geographical panorama.

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“Appreciation can make a day, even change a life. Your willingness to put it into words is all that is necessary.” — Margaret Cousins

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Chapter 1

Introduction

“Make visible what, without you, might perhaps have never been seen” (Robert Bresson)

During my undergraduate studies, I often wondered what my place in Geography was and should be. Only towards the end of the degree, and in the discipline of cultural geography, taught by a woman, did I come into contact with some texts on gender geography and the role of women in the production of geographical knowledge – particularly Anglo-American geographers – that seemed to correspond to many of my concerns. I decided to venture into the development of a master’s degree in this area, a work that allowed me to perceive what was happening beyond Portuguese Geography, regarding the role of women who do geographical research and work in an academic environment. It was through this that I thought maybe I could find myself as a geographer.

This course of research quickly projected me into the history of the production of geographical knowledge in Portugal and the relationship between the past and the present in academia. In a leap, I went from the democratic period in which I live, with many Geography degrees highly populated by women (professors and students), to the moment of the first doctorate in Geography by a woman (1955) in the period of the Portuguese dictatorship, in which, by contrast, there were few Geography degrees (three in contrast to five nowadays) and few women working in academia despite the higher number of women students (based on the data from *Anuários da Universidade de Lisboa (1933–1983)* and *Anuários da Universidade de Coimbra (s.d.–1976)*).

The powerful legacy of Portuguese fascism in countless aspects of contemporary society that until this point was not evident to me – a woman geographer born in 1986 – began to become increasingly clear. It soon became apparent that this legacy was essential for the construction of my identity as a geographer, which interestingly would be radically different from most of the Portuguese women geographers who were until then producing geographical knowledge. Their academic work made reference mostly to men, and their approaches, lectures and seminars were no different from those of their male colleagues.

From that point on, some fundamental concepts became clear to me: (a) that traditions as a process of representation of the past are also a complex process of power relations, a practice of inclusion and exclusion (Rose, 1995) defining the insiders and outsiders of geographical

tradition; (b) women's absence from histories of geographical tradition is perceived as a deliberate omission or neglect, where "only part of that tradition is remembered and recorded in the official histories of the discipline, in so doing, Geography loses part of its history" (Domosh, 1991:95), upholding a position of distance and authority between men and women; and (c) with the persistent erasure of women "the construction of geographical traditions might better be described as the construction of Geography's paternal lines of descent" (Rose, 1995:414) where men were legitimised as the founders and builders of geographical knowledge, leaving no space for women.

The history of women as producers of geographical knowledge, despite the effort of Anglo-American geographers to cultivate it, is still an emerging subject of research in many countries. In Portuguese Geography, this field of work has scarcely been developed and has not followed international trends in Geography. As such, this study has as its foundation and source of inspiration Maddrell's work (2009) *Complex Locations: Women's Geographical Work in the UK 1850–1970*, without compromising the originality of the study: the social and historical context in which it developed – Salazar's dictatorship.

The paternal lines of descent of geographical knowledge and of the history of Geography leave out other stories that helped to develop the discipline, such as women's geographical work. In Portuguese Geography, this silence is evident in the way its history was written, where studies about the founding fathers of the discipline thrive. This is exemplified in the articles and books concerning the life of the three most prominent male Portuguese geographers.

About Amorim Girão (University of Coimbra), the articles "A geografia portuguesa em 1929 na correspondência entre Amorim Girão e Gonzalo de Reparaz Ruiz" (Garcia and Mendizàbal Riera, 2017) and "Amorim Girão, geógrafo" (Oliveira, 1994), among others, refer to his life as a geographer and his correspondence with a Spanish geographer about Portuguese Geography in 1920.

In relation to Fernandes Martins (University of Coimbra), the articles "Alfredo Fernandes Martins" (Ribeiro, 1982) and "Fernandes Martins, o Professor" (Moreira, 1982) present a brief biography and a tribute to the geographer.

Orlando Ribeiro (University of Lisbon) has had several articles and books written about his life and contributions to the discipline, as well as tributes, such as "Homenagem a Orlando Ribeiro" (Amaral, 1981); "Orlando Ribeiro (1911–1997): O mundo à sua procura" (Garcia, 1998) and "O espólio científico do Professor Orlando Ribeiro" (Daveau, 2008). Furthermore, several exhibitions have been displayed at the University of Lisbon, University of Coimbra and in the National Library to celebrate these men's lives and work.

However, when it comes to the lives and work of women in Portuguese Geography, the scholarship amounts to one master's thesis about the work of Raquel Soeiro de Brito (Rodrigues, 2011) and one book edited in 2017 by the Portuguese Geographers Association: *Geografia e geógrafos: Episódios de uma vida de geógrafa* about Raquel Soeiro Brito. Rose (1995:414) argues that by erasing women from the history of the discipline, we are also erasing “the practice of exclusion itself. Their complete invisibility makes the practice of their exclusion vanish.” Therefore, women's place in the history of the discipline cannot be disregarded, and a more critical review of the history of Portuguese Geography is necessary: a topic that I gave attention to in my master's thesis (Rodrigues, 2011) before expanding it in this study.

To present the history and contributions of women, it is necessary to acknowledge the gender difference in the production of geographical knowledge and think of Geography as a multiple space. By broadening our definition of Geography, it is possible, according to Rose (1995), to articulate boundaries, distinctions and disjunctures instead of erasing them, and acknowledge that the process of exclusion is as intrinsic as that of inclusion.

To develop a situated knowledge, we need to understand the social and historical contexts of geographical knowledge, questioning what the history of the discipline would be if women were not omitted, and reflecting on how women's experience and knowledge can be included in the canon. The solution is to reveal the persistent erasure of women and highlight their involvement, difference and multiple voices through the narratives of the development of feminist geography and the recovery of women's history based on their autobiographical testimonies (Women and Geography Study Group, 2014). Stoddart (1991:485) affirms that “there is of course a history to be written of the contribution of women to the emergence and development of Geography as a formal academic discipline”.

The intention of this study is precisely to record the contribution of Portuguese women to the development of the discipline, but also to show how women were neglected, omitted or erased from Portuguese Geography, focusing on the relationship between gender and the production of geographical knowledge. Although I am aware that women high school teachers and other women are also producers and reproducers of knowledge, the study of women geography teachers in Portuguese schools would be beyond the scope of this particular project, in terms of time and feasibility. As such, this study will have as its main focus the production of geographical knowledge by academic Portuguese women geographers. Nonetheless, the specific topic of female teachers is a possible follow-on topic for me or other researchers.

Therefore, I will provide a critical analysis of women's history in Portuguese university Geography. To accomplishing this aim, the social, cultural and political context that contributed

to the invisibility of women in society and, as a consequence, in academia as producers of knowledge cannot be dismissed. Understanding how historical changes shape, effect and modify hegemonic positions and gender systems will allow me to deconstruct the vision of fragility, domesticity and submission of Portuguese women and affirm the embodied subject of difference.

Women must be fully recognised in the history of the discipline as producers of knowledge, and their work regarded as worthy of being studied and analysed in its context of production and reception, combined with the historical context and gender relations surrounding them. There is a great need to address issues of gender and expand this “poor field” in Portuguese Geography in order to expose the male-dominated production of “official” geographical knowledge in this context, destabilise mainstream representations in Portuguese geographical academia and identify hitherto-unacknowledged contributions by women; for example in travel writing and “unofficial” geographies. Bringing attention to this subject also promises to speak to broader, international debates about gender and historiographies of geographical knowledge.

1.1. Portuguese Context

This research is focused on the production of geographical knowledge by Portuguese women geographers from 1955 to 1974, while the Estado Novo dictatorship was in place. I chose this specific time frame for two reasons:

1st – 1955 was a milestone for women in Portuguese Geography: Raquel Soeiro de Brito was the first woman to be awarded a PhD in Geography.

2nd – 1974 was the year that marked the end of the Estado Novo dictatorship.

However, to ensure comprehension of the importance of this period, it is necessary to explain the social and political circumstances of the time. The next section will present the general Portuguese historical context of this period.

Portuguese Historical Context

The first decades of the twentieth century in Portugal were a time of great political instability: from the fall of the monarchy to the establishment of the First Republic on 5th October 1910 (with women managing to have a small but active role in society), until the

military revolution in 1929 and the introduction of Salazar’s regime in 1933.

From this moment on, Portuguese society faced several economic and social changes. Through the use of propaganda to appeal to national sentiment and achieve full power by psychological control of the masses – “totalitarian movements aim and succeed in organizing masses – not classes” (Arendt, 2012:358) – Salazar’s regime (also known as Estado Novo) held sway over the people. As a totalitarian, authoritarian, corporative and repressive regime built and supported by the cult of the leader, it demanded “total, unrestricted, unconditional, and unalterable loyalty of the individual member” (Arendt, 2012:373), consolidating power and dominating all of society’s structures.

Date	Event
3 rd October 1910	Republican Revolution
5 th October 1910	End of Portuguese monarchy and establishment of First Republic
28 th May 1926	National Revolution – military dictatorship
19 th April 1933	Establishment of Estado Novo – Salazar dictatorship
15 th March 1961	Beginning of Portuguese Colonial War
25 th April 1974	Carnation Revolution – democracy

Table 1: Main events in Portugal

Source: Made by the author

In power for 41 years, the regime has been characterised as “the filter of particular cultural, political, social, economic, mental realities (...) it was historically identical in nature, but a nationally differentiated phenomenon concerning other european fascist regimes of that period. This was reflected (...) in the ideological specificities of his regenerating project and the new type of ‘man’, that it was intended to shape” (Rosas, 2001:1032). To conquer souls and regenerate the nation, Salazar constructed a discourse of women’s subordination that was meant to empower them as mothers of the Portuguese race and provide moral support to the family.

However, the discourse did not become practice, since numerous women worked as nurses and teachers, the only type of work allowed by the state as it was maternal, caring and educational. Women were still imprisoned in a strong patriarchal power relationship to serve the nation.

In 1970, with Salazar’s death, the regime started to lose its grip, facing several protests

by students and unions demanding freedom and equality in society. The country's internal problems were exacerbated by the global issues of decolonisation and political reorganisation, and to maintain the Portuguese empire, a vast programme of geographical research missions to Portugal's overseas provinces was initiated by the regime.

In April 1974, with the Carnation Revolution, the regime was defeated, and democracy was restored in Portugal.

Developments in Portuguese Academic Geography

In the 1930s, Salazar's regime invoked a myth of an imperial and heroic Portugal to justify the enormous investment needed to carry out several geographical and colonial missions, in an attempt to maintain Portugal's overseas colonies. The geographical and scientific research into these colonies was only possible through a scientific body (Board of Colonial Missions), which greatly contributed for 30 years (1945–1974) to the expansion of geographical knowledge in Portugal.

Of extreme importance in this process was the work of Orlando Ribeiro, founder of the Geographical School of Lisbon in 1943. For Ribeiro, the lack of a colonial line of research called into question Portugal's scientific development. For this reason, in 1946, he started several research programmes focusing on Portuguese colonial Geography. However, the scientific reasons "that advise us to keep and develop our studies inside this broad horizon of tropical curiosities" (Ribeiro, 1949:14) relied on the same underpinning concept as the regime: national prestige. Ribeiro's main purpose was to "bring our contribution to the general problems of these regions and so, too, we do speak of a reason of national prestige" (Ribeiro, 1949:14).

Nonetheless, the two quests for prestige could not be more different. While the regime's quest was for military, political and ideological prestige, Ribeiro wanted to develop Portuguese Geography, to take it to another level: he was searching for scientific prestige. As João Garcia (Ribeiro's disciple) showed, Ribeiro managed to have a privileged position within academia without being censored by the regime due to "the early scientific recognition (...) that made it possible for him to have a particular place in the university environment of Estado Novo. Ribeiro was never a man of the regime, on the contrary. He has always criticized it, both publicly and particularly in reports on administrative or educational reforms, on colonial problems. Silence was invariably the answer" (Garcia, 1998:155). There was evidently a strong relationship of respect between the regime and Ribeiro due to his reputation, which gave him the freedom to continue the studies he deemed necessary for the development of his discipline.

Ribeiro, with the support of a team that included Francisco Tenreiro, Ilídio do Amaral, Mariano Feio and Raquel Soeiro de Brito, from the Geographical School of Lisbon, and Alfredo Fernandes Martins and Lucília Dóris Gouveia, from the Geographical School of Coimbra, managed to put colonial Geography on the scientific and institutional map.

Date	Geographical Research Developments
1932	Geographical Mission of Mozambique
1936	Establishment of the Board of Colonial Missions
	Geographical Mission of Timor
1941	Geographical Mission of Angola
1943	Establishment of the Center of Geographical Studies – University of Lisbon
1946	International Congress of Geography – Lisbon
	Establishment of the Center of Cartography and Colonial Geography
	Geographical Mission to Guinea
1947	Establishment of the Center of Geographical Studies – University of Coimbra
1949	Seminar of the Board of Colonial Investigations
	Orlando Ribeiro presents the article “Problemas da investigação colonial em Portugal” (“Problems of colonial investigation in Portugal”)
1951	Geographical Mission to the Eruption of Island of Fogo (Cape Verde)
1955	Geographical Mission to India
	First PhD in Geography awarded to a woman – Raquel Soeiro de Brito
1958	Scientific Group for the Preparation of Geographers for the Overseas
	Mission of Physical Geography to the South of Angola
1960	Overseas Human and Physical Geography Mission
1965	Production of Portuguese Overseas Provinces Atlas
1971	Production of the Portuguese Overseas Atlas
1973	Production of “Revista Garcia de Orta” – Magazine of Geography
1975	Disintegration of the Board of Colonial Missions

Table 2: Main Developments in Portuguese Geography

Source: Made by the author (based in Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (1983) – Da Comissão de Cartographia (1883) ao Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical (1983) – 100 Anos de História – Lisboa, I.I.C.T.)

1.2. Thesis aims and objectives

The primary aim of this study is to provide a critical analysis of women's history in Portuguese Geography and recognise the hitherto-marginalised female contributions to Geography. It incorporates a study of the lives and contributions to the discipline of the following Portuguese women geographers: Celeste Coelho, Lucília Caetano, Lucília Gouveia, Manuela Malheiro, Maria Alfreda Cruz, Maria Fernanda Alegria, Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva and Teresa Barata Salgueiro, and also the French-Portuguese geographer Suzanne Daveau.

By relying on the story of these women who succeeded during the time period that is the focus of the study, I intend to illuminate women's position in Geography and their contributions to the development of the discipline. This important and neglected chapter in the history of women in Portuguese Geography is a crucial aim of this study. My objectives will be addressed through several key questions related to the practice, significance and representation of women's work in Portuguese Geography.

1. To analyse the relationship between gender and the production of geographical knowledge in the context of dictatorship in Portugal:
 - 1.1 - How were women geographers' lives affected by Salazar's dictatorship?
 - 1.2 - What was the connection between Portuguese Geography and the regime? Did it impact on women's geographical practices?
2. To understand the contributions of women to Portuguese Geography:
 - 2.1 - What contributions have women made to Portuguese academic Geography?
 - 2.2 - Are women visible in the history of Portuguese academic Geography? Why?
3. To acknowledge and examine the existence of women's geographies and knowledge:
 - 3.1 - Did women geographers do things differently? If so, how and why?
 - 3.2 - What obstacles did women encounter?
 - 3.3 - What strategies did they adopt to fight the exclusion of their voices?
4. To contribute to the review of the history of Geography and a feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography:
 - 4.1 - How can feminist research about knowledge production transform ways of doing

Geography?

4.2 - What are the implications of recovering women's histories for the discipline?

1.3. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is divided into nine chapters; with three chapters constituting Part I, two chapters forming Part II, three chapters composing Part III and one final chapter forming Part IV. In Part I, this chapter is devoted to introducing the thesis and the research context. Chapter 2 is the theoretical framework and argues that only by engaging critically with the history of the discipline is it possible to acknowledge different voices and histories within geographical practices, specifically in the case of women. It presents the state of feminist historiography and the studies carried out so far to incorporate gender and women into Anglo-American and Portuguese Geography. Furthermore, I introduce the evolution of feminist geographies to prove how close work between feminist geographies and historiography can be beneficial to a critical revision of the history and development of the discipline. Chapter 3 is devoted to the research design used throughout the thesis, explaining in detail the mixed qualitative methods and outcomes.

Part II draws attention to the historical circumstances of Salazar's regime that defined the life, attitudes and decisions of Portuguese women. Chapter 4 presents the political, social and historical context of Salazar's dictatorship. It acknowledges and describes women's constraints and spaces of gender differentiation – family, church and labour. Furthermore, it explores the life story of Portuguese women geographers, deconstructing by opposition the historical narrative of Portuguese women's submission. Chapter 5 then focuses on Salazar's educational policies towards women. It shows the pivotal role of educational institutions and programmes in spreading gender differentiation messages. Highlighting women's access to education, it presents the different educational accounts and visions of Portuguese women geographers.

Part III is based on the case studies and oral testimony of Portuguese women geographers. Chapter 6 examines the gendered relations of knowledge production in Portuguese Geography to comprehend how gender might have influenced the path and choices of these women. Topics such as social class, women's presence, fieldwork and hurdles for women are acknowledged and critically analysed. Furthermore, it examines the representation and history of the discipline and geographical practices in Portugal to determine the gendered aspect of Portuguese Geography.

Chapter 7 gives a voice to Portuguese women geographers as it relies solely on their testimony about their careers, covering what they consider to be positives, negatives or

challenging, as well as their contributions to the discipline in Portugal. It does not intend to examine or analyse their professional life critically; instead, it allows them to share their perception of how they have assisted the development of Portuguese Geography.

Chapter 8 approaches the distinctiveness of women's scholarship in Portuguese Geography and the conditions that allow feminine production of geographical knowledge, using a critical analysis of their work. Textbooks and articles by four women were selected to investigate the discourses, narratives and context of production implied in their writings.

Part IV presents the conclusion of the study. It brings together the key themes and recommendations (based on previous studies in Anglo-American Geography) of how the research might be applied in Portuguese Geography. Furthermore, it suggests possible changes in the curriculum and geographical canon that can allow the incorporation of gender studies and a feminist historiography of Geography into the discipline.

Chapter 2

Defying hegemonic knowledge production

In this chapter, I show how the intersection between feminist geographies and historiography can critically examine the discipline and incorporate women into the geographical canon as producers of geographical knowledge. The use of literature concerning gender, feminist geographies and historiography of Geography will allow a wider theory of feminist historiography of Geography to be exposed. Following this with a specific focus on feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography and analysis of literature in this area will show what has been done to represent women in the history of the discipline in Portugal.

2.1. Feminist Historiography in Geography

The representation of women in histories of academic Geography, although not completely non-existent, was omitted from histories of Geography, relegating women to a marginal and silent status. In 1969, at the Nordic Research Councils conference, Gerda Lerner stated that “the striking fact about the historiography of women is the general neglect of the subject by historians” (1969:53). Historiography can be described as the history of history, that is “a work of History, a writing of historical nature” (Iglésias, 1972:22–23; my translation) that intends to recover, describe and explain how knowledge has been produced and developed according to contextual, temporal, historical and cultural references, providing a critical analysis of writing history. However, dominant historiographies are often “too narrowly focused (...) ‘great men’” (Iggers, 2005:4), while minimising or ignoring women. Women in the United States and in the United Kingdom have challenged the historical consensus that prioritised men’s achievements over women’s, in order not only to “recover women to history” (Gadol, 1984:809) but to “recover history to women” (Gadol, 1984:809). These women have contested a masculine history that rendered women invisible “because their experiences, activities and spaces were not considered worthy of historical analysis” (Bock, 1989:160). The claim for a new history that did not marginalise “segments of the population previously excluded from historical narratives” (Iggers, 2005:7), like women or black people, brought the question of how historiography could incorporate gender and women’s history. According to Burke (2001:20), the solution is a “‘decentered’ history with a place for other kind of people, the oppressed, subordinate or ‘subaltern’ groups and their points of view”, a necessary rectification of history that can generate a new historiography.

Nowadays, historiography is stressing “the role of ordinary people in making their own

history, both individually and collectively, as participants in the cultural ‘construction’ or ‘invention’ of social entities (...)” (Burke, 2001:20). The inclusion of different perspectives and voices of the unheard creates a history from below, contributing to the correction of mainstream history, with women now represented in histories of academic Geography. Feminist scholars are bringing women’s contributions and experiences to light, re-examining ways of historical writing and informing about women’s historical production and practices. They are doing so by focusing “on how gender shapes the historical production of women and the reception of their work, and how women’s participation in historical production have rendered history an inherently unstable discourse” (Spongberg and Tuite, 2011:675).

According to Tedeschi (2012:9), the “theoretical productions related to the history of women are intimately connected with history renewal itself, (...) concerned again with drawing a path more interested in collectives than individuals, in the evolution of society than institutions, in the costumes than events, in the excluded collectives than the main characters”, challenging the traditional model of historiography and bringing forward the diversity of ideas and intellectual attitudes that shaped knowledge production.

Claval (1964) argued that geographers’ need to know and practice the history of Geography as a tool in critical thought and research, proposing a synthetic view of Geography’s past based on: (i) social conditions, techniques, institutions and diffusion of knowledge; (ii) the way in which knowledge has been transmitted; (iii) the history of a certain scientific society, of the institutions connected with it, of the relations with the neighbouring disciplines which furnish or receive methods and inspirations. Trying to cover all the aspects of geographical knowledge, Claval (1964) refers the need to move beyond a ‘king and queen’ kind of history, a history that acknowledge and gives voice to others who contributed to the history of the discipline. This meant including women in histories of Geography, which had until then neglected women as “producers of knowledge and as subjects of analysis” (Nelson and Seager, 2005:3).

Feminist geographies seek to “‘add women’ to the field, both as producers of knowledge and as subjects of analysis (...)” (Nelson and Seager, 2005:3), with the main goal of giving visibility to women’s lives. As Nelson and Seager (2005:3) argue, due to the growing interest in “real women”, “the earliest feminist geographical work focused on mapping (literally and metaphorically) the spatial constraints facing women”. Over the years, new interests, such as the material realities of women’s lives, the work of women in the global south and the significance of gendered spatial divisions, have been key in broadening and defining field.

Feminist geographers’ agenda also pays close attention to the politics of knowledge, questioning its singularity. Women’s marginalisation has led feminist geographers to challenge

the foundations of geographical knowledge “for its failure to adequately incorporate women as “subjects of research and for the lack of women in the profession” (Valentine, 2007:11). As Monk and Hanson (1982:12) highlight, “most academic geographers have been men, and they have structured research problems according to their values, their concerns, and their goals, all of which reflect their experiences”. Concerned with the erasure of women from geographical traditions and accounts, Anglo-American feminist geographers have criticised the discipline’s “particular bodies of knowledge and set of research” (Johnson, 2009:44) and demanded “an attempt to recover the lost historical and contemporary voices of marginalized, the oppressed and the dominant, through a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production” (McEwan, 2003:410; after Guha, 1982). A new field that could “contribute to our rewriting of the history of Geography, and by implication, to the feminist historiography of Geography” (Domosh, 1991:96) was indeed necessary in “explaining the gendering of knowledge production in Geography in general” (Blumen and Bar-Gal, 2006:350).

Reacting against the patriarchal and exclusionary tradition of Geography, Janice Monk has presented several studies on the substantial contributions of women to Geography in the United States since the 1980s. Regarded as a pioneering contribution to the field of feminist geography, Monk’s and Hanson’s article “On not excluding half of the human in human geography” (1982) was a milestone in the discussion of women’s role as long-time actors in the discipline, tackling women’s absence from its history. Monk and Hanson advocated the incorporation of feminist geographies into Geography, to revise and include concepts and issues concerning women and their lives, identifying sexist biases in order to promote alternative structures and “a cultural and historical Geography that would permit women to develop the sense of self-worth and identity that flows from awareness of heritage and relationship to place and a social and economic Geography that goes beyond describing the status quo” (Monk and Hanson, 1982:42).

Furthermore, Monk analyses how gender shapes the development of geographic institutions as well as women’s experiences in the same institutions. By uncovering women’s struggles and histories in works such as “Women’s worlds at the American Geographical Society” (2003) and “Women, gender, and the histories of American Geography” (2004), Monk has contributed to women’s recognition in American higher education, reflecting on the histories and practices of the discipline and acknowledging different contexts and histories.

In the United Kingdom, critical debates about British imperialism have led to an array of studies from the British school of feminist historical Geography (Morin and Berg, 1999) concerning “the nature of historical narratives themselves, and women’s (relative) participation in Geography and European empire building more generally, especially in the nineteenth and

early twentieth centuries” (Rose, 1993, 1995; Bell and McEwan, 1996; Phillips, 1997; McEwan, 1998; Morin and Berg, 1999:319; Maddrell, 2009). Mona Domosh, in her paper “Towards a feminist historiography of Geography” (1991), explained that, by not incorporating women’s achievements and stories, the discipline is losing its true history by “looking far afield for sources of ideas about reconstructing geographic thinking” (p.95) when women’s work (such as that of Victorian women travellers) is key to comprehending the development of geographical knowledge. Domosh (1991:96) suggested that those stories have gone “unnoticed” due to women’s different ways of knowing, the contexts they lived in and their experiences, but she also recognised that, along with women, some men were excluded from the “institutional accounts of Geography because their views and activities did not accord with the standards of ‘scientific’ Geography”. Domosh argued that the social and ideological construction of knowledge and the power and gender relations in practice, in a specific time and place, are crucial to understanding women’s access to geographical knowledge. The masculinist tradition of the discipline was brought to light by Gillian Rose in *Feminism and Geography* (1993), discussing the eurocentrism and phallocentrism of Geography that marginalised women who produced geographical knowledge.

More than adding women to geographical accounts, scholars began to theorise women’s intentions and motives in travelling, women’s negotiation of power relations and subjectivities at home and abroad. Blunt’s book *Travel, gender, and imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa* (1994) examines the relationship between gender, imperialism and travel through Kingsley’s examples of changing subjectivities at home and in the colonies. According to Driver (1992:23) this idea of a critical history of Geography is “sensitive to the various ways in which geographical knowledge has been implicated in relationships of power” – socially, culturally, economically and politically – that must be acknowledged, especially when referring to imperialism. Driver (1992:29) suggested that the critical history of Geography should be expanded to incorporate “more contextually sensitive studies of geographical societies and related institutions”, a work done by Maddrell (2009) in *Complex Locations: Women’s geographical work in the UK 1850–1970*. Maddrell explored the practices that shaped the discipline and women’s importance in the production of geographical knowledge, as well as women’s positions in relation to other people, to institutions and to questions of gender, class and education. Maddrell focussed on the lives of several different women, from various places and different times, showing not only that women produced geographical knowledge but also that studies concerning the history of the discipline should be more inclusive.

Beyond the British Empire narratives, women’s historical narratives and presence in academic contexts have been a topic under scrutiny in Spanish Geography since the 1980s,

through the work of Maria Dolores García-Ramon, the leading researcher in acknowledging women's contributions and experiences.

García's work in the fields of gender, history of Geography women travellers has significantly contributed to the field, recovering marginal voices from different places and writing in a language other than English. García's research also examines Orientalism, gender and the body, through publications such as "Spanish women's travel narratives in colonial Morocco, 1900–1936: Reconsidering their imagined geographies" (García and Cerarols, 2008). García's studies of women's lives, such as "Viajeras europeas en el mundo árabe: Un análisis desde la geografía feminista y postcolonial" (2002) and "Gender and the colonial encounter: European women's travel narratives from the Arab world" (2003), shed light on women's experiences of ambivalence and resistance in colonial encounters.

In addition to engaging with international ideas, García's work such as "Women, space and society in Spain and Portugal" (1991), "Women and Geography in Spanish universities" (García and Castaner, 1988) and more recently "La presencia de las mujeres en la geografía académica: ¿Hacia una masculinización de la disciplina?" (García and Pujol 2004) and "Teaching gender and Geography in Spain" (2011) are fruitful ways of approaching the topic, bringing a Spanish vision and perspective, widening the scope and contexts of feminist historical geographies. Her work (and that of other feminist geographers in Spain) presents features distinct from both Anglo-American Geography and traditional Spanish Geography.

The studies developed by American, English and Spanish geographers have brought women's voices and involvement in the production of geographical knowledge to light, addressing the problem of their omission from canonised histories. But this is not the only common feature of these studies; they also argue that geographical knowledge is highly gendered. As a result, several feminist scholars have argued for the incorporation of gender as a category of analysis, opening new areas of study such as "the role of gender as an instrumental force and as a category of explanation in geographical processes" (Nelson and Seager, 2005:3) or inquiry into gendered divisions of spaces and women's roles as actors in the landscape that define the field nowadays.

Feminists such as bell hooks and Chandra Mohanty argued that feminist thinking was only centred in the histories and experiences of a "white, First World and middle-class female subject, downplaying (or ignoring) power relations and differences between women" (Nelson and Seager, 2005:4), as if all women had the same political project, and the forms of oppression women faced were universal. Nevertheless, the normalising and dogmatic traits of modern Western thought were the common oppressor of women, a promoter of intellectual colonisation fostered by a male, white, bourgeois and heterosexual subject. Understanding geographical

practices as sexist, patriarchal and phallogocentric (McDowell, 1999), feminist geography attempts to comprehend how gender relations and identity are moulded and assumed in space and through space. The male positionality that defines and structures the production of modern Western thought is highly contested by feminist geographers who, by deconstructing the discourses that legitimise it, seeks to emancipate and release the subject from a single and fixed category.

This critique of the subject positionality and personality and the exploration of identity policies aim to expose and subvert fixed hierarchies of cultural difference (Kobayashi and Peake, 1997). To Barnes and Gregory (1997), those differences are so sedimented that it was thought that male power and positionality would not end or change positions, as “men have always been regarded as representatives of the universal (of the socially undifferentiated, disembodied and asexual individuals), while women were seen as examples of the particular (embodied, sexed, and socially differentiated)” (Scott, 2001:376).

Feminist theory seeks to reconfigure the female subject and assert her voice and stories that have remained clandestine, deconstructing the narratives and histories of science that naturalise and authenticate the networks of power, truth and knowledge imposed by the white, male and heterosexual subject. One of the topics that contemporary feminist geography has to contest and challenge is the androcentric side of the discipline that has neglected the analysis of women’s role in historical geography by not acknowledging “the gendered character of both the discipline and the historical accounts of ‘geographical traditions’” (Domosh, 1991:102).

Fighting women’s “exclusion from the histories which are created and taught by historical geographers” (Rose and Ogborn, 1998:405), Anglo-American feminist historical geographies have moved beyond the simple study of women. Nowadays, this area of study incorporates a diversity of approaches concerned with “the production of gender differences themselves, and the way gender differences work within and through economic, political, cultural and sexual differences in the creation of past geographies” (Morin and Berg, 1999:312), emphasising how women’s experiences are different from men’s. The need to explore the ways in which power and knowledge are produced and reproduced through difference, space and patriarchy is now a focus of study in feminist geography. This includes post-structural and postcolonial perspectives to question mainstream Western feminist epistemologies, as both feminism and postcolonialism agree that “dominant forms of knowledge are the products of particular discursive and institutional contexts” (Sharp, 2003:59), more specifically of patriarchy and eurocentrism, which have erased the voice of the “others”. Postcolonial feminism seeks to challenge normative boundaries in the public and private sphere, as well as to destabilise the Western canon. Sharp (2003:60) claimed that the powerful reflections that postcolonial

feminism brings to the debate concerning issues of subjectivity, identity, culture and the nature of power and resistance are part of a political project that demands a political geography able to “examine the power relations woven through everyday life, and to challenge the boundaries whenever encountered”, decentring the universality of the West. According to Nash (1994), postcolonial feminist geography has discussed the gendered nature of national identities and transnational links within gender and Geography. This includes the re-evaluation of the imperial past “through a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production” (McEwan, 2001:95; after Guha, 1982) that also incorporates non-Western feminism in a “plurality of feminisms, each with a specific history and set of political objectives” (McEwan, 2001:97) despite them having the same interests.

The recognition of several axes of power, identity and difference that shape women’s lives has been crucial in challenging previous boundaries and incorporating a multitude of voices into postcolonial feminism. This has contributed “to new ways of thinking about women in similar contexts across the world, in different geographical spaces” (McEwan, 2001:106). Bearing in mind the different traditions, cultures and personal stories, the development of feminist historical geographies in recent years has been quite successful in representing and recovering the history of women in Geography through chronological narratives or (auto)biographies. By giving attention to the production and politics of geographical knowledge, feminist historical geographies have provided a substantive critique of geographical theory and tradition understood as sexist, patriarchal and phallogocentric, showing a rapid development of the field within a common project: dismantle the structures of the discipline and reconstruct it with the other half of its history.

2.2. Feminist Historiography in Portuguese Geography

The initial development of a feminist historiography in Portugal did not begin until the late decades of the twentieth century, mainly due to the marginalisation during Salazar’s dictatorship of the methods and means necessary to debate and reflect on these issues (Amâncio, 1998a). Only after the democratic revolution of 25th April 1974 did the feminist movements, and especially the Comissão da Condição Feminina (Feminine Condition Board; my translation), try to recover collective memories and to give visibility, through some biographical publications, to women who played “a role, somehow meaningful to the process of women’s emancipation in Portugal” (Silva, 1982:37; my translation). This first wave of studies discussed the origins of the feminine condition and the minority of women who questioned the masculine order of society (Vaquinhas, 2002:204) as a form of denunciation.

The interest from researchers in themes connected with the feminine subject increased, and women's history started to have an impact on social sciences, spreading throughout academia to give more attention to previously anonymous women. There was an increase in the number of publications and conferences, such as the academic seminars of the Comissão da Condição Feminina (Feminine Condition Board; my translation), analysing feminist questions in social sciences. According to Vaquinhas (2002:206; my translation), "it is in the decade of the 1980s that we assist to the progressive consolidation of women's studies", contributing to the proliferation of the subject in academic institutions and its acknowledgement as a scientific field. Despite this, several studies, most of them about women's education, failed to recover women's role in the production of knowledge.

The first theoretical reflections to "influence the construction of scientific knowledge, questioning epistemological pathways" (Tavares, 2008:32; my translation) appear in the scientific magazine of the Portuguese Association for Women's Studies, "Ex-aequo" (1999), making visible, developing and giving legitimacy to the knowledge produced in the context of women's studies, feminist studies and gender studies.

In the field of social sciences, the topics of gender and women's studies are being researched and taught by OGIAV (Observatory on Gender and Armed Violence – University of Coimbra), mainly due to Boaventura Sousa Santos' studies of (i) scientific knowledge and the Third World, and paying special attention to the social construction of dominant models of femininity; (ii) the progressive incorporation of women into public spaces; and (iii) women's role in support of family structures. Aside from OGIAV, the Institute of Politics and Social Sciences (ISCSP) is also contributing to the consolidation and internationalisation of gender studies in Portugal, researching topics such as body, gender, masculinities, family and women's studies.

The archival research showed that the discipline never had any concern with women's production of knowledge. The modules taught in Portuguese Geography from 1930 to 1975 demonstrate that study of the history of the discipline was not widespread until the 1960s, when the geographer Suzanne Daveau implemented methodologies for a rigorous research field in Portugal, gathering as her pupils João Carlos Garcia, Julia Galego and Maria Fernanda Alegria. However, her studies focus on the phenomenon of population distribution and density, cartography and old testimonies of travellers to describe populations' lifestyle and use of space, a past Human Geography followed by her disciples.

Despite Daveau's studies, the research concerning the historiography of Portuguese Geography was been hampered by the commonly accepted thought that only historians can study history. As so, Portuguese geographers have focused their research in other topics, leaving

behind the history of the discipline and clogging the possibility of matching the level of international research in historiography.

Furthermore, those studies did not include the topics of gender, women or feminist historiography. Sarmiento (2008) argues that aside from the work of Isabel André - the first female geographer to introduce the topic of gender in 1994 in Portuguese Geography¹, - “(...) very little has been published. (...) gender studies never established a significant breakthrough from standard Portuguese Geography, and the geographies of woman, (...) geographies of everyday experiences, geographies of masculinity are still mostly absent.” (p.579; my translation).

In the same line of thought, Margarida Queirós (Center of Geographical Studies) recognises that Portuguese Geography does not have a research area focused on gender. It is a small area of interest, with a limited presence in Portuguese Geography:

I believe that I am now in a position to say that ‘Gender’ is an analytical category that begins timidly to have visibility in Portuguese Geography, by association with land use planning and urbanism. To confirm it, the line of research that I’m starting to develop studies the social and cultural construction of Gender and its expression with the urban environment – something that already has about 20 years of Anglo-Saxon and Spanish feminist geographical investigation! (Silva and Vieira, 2012:185).

Paulo Vieira (CEG/UL) and Eduarda Ferreira (CICS.NOVA) have developed studies on Geography of sexuality, gender studies and masculinity and lesbian, gay and queer studies as well as LGBT rights. Nevertheless, Queirós’ opinion exemplifies the point of view that I defend in this study: Portuguese Geography is still disconnected and far behind the recent debates and developments in gender geographies or feminist historiography in Geography. This statement is supported by my findings when it comes to uncovering what is hampering the introduction and development of a feminist historiography of Geography. One major problem is the curriculum: my analysis of recent modules showed that in the five universities offering a degree in Geography, only three of them approach the topic of gender.

“Gender and postcolonial Geography” is taught in “Human Geography and theory of Geography” at the University of Minho, and at the University of Lisbon, gender relations and “Territory and territorialisation: Race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality” are covered in the

¹ Isabel André’s (1956–2017) PhD dissertation researched gender relations in the family and in the labour market.

modules of “Social Geography” and “Introduction to Human Geography” respectively. What they have in common is the fact that they are addressed only in first-year modules.

The University of Oporto, in the second-year module “Economic and social Geography”, approaches the “territories of the symbolic: cultures, ethnicity and gender” within the topic of “Geography of innovation”. This case is quite curious and shows perfectly how questions of gender are something unexpected and new to Portuguese Geography; otherwise, why call it “Geography of innovation”?

The second problem that is delaying the development of the field in Portuguese Geography is the geographical canon, which still teaches that the founders of the discipline were only men, excluding women entirely. The fact is that the foundational texts that shaped and still reinforce the way we teach and conduct research in Portuguese Geography belong mainly to Orlando Ribeiro. Commonly known as ‘the father of Portuguese Geography’, his work about Portugal is vast, with special mention for his book *Portugal, o Mediterrâneo e o Atlântico* (1945). Aside from Ribeiro, the work of other male geographers, such as Vidal la Blache, Ritter or Von Humboldt, remain key texts in the discipline, a phenomenon named by Keighren et al. (2012) as continental canon.

Thus, the narratives produced and reproduced are gendered and, as a consequence, have an “implication in the way we research, write, teach and referee, and for the ways in which the narrative of our discipline is discursively framed and disciplinary norms perpetuated” (Maddrell, 2012:324), highlighting and maintaining power relations. The power to include or exclude does not only concern the gender of the writer but also what will be reproduced such as the key texts that will compose the canon of the discipline.

A clear example of a male geographical canon is “Finisterra” – journal of Portuguese Geography – dedicated to research into Physical and Human Geography, local and regional planning and geographical information systems among other areas. My analysis of the magazine articles from 1966² until 2017 showed an abysmal difference in the 103 journal articles published, when it comes to who writes about whom (see charts 1 and 2).

² The data analysed only concerns part of the study timeframe, as Finisterra was only established in 1966.

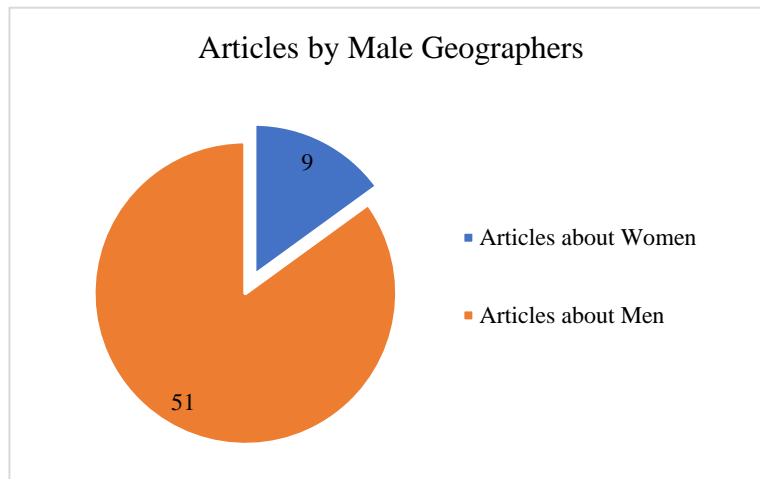


Chart 1: Male geographers' articles in Finisterra (1966-2017)

Source: Made by the author

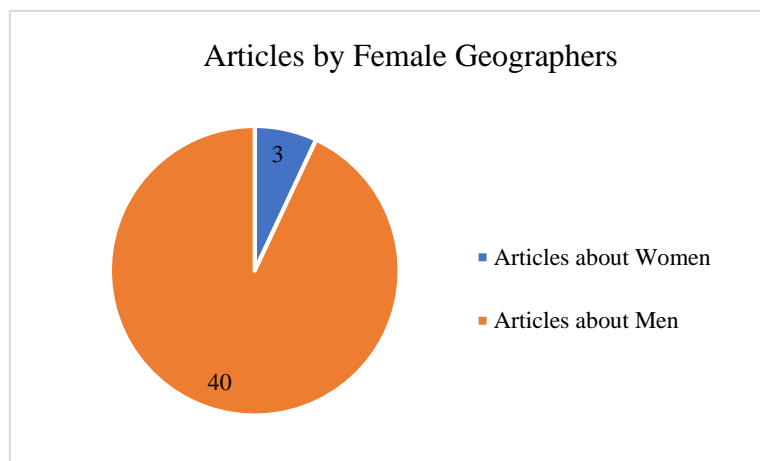


Chart 2: Female geographers' articles in Finisterra (1966-2017)

Source: Made by the author

These charts illustrate three main conclusions. Firstly, the Portuguese geographical journal is gendered in what is published: there are 101 articles concerning men's works and accomplishments versus 12 articles on women's work. Secondly, 60 of the 103 articles published between 1966-2017 were written by men versus 43 of the 103 articles written by women; which shows that women were active in Portuguese Geography. Thirdly, most of the articles about women's work were written by men whilst women wrote more about men's history and contributions. In fact, the articles concerning the work and accomplishment of a woman are from a special edition of "Finisterra" (1997) about Suzanne Daveau, a "simple tribute to one of the most remarkable figures of geographical investigations in Portugal" (Medeiros, 1997:5; author's translation).

What is produced and reproduced is an important topic of analysis to understand the relevance of feminist historiography studies in Portuguese Geography. "Finisterra" (2015:24)

specifics, in its 100th publication, that “in the five decades in analysis, the most treated subjects were social and cultural geography with 72 articles, followed by urban geography, climatology and geomorphology with almost 50 articles. 30 articles on planning and regional development, 25 on cartography and geographic information systems and close to 20 on biogeography and nature conservation, rural geography and regional geography were published”.

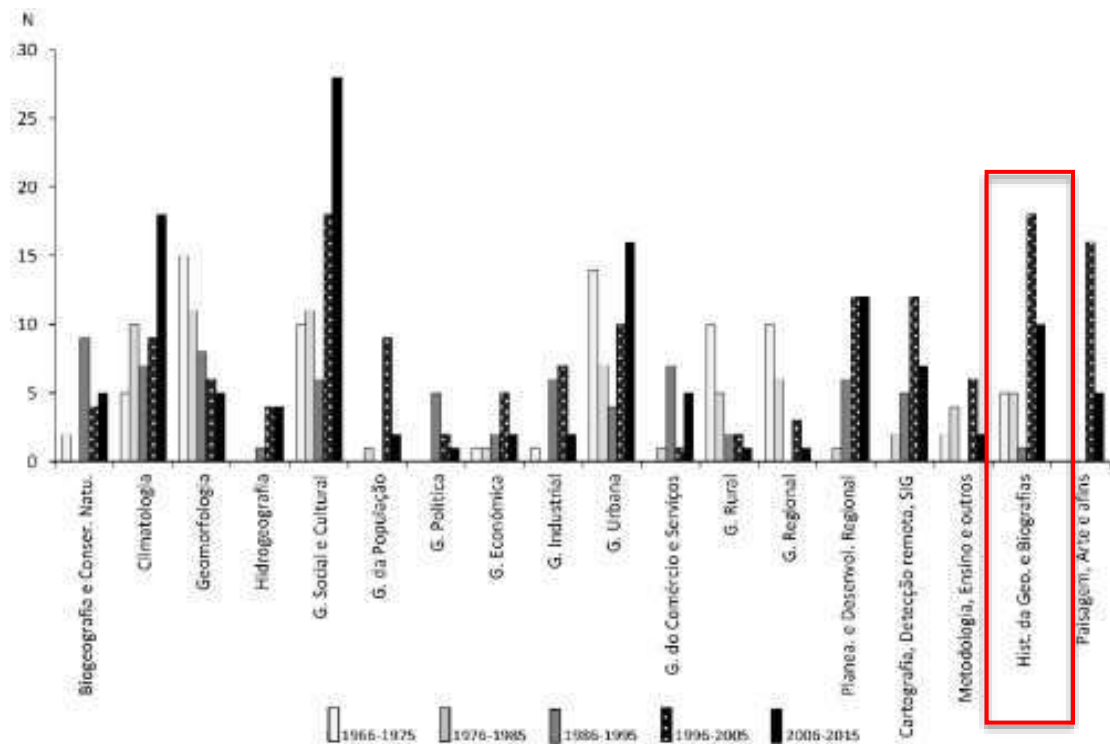


Figure 1: Topics under scrutiny in *Finisterra* (number of articles by decade).

Source: *Finisterra – Revista de Geografia Portuguesa*

Despite Figure 1 showing a significant number of articles on biographies and history of Geography (see second last topic in red), I found that not a single article concerned feminist historiography, supporting my argument that the topic is under-represented in Portuguese Geography.

The only effort so far to fully investigate the role of women in the history and development of the discipline is the work I developed in my master’s thesis in 2011 (Rodrigues,2011). I analysed the contribution of the first Portuguese woman with a PhD in Portuguese Geography, Raquel Soeiro de Brito, and her work in Portuguese Colonial India. This project provides a point of departure for the doctoral research presented in this thesis, which presents a much more sustained feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography.

Chapter 3

Methodology

This chapter outlines the methodological approach used in this study, discussing and explaining the mixed qualitative methods adopted to achieve the proposed objectives. Reflections on the challenges encountered while doing research, as well as my positionality and how it aided or complicated the project, will be the subject of analysis.

3.1. Empirical Methodology

The research design and methodology of this project is build on cognate work by researchers in other disciplines and contexts. Maddrell’s (2009) *Complex locations: Women’s geographical work in the UK 1850–1970* provided points of departure and methodological precedents that were replicated and extended in this study, such as archive searches, autobiographical interviews and oral histories. This study also complements Maddrell’s work by incorporating some additional sources, notably primary school textbooks. Focusing on the story of Portuguese women geographers, this study brings forward other “processes that operate at broader scales” (Jones III and Gomez, 2010:67), providing insights into power relations and gender within academia.

	Research Question	Methods			Chapter
		Archives	Interviews	Textual Analysis	
Practice	1.1	✓	✓		4, 5
	1.2		✓	✓	7, 8
	4.1		✓	✓	9
	4.2				
Representation	2.1	✓	✓	✓	2, 7, 8
	2.2	✓	✓		6
Significance	3.1		✓	✓	6, 8
	3.2	✓	✓		4, 5, 6
	3.3		✓		6, 7

Table 3: Research Questions, Methods and Chapters

Source: Made by the author

3.1.1. Archives

This study draws upon archives that have the potential to throw some light on the roles played by women in Portuguese Geography. As such, it reflects both the strengths and the limitations – gaps, silences and biases – of the existing archives. As institutions, archives wield power over governments and individuals; as records, they wield power over collective memory, the shape and direction of historical scholarship, and the knowledge we have about ourselves and societies (Schwartz and Cook, 2002). Archives, as repositories of representations of the past, create and reflect power relations; they “have the power to privilege and to marginalize” (Schwartz and Cook, 2002:13), controlling what will be known and remembered. Excluded from society’s memories since the Middle Ages (Lerner, 1993), women’s roles in the creation of social realities are under scrutiny in archival studies. In fact, the study and treatment of archives and records from a postcolonial and postmodern perspective is creating a greater awareness of women’s social impact. In the case of Geography, the study of archives can contribute to the substantiation of individual stories and the collective status of women as long-time actors in the discipline.

In the specific case of this project, the archival study provided me with the opportunity to trace the contributions and write the biographies of Portuguese women geographers, and to explore and understand the social events and educational policies that characterised Portuguese society and affected the production of geographical knowledge during the period being researched.

After spending several weeks in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo searching for Salazar’s private archives, and in archives from the Ministry of Education, Ministry of Overseas, Female Portuguese Youth, Commission of National Education and the National Board of Education searching for information about Estado Novo policies that affected women, I ended up only gathering decree-laws, and rules and regulations from the Female Portuguese Youth and National Board of Education. As I found out, all that glitters is not gold, and despite some information being available online, the obstacles to accessing records and archives were vast. As a consequence, the archival research ended up being severely limited mainly due to the power relations between the archivists and the researcher, the constrained access to archives (such as limited working hours or access denied to certain files), the archives’ lack of organisation, and the scant data about Portuguese women geographers.

During my research in the National Archive of Torre do Tombo, a clear power relation was evident from the moment I introduced myself as a student from a British university until the moment I asked about archives concerning Salazar’s dictatorship. The archivist’s reaction culminated in several questions about the interest of a Portuguese student from a foreign

institution in those particular archives, informing me that it would not be possible to access several of them because they were not catalogued. When catalogued, there would be further delays before I could access them as multiple procedures had to be followed. This archival research was therefore limited in two ways: by what was excluded from the archives in the first place (certain records relating to women) and by what would be provided to a researcher such as myself (nothing too sensitive).

After this first clash, I centred my research in the Archives of the University of Coimbra and the Documentation Service of the University of Lisbon, spending several days there. Nonetheless, the research faced further obstacles associated with the lack of organisation in both archives: records that were not found despite being catalogued, and several journeys to collect material dispersed in different areas of the archives. However, I was able to access the curriculum vitae of various women geographers, as well as yearbooks from both universities (between 1930 and 1975), providing the number of students studying Geography, their names, the modules taught and the names of the Geography lecturers at the time.

I was fortunate to encounter helpful and friendly staff who gave me insights into where to find material that would be useful to my research. The staff directed me to the Library of the Center of Geographical Studies, a key institution in the production of geographical knowledge. As curious as it might seem, it only contained the most recent geographical books. Confronted with the lack of material, I asked where I could find the material I needed, if not in the archives of this institution. The office clerk informed me that the material concerning geographical work and authors could only be found in the main university library, and photographs of Portuguese women during fieldwork were available in the photographic archive of the Center of Geographical Studies, accessible only by request to the Director of the Center. Again, after several requests were ignored, my access to archives was restricted by those with “power over the documentary records, and by extension over the collective memory of marginalized members of society (...) and indeed over their representation and integration into the metanarratives of history (...)” (Schwartz and Cook, 2002:17).

In the University of Lisbon’s Library of the Faculty of Letters, my access to archives was much easier, and the staff’s help in finding and gathering material was invaluable. It allowed me to assemble information concerning the geographical and colonial missions – such as magazines and articles by the women involved in this study – for a retrospective analysis of the distinctiveness of women’s work and the design of their professional path.

Another limitation I faced was the scant data about women, a phenomenon that Schwartz and Cook (2002:16) argue that archives “have systematically excluded records about or by women from their holdings and, as institutions, have been willing agents in the creation of

patriarchy by supporting those in power against the marginalized”.

By this point, it was clear that material concerning women was scarce, but my research in the Historical Overseas Archives was a nasty surprise. In an archive responsible for the documentation in text and images of the Portuguese and the peoples with whom they had contact between the end of the sixteenth century and 1974–1975, and which intends to preserve memories and knowledge, I could not find any field notes or images of and by Portuguese women geographers, despite the help of the staff.

Considering how this material would be essential in creating the history of these women, I went to the Institute of Tropical Research and did an extensive search in the digital archive of tropical and colonial research, but did not find any information on the geographical missions, women geographers or their work.

In the Portuguese National Library, my search centred on the work of women geographers, Salazar’s dictatorship and his government’s policies on education and women. The only material I found was in an exhibition about Suzanne Daveau – a French-Portuguese geographer who contributed immensely to the development of Portuguese Geography – allowing me to collect information about her professional life. Material concerning other women geographers and the educational policies of the regime was not found. To fully understand how Salazar’s ideology was spread through education, I went to the Library of the University of Minho and found the textbooks from the first to the third grade, used in primary education from 1936 until 1973, with the purpose of studying the images and underlying messages in the texts.

My journey through Portuguese archives was not an easy task. Archives are more than places that keep records. They are a space of control over representations of the past, a space where archivists have “power over memory and identity, over the fundamental ways in which society seeks evidence of what its core values are and have been, where it has come from and where it is going” (Schwartz, 2006:3). They are also spaces of retention. What can be seen and by whom is decided internally, as is the case at the Geographical Society of Lisbon. Despite it providing information online about how to access its archives, it is physically impossible to do so, as it is permanently closed to public visits, meaning only members of the Society have access.

How could I produce knowledge about the past in the absence of enough material to support my arguments? To deal with the lack of material and information in the archives, I supplemented the limited (but still valuable) material that I was able to garner there by collecting oral histories. I also adapted the historical focus of my archival research to reflect the availability of accessible material. Accordingly, the earlier period (1929-1955) of my study

draws more heavily on the archives which were made available to me (chapters 4 and 5), whereas the later period (1955-1974) relies more on oral histories, in which Portuguese women geographers speak about their professional and personal lives as well as the constraints they faced during the Salazar's dictatorship (chapters 6 and 7).

3.1.2. Interviews I: Recruitment and Dates

Before travelling to Lisbon, Coimbra and Oporto to start the interviews, I began the recruitment process by emailing several Portuguese women geographers who were actively working during the period 1955–1974 and asking them to participate in this study with a semi-structured interview about their professional and private lives. Although managing to establish contact with most of the prospective participants through my own means, it was impossible to get in touch with some women, as I could not find any information or contact details through my research.

To overcome this situation, I asked those I had contacted directly to nominate other women who could be included in the study. Using the snowball method was quite effective in acquiring a wider network of contacts and prospective participants. One valuable source of recruitment came from meeting with the President of the Association of Geography Teachers, who not only provided me with a number of prospective names but also put me in touch with additional Portuguese women geographers, therefore acting as a spokesperson on behalf of my study.

Although it was a challenging process, with many non-responses to my requests and some rejections, recruitment was positive, with a total of 11 semi-structured interviews conducted in places agreed upon with the interviewees (their home, place of work or a public space). Their personal memories, recorded during the interviews, are the primary sources for this study, giving Portuguese women geographers the opportunity to fill in the blanks in the telling of their story and subvert the history of Geography that Daniels and Nash (2004) see as still dominated by heroes and the careers of influential individuals.

The use of the micro-histories of Portuguese geographers allows me to explore a wide range of historical and societal issues (Short and Godfrey, 2007), giving primacy to the individuals and the richness of their accounts. By linking Geography and biography, I am creating a life geography that incorporates memories, feelings, knowledge, imagination and goals (Daniels and Nash, 2004) and thus reflecting on the journey of these women geographers. Highlighting their lives can challenge the “structures and strictures of the narratives promoted by national archives” (Lambert and Lester, 2007:3). The autobiographical format will

complement the archive-based histories – allowing familiar and formative practices to be understood, as well as contributing to a new perspective on the position of an individual in relation to geographical practice.

The interviews had three main topics of discussion: (i) their familial life and scholarly trajectory; (ii) Estado Novo and women’s situation, focusing on the personal experience of each interviewee; and (iii) their path as a woman in Geography. The interviews give greater attention to previously neglected oral histories and those “whose contributions should not be overlooked in wider applications of disciplinary history” (Johnston, 2007:108). This allows for widening the scope of questions and topics under scrutiny as they all interlink, creating a set of different stories and a more expansive exploration of geographical practices and knowledge.

Interviews		
Name	Date of Birth	Date
Celeste Coelho	1944	16 th September 2015
		18 th January 2016
Fernanda Cravidão	1948	3 rd December 2015
Lucília Caetano	1942	14 th January 2016
Lucília Gouveia	1936	9 th March 2016
Manuela Malheiro	1942	8 th March 2016
Maria Alfreda Cruz	1937	17 th December 2015
Maria Fernanda Alegria	1942	20 th August 2015
		11 th December 2015
Raquel Soeiro de Brito	1925	17 th December 2015
Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva	1939	13 th January 2016
Suzanne Daveau	1925	21 st August 2015
Teresa Barata Salgueiro	1948	25 th August 2015
		15 th December 2015

Table 4: Interviewees and date of interviews

Source: Made by the author

Triangulating interviews, archives and texts provides a greater understanding of the motivations and benefits for Portuguese women geographers and also the prejudice they have had to endure in their lives. The use of biography is essential to situate each woman's professional career and geographical work, situating the subject within their education, since knowledge is itself situated. In this sense, the analysis of the data collected positions each of these women in relation to concepts such as time, space, gender, social class and education, in a complex network of discourses and practices that structured their experience as women in Portuguese Geography.

3.1.3. Interviews II: Recording and Analysing

Before the interviews took place, I explained to the participants what the study concerned and how important it was for me to collect their story and opinions, an idea reinforced in the information sheet. Each participant signed a consent form, agreeing to be interviewed and recorded, and was informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time, reassuring their privacy and giving them a sense of control over the interview (Valentine, 2002). The interviews were recorded with a dictaphone, and notes were taken occasionally during the conversations. Scheduled to take approximately one hour, with a follow-up interview after the first data had been analysed, some interviews were longer. Due to the full schedule of some of the interviewees, it would be impossible to record a follow-up interview and upon agreement it was decided to record only one interview with approximately two hours. Post-interview notes were made in a notebook, to reflect on elements such as emotion, body language and the environment during the interview, which could not be part of the audio recording.

I conducted the interviews in Portuguese, transcribed them into the Nvivo analysis system, applied pre-defined codes and later re-coded them into new categories. I then translated them into English in a quite demanding translation process that gave me additional responsibilities. Despite my best efforts, capturing and reproducing the exact meaning of the narratives was not always possible due to language differences. Moving between languages has consequences that must be acknowledged when doing research. As Eco (2003:107) highlighted "the difficulties for the translator are due to the fact that while a text can evoke a personal experience with a single word, this word does not have the same evocative impact every time, in every culture or country".

The translations of the interviews, and the words chosen, rely not only on the interviewees' experiences and memories but also on my own, influencing the way the translations are done. Furthermore, as a bilingual speaker raised in the Portuguese context, it

was very hard for me to translate emotions and feelings into English, which impacted on how I constructed and represented the narratives of these Portuguese women geographers. Bearing in mind that this thesis might also be read by bilingual Portuguese – English speakers, I present the interview transcripts in Portuguese and English. Doing so aims to preserve the original narratives of these women and the true meaning of the transcripts.

Furthermore, following Spivak's (1992, 1993/2000) and Venuti's (1995, 1998) argument that language and translation creates the author's own world and position within, I am presenting an alternative way of constructing the social world since the "translation practice is generally to try to remain faithful to English language structures and encourages the use of an English baseline (Temple, 2005:2). However, representation issues can arise, and the texts, and their meanings, might not seem natural to the reader.

The only accurate aspect of translation is that there is no such thing as a single correct translation. Despite struggling with this issue during the research process, I had to accept the impossibility of creating a clear, clean and perfect translated transcript in a cross-language study.

3.1.4. Discourse and Image Analysis

This part of the methodology involved literature research that allowed me to identify and critically examine women's geographical writing and women's marginalisation in a male-dominated geographical canon. As discourses are embedded and situated, I am interested in their narratives and the discourse implicit in them, in the production and reproduction of their work, and in the process of knowledge production by women.

As knowledge and its interpretation are always situated, the diversity of texts requires a triangulation of data and analysis techniques, from hermeneutics to visual methods, reflecting the sensitivity involved in textual and visual deconstruction. Textual deconstruction and the use of several postcolonial and feminist theories to analyse the written work of Portuguese women geographers allow me to investigate the distinctiveness of women's writing, and the meaning and production of discourse, by focusing on the content and context.

Feminist critical discourse analysis offers a critical perspective on discursive representations, examining "the way that discourses can appear to be gendered, leading to particular types of utterance in particular contexts (...)" (Mills and Mullany, 2011:77). It helps to challenge conventional beliefs, to contest power relations and to examine representations of gender, situating texts within communities of practice. Although these may be external to the texts, they are extremely relevant to the way such texts are produced, reproduced and

understood, opening up new perspectives of analysis. Walsh (2013:28) has suggested that a feminist approach to discourse is necessary to “remedy the class bias in existing work in CDA, rather than seek to claim a privileged place for gender among other determinants of power”. This is how gender intersects with other variables.

Following Walsh’s (2001:65) feminist critique of discourse analysis as a tool that connects “the detailed analysis of spoken, written and visual texts and intertexts to an analysis of the hegemonic ideologies that operate at the institutional and societal level of discourse”, I use this approach to evaluate how geographical and societal discourses in Portugal were gendered, predetermining and hampering women’s sense of what they were or could become. However, language is not the only form of representation. Images produce, reproduce and exchange meanings that, explicitly and implicitly, shape and structure our lives. As a modern method of understanding the world, where “what is seen and how it is seen are culturally constructed” (Rose, 2007:2), images interlace seeing and knowledge. As tools that allow us to construct and spread knowledge and ideologies, images are a particular form of power that produces “specific visions of social differences – of hierarchies of class, ‘race’, sexuality and so on – while itself claiming not to be a part of that hierarchy and thus be universal” (Rose, 2007:5). By claiming to be universal, the way an image is constructed denies other visualities and alternative visions of social difference. This can be seen in the way Salazar’s dictatorship used images to control and specify the role of each member of society, which I explore and critically analyse.

Following on Haraway’s (1991) availability of visibility to the history of science under male supremacy, I inquire about the importance of this form of representation in the production of geographical knowledge by Portuguese women geographers. As so, it is necessary to interpret the historical, geographical, cultural and social context of images to understand women’s positions in Portuguese Geography.

Rose (2007) suggests that to critically comprehend an image, three main aspects must be studied: the technological, the compositional and the social. In this study, I will focus on the compositional and the social aspect of images to understand “the range of economic, social and political relations, institutions and practices that surrounds an image and through which it is seen and used” (Rose, 2007:13).

As the intersection of power and knowledge is differentiated by the social practices and identities of the audience, I am interested in how images and texts articulate questions of authority, knowledge and power, controlling and producing social subjects. As such, I deemed a critical approach necessary to reflect on the agency and specificity of discourses and images that had as their main goal the restraint of women.

3.1.5. Positionality

The thesis and research process involved reflect my own positionality as a young female student, and my personal investment in a topic close to my heart: the invisibility of women's voices and contributions to Geography.

While doing research, I kept asking “Who am I to do this research?” and “How am I entitled to do it?” Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2013) argue that to reflect on our positionality, we must locate the researcher in relation to the subject, the participants and the research context and process, to clearly identify and articulate our positionality. I am a female geographer sharing with my interviewees culturally fixed aspects of positionality (Chiseri-Strater, 1996), which gave me access to information and insights on contextual aspects, their lives and experiences, that probably would not have been available to another person in a different position. Furthermore, Savin-Baden and Howell Major (2013) identify possible influences in the research process, including how the researcher might have influenced the process, and how the researcher sees his/her position in relation to the participants.

A reflexive approach was the first step in locating my views in relation to the research project as “the positionality that researchers bring to their work, and the personal experiences through which positionality is shaped, may influence what researchers may bring to research encounters, their choice of processes, and their interpretations of outcomes” (Foote and Bartell, 2011:46). As I start from a feminist perspective that seeks to give voice to women (Kobayashi, 1994), and given my background in studying gender and the subaltern, this project is also political. This is due to institutional and social barriers that do not facilitate women's full and equal participation in society, even when they come from privileged social classes. As Blunt (1994) showed in *Travel, gender, and imperialism: Mary Kingsley and West Africa*, Kingsley was in an ambivalent position of privilege and exclusion as a white, middle-class, English woman facing men's established criteria of success, distribution of resources and priorities that perpetuated male power. This situation has similarities with the life of some Portuguese women geographers who, although they were from a privileged higher class, were marginalised in their professional lives for being women.

But whereas some aspects of my positionality brought me together with the participants, others set me apart. As a 31-year-old woman geographer interviewing women geographers aged 69–92, I hoped that I would not have any problems and that the interviewees would answer me without hesitation; however, I found some reluctance. The research process and my relationships with the interviewees were greatly affected by age dynamics. Seeing me almost like a “grandchild”, most of the participants adopted a family-like position towards me, creating a relationship of trust and a sense of familiarity that allowed the sharing of meaningful

information. By others, I was seen as a very young researcher, hearing comments as “you are too young to understand” or “things nowadays are very different, you would not understand”. The generational and age differences made the process of critically interpreting their responses difficult, as their responses are “socially and culturally mediated and situated in relation to age, generation and experience” (Grenier, 2007:716).

Despite sharing the same language, the shifts in language patterns over the years and the differing terms used by different generations made not only the interview process challenging, but also my critical reflection on their testimony. When asking questions about the gendered character of Portuguese Geography or the masculinist practices within the discipline, I had to explain the concepts and often reformulate the questions. These concepts did not echo their experiences or knowledge as such topics were not discussed in their cultural and academic environment. An explicit example is the interview with Suzanne Daveau, who did not consider the topic important or worthy of her time and even appeared to regard it with contempt, shrugging her shoulders several times, reluctant to answer questions concerning gender.

The confrontational and intrusive nature of fieldwork also influences power relations between researcher and those researched. In one specific case, where the interviewee did not seem comfortable in the first interview and had little affinity with me, being intrusive was the best option. Breaking the ice in the follow-up interview with a question about her mother, after discovering that she had been a high school Geography teacher, led to a very calm, relaxed and fruitful interview. Some interviewees relaxed into interviews as we got to know each other. Moser (2008) argues that the personalities of the researcher and researched deeply affect fieldwork and its outcomes, and being mindful of this can help us to make better choices when it comes to methodologies.

To ensure the interviewees’ willingness to provide me with data concerning their personal and academic lives, I was committed to acting ethically and, as far as possible, reciprocally. Accordingly, I offered interviewees the opportunity to read and revise the transcripts of their interviews, to avoid misrepresentations, and include them in the process of research, a form of action research that takes into account “the study population’s history, culture, interactive activities and emotional lives” (Berg and Lune, 2004:197), empowering the participants.

Notwithstanding my desire to conduct the research with integrity, I am aware that researchers “cannot pretend to present fully their informants’ voices and have to take responsibility for their intrusions both in their informants’ lives and the representation of these lives” (Wasserfall, 1993:28). As fieldwork is quite personal, the research is my responsibility, and I acknowledge not only the power relations between myself and the participants but that my position and personality have influenced how the research was conducted and its outcomes.

3.1.6. Challenges

This study brought two challenges with it: the language and translation and the interpretation and analysis of past memories in the present time. Firstly, it is necessary to reiterate the fact that neither I nor the Portuguese women geographers I interviewed are native English speakers, and the interviews were conducted in Portuguese.

As the study was developed at the University of Sheffield, all the translation of the interviews and the work of Portuguese women into English was done entirely by me. However, given that translation is an interpretive act, capturing the true essence and meaning of the original transcripts is never completely achieved. Some of the meaning is inevitably lost in the translation process, as there are no similar words in different languages, and a literal translation of the words can lead to difficulty and even misunderstanding, given that some words and expressions have specific cultural connotations.

Expressing experiences through translated transcripts is a complicated process as “the relation between subjective experience and language is a two-way process: language is used to express meaning, but the other way around, language influences how meaning is constructed” (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg, 2010:314). Thus, the translation process generates “additional challenges that might hinder the transfer of meaning and might result in loss of meaning and thus the validity of the qualitative study” (Van Nes, Abma, Jonsson and Deeg, 2010:314), modifying the way the experience of these women is perceived and at the same time unfairly representing the participants, whose words, after translation, are not their own any more (Temple, 2008).

In accordance with Steiner (1992:264), who argues that “to dismiss the validity of translation because it is not always possible and never perfect is absurd. What needs clarification (...) is the degree of fidelity to be pursued in each case”, I tried to translate their narratives as accurately as possible as I was aiming for a discourse that “interrogates language – how and why events are storied, not simply the content to which language refers” (Riessman and Quinney, 2005:394) where “memory, time and audience affect the accounts people give” (Temple, 2008:355).

Memory is not a stable structure, it changes depending on time and the audience to whom past experiences are told. Recounting memories involves re-enactment and is the “outcome of a process in which the teller remembers, interprets, constructs and reconstructs events in the outside world which have been subjectively experienced, events whose meanings are constructed using the language, discourses and discursive strategies which are available to the teller by virtue of her or his location in culture and history” (Day Sclater, 1998:87), meaning that although a personal experience is evoked in the text, its context and significance are not

the same for the teller and the listener.

The importance of memory in this study cannot be dismissed, since it is the basis of the women's accounts. Their memories can give an insight into everyday social and cultural life, providing authentic access to past experiences and relating them to the present through "a process of making sense of experiences, of constructing and navigating complex temporal narratives and structures and ascribing meaning not only to the past, but to the present and future also" (Keightley, 2010:56). How can the past memories of the women interviewed be interpreted and given meaning in the present day? The value and reliability of memory as a source in social science research must be acknowledged. However, despite their value in collecting alternative and marginalised histories, we cannot consider all memories equal or valid. We need to consider, when using memories, individuals' social, economic and historical backgrounds. These influence the reconstruction of subjective truths that can "reveal how individual, social and cultural experiences in, and of the past, intersect in the accounts that we give and the extent to which these demonstrate the temporal relations between past, present and future" (Keightley, 2010:63).

Nevertheless, the issue of reliability remains, and one of the main strategies used in memory studies relies on the analysis of interviewees' memory and discourse using textual strategies. That approach was used in this study, triangulating sources when a collective memory was encountered, by matching memory with historical facts, and using semiotic analysis when looking at personal and communicative memories to understand the meanings behind personal experiences.

Chapter 4

Women's Constraints in Estado Novo

Twentieth-century Portuguese Geography existed in the shadow of political dictatorship, which had important implications for women geographers. In this chapter, I will provide the historical context and character of dictatorship in Portugal, supported by secondary sources from Portuguese literature and images from the Portuguese archives. As the critical part of this study concerns women's constraints in Portuguese society, I will briefly describe their position before Estado Novo (1933-1974), introducing after the Estado Novo policies, to comprehend and critically analyse the ways in which the regime affected Portuguese women. I will also provide an account of the reality that Portuguese women geographers experienced, based on their oral testimony.

4.1. Policies, Practices and Ideologies

A modern chapter in the engagement with women's rights and their unequal situation in Portuguese society began in the last decades of the nineteenth century, during the monarchical regime. A small movement with "a stream clearly feminist which, although elitist in the kind of women included, had a remarkable meaning in the efforts gathered, in the disseminated ideology, in the visible unit of objectives and aspirations as well as in the tangible expressions and actions assumed, that made it an organised movement" (Silva, 1983:875, my translation). A pacifist and moderate movement, it tried to affirm women's value and obtain a higher level of social participation for them in Portuguese society.

By the time of the republican revolutions, bourgeois women, with the support of republican men, created several feminist organisations such as the Republican League of Portuguese Women, in 1909. They were created with the intention to guide, educate and instruct Portuguese women, making them autonomous and conscious individuals, and promoting revision of the laws concerning women and children according to the democratic and republican ideal (Estatutos da Liga Republicana de Mulheres Portuguesas, 1910). Promoting women's rights and aiming to achieve civic equality between the sexes, upper- and middle-class Portuguese women fought for improvement in women's material and moral conditions; such as the hygiene of both pregnant women and those who had recently given birth, as well as providing protection for children against mistreatment (Estatutos do Conselho Nacional de Mulheres Portuguesa, 1914), consistently placing their effort in the service of ideas that might

be applied to optimising women’s well-being.

In a climate of economic and political crisis, António de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970), a Catholic politician with a discreet conservatism ascended to power in 1932, institutionalising the Estado Novo dictatorship in 1933.

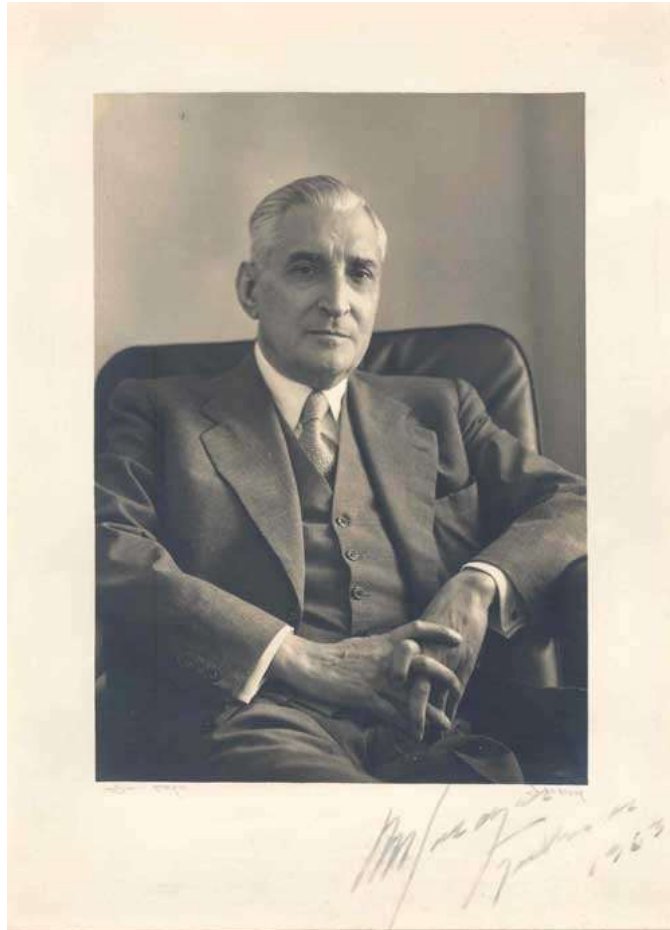


Figure 2: Portrait of Salazar

Source: <http://oliveirasalazar.org/>

Salazar was recognised by Portuguese people as the “saviour” of the country:

(...) da submissão a que o povo português... nem tinham consciência disso porque achavam que Salazar era o protector deles, se não fosse o Salazar caía a terra em cima de nós, Salazar tinha todas as virtudes. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[(...) the subordination of Portuguese people (...) they were not even aware of that because they thought Salazar was their protector. If it were not for Salazar the whole ground would fall upon us, Salazar had all the virtues.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Portrayed in an iconic postcard published by B. Lopes in 1935 (Figure 3), Salazar symbolised the union of Portugal's glorious past and its brilliant future. The use of medieval clothes together with a 1920s hairstyle is a visual discourse of masculinity and power, based on Salazar's physical expressions of maleness and the distinctive character structure of the typical man in a patriarchal society (Miles, 1989:49).



Figure 3: Postcard of Salazar – Saviour of the Country

Source: <http://oliveirasalazar.org/>

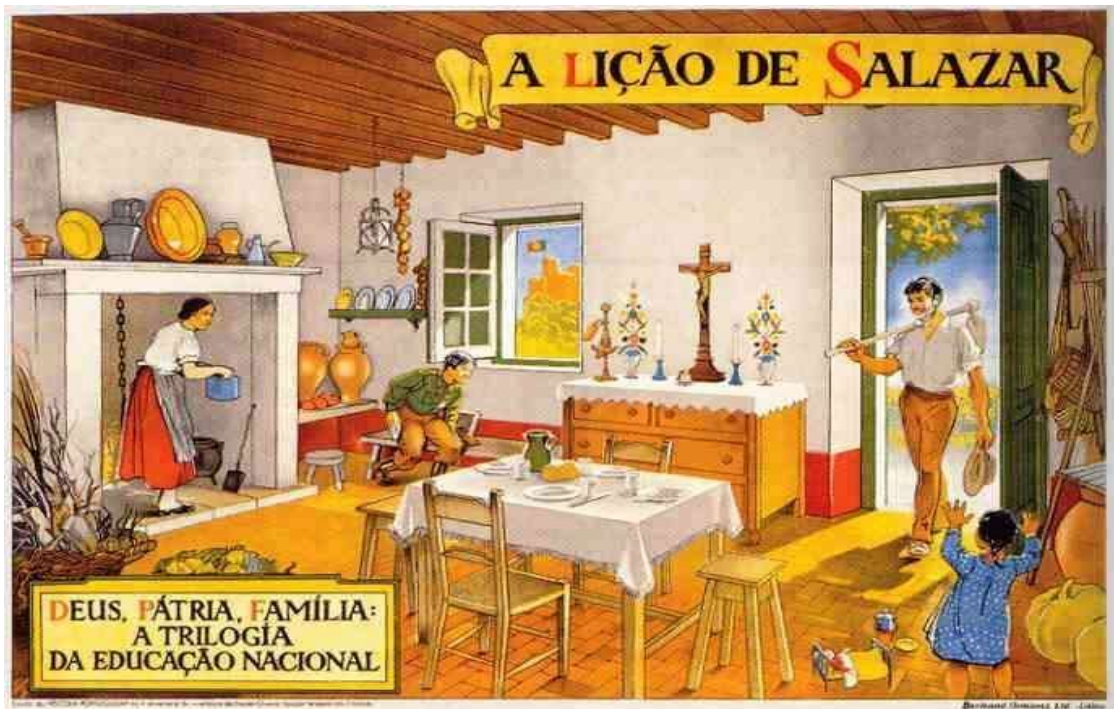
What is interesting is the fact that the postcard was not used as official propaganda; its circulation was actually forbidden. My interpretation is that it could create the idea that Salazar (dressed as D. Afonso Henriques, first King of Portugal, 1109–1185) was in favour of the monarchy, therefore leading to speculation about his fidelity to the regime. A deeper analysis of the postcard shows that the parallel between D. Afonso Henriques and Salazar is a reference to male authority and heroic masculinity, as saviours and protectors of the nation. Examining it closely, Salazar's posture is very rigid, looking straight forward, with an authoritarian air. The shield and the sword used to defend the nation from the Moors during D. Afonso Henrique's reign are not only a valorisation of the past but a symbol of Salazar's protection of the nation as stated in the slogan on the shield: "All for the nation, nothing against the nation". It was a simplistic way of creating and projecting a mythical image of Salazar, who would restore past values long forgotten, but above all, it represents a union between history and myth that, if used by the state, could have helped to consolidate the regime.

Nevertheless, three main elements are present: the valorisation of the historical and glorious past of Portugal, the cult of the chief, and the totalitarianism of the state. Built on the idea of national interest, Estado Novo used “an instrument of ideological, authoritarian and statist inculcation, immersed in the everyday life of people (at families, school, work and leisure level)” (Rosas, 2001:1031, my translation), a mythical and inclusive idea of Portuguese culture that Rosas defined as the ideological founding myths of Estado Novo. Those myths directed Estado Novo policies by the values of the greatness of the regime, authority, poverty, order and Catholicism.

Based on three pillars – God, Motherland and Family – the philosophies of Estado Novo were the “indisputable truths” of the national revolution, detailed in a postcard (Figure 4) from a collection entitled ‘A Lição de Salazar’³. The postcards were distributed to all primary schools to exemplify the virtues that should be acquired, glorify the image of the Chief of State, the father, the priest and the professor with a clear message of male dominance and authority. Worthy of examination is the predominant use of the colours red, yellow and green (as in the national flag), bright colours that not only referred to the greatness of the regime but also caught students’ attention, allowing a better inculcation of the values presented in the explanatory footnote:

Notions of God, Motherland and Family. Show how things contained in those words are associated with the universal good while serving the national interests of all countries. The happiness of those who believe in God, love motherland and have formed a Christian family. Reinvigorating the Christian feelings, the Portuguese state only reintegrates Portugal in glorious paths where we amazed the world with immortal deeds. The great Portuguese were great believers, great patriots, exemplary family leaders. Insist on the virtues of the head of state, in the family beauty, in the love of family life. Salazar a son of Christian parents and his whole life is a wonderful example of Christian virtues, elevated to heroism. (my translation)

³ “The Teachings of Salazar” (1938) – postcards designed by Jaime Martins Barata, Emérito Nunes e Raquel Roque Gameiro as a part of several political and cultural initiatives to exalt the actions of the regime on the tenth anniversary of the arrival of Salazar in government.



Noção do Deus, Pátria e Família. Mostrar como as ideias contidas naquelas palavras andam associadas ao bem universal, servindo ao mesmo tempo os interesses nacionais de todos os países. A felicidade dos que crêem em Deus, amam a Pátria e têm família cristãmente constituída.

Revigorando os sentimentos cristãos, o Estado português apenas reintegra Portugal nos caminhos de glória por onde assombrámos o mundo com feitos imortais. Os grandes portugueses foram grandes crentes, excelentes patriotas, exemplares chefes de família.

Insistir nas virtudes do chefe de família, nas belezas da família, no amor da vida familiar. Salazar é filho de pais cristãos, e toda a sua vida é admirável exemplo das virtudes cristãs, elevadas até ao heroísmo.

Figure 4: Salazar's Lessons – God, Motherland and Family. The Trilogy of Nacional Education

Source: Biblioteca Nacional Portuguesa (National Portuguese Library)

With this in mind, it is clear that the postcard in Figure 4 evokes ideological myths: the myth of honest poverty with a small, clean house (the Portuguese rural house) without abundance; the cross in an improvised altar near the door, evoking the myth of the Catholic essence; through the window, a castle with the national flag is visible, referring to the imperial myth. The corporative order myth is portrayed by the family: the male breadwinner walking in with a mattock on his shoulder, the image of male power and authority, the chief of the family; the wife cooking, raising her head a little and smiling when the husband comes home, maintaining her submissive role of wife and mother, carer for the house and the children's educator; and the sons excitedly greeting their father after his long day of work.

One particularly stereotypical distinction of gender roles is indicated in the way the children are represented: the son wears the uniform of the Portuguese Youth and holds a book in his hand, while the daughter is on the other side of the house, playing with dolls and pans. In more detail, the dolls are tucked up in bed, and the pans are by the bedside, as if the daughter

was cooking and taking care of the sick, the maternal touch that was instilled into little girls.

Gender roles are also expressed spatially, differentiating accessible spaces and predicting their destiny: the working man and the boy studying to follow his father's path; the wife cooking and taking care of the house; while the little girl recreates this through play – continually associating everyday actions taking place in a public and sociable space with men, while confining women to a private and domestic environment. It is male authority versus female submission in a patriarchal, Christian and illiterate model of the perfect family. In the next section, I will demonstrate, supported by secondary literature sources, how the family was an institution underpinning the regime, confining women to private spaces, and restraining their freedom and power to choose.

4.1.1. Women's Constraints: Family

As the essence of the ideological and political project of Estado Novo, the family was the target for several traditionalist policies based on Salazar's vision of family as an "irreducible social cell, core origin of the parish, of the municipality and, therefore of the nation: it is, by nature, the first political organic element of the Constitutional State" (Salazar, 1935:85; my translation). The state favoured the institution of the married couple as the basis for the family, which protected maternity and made it more natural for parents to comply with their duty to instruct and educate children through official establishments.

As a source of conservation and development of the race, and the primary basis of education, discipline, social harmony and the foundation of the political order (Constituição da República Portuguesa, 1933; Article 11), family was an institution vigorously defended and protected by the state against the corruption of its values:

when the family falls apart, breaks up the house, breaks up the home, starts to untie the kinship (...); a name is lost, a number is acquired – social life takes a different trait. (Salazar, 1934, pp.307-309)

Family was "the necessary source of life, source of moral wealth, man's stimulus for his efforts in the struggle for his daily bread" (Salazar, 1936:133-134; my translation), a powerful tool to tackle man's individualism and isolation as he "cannot be created or live nor develop itself only by individual means" (Salazar, 1942:357; my translation). As an authoritarian structure based on the father figure, the family would guarantee the morality, consistency and cohesion of social groups by transmitting values such as the father's authority, the children's respect, the honour and modesty of the woman, and love for the motherland. Therefore, it was

put forward that:

We do not discuss God and virtue. We do not discuss Motherland and its history. We do not discuss authority and its prestige. We do not discuss Family and its morale. We do not discuss the glory of work and its duty. (Salazar, 1936:130, my translation)



Figure 5: “A família” (Illustration of the Portuguese family)

Source: Livro da Primeira Classe, 1942

The family was a disciplinarian device (Martins, 1986), disaggregating spaces and bodies for better control over the conduct of the individual. The house was a place of comfort and isolation against irrational or rebellious ideas, a “small, independent house, inhabited in full ownership by the family” (Salazar, 1935; my translation) where harmony was ensured, eradicating the fragmentation and irrationality of society. An area of salvation responding to several of the regime’s designs, “make the bodies rational (...), obtain competent individuals in the domestic economy (...), form obedient nationalists (...), prevent the debauchery, the licence of mores” (Martins, 1986:82; my translation), as in a geography of safe places. It was further considered a place of standardisation, a tiered space where places of authority were designated based on the biological function of sexes, stifling and decreasing female rights, forcing women into “gender submission, economic and affective dependence, (...) being made hostages of a logical high vigilance and self-censorship, hostages of the everyday” (Freire and Abreu, 2010:19; my translation) and confining them to the home.

Family duties “were distributed once and for all: the father was the power; the mother was the administration and the son was the vassal. It should be the family order according to

‘the natural order of the social hierarchy’” (Llop, 1996:45), a code of conduct based on respect for hierarchy and age, obedience and gratitude.

The roles of men and women within the family were defined by law, conferring on the husband “especially the duty to defend the person and property of the woman and to her the obligation to pay obedience to the husband” (Portuguese Civil Code, 1867; art. 1185; my translation). The power granted to the man was so extensive that his control of the woman pervaded every aspect of her life. As a mother, the woman could only be heard and participate in aspects that directly concerned the interests of the child, while the father had the competencies of guiding the instruction and education of his sons, defending and representing them, even when unborn, and emancipating them (Civil Code of 1966; art.1881; my translation), with power over the woman’s body:

Agora se me disser, mas verdadeiramente para a maior parte das pessoas como é que era? Eu penso que às mulheres, a muitas de nós não lhes foram reconhecidos os seus direitos, desde os direitos mais básicos. O direito de livre expressão, livre pensamento, inclusivamente o direito sobre o que fazer com o seu próprio corpo, isso era evidentemente por ser mulher. Estava-se muito mais limitado nos seus direitos fundamentais. Nessa altura era assim, a mulher estava muito submissa. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho,2015)

[Now if you tell me what was it really like for most of the people? I think to women, to a lot of us, their rights were not recognised, starting from the most basic ones. The right to free expression, free thought, inclusively the right to their own body, that was clearly because they were women. Our fundamental rights were much more limited. At the time it was like this, the woman was very submissive.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

As spouse, household deity and Mary, mother of Christ, the virtuous mother and wife had the most important “job” in society: the “moral chief” of the family. The functions entrusted to women followed the natural order of things, and they were expected to be enough for women’s happiness, as Salazar said in an interview to António Ferro in 1932:

The married woman, as the married man, is the column of the family, the indispensable basis of a work of moral reconstruction. Inside the home, the woman is not a slave. Must be cherished, loved and respected, because its function of mother, educator of their children, is not inferior to man. In countries or places

where the married woman competes with the work of man (...) – the institution of the family by which we fight as a cornerstone of an organised society is threatened with ruin. (...) Let the man fight with life on the outside, on the street (...) I do not know, after all, which will have the most beautiful, higher and useful role (Salazar's interview to António Ferro, 1932:133; my translation).

The woman's role in the renovation of society's mentality positioned her in an apparent approximation of equality with the man, although Pimentel (2001) believes, that in the quote above, Salazar indicates a clear position about woman's return to the home:

an apparent equality of value in the diversity of roles, the distinction between single and married woman, the division of spaces – public/private – between men and women, the defence of the traditional family in which woman was the 'anchor', the fight against the liberal enemy would have thrown her into the job market, where she would enter into competition with man and, finally, the purpose of her return to the home, through the 'beautiful' role of mother and wife. (Pimentel, 2001:27, my translation)

A clear division of spaces, social positions and gender hierarchy advocated by Maria Guardiola, leader of the Female Portuguese Youth and characterised by Mónica (1978:275) as "two pillars, albeit uneven, formed the couple: the father, provider of the home, and the mother, whose main occupation was to take care of the home". This was the model of the perfect family that, following Salazar's desire, would prevent further agitation and instability to the family experience.

The portrayal of women as "privileged" subjects in the regeneration of the Portuguese race and the transmission of values and traditions within the family was part of a strategy of consolidation and social cohesion. However, this relation was ambiguous as it gave women a sense of importance and proximity to the regime, while imposing a detachment by relegating them to the private sphere.

This relationship of proximity and distance is no different from other European dictatorships. Even stronger was the relation between the Portuguese dictatorship and the Church, that with its support helped to consolidate and maintain the regime. In the next section, the Church's discourses and actions will be examined, demonstrating through the voice of the Portuguese women geographers the compliance of institutions in women's re-education and restriction.

4.1.2. Women's Constraints: Church

The relation between the regime and the church is one of the most important aspect to understand women's position in the Portuguese society at the time of this study. Braga da Cruz (1992) considers that the Church promoted the rise of Salazar and Estado Novo, its consolidation and development, especially in the early days of the regime through the ideological incorporation of masses in the regime.

Despite the concordat of separation between the state and the church (Lucena, 1976), the State-Church relationship resulted in a clear rapprochement and collaboration between institutions to guide the Portuguese people through morals. Gaining public recognition, prestige and capacity of influence (Braga da Cruz, 1992) at the social and educational level, to guide and educate Portuguese people through morals and Christian doctrine, the Church had a key role in the ideological affirmation of Estado Novo and the inculcation of its values into society.

In a country that "presented a flood of Catholic ideas (...) directly linked to the origins of Portuguese Estado Novo (Paschkes, 1985:8), the respect for the State and the ideal of good behavior in society was strongly influenced by the Catholic Church, that had the responsibility of rechristianization of the country and the task of framing symbolically and ideologically various groups of society with:

a moral of (re-)education, of collective and individual regeneration, (...) the shape of this particular 'new man' of Salazar, able to interpret and comply with the spirit and the ontological destination of the nation that preceded and overlapped him, binding his attitudes, thoughts and lifestyles, redefining and subordinating the particular to the Empire of 'national interest'. (Rosas, 2012:1037; my translation)

Women were one of the chosen targets for re-education and social indoctrination, and their social role was extensively discussed as part of a search for the ideal Portuguese woman. Guidelines of women's education were expanded to several sectors of Estado Novo, such as schools, the regime's youth organisations and the Church.

Brasão (1999:16) stated that the Church had multiple recommendations to rectify certain wrong behaviours, necessary to "straighten their look, make them reject concealment and overture, teach them honesty of gestures or the correct way of being in spaces of social convenience":

Aliás as pessoas não tinham consciência disso, como a minha mãe não tinha que ia à missa. Estou convencida que no ambiente religioso que a minha mãe frequentava, não tinham consciência de como politicamente eram subjugados e a

igreja só respondia às ideias de Salazar. Ajudava a criá-las, a fecundar. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[In fact, people were not aware of that, such as my mother when she went to church. I'm certain that in the religious environment that my mother attended, they did not realise how they were politically subjugated and that the Church only answered to Salazar's ideas. It helped creating them, impregnating them.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Havia essa imagem que passava, mas passava também associada um pouco à religião. A religião que adoptava muito o papel da mulher mais submissa. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2015)

[That was the projected image, but it was also associated a little with religion, the religion which greatly adopted the role of a more submissive woman.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

As the interviewees show, women blindly followed the Church's advice, internalising the values of obedience shared by the regime and the Church. The teachings of Catholic institutions for women, where young girls learned to "get used to order, cleanliness, punctuality, to perfection at work, to study, to calm, to forgiveness, to serenity, sacrifice and renunciation" (Juventude Católica Feminina, s.d.:25; my translation) highlights the Church's compliance with the regime in constraining women:

E há também o papel da igreja, as mulheres sempre foram não sei se mais religiosas, mas aparentemente mais praticantes do que os homens. Portanto se calhar tudo isto tinha a ver com o regime. Se calhar, não. Tinha seguramente a ver com o regime, não é por acaso, nada disto é descomprometido. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[And there was also the role played by the Church. Women have always been, although I'm not sure, more religious, but apparently more practising than men. Thus, maybe all of this had to do with the regime. Maybe not. It was certainly related to the regime, it is not a coincidence, none of this is uncompromised.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The Church sought to fight women's unruly pleasures, resigning them to a dignified silence in public and private spaces. As Brasão (1999) shows, to be exemplary, women should pursue outdoor walks, domestic chores and be a good Catholic, "angelically pure; eucharistically fervent, fervently apostles" (Cardinal Patriarch Cerejeira in *Acção Católica Portuguesa*, 1931; my translation). As such, socialising outside the Church was frowned upon because women could fall into temptation, and hanging out on the streets, at cafés or at parties was highly reprehensible:

Nos anos 60 se fosse a uma vila ver uma mulher a tomar um café numa esplanada com as amigas, isso era impensável. Eram logo faladas. Os comportamentos podem ser muito fortes. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2015)

[In the '60s, if someone went to a village to see a woman who was taking a coffee on a terrace with her friends, that was unthinkable. People immediately talked about them. Behaviours can be very strong.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Women were subjected to Catholic morality, their bodies socially and sexually silenced, solely procreators, their pleasure suppressed by rigid standards. Brasão (1999:116) sees the relationship between a woman and her body as a means to conduct women to religion, where "the hands, as with the look and the ideal smile, materialised in the figure of the Christian woman, making the ideal synthesis by adjusting female behaviour outside to match the interior behaviour. Its appearance, closed and contained in gestures, must correspond to a soul that repudiates desires, passions and unreasonable ambitions". The Church rejected the aesthetics of the body, and flaws (such as vanity and sensuality) had to be corrected. Maria Fernanda Alegria emphasised this aspect in her interview:

Nos tempos em que eu estive com essa minha tia, uma menina de sete anos tinha que se cobrir com um véu para entrar na igreja. Lembro-me de a minha mãe me mandar um vestido (...), para eu ir ao exame de terceira classe que tinha uma manga que deixava ver os cotovelos. A minha tia achou que isso não era adequado, que já estava a mostrar demais. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[During the period I was with my aunt, a seven-year-old girl had to cover herself with a veil to go into a church. I remember my mother sent me a dress to wear in the third-grade exam which had a sleeve that exposed the elbows. My aunt thought it was not adequate, that it was already showing too much.] (Maria

Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Beauty lay “not in the face, or the dresses or hair, but the virtues of the soul and the qualities of the heart” (Revista Stella, 1941; my translation). The ideal female individual should develop through the rhetoric of virtue and conservation of human grace. Her body and behaviour must be reserved and preserved for her husband and motherhood:

E as mulheres viviam num ambiente muito fechado. As mulheres mesmo que tivessem opiniões próprias, e raramente pensavam nisso, tinham receio de as manifestar. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[And women lived in a very closed environment. Even if women had their own opinions, and they rarely thought about that, they were afraid of expressing them.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

A sociedade portuguesa em que vivíamos. As mulheres não podiam votar, as mulheres andarem de calças era indecente. Isso era terrível. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[The Portuguese society in which we lived, women could not vote, women wearing trousers was obscene. It was terrible.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The Church’s discourse involved the sacralisation of the female body, in a mobilisation of wombs handed over to the service of the motherland. As the member of the parliament Cândida Parreira (1934) pictured it during a speech in the Parliament, it was a way of preventing several cataclysms and threats to Portuguese society. The moral action of the Christian woman, her correctness and sweet voice, as well as her conviction in her beliefs, was used to falsely empower the woman. She should see herself as a privileged individual, with a firm place in the transmission of ideological values in the family, in the moral and mental revolution of society.

This was the propaganda used by the regime to infiltrate the family and private sphere, confining women to specific functions and preparing them for the great mission of generating the future children of the nation. As such, in the Estado Novo vision of a perfect society, there was no place for women to work outside the home, limiting and marginalising them. In the next section, I will expose how this aspect constrained women’s lives and how real this restriction was, using examples from different parts of the country as well as the memories of the women geographers.

4.1.3. Women's Constraints: Labour

The recognition of the male/female and public/private dichotomies allows us to comprehend how concepts of public and private spaces are constructed and how access to these spaces is defined. In Salazar's regime, access to spaces and places was based on the roles assigned to each member of society, following the motto of the Minister of Public Instruction, Carneiro Pacheco (1887–1957): “a place for each one, each one in its place” (Pimentel, 2011:393; my translation).

The use of the term “place” in the construction of difference in Portuguese society is interesting, considering that difference is grounded in and constituted through space, place and situated social networks (Hanson and Pratt, 1995:277). Spaces and places are products “of a lived sense of social locatedness, mobility and visibility, in the social relations of seeing and being seen” (Pollock, 2012:93) where processes of socialisation and representation, as part of a spatial structure organised by power, control and access, shape the individual ideologically, allowing the division of space and gender.

Women's difference and positionality in Portuguese society began with returning them to the home, where the maternal role was glorified: “motherhood and the perpetuation of the species represented women's ‘supreme mission’; her only destiny and means of self-realisation recognised in all cultural guidelines” (Nash; 2000:688). Therefore, when intersected with the familiar role in a positive and educational revaluation of housework, women should be happy to stay at home; after all:

women are first of all mothers (wives, daughters, sisters), mothers in potential, and as such have a duty to provide and maintain life, take care of children's socialisation, take care of the welfare of the family. (Ramos, 2000:709; my translation)

Women should understand that “happiness is not reached through pleasure, but through resignation” (Salazar, 1977; my translation), with their only social function being to act as the husband's chaperon, as shown in the book “*Novas Cartas Portuguesas*” (1972):

Man tasks are those of courage, force and leadership. This is: being presidents, generals, being priests, soldiers, hunters, being bullfighters, being footballers and judges, etc., etc. (...) Then there are woman tasks, which above all are to have children, protect them and look after them, give them education at home and affection; it is also the task of a woman to being a teacher and other things, such as seamstress, hairdresser, maid, nurse. There are also women doctors, engineers,

lawyers, etc., but my dad says it is better if we do not rely on them, that women were made for home life, which is a very beautiful task and gives pleasure, to have everything very neat and tidy, for when our husband gets home, he can rest from working to support us and the children. (pp.238; my translation)

This text exposes the gender divisions imposed as part of a complex cultural network and mindset, defining different spaces and perceptions and conducting women to domesticity and public marginalisation. The Portuguese conservative, patriarchal and religious mentality enforced several constraints on women, legitimised in the first Portuguese civil code – Seabra’s code (1867) – widely used in Estado Novo.

The hierarchical structure of Portuguese society, studied by Jorge Dias (1955), allows a better understanding of how the patriarchal rules and discourses were applied. The north of the country is described as a more traditional, conservative and religious region, with large patriarchal families where the distinction between the interests of the man and the woman was maintained. Inside family homes and after meals, men and women were separated into groups, discussing issues relevant to their own interests. Women were kept apart in a space destined to be “hers”, but how much of hers was it? In “her” space, a woman was in charge by “commission”, a situation that is summed up in the saying “she controls the house, I control her”.

But in the south of the country with “less social cohesion, lack of family links (...) and smaller ties between the individual and the community” (Dias, 1955:2; my translation), power in the family resided in the figure of the woman, more specifically in Alentejo, a matriarchal society where “the woman, being the most stable element of the village, ends up being the dominant element” (Dias, 1955:4; my translation). Raised in a rural society, Celeste Coelho recalled that aspect:

Verificamos que em todas as classes sociais não é pelo facto de ser mulher que se deixa de poder ter algum protagonismo, mas isso muitas vezes tem a ver também por um lado com a personalidade. Famílias que poderiam ter poucos recursos financeiros em que as mulheres são determinantes e se afirmam, coisa que na sociedade rural é muito comum. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2015)

[We observe that in all social classes it is not because you are a woman that you cannot have some prominence, but sometimes that has also to do, on one hand, with personality. Families that could have had meagre financial means in which women are decisive and assert themselves, those are very common in rural society.]

(Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The existing gender division had a higher incidence among children, separating tasks and spaces of leisure and learning, with “the boys running free, while daughters are watched over and learn from the mother’s housework” (Dias, 1955:4; my translation), making the common space an area of differentiation. In the south of Portugal, women’s social role overlapped with men’s, as hard-working women and administrators of assets (Dias, 1955:5) in case the husband was absent.

This was one of Estado Novo’s main concerns about women: the world of labour – “the origin of all evil: the decline of the birth rate; of child mortality; of family dispersal; of morals’ degeneration” (Lagrange, 2000:509) – that many women tried to access. The preoccupation with (a) the hygienic and moral consequences of the abandonment of homes; (b) the masculinisation of women; and (c) the degeneration of the race and family conduct led to the proposal in 1936 of “banning all women at work, and to the married ones, of working in trade and industry as it is incompatible with the feminine nature, moral and physical weakness” (Pimentel, 2001:40; my translation), extending it later to other professions.

However, families’ precarious economic conditions overrode the law, and in the north of the country, women were not deterred, doing “much of the field work, even ploughing the land and working the corn” (Dias, 1955:16; my translation). Women were able to face all eventualities of life even when that meant working outside the home so that the husband could migrate. The regime’s dismissal in 1966 of “the husband’s consent to exercise public functions or professions, or to publish or to represent their works or disposal of intellectual property” (art. 1676, n.1, Portuguese Civil Code, 1966; my translation) demonstrates verbatim that the regime had to allow exceptions concerning women’s labour. In my interpretation, this shows that the discourses of domesticity were not blindly followed by Portuguese women since the regime’s implementation in 1933.

Nevertheless, working limitations were still enforced. The protective and restrictive measures “in conformity with the requirements of morality, public defence, motherhood, domestic life, education and moral good” (Decree-Law 24 048, 1933; art. 31; my translation) not only minimised the abusive recourse to cheap labour and gave priority to unemployed men, but they also denied women the same conditions as men for access to the world of labour:

As mulheres não tinham as mesmas condições de acesso a determinados bens, serviços ou profissões; havia também muito o peso da censura da sociedade sobre a mulher - o que vão pensar? Certas actividades profissionais eram só de homens, era qualquer coisa quase inata. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2015)

[Women did not have the same access conditions to specific goods, services or professions; there was also the weight of society's censorship on women – what will they think? Certain professional activities were meant only for men, it was almost innate.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Women's access to diplomatic careers, the judiciary and leadership positions in public administration was constrained, and in this case the husband had the ability to deny his wife access or terminate her contract of employment (Civil Code of 1966, art. 1676, n.2; my translation).

Interestingly, contradictions emerged when analysing women's access and position in the labour world: in 30 years, women went from being stay-at-home mothers/wives to working in public functions on their own terms. However, in other lucrative professions, the husband's consent was still necessary, not forgetting that article 1677 stated that "it belongs to the woman, during life in common, the domestic government, according to the conditions of the spouses" (Civil Code of 1966, art.1677; my translation). These contradictions are a clear statement of gender differences and women's false sense of freedom, ambiguous and incoherent as both give and deny women the power to decide their professional life.

In her study of Estado Novo and women, Irene Pimentel (2001) supports this idea in her analysis of the evolution of women and work between 1930 and 1960, highlighting that the statistics would be heavily biased by ideology. The female working population outside the home (i.e. working for the state and private companies) was 27.4% in 1930, 15.7% in 1940, increasing slightly in 1950 to 22.7%, regressing by 1960 to 18.7% and increasing again by 1970 to 26.4%. Celeste Coelho gave her opinion on this situation:

As alterações socioeconómicas do Estado Novo e com a migração para as cidades, e as dificuldades de habitação e de trabalho, as mulheres vinham com os maridos, mas muitas vezes elas não conseguiam trabalhar e, portanto, faziam um esforço para que os filhos ou as filhas pudessem ascender um bocadinho. Achava-se naturalmente que havia certo tipo de profissões que eram para as mulheres, e depois havia muito a ideia de que as mulheres deveriam ser professoras primárias, enfermeiras, algumas profissões, mas que não exigiriam muito formação universitária. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2015)

[Due to the socioeconomic modifications of Estado Novo, urban migration, and housing and work difficulties, women came with their husbands, but most of the time, they could not work and therefore made an effort so their sons or daughters

could ascend a little. People naturally believed that certain types of professions were meant for women, and then there was this idea that women should be primary teachers, nurses, some professions which would not require a university education.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

It is interesting that, in 1930, when women were not formally allowed to work outside the home, the percentage of women doing so was higher than in 1960, when women had more freedom to work in public services. I conclude, from the data collected, that despite the regime prohibition of women's work outside the home, it was not possible to implement its programmes without women.

The regime's intrusion in women's choice of professional life interfered directly with their private life, as in the case of primary school teachers who need the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' permission to get married, keeping marriage within the same social class and thus preventing social mobility (Nóvoa 1990:498). Furthermore, flight attendants for TAP (Portuguese Air Transport), female staff in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs or nurses in private hospitals were not allowed to marry at all. These prohibitions seem to go against Estado Novo's vision of the family.

However, women's choice between work and personal life was always conditional. They could have an occupation pre-defined by the state that would also decide if they could get married and to whom. Otherwise, if they were not married, they would have to give up any professional career and return home to take care of the family (her parents, brothers or sisters) as it was not socially acceptable to be a single working woman, as it was a sign of free behaviour and emancipation.

Again, what must be highlighted is the contradiction between what history records and reality. Women of high social classes, where the reputation of the family was at stake, would eventually give up work. In lower social classes, where the economic situation was quite fragile, single, widowed and even married women worked in factories, in agriculture and as food sellers in public markets; I heard this many times from my own grandmother, a widow and mother of three children talking about her own life experience.

Nevertheless, across social classes, the public space was mainly a male space, a situation that changed considerably in the 1940s, when women start to become aware of the importance of being as literate as men.

4.2. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have showed how Estado Novo structures, policies and discourses formally constrained the woman, defining her role as a submissive wife and mother and the boundary between the woman's public and private spaces. It has also highlighted that, contrary to what has been presented as fact, women from all social classes entered the labour force, despite the limitations and the discourses of domesticity surrounding them. I have showed how those discourses are key to understanding the construction of subjectivity of women in the familiar religious and labour environments during Estado Novo, but the educational environment is also important.

The next chapter will discuss the regime educational policies and how it affected women's education and access to studies.

Chapter 5

Women's Education: Framing Female Minds

In this chapter, I will demonstrate how the Portuguese educational system was moulded according to Estado Novo's ideology. Primary school books and female educational programmes will be critically analysed to decode the underlying messages of gender differentiation and domesticity. Furthermore, I will focus on the particularities of Salazar's educational policies towards women, analysing women's access to studies from primary school to university. The experience of the interviewees is vital in understanding women's position in the educational system as students and the asymmetry of treatment between male and female subjects. This chapter presents the formative experiences of the Portuguese women geographers and the educational path that later allowed them to pursue studies in Geography.

5.1. Education: tradition, nationalism and elitism

Education underwent several radical changes during Estado Novo, from 1936 onwards, to frame youth and particularly women. The educational system, which was highly controlled to reduce any threat to the state, aimed to transmit the regime's ideology.

School activity was enlarged, assuming a moral and political dimension where the foundational concepts of the state – traditionalism, corporatism. Hierarchy and nationalism – were the main focus (Mónica, 1973).

Citing the lower levels of literacy, and what the regime saw as moral and physical degradation in Portugal (Pimentel, 2001), in 1936, the Minister of Public Instruction, Carneiro Pacheco, developed and applied the first changes to education. National education was redesigned to shape the child's mind and brain (Pacheco, 1936:117–118, my translation). Several educational measures were put into action, assuring that everyone had a basic level of education and culture. Basic instruction in reading, writing and numeracy was implemented, to address the high rate of illiteracy (Chart 3) that plagued the country.

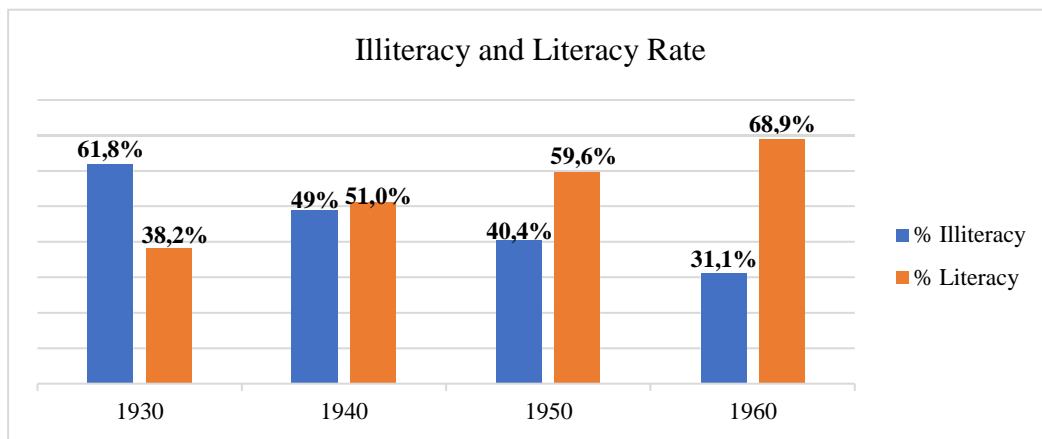


Chart 3: Illiteracy and Literacy Rate in Portugal (1930 – 1960)

Source: N6voa, A. (1990) A 'Educa76o Nacional'. In Serr6o, J.; Oliveira Marques, A.H. and Rosas, F. in Portugal e o Estado Novo. Vol. XII. Lisboa, Editorial Presen77a

Primary education was broadened and made mandatory for all social classes, and the teaching programmes were reviewed, simplified and reduced from five to three years. Furthermore, the regime developed and adopted the 'Livro 6nico' (only book of education) to spread the 'true story' and strengthen the training of a national consciousness. To form a political and moral consciousness, the regime invested in a Christian education and national activities and ceremonies.

The educational system was given over to a nationalist and conservative pedagogy that did not allow the use and teaching of international "ideas and practices (leading) to a great impoverishment of the fabric of Portuguese education" (N6voa, 1990:460; my translation). Scientific rationality and practical knowledge were devalued as they did not allow the reception and inculcation of Estado Novo values. Critical and argumentative thinking had no value, and mechanisms to control access to education increased. The educational policy of Estado Novo, published in the official bulletin of the Ministry of Public Instruction (1916–1936), aimed to ensure and enforce a minimum of instruction to all; selecting a minority of students for more advanced study (N6voa, 1990). Educational institutions reproduced the concept of social class and power relations, creating a hierarchical and elitist educational system that selected only a few to ascend to higher studies, differentiating students socially, culturally and educationally. It had the function of withdraw students form higher education, transmit selectively general culture to elites and locking social mobility in the middle of the 'mass' (Pimentel, 2001).

Salazar's real concern was the future of the nation, and only educated elites, the future leaders of the nation would be able to:

control and lead the masses, promote the 'virtues of Portuguese people' (their stoic attachment to order, work and the hardships of life), organise consensus and

conformity, in short, ensure the stability and durability of the regime. (Rosas, 2001:1038; my translation)

In Portugal, a privileged minority were groomed for higher education.

If several of the women in this study came from low social classes, how and why were they able to ascend to higher positions in society? I will answer these questions in the next section, by analysing female educational programmes and the life experiences of the Portuguese women geographers interviewed as former students in Salazar's regime to understand the real impact of Salazar's educational policies in their lives.

5.2. Women's access to studies

The purpose of this section is to demonstrate the differences between men's and women's education, the educational obstacles imposed on women and how in some cases they overcame them. Education for girls and young women exalted traditional roles:

To sew. To cook. To be kind. To be obedient. To read useful books. To flee from idleness. To avoid gossiping. To keep a secret. To be gracious and cheerful. To conceal her genius. To be very forgiving. To be the joy of the house. To take good care of the children. To convince by sweetness. To not speak out of turn. To be the poetry and flower of the house. To not be too jealous. To try to become enjoyable. To not walk through the shops. To be the support and strength of her husband. To have a great goodness of heart. To marry a man for his merit. To be bold in all circumstances. To know that the purpose of existence is an improvement. (in Modas e Bordados, 1928; my translation)

These teachings started in the private sphere with the mother, moving on to the public sphere, in primary school, and after its conclusion, women returned home. Women were "raised in the family (...) specialised in labours, housework and cooking" (Dias, 1955:16; my translation) to take care of domestic life and family and to arrange a marriage:

(...) naquela altura as próprias mães eram culpadas porque diferenciavam a educação, preparavam o filho e a filha para as suas funções. Desde berço que as coisas se começavam a encaminhar. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[(...) at the time mothers were guilty, because they distinguished the education and prepared their son or daughter for their roles. Things started from the

cradle.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

E havia um outro aspecto, a sexualidade. Era perfeitamente aceite e dizia-se muitas vezes "que sorte tens pr teres um filho", isto porque as raparigas atenção! A educação das meninas era diferente. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[And there was another aspect, the sex. It was perfectly accepted, and many times people said, ‘how lucky you are for having a son’, because daughters required attention! The education of girls was different.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

This situation cut across all social classes, despite slight differences, as Fernanda Cravidão recalled in a conversation about women’s access to education:

Nas classes que tinham um elevado grau de instrução e mais algum poder económico, da burguesia rural, o que acontecia era que muitas das crianças estavam até à quarta classe em casa e eram ensinados pela mãe ou por uma perceptora ou por alguém que ia dar as aulas a casa. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[In the classes that had a high degree of education and more economic power, in the rural bourgeoisie, many of the children stayed home until the fourth grade and were taught by the mother or a nanny or someone who homeschooled.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The barrier to accessing the educational system was higher for girls. Despite the regime’s desire for a minimal education, boys would pursue a higher level of education in every social class, while women were more likely to be illiterate (Chart 4).

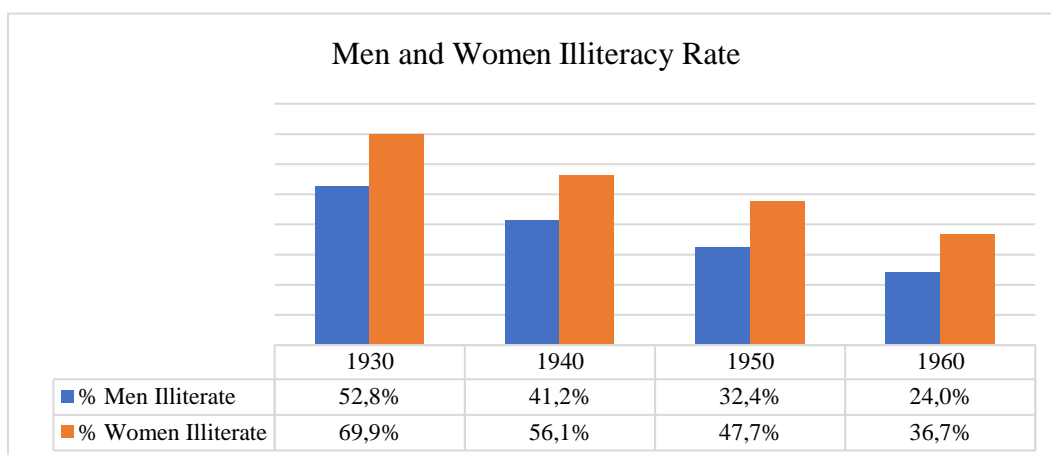


Chart 4: Illiteracy Rate (1930 – 1960) according to gender

Source: Nóvoa, A. (1990) A 'Educação Nacional'. In Serrão, J.; Oliveira Marques, A.H. and Rosas, F. in Portugal e o Estado Novo. Vol. XII. Lisboa, Editorial Presença

From 1930 until 1960 on average, 15% more women than men were illiterate.

Celeste Coelho suggested reasons for women's restricted access to education:

O acesso ao ensino das mulheres era muito menor, porque tradicionalmente numa família, havendo filhos e filhas privilegiava-se o ensino dos rapazes e não das raparigas, mas isso nas famílias com algum bem-estar. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[The access to education for women was much lower, because traditionally, in a family with sons and daughters, the education of boys is more privileged, but this happened in families that were economically more comfortable.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

This economic aspect influenced women's access to studies, especially if the family lived in a rural area, had more than one child and experienced economic difficulties. Economic factors and patriarchy are intimately linked in women's access to education:

Eu penso que também havia uma outra questão. Em algumas famílias que eu também conheci, as famílias com dois filhos - um rapaz e uma rapariga - se não vivessem nas grandes cidades não havia condições para mandar os dois estudar, e aí tinham que fazer opções porque a rapariga tinha que ficar em casa a cuidar dos pais ou dos avós. Estas relações se calhar, tiveram algum efeito. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[I believe there was another question. In some of the families that I also met, the families with two sons – a boy and a girl – if they did not live in the big cities, there were not resources to send them both to study, and then they had to decide because the girl had to stay home to take care of her parents or grandparents. Maybe these relationships had some effect.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The social role of women, to whom fell the tasks of creating comfort, calm and well-being in the home, and assuring the future of the Portuguese race through their maternal robustness, was an integral part of female education, regardless of the social class to which girls belonged:

(...) todas as classes sociais educam as raparigas de uma forma diferente dos rapazes. Acham sempre que as meninas é que têm que fazer a comida e as limpezas e que os homens trazem o dinheiro para casa, por isso é-lhes permitido uma certa quantidade de liberdades. E o que acontece é que talvez nas classes mais altas as raparigas eram mais educadas, embora com esta função diferenciada, não eram tão educadas para o trabalho, mas mais a ideia de saber gerir a casa. E talvez nas classes mais modestas, mais populares elas teriam mesmo que trabalhar muitas vezes fora, portanto no fundo teriam uma vida muito mais difícil. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[...] all social classes educate girls differently from boys. They always think that girls are the ones who should cook and clean, and because men bring home the money, they are allowed a certain amount of liberties. And what happens is that maybe in the highest classes, the girls were more educated, albeit with this differentiating role, they were not so work-oriented in education, but more oriented towards house management. And perhaps in the more modest, more popular classes they would have to work often, therefore they would have had a more difficult life.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The educational tool used to spread the regime's ideology was the "Livro único" (school books from the first to the third grade). These were designed to propagandise Portuguese culture and the sense of "Portugueseness" through its aesthetic and simple and persuasive artistic language. The 'Livro da Primeira Classe' (first grade primary book) was illustrated in a cheerful and casual style, portraying colourful images of activities that children can relate to, making it easier to absorb the message. The 'Livro da Segunda Classe' (second grade primary book),

authored by Mily Possoz (1889–1968), presented simplistic illustrations in blue and white, which resemble typical Portuguese tiles. It is a constant assertion of the simple and traditionalist nature of the Portuguese people. The ‘Livro da Terceira Classe’ (third grade primary book), illustrated by Emérito Nunes (1888–1968), represented Portuguese everyday life and glorified the heroes of the nation through caricatures, using colours such as yellow and green, in reference to rurality, but also red, the triad of the national flag, a clear statement of love for the motherland.

Textbooks are responsible for spreading and perpetuating concepts, values and cultures that, in the case of Estado Novo, transmitted the dominant social representations and contributed to the “reproduction and reinforcement of stereotypes about femininity and masculinity” (Nunes, 2007:8; my translation), increasing the gender differentiation.

In ‘Livro da Primeira Classe’(1942), representations of everyday life are a constant theme where “girls, alone or in a group, play at little houses, and so perform typically female tasks, from doing the laundry to kitchen chores or taking care of babies” (Mineiro, 2007:178; my translation) or boys do useful tasks such as carpentry, farming and gardening that require physical exertion associated with the masculine gender.



Figure 6: Illustration of masculine playtimes

Source: Livro da Primeira Classe, 1942

The textbooks approached the role of each gender in the family or society through “images, representations, stereotypes, clichés, preconceptions (prejudices) and pre-judgments (bias) of the female gender” (Monteiro, 2008:19; my translation) so children internalised them from an early age.

Male characters, from D. Afonso Henriques to Camões, dominate this version of the nation's history, and only one woman, Queen D. Isabel, is mentioned. Women's lack of recognition was remembered by Lucília Caetano:

(...) era a ideologia da época, são ideias que estão lá de berço. A mulher tem um papel secundário e o homem o papel principal, isso repercutia-se em todos os aspectos, em todos os níveis da sociedade. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[...] it was the ideology of that time; those ideas existed from the cradle. The woman had a secondary role and the man had the main role, that was echoed in all aspects, in all levels of society.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The books associated woman with strict rules, family values and rurality, where being rural was seen as a sign of joy and health, a woman at peace with life, who takes care of and is cherished by her family. It is the image of the hard-working rural women (Figure 9), who “brought on her head a basket with green beans, carrots, peppers, cabbage and turnips, and, in her arms, a newborn son” (Livro da Terceira Classe, 1951:43; my translation), the ideal mother and wife.



Figure 9: Illustration of the rural mother
Source: Livro da Terceira Classe, 1951

The city, in contrast, was presented as a place of defilement of the mind and degradation of women's most precious value, the family. The ‘Livro da Terceira Classe’ (1951) shows a clear opposition of values between women who live in the city and women who live in the

country:

So young and already with so many children and so many fatigues. I have one child, and already gives me so much to do! (Livro da terceira classe, 1951:43; my translation)

Because I, with so much work and so many children, I feel very happy (...) It is the life of the married women here in our village. Children and the burdens that they give us are our wealth. It is for them that we are happy. (Livro da terceira classe, 1951:43, my translation)

Another example of how the regime shaped women's education and ideology through its discourses is presented in the text "A dona do lar" (Figure 10), teaching girls to behave by acculturation. Following the character Emilita, a young girl who learned to do her domestic chores, who is proud of her accomplishments and who is also a portrayal of the good future housewife, girls internalised the knowledge from the model in the book:

My mother, I already know to sweep the kitchen, set up the chairs and clean the dust. Let me set the table today.

All right, my daughter. When you grow up, you are going to be a good housewife. (Livro da primeira classe, 1942:55; my translation)



Figure 10: "A Dona do Lar" (illustration of the owner of the home)

Source: Livro da Primeira Classe, 1942

Several texts attempted to shape young girls into perfect women, by using animal metaphors as comparisons to illustrate cases such as the lazy warbler who built a nest in a hurry, which then collapsed in the wind, showing that women should not be careless.

If she was more careful, more perfect and accurate, was not so lazy and would not cry, poor thing. Behold, my dear children, that this lesson comes in hand. We should, from being little, do everything well, assured and perfect. (Livro da primeira classe, 1942:84; my translation)

Another example was the case of the mother chicken, exemplifying women's role in the family and home, and the love of the mother:

The chicks hopscotch, run, very quickly, after the mother who treats them well. The mother chicken, so devoted, goes forwards then, so careful. (Livro da primeira classe, 1942:78; my translation)



Figure 11: Illustration of the good and virtuous Mother
Source: Livro da Segunda Classe, 1944

Gender stereotypes and the idea of the woman as the homemaker were reinforced in 'Livro da Segunda Classe' (1944). Texts and illustrations stressed the importance of the woman who can take care of the house and make it a joyful place, one who instructs and teaches the daughter to satisfy and obey the male figure, as demonstrated in the text "A minha mãe" (Figures 11 and 12):

Maria Isabel, make sure that there is nothing missing on the table for your Dad while I sew this button in Jose's suit. (Livro da segunda classe, 1944:6; my translation).



Figure 12: "A minha mãe" (illustration 'my mother'- I)

Source: Livro da Segunda Classe, 1944

Maria, his sister, called him and rebuked him. After she had found thread, scissors and thimble, as if she were a grown-up, she sewed the trousers with care. How beautiful girls are who know how to sew. (Livro da segunda classe, 1944:8; my translation).

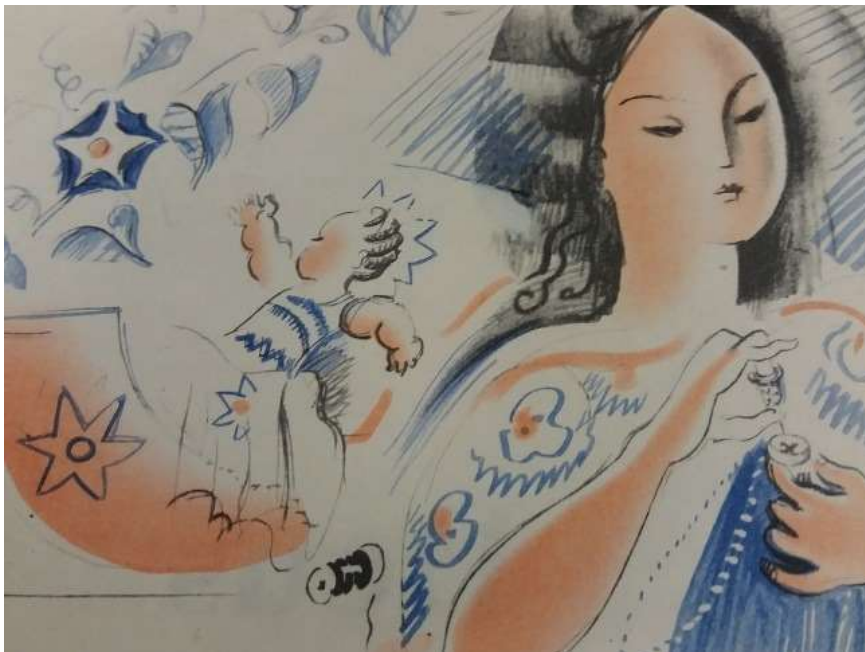


Figure 13: "A minha mãe" (illustration 'my mother'- II)

Source: Livro da Segunda Classe, 1944

Women had their future pre-decided by the state, which implemented the “natural” divisions of society to encourage a specific feminine education where girls learned how to assist their mother with housework or replace her in her absence, to be excellent housekeepers who knew how to cook and clean the home. They were taught to save the family’s items of clothing and the value of hygiene (Elementary School Program - Decree-Law n.16 077 of 26th October,1928) through their education or vocational courses:

Mesmo ao nível da instrução primária, no modelo de ensino a mulher aparece sempre como a mãe e a fada do lar, mas também trabalha no campo. Passava-se sempre a imagem que o lugar da mulher era na família, em casa ou no campo. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[Even at the level of primary education, in the teaching model the woman always appears as the mother and domestic goddess, but she always works in the fields. The image spread all the time was that a woman’s place is with the family, at home or in the fields.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Gender differentiation also became spatial, separating schools into female and male institutions, where co-educational teaching was not permitted from 1946 onwards, and several measures were enforced to prevent this. In Oporto and Lisbon, Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva and Manuela Malheiro attended only girls’ schools until they moved to university:

Só femininos. Os colégios ou eram só femininos ou só masculinos. Só apareceram os mistos a partir de 1974. (Entrevista a Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, 2016)

[All-girl. The schools were all-girl or all-boy. Mixed schools only showed up from 1974 onwards.] (Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Os meus irmãos andavam no liceu e eu andava no colégio porque era a menina, e nesse aspecto havia uma diferença porque o meu pai achou que por ser menina devia ir para o colégio. Eram só femininos. (...) previamente ao 25 de abril, havia secção feminina e masculina (...) Com a democratização do ensino, o liceu masculino teve que incorporar turmas femininas. O reitor contra sua vontade pôs o pátio sul para os rapazes e o pátio norte para as raparigas. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[My brothers went to high school, and I went to a private school because I was a girl, and in that regard, there was a difference as my father thought that because I was a girl, I should go to a private school. They were all-girl (...) before 25th April, there were female and male sections (...) With the democratisation of education, the male high school had to include some female classes. The dean had to separate the southern part of the courtyard for the boys and the northern part for the girls, against his own wishes.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

However, this practice was not applied throughout the entire country, as the women interviewed recalled. In rural areas, with fewer students, co-education was still in practice. Raquel Soeiro de Brito and Celeste Coelho, who lived in several parts of Portugal, recalled this contrast in the country:

Bom, a escola primaria era um colégio de meninas só de meninas (...) No liceu (...) eram mistos, isto é, na mesma sala haviam rapazes e raparigas, mas num lado eram os rapazes e do outro lado as raparigas. Nada de confusões. Quando vim para Lisboa (...) liceus femininos e liceus masculinos. Uma pessoa não podia ir de um lado para o outro. (...) a reitora Maria Guardiola, chefe suprema da Mocidade Feminina, não queria ver rapazes ali à volta de modo que as chamadas continuas estavam sempre de olho alerta para enxotar de lá rapazes. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[Well, primary school was an all-girl private school with only girls (...) In high school (...) they were mixed, there were boys and girls in the same room, but boys were on one side and girls were on the other. No entanglements. When I came to Lisbon (...) all-girl high schools and all-boy high schools. A person could not go from one place to another. (...) Dean Maria Guardiola, supreme chief of Mocidade Feminina, did not want to see boys around, therefore the female staff were always on alert to scare the boys off.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Não, na aldeia as turmas eram mistas. Eram mistas, mas por classes. (...). Rapazes e raparigas tudo à mistura, na mesma sala. (...). Em Lisboa as salas estavam repletas. Eu estava numa escola onde não havia rapazes. Eram só raparigas, de bata branca. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[No, classes in the village were mixed. They were mixed but organised by age (...) Boys and girls, everybody mixed in the same room (...). In Lisbon, the classrooms were crowded. I attended a school with no boys. There were only girls in white coats.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2015, my translation)

This division was not only gendered but also social, between women of the urban elite, where the regime recruited the future heads of women's organisations, and women who lived in a more rural environment and were of a lower social class. Access to private education, subject to economic mechanisms and social norms, shaped the elites according to the assumptions of Estado Novo, leading to female segregation from men. Though she came from a low social class, Celeste Coelho spent part of her education in a private school run by nuns, thanks to her uncle, who was a priest – a life experience that remained in her memory:

Havia as alunas internas e as alunas externas, e havia uma vigilância em que as alunas internas não podiam conversar com as externas. Para não haver troca de papelinhos, de namoricos e era um ambiente muito austero (...). Isso foi também uma experiência interessante e depois a valorização que era dada aquelas meninas que nós dizemos que têm pedigree, de boas famílias. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[There were internal and external female students, and surveillance was put in place so that internal girls could not talk with external girls. So, they could not exchange notes or flirt, and it was a very strict environment (...) That was also an interesting experience and afterward those girls were given the kind of appreciation that we call having a pedigree, coming from good families.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The difference in the treatment of those from working-class families in women's colleges was constant. They had been identified as intelligent people and helped by landowners or professors to pursue their studies. They were a minority within the minority:

Havia gente rica e classe média. Havia umas meninas que eram protegidas e não pagavam, mas não era uma situação fácil porque as outras sabiam e tratavam-nas como coitadinhas. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[There were rich and middle-class people. Some girls were protected and did not pay, but it was not an easy situation because the others knew and treated them

as ‘poor little things’.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Female education was under strict control, not only by the regime itself, but by the Mothers’ Organisation for National Education (OMEN), one of the female organisations for the “harmonious development of the moral, intellectual and physical personality of the Portuguese” (High School Program Reform, Decree-Law 27 084; Cap. I, art. 1; my translation) and the Female Portuguese Youth (MPF):

Mas a rigidez ainda era pior. Em todas as salas de aula havia um microfone - era um liceu moderno à época - onde a senhora reitor dava os avisos, mas vim a saber que as vezes o microfone ficava aberto e em determinadas aulas, se elas quisessem espiar os professores, podia-se ouvir totalmente aquilo que era dado na sala de aula. Havia essa maneira de controlar, de espiar (...). O nível de educação e os temas que eram dados, a maneira como eram abordados. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[But the severity was even worse. In all the classrooms, there was a microphone – it was considered a modern school at the time – where the lady dean made some announcements, but later I came to know that the microphone stayed on sometimes, and in specific classes, if they wanted to spy on the teachers, they could hear everything that was taught in the classrooms. There was that way of controlling, spying (...) The level of education and the themes that were given; the approach used.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

OMEN was run by a group of elite women devoted to the regime who intended to, through social, moral and educative action “stimulate and direct women, in general, and especially mothers to family education, in harmony with Portuguese traditions” (Pimentel, 2001:125; my translation), providing notions of hygiene, childcare and morals.

The Female Portuguese Youth (MFP) was responsible for young girls’ educational programmes. It was mandatory, until the age of 14 years old, to be a member of the Female Portuguese Youth, and after that age, membership was voluntary. This is questionable, as Celeste Coelho explained in her interview. In practice, the rules to enforce discourses of power were not always implemented:

Nunca fui filiada da mocidade portuguesa, porque não era obrigatório embora em alguns casos alguns miúdos fossem encaminhados. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[I was never affiliated with Mocidade Portuguesa because it was not mandatory, although in some cases a few kids were submitted.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The cooperation between the Female Portuguese Youth and schools aimed to create Christian Portuguese women who loved God, their motherland and their family. Following the regime's ideology of the good daughter, mother and wife, educational plans included moral, civic, social and physical education, embroidery and choral singing, as well as domestic economy, cookery and nursing (Table 5).

Classes	7 th Grade	
	1 st Semester	2 nd Semester
Language and Portuguese Literature		
• Modern Language Practice	5	-
• General, Family and Social Morals	4	4
• Family Education Methods	3	-
• Home Economics and Art		2
• Basic Notions of Political and Social Economy	-	2
• Political and Administrative Organisation of the Nation	-	2
• Customary Law		1
• Health and Childcare	1	1
• White Clothes, Dresses and Transformations	-	2
• Hats	1	1
• Embroidery and Tapestry		2
• Flowers and Applied Arts	2	2
	20	20
Sessions		
• Cookery	n (number to be defined)	n (number to be defined)
• Physical Education	1	1
• Choral Singing	1	1
	2 + n	2 + n

Table 5: Course of Familiar Education

Source: Decree-Law 27 084 – 14th October 1936

OMEN and MPF had a significant role in reinforcing the inculcation of the ideological values of the system and the position of women as members of society through an educational process that was:

(...) muito orientado politicamente. Eu sei que mais tarde, algumas daquelas aulas ajudaram-me um pouco, mas fazendo uma retrospectiva eu consigo perceber que aquilo era muito lavagem de cérebro. (...) os exemplos e matérias que eram dadas tinham um pouquinho disso. Porque mesmo quem nos dava instrução era alguém que tinha uma certa conotação política. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[very politically oriented. I know that later some of those classes helped me a little but looking back I'm aware that it was too much brainwashing (...) the examples and the subjects that were given showed that. Because even the person who instructed us was someone with a certain political connotation.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Students' education was rigorous. Their behaviours, attitudes, ways of talking and dressing were all under scrutiny. Raquel Soeiro de Brito recalled one issue she experienced in high school regarding her clothes:

Eu era alta mas muito nova e tínhamos uma professora de moral que embirrava comigo e eu embirrei com ela. A senhora uma vez chamou-me e disse-me "tu não deves andar de soquetes". Claro que naquela altura era a moda dos soquetes.

"Tu não deves andar de soquetes, és muito grande tens que andar de meias altas" e eu disse "mas eu não sei andar de meias altas, qual é o problema de andar de soquetes?". E eu torcida e retorcida nas aulas de moral punha-me na primeira fila com as pernas todas estendidas para a senhora ver bem que eu continuava de soquetes. É evidente que um dia fui chamada à reitora. A Doutora Maria Guardiola perguntou-me porque é que eu queria andar de soquetes, E eu disse que gostava de andar de soquetes, porque é que tinha de andar de meias altas se eu tinha 14 anos? Eu era terrível, mas tudo passou, não tive problemas. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[I was tall but very young, and we had a teacher of moral education who picked on me and I picked on her. The lady once called me out and said, 'You

cannot wear ankle-length socks.” Of course, at the time that was the fashion trend. “You should not wear ankle-length socks, you’re too tall, you must wear thigh-high socks,” and I replied, “But I don’t know how to wear thigh-high socks, what’s the problem with ankle-length socks?” And I was so upset that I sat on the first row with my legs stretched out for the lady to see that I was still wearing ankle-length socks. Obviously, I was sent to the principal one day. Dr Maria Guardiola asked me why I wanted to wear ankle-length socks, and I replied that I liked wearing them, and why must I wear thigh-high socks seeing as I was 14 years old? I was terrible, but everything passed, I had no problems.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Today, Raquel Soeiro de Brito considers this experience to be a minor, even funny issue. In my interpretation, the attitude of sitting in the front row of the class so the teacher could see that she was wearing ankle-length socks was a form of contesting the values of the regime. Lucília Gouveia shares the same opinion as Raquel Soeiro de Brito and does not criticise the educational system nor the Female Portuguese Youth:

Era a educação de casa e da escola, do liceu com a mocidade portuguesa. Eu não ponho grandes defeitos à mocidade portuguesa, mas actualmente há muitas críticas em relação a isso. Estava tudo dentro de um contexto político. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[It was the home and school education, at high school with Mocidade Portuguesa. I don’t strongly criticise Mocidade Portuguesa, but nowadays, there is a lot of criticism about it. Everything was within a political context.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Despite the best efforts of the regime, evidence suggests that from as early as 1940 “a new generation of women started to see as normal the fact of having scholarly paths similar to boys” (Gorjão, 2002:89; my translation), desiring studies in universities. They found two main obstacles in their way, including a limited choice of degree. Women’s options were generally confined to female-focused degrees in private institutions that were considered appropriate to the social condition of women or to doing a degree in the faculty of letters that was extremely feminised:

Via-se os cursos de letras como cursos de cultura geral e, isto na sociedade portuguesa, enquanto que os cursos mais profissionalizantes (direito, medicina,

engenharias) eram cursos que formavam para a vida e para se ter uma profissão. As meninas que se destinariam a casar e ter filhos iam para letras para não ficarem completamente ignorantes. Aprendiam umas línguas, um pouco de história. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[Letters degrees were seen as degrees of general culture in Portuguese society, whereas the more vocational degrees (law, medicine, engineering) were degrees that prepared you for life and to have a job. Girls who were destined to marry and have children did letters degrees, so they did not become totally ignorant. They learned some languages, a bit of history.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

University was still a place for elites, even when it came to women. Society continued to construct woman to be submissive to the male figure. A woman was doing a degree not to work, but to avoid embarrassing her family or husband at social events:

Na maior parte dos casos a sociedade via com bons olhos aquela imagem da mulher que se cuida, que aparece bem, que está sempre bem-disposta, isto ao nível de uma classe média alta, uma mulher que sabe estar, que não envergonha o marido. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[In most cases, society saw with clear eyes that image of a woman who took care of herself, looked good, was always happy, this being said about the upper middle class, a woman who knows how to behave and does not embarrass her husband.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Os cursos de letras eram muito vistos, por aquilo que eu chamava de elites pois eram classes da burguesia, mas que admitiam que as filhas não iriam trabalhar e por isso encaminhavam-nas para a faculdade de letras e daí que a faculdade de letras tinha imensas raparigas. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[Letters degrees were mostly taken by those who I call elites, because they were from the bourgeois classes, who admitted their daughters would not work, and for this reason they steered them to the faculty of letters and, therefore, this faculty had so many girls.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Women were impacted by a crisis, which took place in the early 1960s, and brought students into conflict with the regime:

Em 1962 houve um gravissimo problema académico em Coimbra em que fecharam a associação académica e não houve aulas, quando voltamos para as aulas iam debaixo de policia de metralhadoras. O grande problema foi nesta altura. Em 1969 também houve um grande problema, onde o Américo Tomás foi inaugurar as matemáticas e o ambiente já era mau, e aquilo explodiu. Mas o grande problema que eu senti na pele era não poder vir para a rua.

Eu lembro-me que vim para o Porto por duas semanas porque estava com receio daquilo que podia acontecer, depois aquilo acalmou um bocado. Aquilo foi um alerta político muito grande e a partir daí o regime estremeceu. Não [teve impacto na minha vida] porque eu tinha a bagagem do meu pai como republicano, e como sempre fui contra o regime, enquadrei-me perfeitamente. Antes de ir para Coimbra o meu pai alertou-me para que isto pudesse acontecer, apesar de dizer que a opinião era minha. Talvez por essa formação que tinha, e no sentido de observar e não do euforismo. (Entrevista Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, 2016)

[In 1962, there was a serious academic problem in Coimbra where the academic association was closed and there were no classes. When we returned to classes, we went under the protection of police armed with machine guns. A huge problem happened at that time. In 1969, a big problem also occurred when Américo Tomás went to inaugurate the mathematics building. The environment was already tense, and that exploded. But the tremendous problem that got under my skin was not being able to go out on the streets.

I remember coming to Oporto for two weeks because I was afraid of what could happen. Afterwards, things calmed down a little. That was one massive political warning, and from then on, the regime shuddered. No, [it did not have an impact on my life] because I had my father's background as a republican, and I was always against the regime, therefore I fitted perfectly. Before I went to Coimbra, my father warned me that this could happen, regardless of saying whether that was my opinion. Perhaps due to the education I had, and in the sense of being an observer, I was not euphoric.] (Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, Interview, 2016, my translation).

Tivemos as crises académicas em que fecharam a universidade para sermos controlados, mas isso foi um episódio. Ora bem, penso que talvez sim [teve impacto], o impacto no receio que nós tínhamos em falarmos em grupo. Ter receio de quando estávamos a falar de haver alguém que fosse um bufo. Alguém que estivesse por perto e dissesse alguma coisa, mas também havia aqueles colegas mais despertos que nos avisavam quando vinha alguém que se identificava como tal, e mandavam-nos mudar o assunto. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[We went through the academic crisis when the colleges were closed so that we could be controlled, but that was one episode. Well, I think that maybe, yes [it did have an impact], the impact on the fear we had of talking in groups. Afraid of someone being a snitch when we were talking. Of someone who was around and said something, but there were also those classmates more alert who warned us when someone, who was identified as such, was approaching, and told us to change the subject.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Women criticised the regime but in their private sphere. Fear of being arrested by the police was common to men and women, but in women's case, the fear was greater, as they were not supposed to share their opinion. It would go against their graceful nature and behaviour:

Seguras em casa .. eu lembro-me que na altura frequentavam-se muito cafés (...) e a certa altura já conhecíamos todas as pessoas que paravam no café e sabíamos que não havia nenhum PIDE por ali ou ninguém que fosse bufo, e aí falávamos, em ambientes muito familiares. Os meu pais tiveram discussões enormes com o meu marido que era frontalmente contra o Salazarismo e as pessoas que eram submissas, e eu assistia impotente às reuniões porque não queria criar mais discussões mas quando tinha que manifestar as minhas. opiniões é evidente que era contra os meus pais. (...) eu tinha convicções muito próximas das do meu marido e nunca fui salazarista nem católica apostólica romana. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[Safe at home (...) I remember that at the time people went frequently to the cafés (...) and at some point we knew all the people who stopped at the café, and we knew that there was not a PIDE⁴ officer around or someone who was a snitch, and then we talked, in very familiar environments. My parents had enormous

⁴ PIDE – Political Police of the dictatorial Portuguese regime

discussions with my husband, who was openly against Salazarism and people who were submissive, and I watched powerless at those meetings because I did not want to create more discussions, but when I had to express my opinions, it was clear that I was against my parents (...) I had beliefs very similar to my husband's and I was never a Salazarist nor a Roman Catholic.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

It was the beginning of a revolt against the dictatorial regime of Salazar. Despite women desiring a new way of living, and the assumption that they would be against the regime, the consequences of resistance were sufficient to reduce women's participation:

Eu cheguei a ir a alguns [encontros] mas nunca me empenhei muito politicamente. (...) sabíamos que as pessoas eram presas, que as pessoas eram torturadas, da existência do Tarrafal, da quantidade de presos políticos. (...) Eram raras as mulheres que nessa altura se assumiam politicamente. Dessa altura as mulheres que nos lembramos são as que foram nomeadas para o Movimento Nacional Feminino. Agora mulheres que assumissem uma posição política forte, evidente e conhecida por toda a gente eram raros os casos. Quando muito as pessoas iam para a universidade, a alguma manifestação mas a medo. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[I did go to some [meetings], but I was never too committed politically (...) we knew that people were arrested, that people were tortured, of the existence of Tarrafal,⁵ of the number of political prisoners (...) Women who at the time came out politically were rare. The women we remember from that time are the ones who were nominated for Movimento Nacional Feminino. Cases of women who assumed a strong political position, clear and known by everybody, were rare. At most, people at college went to some demonstration, but they went scared.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Of the interviewees, only Maria Fernanda Alegria and Teresa Barata Salgueiro admitted their involvement in political matters. Teresa Barata Salgueiro had a connection with the opposition, acting in secret. Her participation was small but life-changing, with her role as a geographer making a difference:

⁵ Tarrafal was a concentration camp in the former Portuguese oversea colony of Santiago Island (Cape Verd), receiving several political prisoners.

Eu tinha alguns contactos com a esquerda de facto, mas limitava-me bastante a distribuir papeis, quer dizer naquela época o que fazíamos era: recebíamos uns panfletos e comunicados e deixávamos em determinados sítios, nas casas-de-banho designadamente, porque as pessoas vão lá e vêem (...). Não era militante de nenhum partido, tinha algumas ligações com pessoas de esquerda mas basicamente fazia isso (...). Tenho uma participação mas não era uma coisa muito forte. Era muito isso, participar em comícios, em reuniões e discussões de certos temas e fazer essa difusão de comunicados e panfletos desse tipo. (...) eu na altura pertencia, penso que na faculdade, eu estava ligada à acção católica e portanto àqueles católicos de esquerda e nesse âmbito lembro-me de fazer algumas conferências em salões paroquiais, aquilo que se podia fazer na altura, dentro do que a juventude fazia.

Teve impacto porque eu contestava o regime e portanto queria mudar. Eu que vinha de uma família bastante conservadora, a partir de certa altura sentia-me contestatária, achava que não podia ser e depois trabalhava nos bairros de lata e isso deu-me um conhecimento. Depois a geografia e o trabalho de campo me mostrou bem a realidade social e os problemas que havia, e portanto fez-me passar para um lado de contestação. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[I had some links with the left, indeed, but I restricted myself to distributing papers. I mean, at the time what we did was, we got some flyers and memorandums, and we left them in particular locations, namely the bathrooms, because people would go there and see them (...). I was not a party activist, I had some connections with people from the left, but I basically did that (...) I was involved, but not strongly. It was pretty much that: to attend assemblies, meetings and discussions about certain themes, and disseminate memorandums and flyers of that kind (...) At the time, I think, in college, I was connected to the Catholic Action and thus to those left Catholics, and in that context, I remember organising some conferences in parish halls, what could be done at the time within the sphere of youth action.

It had an impact because I was against the regime and therefore I wanted change. I, who came from an extremely conservative family, felt revolutionary from a certain point in time, I thought I could not be like this and afterwards, I worked in the slums and that provided me with knowledge. Then Geography and the fieldwork showed me the social reality and the problems that existed, so it made me go over to the side of resistance.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

In addition to the academic crisis that paved the way for social transformation, the Portuguese Colonial War (1961–1974) was vital in changing gender relations as women were needed to assume the duties of the men away at war. At this time, new ways of thinking about gender relations and the structure of Portuguese society began to emerge:

Os anos 60 e a guerra colonial, a guerra colonial deu um safanão muito grande no país, e portanto, alguns modelos (quando hoje falamos de modelos de família) mudaram devido à guerra colonial. Isso condicionou aquelas gerações, decisões e formas alternativas de vida. Há muita coisa que muda, em que este momento é importante. (...) a minha geração é uma geração de grande mudança em que muitas raparigas começam a estudar mais em Portugal, vêm para a universidade. A guerra colonial é importantíssima para desequilibrar essas relações de género porque as mulheres são chamadas a assumir responsabilidades porque ficam sem homens que foram para a guerra, e há aqui um momento de grande consternação social com implicações no género. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[The '60s and the Colonial War, the Colonial War shook the country and thus some models, when we talk of family models today, changed because of the Colonial War. That conditioned those generations, their decisions and alternative ways of life. This moment was important in a lot of changes (...) My generation was a generation of big changes in which many girls started to study more in Portugal, to come to college. The Colonial War was of huge importance in upsetting gender relations because women were asked to take on new responsibilities, because they were left without the men who went to war, and this was a moment of great social disturbance with implications for gender.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Major changes in female education took place in the early 1960s. Between 1930 and 1963, the percentage of women in primary school increased by 6% (Chart 5); high school attendance went from 24.6% in 1930 to 50.1% in 1963; in technical schools, women's presence rose from 18.7% to 31.7%; and the number of women studying at university degrees escalated from 16.5% in 1930 to 32.9% in 1963.

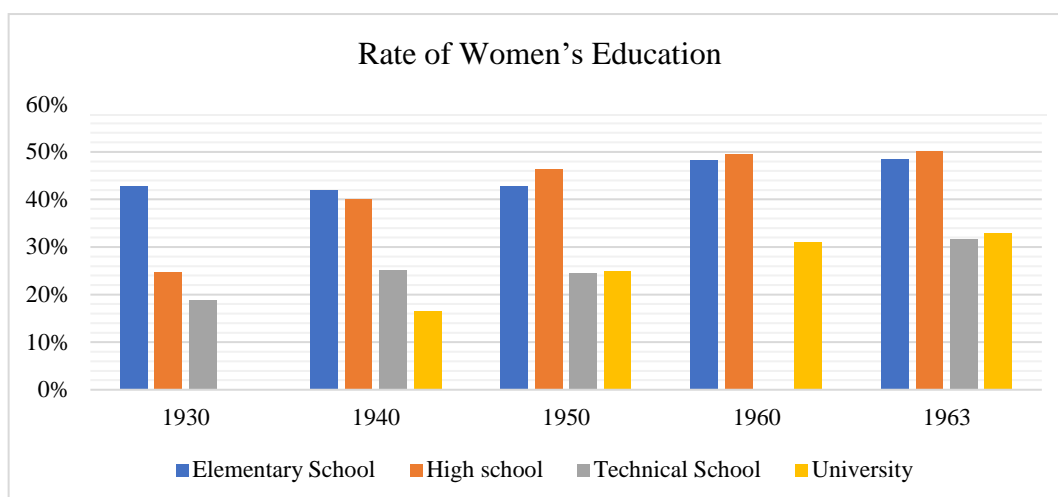


Chart 5: Percentage of women per educational degree

Source: Nóvoa, A. (1990) A 'Educação Nacional'. In Serrão, J.; Oliveira Marques, A.H. and Rosas, F. in Portugal e o Estado Novo. Vol. XII. Lisboa, Editorial Presença

(...) por várias razões há uma alteração, as classes médias também se começam a afirmar mais e eu já não senti das minhas colegas essa ideia de arranjar um marido rico para eventualmente não fazer nada. Depois progressivamente vai-se afirmando uma necessidade das mulheres trabalharem, estudarem, terem um valor e autonomia financeira que eu acho que era uma coisa muito importante. E há também uma revolução sexual que não se pode subestimar, e que pode ser importante; a invenção da pílula em 1961 ou pelo menos a sua divulgação nos anos 60, isso permite uma maior liberdade das mulheres e provavelmente isso teve importância para elas. Porque uma pessoa que não tinha dinheiro estava sempre dependente do pai ou do marido para tudo e, portanto, é a independência financeira que se torna um objectivo para as pessoas e daí que depois vemos cada vez mais mulheres a entrar, perceberam que a via para essa independência era o estudo. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[(...) there is a societal change for several reasons, and the middle class starts to have more resources and to affirm themselves, and I stopped getting that feeling from my friends of the idea of getting a rich husband so that they could eventually do nothing. Then, gradually, the need for women to work, study, have value and financial autonomy became popular, which I think was essential. There was also a sexual revolution that cannot be underestimated, and it can be important; the invention of the contraceptive pill in 1961 or at least its dissemination in the '60s, that allowed a greater freedom for women and that probably had an impact on them. Because a person who did not have money always had to rely on her father or

husband for everything, and thus it is financial independence that becomes a goal for people. And from that point on, we see more women enrolling, understanding that the road to that independence was studying.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Women were ready to enter a new world and face all the hurdles that they would encounter in becoming more educated and achieving a professional life. The elites had to share their space with people who previously had no economic capacity to access education, exposing the social differences between women of high and low social classes:

Eram filhas de pais emigrantes e havia uma maior capacidade económica dessa população vir estudar. Isto também não pode ser dissociado porque de facto o processo emigratório vai fazer com que os pais queiram que os filhos estudem mais. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[They were daughters of emigrant parents, and that population had a greater economic capacity to come and study. This too cannot be decoupled because, in fact, the migration process will cause parents to want their children to study more.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

E era uma faculdade onde havia algumas diferenças sociais. Penso que era mais aí que julgavam e faziam os joguinhos, aqueles que as raparigas fazem muito, de grupinhos. Porque elas (diferenças sociais e económicas) são mais fortes entre as mulheres. As mulheres dão talvez mais importância ou têm sinais exteriores mais da questão económica, do que os homens quando são jovens. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[And it was a faculty where some social differences remained. I think it was there that people judged more and played little games, like girls often do in small groups. Because they (the social and economic differences) are stronger among women. Women care more about the economic issue or they have more external signals than men when they are both young.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

At this time, women's participation increased in every sector of education. Barreto (2002) demonstrates that the proportion of women in the working population went from 20% in the early 1960s to almost 50% three decades later. Furthermore, women are the largest group in

universities (56%) and earn most diplomas (65%) annually. Portuguese women took advantage of the tense environment and social change to assert themselves as proactive individuals, opening up new opportunities to the future generations of women.

5.3. Conclusion

I have demonstrated how the educational system was a powerful tool used to implement Salazar's ideologies and seek to control the masses. Discourses used in the educational system, and thus in primary textbooks, established a relation of power/knowledge through gender differentiation. Nevertheless, girls and women increasingly entered the educational system, from primary upwards, through university level Geography.

With this in mind, in the next chapter, the research will centre on the familial and scholarly education of Portuguese women geographers. In doing this, I aim to bring forward the individual voices of Portuguese women geographers, as the starting point for their history and place in Portuguese Geography.

Chapter 6

Counter Narratives of Portuguese Geography

I will demonstrate the extent to which gender has influenced the history and journey of Portuguese women geographers.

This chapter draws upon (1) interviews with Portuguese women geographers and (2) secondary sources relating to the profile and publications of women geographers in Portugal.

6.1. Biographical Narratives of Portuguese Women Geographers

As mulheres podem não ter aparecido com os cargos, como os lugares de topo, mas as mulheres estiveram presentes e deram o seu contributo. Portanto acho que isso é uma questão de justiça e para a geografia como uma disciplina que se requer independente e avançada, acho que é fundamental que as coisas sejam postas na sua devida perspectiva. Acho que é uma questão de justiça e de transparência para este ramo do conhecimento. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[Women may not have showed up in positions, such as top positions, but they were present and gave their input. Therefore, I believe that it is a question of justice, and for Geography as a subject that is required to be independent and advanced, I think it is fundamental that things should be arranged in their proper perspective. I think it is a question of justice and transparency for this field of knowledge.]
(Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Celeste Coelho referred to the lack of transparency in the history of the discipline, which excluded women from geographical narratives. For her, acknowledging women's contributions to the discipline is the only way of providing a proper vision of its history and giving justice to women in Portuguese Geography. What does this mean and how can it bring changes to Portuguese Geography? Teresa Barata Salgueiro was quite pragmatic about this question:

Eu acho que não vai afectar a história, mas pode-nos dar uma luz nova, por exemplo perceber se as mulheres se orientavam mais para certos temas. Se fizer esses estudos há um enriquecimento da história da disciplina, agora dizer que vamos ver a história de outra maneira não estou tão segura. Mas se percebermos

melhor como a nossa disciplina foi crescendo e desenvolvendo isso é um enriquecimento e pode trazer luzes novas. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[I do not think that it will affect history, but it could provide us with a new light, for example to understand if women learned more about other themes. If you do that type of study, there is an enhancement of the history of the subject, but I'm not sure about seeing history in any other way. However, understanding better how our subject kept on growing and improving is an enrichment and it could bring new light.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

I intend to bring new developments to the history of the discipline and modify the mainstream narrative where men are the great pioneers by going beyond the articles in Portuguese Geography journals that “reflect and write on individuals’ careers and work (mostly male geographers), often in tribute papers” (Sarmiento, 2008:545; my translation).

To construct a feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography, it is necessary to analyse women geographers’ professional and personal pathways, as they are both key in addressing the silence, as well as in perceiving women’s progress, taking into account the different background of each woman. Coming from different social and economic statuses, these women had different opportunities and constraints; some succeeded, others did not. I want to acknowledge them and their work, their accomplishments and struggles, and the individuality and distinctiveness of each woman.

Therefore, for this purpose, the following analysis is divided into four main sections: Social Class and Support: Chasing Geography; We Were There: Women’s Presence in Portuguese Geography; Fieldwork: What Was Distinctive about Women? and Career and Recognition: Women’s Hurdles, alluding to the complex social and institutional position of women in Portuguese Geography.

6.1.1. Social Class and Support: Chasing Geography

The women geographers who agreed to grant interviews came from various social strata, which was already a differentiating factor between them. This raised questions about the effect of the environment in which they lived and their social class, since both aspects influenced the type of education they would receive and the likely future of the individual, meaning they were key factors in access to studies in Geography. For instance, Celeste Coelho, Maria Alfreda Cruz

and Lucília Caetano came from lower-class, rural families and traditional villages, and explained their situations as follows:

A minha situação é talvez pouco comum, porque era órfã de pai mas tive sempre, apesar de tudo uma infância muito acarinhada, dentro de uma família modesta mas talvez o carinho ajudava a superar as dificuldades que se tinham, as dificuldades económicas. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[My situation is slightly rare because I was a paternal orphan, but regardless of that, I was always cherished in my childhood within a humble family but perhaps the affection helped in overcoming the troubles we faced at the time, the economic difficulties.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Eu nasci em Montijo, na margem sul do tejo numa família pobre. O meu pai era mestre de ofício e a minha mãe era doméstica, além mim tinham dois filhos muito mais velhos. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[I was born in Montijo, on the southern border of Tejo, into a poor family. My father was a craft master, and my mother was a stay-at-home-mother, and besides me, they had two older sons.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Nasci em Coimbra, num meio curioso porque o meio familiar era de origem rural, muito abertos para a época. Não digo num aspecto liberal mas muito abertos à inovação, a tudo o que era novidade, à cultura. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[I was born in Coimbra, in an interesting environment because the family circle was of rural origin, very open-minded for that time. I do not mean that in a liberal sense, but they were very open to innovation, to everything that was new, to culture.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

In contrast to these accounts, Maria Fernanda Alegria, Manuela Malheiro, Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva and Suzanne Daveau come from the more liberal middle class, where some members of the family (mostly their fathers) were educated:

Eu não sou filha de gente rica, o meu pai trabalhava mas a minha mãe não, eramos de uma classe média. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[I'm not a daughter of rich people, my father worked, but my mother did not, we were middle class.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Sou portuense, filha de pai industrial e tive uma educação excelente. O meu pai era republicano, contra o regime, mas moderado. Sempre fui educada pelos meus pais que a vida não é aquela que nós temos (...) que devemos ter respeito uns pelos outros. (Entrevista a Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, 2016)

[I'm from Oporto, daughter of an industrialist father, and I had an excellent education. My father was republican, against the regime, but moderate. My parents taught me that life is not like the one we had (...) that we should always respect others.] (Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Era filha de um droguista, família humilde que viva numa casa pequena e os meninos ajudavam em casa, por exemplo, ajudavam a limpar a loiça e depois cada um tinha o seu dia. Igual para rapazes e raparigas, nisso os meus pais não faziam diferença. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[I was the daughter of a pharmacist, a humble family who lived in a small house, and the kids helped at home. For instance, everyone had their own day for washing the dishes. It was equal for boys and girls. In that respect, my parents did not distinguish.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

All of these women were seen as equal by their family members, but in upper-class families, such as the ones from which Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Teresa Barata Salgueiro and Lucília Gouveia came, the social and cultural differences of gender are more apparent:

Vim de uma família de militares (...) A minha família da parte masculina era toda de militares e naturalmente na altura as mulheres ficavam em casa, mas a minha mãe já era mestre de escola. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[I came from a family of military officers (...) My family on the male side was all military and naturally, at the time, women stayed at home, but my mother was already a schoolmistress.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

A minha mãe era licenciada e dava aulas no ensino secundário. Acho que a minha família, no geral, eram pessoas licenciadas, gente aberta. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[My mother had a degree, and she taught in secondary school. I think my family, in general, were all graduates, open-minded people.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation).

Eu nasci em Coimbra. O meu pai era professor da faculdade de Coimbra e foi para Inglaterra fazer o doutoramento em química em Liverpool onde encontrou a minha mãe. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[I was born in Coimbra. My father was a professor at the faculty of Coimbra and went to England to pursue a PhD in chemistry in Liverpool where he met my mother.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Despite having several educated women, these upper-class families still saw women as the main carer, as showed in Raquel Soeiro de Brito's transcript above. Women worked only due to specific life circumstances, as was the case of Teresa Barata Salgueiro's mother, a widow. However, despite these differences, there is a similarity between these women: all of them pursued their path with the support of a family member:

Tive sempre alguém que sempre me incentivou muito. Ele também já tinha uma visão mais aberta, apesar de ser padre, era muito progressista. Ele dizia "Aprender é uma coisa muito, muito importante para a nossa vida. E tu estás a ter uma oportunidade. A menina faz favor, aproveite-a bem".(Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[I always had someone who encouraged me a lot. He already had a very open-minded vision, and, despite being a priest, he was very progressive. He used to say "learning is a big thing, extremely important in our lives. And you were given an opportunity. Do yourself a favour, young lady, and enjoy it".] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

O meu irmão mais velho (...) sempre se assumiu muito como meu pai. Ele é que me deu a ideia da geografia. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[My older brother (...) he has always embraced the role of my father. He was the one who gave me the idea of Geography.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

A minha mãe era uma mulher com um espírito matriarca, independente em que incutiu sobretudo a mim; (...) é curioso porque ela incutia-me ideias de autonomia, uma não dependência do marido. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[My mother was a woman with a matriarchal, independent spirit, which she mostly instilled in me (...) it is funny because she inculcated in me ideas of autonomy and of not depending on a husband.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Na realidade fui criada por uma tia-avó, irmã do meu avô materno, e essa senhora teve uma grande importância para mim. Era uma senhora de poucos estudos, mas muito inteligente. Sou de uma família onde as mulheres têm autoridade. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[I was actually raised by my great-aunt, sister of my maternal grandfather, and that lady was hugely important to me. She was a woman of little education, but she was very clever. I'm from a family where women have authority.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Except for Lucília Caetano and Manuela Malheiro, whose greatest supporter was a female figure, due to the matriarchal environment in which they were educated, a large proportion of my interviewees found support to pursue their studies from male figures: their father, uncle or brother. This is also exceptional: men who saw women as equal and entitled to the same opportunities as them, a progressive mindset in a conservative and patriarchal society.

The interviewees considered that their families had a predominant role in their choice of education and profession, which was not accessible to all women:

(...) os apoios dentro das famílias também não existiam. Em termos de dedicação a uma profissão também não era fácil daí muitas vezes a mulher apesar de ter capacidade para fazer o curso não o conseguia porque não tinha possibilidade em termos de tempo, disponibilidade para se dedicar. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[(...) family support did not exist. In terms of dedication to a job, it was also not easy, and for this reason, the woman, even though she had the capacity to finish her degree, did not do it because it was not possible time-wise, she didn't have the availability to dedicate herself to it.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

These women found time and strength to pursue a future that was unusual for most Portuguese women. Were they ambitious and fearless, or did they just feel that they could do and be more than the role predesigned for women, and if so, why did they choose Geography? For some women, it came as a way of escaping harder academic disciplines. However, often, it presented itself as a last resort due to the difficulty of accessing masculine fields:

(...) acidentalmente no liceu, enveredei por uma área (...) fui para geografia não por ser aquilo que queria, mas porque não queria desenho. Fui para geografia sem saber muito bem quais eram as opções. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[(...) accidently in high school I pursued this subject (...) I went to Geography not because I wanted to, but because I did not want to do drawing. I went to Geography without really knowing what the options were.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Em 1959/60 entro para a faculdade, com dúvidas de se deveria ter ido para a música, mas aqui não havia mercado, ou para médica, mas aconselhada por um colega do meu pai que me disse que era difícil, especialmente a cirurgia que eu queria e era um mundo de homens, não fui. A geografia chegou como a terceira opção. (Entrevista a Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, 2016)

[In 1959/60, I got accepted into college, with doubts about whether I should have pursued music, but here there was no market, or medicine, but I was advised by one of my father's colleagues who told me it was difficult, particularly surgery, which I wanted to pursue, and that it was a men's world, I did not apply. Geography came as a third option.] (Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, Interview, 2016, my translation)

For others, guidance provided by their family or teachers was an important catalyst in directing their interest towards Geography. This was especially true for women who sought a more diverse and multidisciplinary field, enabling them to connect with other areas:

A professora de ciências naturais é que me aconselhou a ir para geografia porque eu era muito diversificada nos gostos. Mas eu não queria porque até aí geografia era uma ciência de decorar e não via interesse. Ela entusiasmou-me com o facto de também ter cadeiras de ciências naturais e eu acabei por seguir geografia. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[The natural sciences teacher was the one who advised me to pursue Geography because I was very diverse in my tastes. But I did not want it because until then Geography was a subject of memorising and I did not see the appeal. She got me excited about the fact that it also had courses in natural sciences, and I ended up pursuing Geography.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Ainda pensei em histórico-filosóficas e o meu irmão disse-me que havia um curso muito interessante, a geografia porque também tem ligações à história, mas um curso menos centrado só no ensino secundário. E foi assim que comecei, encaminhada pelo meu irmão. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[I thought of philosophical history, and my brother told me there was a very interesting course. Geography also had connections with history, but it was a degree not only focused on [teaching in] high school. And that is how I started, guided by my brother.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Early interests recognised within childhood involving the desire to learn more about people, land, and even the family lifestyle played an important role in women's choices:

Em todo o liceu já me interessava pela geografia, no quinto ano era preciso escolher e para geografia ia muita pouca gente. Tive um bom metodólogo a geografia. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[Throughout high school, I was already interested in Geography. In the fifth grade, you had to choose, and few people went for Geography. I had a good Geography teacher] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Eu comecei em medicina (...). Desisti de medicina porque o meu pai era analista e eu não gostava de análises (...). Então no verão preparei-me em geografia e fiz o exame no liceu de Guimarães (...). Porquê a geografia? Primeiro porque gosto de terras e gentes e por outro lado porque as opções podiam ser a

história - eu fiz 8 cadeiras de história - que ajuda muito a geografia. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[I started studying medicine (...) I gave up because my father was an analyst and I did not like analysis (...) So, in the summer, I studied Geography and did the exam in a high school in Guimarães (...) Why Geography? First, because I like lands and people, and on the other hand because the options could be history – I did eight courses of history – which is a good support for Geography.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Raquel Soeiro de Brito, daughter of a navy captain, assumed that her interest in Geography was influenced by moving around the country in her childhood, due to her father's profession:

Bem eu penso que é uma coisa que vem desde que eu nasci, por ter deambulando sempre de um lado para o outro. Eu sempre gostei muito de ler e de ver coisas e daí eu penso que tudo misturado ... este foi o resultado. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[Well, I think it is something I was born with, due to having always moved from one place to another. I have always liked reading and seeing things, and from there, I would say everything mixed (...) this was the result.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Family connections to the field cannot be dismissed. Having a member of the family teaching or studying Geography gave two of the interviewees not only curiosity but also a sense of previous knowledge and intimacy with the field:

Comecei o curso de Geografia porque a minha irmã mais nova estava em Geografia e ela lia livros do Professor Orlando Ribeiro. Eu, com curiosidade, também comecei a ler e fiquei encantada. Fiquei encantada e então disse "Então olha, se eu não quero fazer isto [Educação Física] toda a vida, quero fazer Geografia. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[I started the degree in Geography because my youngest sister was studying it and she read books by Professor Orlando Ribeiro. I was curious and started to read as well, and I was mesmerised. I was enchanted, and I said, "Well, look, if I

do not want to do this [physical education] my whole life, I want to pursue Geography”.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Isso foi muito importante porque a minha mãe era professora de geografia no liceu. Portanto ela formou-se em Lisboa e eu penso que isso foi importante para eu ter escolhido geografia. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[That was very important, because my mother was a Geography teacher in high school. Thus, she graduated in Lisbon, and in my opinion, that was essential in my choice of Geography.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Consequently, there is no doubt that influences from both family and teachers, partnered with early interests, contributed to these women’s pathway into Geography. However, despite this, what future did these women envision in a country where a masculinist and nationalist discourse aimed to constrain women? For example, Raquel Soeiro de Brito was ambitious, she wanted to see the world, and Geography provided that experience, but most of these Portuguese women geographers only wanted to be teachers since this offered them a good future:

Na minha ideia eu não sabia bem o que eram geógrafos, sabia que davam saída para o ensino no liceu, onde eu passei um único ano e detestei. Mas também é verdade que na altura eu não tinha nenhuma ideia de que pudesse seguir investigação científica, ainda era uma coisa nebulosa. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[In my mind, I did not quite know what geographers were, I knew it was a route into high school education, where I spent one year and hated it. But it is also true that, at the time, I had no idea I could follow scientific investigation, it was still very unclear.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Geografia nas ciências estava muito ligada à ciências naturais e como em geografia eram poucos, acabava por ser cursos para as ciências naturais que nas escolas acabava por ter interesse porque podia ensinar geografia e ciências naturais. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[Geography in sciences was intimately connected with natural sciences, and as there were so few of us in Geography, it ended up being courses for natural

sciences that garnered attention in schools because you could teach Geography and natural sciences.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

(...) muito cedo tive esta ideia de que me podia tornar professora do ensino primário. E os meus pais achavam muito bem, porque parecia realmente um futuro muito bom. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[(...) from quite early on, I had this idea that I could become a primary school teacher. And my parents agreed with it, because it really looked like a promising future.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The faculty of letters essentially produced female teachers, and for some women, it was the only possible outcome at the time, allowing them to ascend in social class. The social differentiation that could have hampered their ambitions was overcome through family support, resilience and open-mindedness in a country and time where women's access to studies was severely restricted. So how did women manage to be present in Portuguese Geography?

6.1.2. We were there: Women's Presence in Portuguese Geography

The development and representation of a discipline vary according to space, place and time, creating situated knowledge. Bearing in mind that the institutionalisation (i.e. the establishment) of Portuguese Geography happened in 1904 in Lisbon and 1911 in Coimbra, historical context is key in this study. The assumption that women entered into Portuguese academic Geography late can be confirmed, with the first woman being appointed Assistant Teacher in 1952: Raquel Soeiro de Brito.

Era e fui durante muitos anos. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[I was and had been for many years [the only woman in Portuguese Geography.]] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

For 48 years in the development of Geography in Portugal, women were not part of the academic staff in Geography at the Universities of Lisbon and Coimbra; there were only women students. Despite disagreeing that women entered late into academic Geography, Maria Fernanda Alegria did not deny that the top careers were unavailable to women:

Eu não acho que tenham entrado tarde na geografia, porque em Letras a maior parte eram mulheres e como a Geografia estava na Faculdade de Letras havia mais alunas do que alunos. Provavelmente havia menos mulheres no topo da carreira. Isso sim. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[I do not think that they enrolled late in Geography, because in Letters, the majority were female, and seeing that Geography was in the Faculty of Letters, there were more female than male students. There were probably fewer women at the top of their careers.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Analysis of the yearbooks of the Universities of Lisbon and Coimbra from 1930 to 1975 (Chart 6) confirms Maria Fernanda Alegria’s opinion. Although not entirely accurate, as these annuals were not published for several years due to internal and external problems affecting universities, it is true that there were more women students than men, but that does not mean that they went on to follow an academic career.

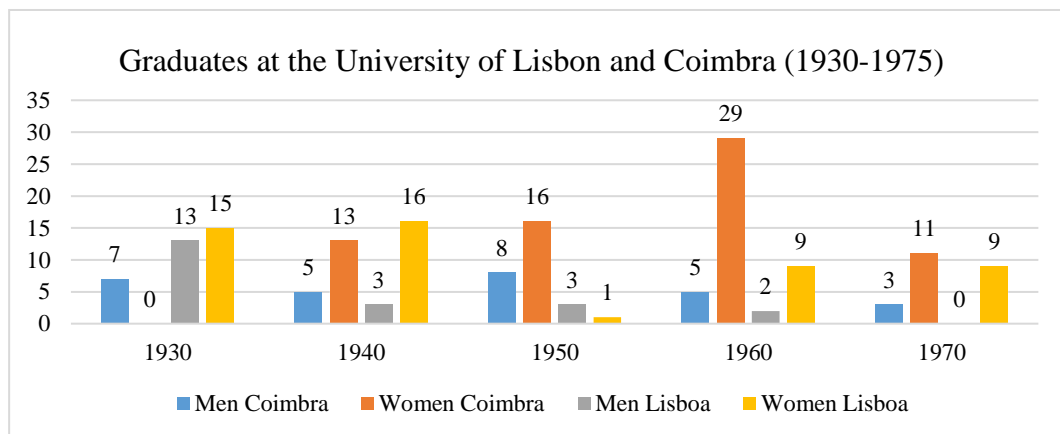


Chart 6: Evolution of Graduate Geography Students by decades – University of Lisbon and Coimbra

Source: Anuários da Universidade de Lisboa (1930-1979); Anuários da Universidade de Coimbra (1930-1975); “Fragmentos de um retrato inacabado - A Geografia de Coimbra e as metamorfoses de um país” (2004). Coord. de Campar, A., Gama, A., Cravidão, F., Cunha, L. e Jacinto, R.; Edições Almedina

Contrary to this, the hypothesis that women entered academic Geography later was recognised by Maria Alfreda Cruz, with other interviewees confirming that this problem was common for all women who wanted to pursue higher education:

Acho que sim, propriamente na geografia a Raquel Soeiro de Brito efectivamente foi a primeira. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[I believe so; namely in Geography, Raquel Soeiro de Brito was effectively the first woman.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Não sei se entraram tardiamente para a geografia, as mulheres entraram tardiamente para a Universidade. (...) O problema das mulheres na geografia é de um modo geral um problema das mulheres nas ciências sociais. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[I do not know if they got in late in Geography, women started attending college later (...) The problem with women in Geography is, in a general way, an issue of women in social sciences.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The reasons for this occurrence are related, in the view of the interviewees, to the cultural and social panorama of the time, which did not provide support to women's quest for higher education and knowledge:

Esse contexto não apoiava muito, não ajudava muito a formação continuada e de nível mais elevado. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[That [societal] context did not help with continuing to a higher-level education.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

As teachers or researchers, women were a minority due not only to the late institutionalisation of academic Geography but also due to consolidated power structures that did not allow women to pursue an academic career:

Na altura (...) era todo o condicionamento da sociedade, não dar as mesmas oportunidades à mulher, relativamente ao homem. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[At the time (...) there was also the conditioning of society, the same opportunities were not given to women compared with men.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

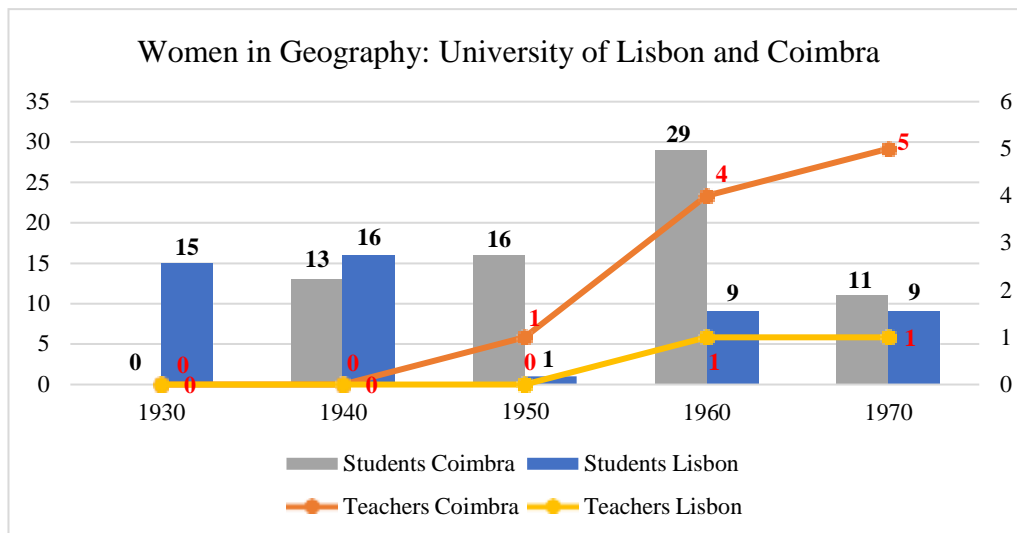


Chart 7: Graduate Women in Geography by decades – University of Lisbon and Coimbra

Source: Anuários da Universidade de Lisboa (1930-1979); Anuários da Universidade de Coimbra (1930- 1975); “Fragmentos de um retrato inacabado - A Geografia de Coimbra e as metamorfoses de um país” (2004). Coord. de Campar, A., Gama, A., Cravidão, F., Cunha, L. e Jacinto, R.; Edições Almedina

The increase in the number of women graduating over the years (Chart7) from the Faculties of Letters of Lisbon and Coimbra made these faculties that were dominated by women. It would be logical to consider Geography a women’s field, but in Portuguese Geography, men prevailed as researchers and teachers. Zelinsky (1973) argued that the scarce presence of women in academic Geography has roots within the discipline itself. For instance, when I asked the interviewees what characteristics of Portuguese Geography might have contributed to the lower presence of women, one of the topics that come up was the traditionalist and closed vision of Geography, with opinions differing from the youngest to the oldest women geographers:

(...) A geografia portuguesa fecha-se muito. É uma reacção ao que é novo. Em Coimbra havia poucas alunas mulheres e quando começaram a aparecer, ao Doutor Fernandes Martins não lhe agradava muito porque achava que o curso não era para mulheres, era para homens. Era um curso pouco atraente para as mulheres; o número de mulheres a estudar numa universidade era reduzido. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[(...) Portuguese Geography closes itself. It is a reaction to what is new. In Coimbra there were few female students, and when they started showing up, that did not please Professor Fernandes Martins because he thought the degree was not for women, but for men. It was an unattractive degree for women; the number of

females studying in college was low.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Primeiro, eu não penso que a escola de geografia de Lisboa fosse fechada internacionalmente, minimamente, não era. Não era porque o Professor Orlando Ribeiro era uma pessoa que tinha muitas relações internacionais, muito francófono (...). Eu acho que, pelo contrário, havia um grande estímulo a que as pessoas saíssem, a que abrissem horizontes. Não era minimamente um ambiente fechado a geografia em Lisboa. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[First of all, I do not think at all that the School of Geography in Lisbon was internationally closed, it was not. It was not, because Professor Orlando Ribeiro was a person with many international relations, greatly Francophone (...) On the contrary, it is my belief that there was a great stimulus for people to leave and widen their horizons. Geography in Lisbon was not in the least a closed environment.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

In fact, several of the women interviewed did not see or acknowledge a masculinist culture and practice in Portuguese Geography, although they recognised that women were not part of scientific council boards and rarely reached the position of director.

Não, isso não é verdade. Não penso que seja. Nesse aspecto penso que somos diferentes dos ingleses. (...) E temos catedráticas em letras, no Porto a Professora Rosa Fernanda. Tenho ideia que essa teoria não se põe da mesma maneira em geografia como noutras áreas. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[No, that is not true. I dare to say it is not. In that respect, I think we are different from the English (...) And we have full female professors in letters, such as Professor Rosa Fernanda in Oporto. As I see it, that theory does not apply in the same way to Geography as to other subjects.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Although they were aware that men outnumbered women among the faculty, none of the interviewees felt discriminated against or treated differently. In fact, it was the opposite: their gender was never an obstacle, and they always felt welcomed by male peers:

Senti-me muito bem-recebida. Eu comecei a dar aulas na faculdade naquela mesma mesa onde o Orlando nos juntava enquanto alunos. Eu ia dar aulas de geografia de Portugal, porque foi-me dado logo uma cadeira de regente. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[I felt very welcomed. I started teaching in college, in the same table where Orlando gathered us when we were students. I was going to teach Geography in Portugal because I immediately took up the [position of] Coordinator] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Fui muito bem-recebida na faculdade de ciências, sem a mais pequena distinção. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[I was welcomed into the faculty of sciences without the smallest of distinctions.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Further, when asked if they recalled any negative situation or reaction from their male peers, all the interviewees answered that they did not. Portuguese women geographers remembered men's support for their studies, and help to solve institutional problems or even in finding their way:

Tive apoio do Fernandes Martins quando ele podia, mas o grande apoio foi, apesar de tudo com gente de lisboa, o Doutor Orlando Ribeiro. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[I had the support of Fernandes Martins when he could, but my main endorsement was, despite everything in Lisbon, from Professor Orlando Ribeiro.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Francamente se não fosse o apoio da Professora Suzanne e do Professor Ilídio no princípio eu não em tinha convencido das minhas capacidades e acho que se eu estivesse mais segura de mim teria conseguido fazer mais coisas, com mais pessoas que me aceitavam mais facilmente do que me aceitaram. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[Frankly, if it had not been for Professor Suzanne and Professor Ilídio's support at the beginning, I would not be sure of my own capacities, and I think if I had been more sure of myself, I would have achieved more, with more people

accepting me more easily than they did.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Em termos científicos, há duas pessoas que de facto foram muito importantes: o Professor Orlando Ribeiro, numa primeira fase, depois a dada altura o Professor Jorge Gaspar quando veio da Suécia, (...) acho que também acabou por ter muita influência (na altura não dei muito por isso) o Professor Ilídio do Amaral que me ajudou em termos de carreira. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[In scientific terms, there are two people who were indeed very important: Professor Orlando Ribeiro in the early stage, then at some point Professor Jorge Gaspar when he came from Sweden (...) in my way of thinking, Professor Ilídio do Amaral also had a huge influence (at the time I did not notice it) and he helped me career-wise.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Interestingly, the names of Orlando Ribeiro, Ilídio do Amaral, Fernandes Martins and Galopim de Carvalho were repeated over and over again in the transcripts of the interviews, leading me to conclude that Geography was not a masculinist but a masculine discipline. Male Portuguese geographers are instead remembered as a great source of support, contrary to women who did not provide support to other female peers. In the opinion of Manuela Malheiro, the support provided by male peers was a form of protection due to connections through family or friends:

[Sobre Raquel Soeiro de Brito] Muito protegida pelo Professor Orlando, e uma mulher bonita e insinuante o que contribuiu muito. Havia uma pessoa que o Professor Orlando gostava muito, ela era mais nova que eu e que depois chegou a catedrática, a Teresa Barata Salgueiro. O Professor Orlando foi colega da mãe dela e depois protegeu-a imenso. Não digo que ela não tenha méritos mas foi altamente protegida por ele, chegando a catedrática. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[About Raquel Soeiro de Brito] [Very protected by Professor Orlando, and a beautiful and engaging woman, which helped a lot. There was one person that Professor Orlando liked immensely, she was younger than me and eventually became a full professor, Teresa Barata Salgueiro. Professor Orlando was a colleague of her mother's and then he protected her a lot. I'm not saying she was unworthy of that, but she was highly protected by him.] (Manuela Malheiro,

Interview, 2016, my translation)

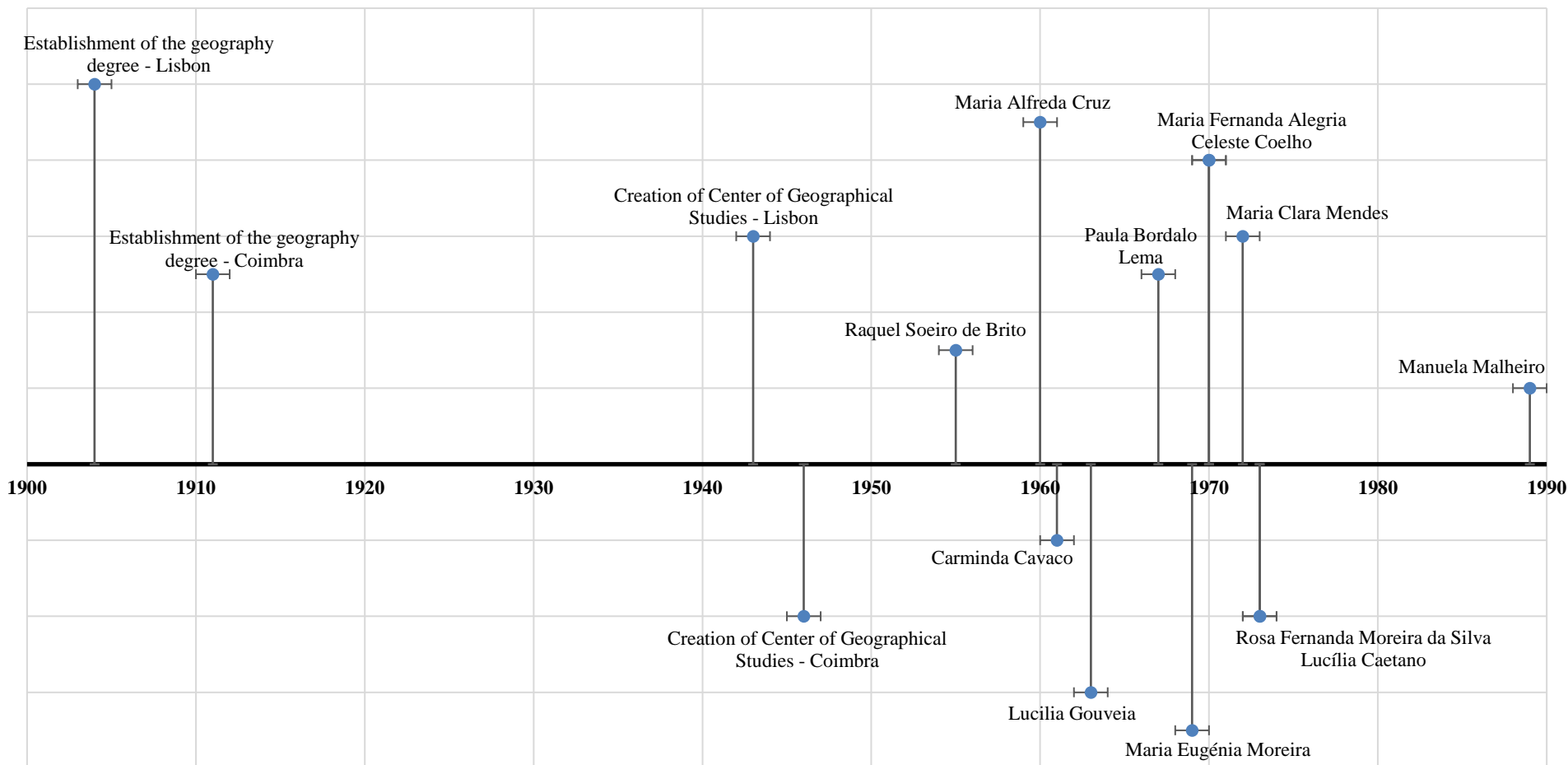
The statement by Manuela Malheiro is a clear suggestion that men were more supportive of women in Portuguese Geography. However, it is also clear from the above transcripts that Portuguese Geography was built on a paternal line of descent, where power relations dictated the production of geographical knowledge:

(...) os cursos, os professores determinavam a sua cadeira e tínhamos que seguir. Depois havia os trabalhos escolares, mesmo universitários eram mandados pelos professores. Como só haviam homens eram eles que mandavam, mas nunca fizeram distinção entre este é para meninas e este é para homens. Depois na escola dos trabalhos de pesquisa individual eles queriam impôr, a maior parte das pessoas cediam e daí o Professor Orlando ter ficado de boca aberta quando eu lhe disse que não. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[(...) the degrees, professors determined their courses, and we had to accept it. Then there was schoolwork, even college students were governed by professors. Because there were only men, they governed, but they never distinguished between “this is for girls” and “this is for boys”. Then in school, in individual research works they wanted to enforce, most people yielded, and that is why Professor Orlando stared open-mouthed when I told him no.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

In 1943, with the creation of the School of Geography of Lisbon by Orlando Ribeiro, this male dominance began to change. In fact, Orlando Ribeiro created a working group within the School of Geography of Lisbon, giving Portuguese women geographers the chance to work and be visible in Geography. Soon, the School of Geography of Coimbra followed, despite the reluctance of Professor Fernandes Martins to accept women (see Timeline 1).

Women's Entrance in Academic Geography



Timeline 1: Women's appointments to academic posts in the School of Geography of Lisbon and Coimbra

Source: Made by the author

What is curious is the fact that, at a time when women were appearing in Portuguese Geography, the only female name to be mentioned in some interviews as the great pillar for women in Portuguese Geography – supporting women in facing and overcoming the various challenges experienced throughout their journeys – was Suzanne Daveau. It is interesting that such support came from a French-Portuguese woman, and this may be closely related to the rejection she experienced when applying for academic jobs. Daveau perceived women to be just as capable as men.

The main problem for women, according to the experience of Raquel Soeiro de Brito in the Department of Geography of Lisbon, was other women. Overall, the atmosphere between women, as she explained, was toxic:

Com muita pena minha, um grupo de moças naquela altura então, era terrível, diziam mal umas das outras. Eu tenho uma pena medonha de que as mulheres sejam assim, mas elas eram umas velhacas umas para as outras. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[Much to my regret, a group of girls back then was terrible, they said mean things to others. It is a shame that women behave like that, but they acted like sour old women to others.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Despite the almost non-existent support between women, Maria Alfreda Cruz stated that there was great solidarity, which led me to believe that she was referring to all geographical staff and not solely women. Based on these testimonies, it is fair to say that it was not Geography per se or the members of Geography departments that marginalised women. Women in Portuguese Geography did not feel discriminated against due to their gender, on the contrary, they always felt they were treated similarly to men.

Therefore, if pursuing higher education in Geography did not seem to be a problem, what other aspects could constrain women and differentiate them from male academic geographers?

6.1.3. Fieldwork: What was distinctive of Women?

One aspect that could condition women was fieldwork: the exploration of new territories and heavy fieldwork tasks were seen by society as male activities. Fieldwork was perceived as non-feminine as it did not correspond to the traditional image of women. Despite it being deemed unsuitable and unsafe for them, Portuguese women persisted:

Mais uma vez eu sou um caso invulgar, porque naquele tempo a geografia física era mais feita pelos homens. As mulheres iam mais para a geografia humana, (...) talvez porque o trabalho de campo físico era mais exigente a nível pessoal ou porque as pessoas se sentiam mais seguras a fazer geografia humana. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[Once again, I'm an unusual case because, at that time, physical geography was better set-up for men. Women pursued human geography more, (...) perhaps because the fieldwork was more demanding on a personal level or because people felt safer doing human geography.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

A única questão que me colocavam era da segurança, e diziam-me para não andar sozinha em certos sítios, no meio dos pinhais onde se encontravam algumas fábricas. A certa altura fiquei um bocado receosa e o Professor Fernando Martins arranjou-me um motorista que ia comigo e me ajudava a fazer inquéritos, e depois trocávamos ideias. (...) embora tivesse uma colega a fazer a tese de licenciatura em geografia física e às vezes íamos as duas, para ela não ir sozinha. Na altura, o problema maior vinha da própria sociedade, porque não era fácil, aceite ou seguro estar no campo sozinha. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[The main issue was security, and they told me to not walk alone in specific locations, in the middle of the pine forest where some factories were located. At some points. I was a little afraid, and Professor Fernando Martins got me a driver who would go with me and help me with surveys, and then we exchanged ideas (...) Although I had a friend who was doing her bachelor's thesis in physical geography, and we would go together sometimes so that she would not be alone. At the time, the major problem came from society itself because it was not easy, accepted or safe to be alone in the field.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Rose (1993) argues that gender, identity and body structures fieldwork relationships, which is a major concern that has “been brought through feminist critique of geographical traditions and practices” to understand and contest power relations. Despite the marginalisation of women's fieldwork, most of the women geographers from the University of Lisbon at the time did not agree with the position of Lucília Caetano. They said that while doing fieldwork,

they never felt insecure. However, this could be related to the fact that Geography in Coimbra engaged more with physical geography, while Lisbon was more concerned with regional and human geography. Still, Portuguese women geographers experienced different fieldwork situations in Portugal and Portuguese overseas provinces:

Eu fui para o Instituto de investigação de Angola (...) tentei encontrar uma área de trabalho interessante em Quilombo dos Dembos e o motorista disse-me "Quem é que vai a Quilombos dos Dembos? Minha senhora, não a posso levar, aquilo está a ferro e fogo. E muito menos com o menino". O menino tinha um termo de responsabilidade meu e do pai, e eu ia fazer trabalho de campo com o meu filho. Fez quatro anos no hotel Monbaca em Benguela. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[I went to the Institute of Research of Angola (...) I tried to find an interesting area of work in Quilombo dos Dembos, and the driver said to me, "Who even goes to Quilombo de Dembos? My lady, I cannot take you, things there are a hornets' nest. And much less, accompanied by the boy." The little boy had a statement of responsibility signed by his father and me, and I was going to do fieldwork with my son. He turned four years old in Hotel Monbaca in Benguela.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Lembro de uma anedótica, eu ia de calças e blusinha, em maio ou junho, e um dos alunos mais velho que eu em camisa e gravata numa visita a uma herdade e o senhor da quinta com quem eu tinha falado nunca olhou para mim, e dirigiu-se sempre a esse aluno como o Sr. Doutor. E a malta ria, e eu na calma. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[I remember a funny story. I was in trousers and a blouse, in May or June, and one of the students, older than me, was in a shirt and tie on a visit to an estate, and the farm owner with whom I had spoken never looked at me once and addressed that student as "Doctor". And the class laughed, and I was relaxed.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

O único problema que tive, mas aí já estava formada foi quando andei a estudar os bairros clandestinos, mas aí era os cães. Porque os bairros clandestinos eram em sítios pouco acessíveis (...) e eu às vezes punha-me aos portões a ver se conseguia falar com as pessoas e tinham muitos cães, e aí se me assustei e tive que

correr foi dos cães, não das pessoas. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[The only problem I had, but by that time I had already graduated, was when I was studying clandestine neighbourhoods, but it was with dogs. As clandestine neighbourhoods were scarcely accessible places (...) and I sometimes leaned over gates to see if I could speak with people, and they had a lot of dogs, and there, if I got scared, I had to run away from the dogs, not people.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Na Serra do Caramulo, como por exemplo, tínhamos instalado uma casinha com amostradores para recolher água do rio, e tínhamos um acesso e o jipe, chegado a uma altura, ficou com as rodas no ar. Felizmente não estava sozinha (...) e alguém ficou quietinho a beira do jipe para que ele não caísse e o outro foi pedir ajuda. E veio um senhor com o trator que nos ajudou, mas foi complicado. Em Moçambique, em trabalho de campo com alunos numa visita de estudo, ao fim da tarde estávamos a ver um afloramento rochoso e tinha chovido, havia uma poça com argila e de repente alguém diz "surucucu". É uma cobra minúscula, mas altamente venenosa que estava sossegadinha no meio do afloramento. Aquilo foi ver toda a gente a fugir a correr.

Agora em Aberdeen, tive uma situação caricata que me deixou profundamente perturbada. Foi quando estava a fazer hidrologia e tínhamos réguas para medir a altura da água. E eu tinha que ir todos os dias à mesma hora, independentemente do clima, fazer a leitura. (...) eu vou fazer a leitura e a régua tinha fugido. Tinha sido roubada, na altura para mim aquilo foi estranhíssimo. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[In Serra do Caramulo, for instance, we had set up a little house with samplers to collect river water, we had access, and the jeep, at some point, turned upside down. Fortunately, I was not alone (...) and someone stood very still by the jeep so that it would not fall while the other went to get help. And a man with a tractor came and helped us, but it was complicated. In Mozambique, in fieldwork with students on a study visit, late in the afternoon, we were watching a rocky outcrop and it had been raining, there was a puddle with clay and suddenly someone says "surucucu". It is a small snake, but highly venomous that was quiet in the middle of the outcrop. Everybody ran away.

Now, in Aberdeen, I faced a ridiculous situation that left me deeply disturbed.

It was when I was doing hydrology, and we had rulers to measure the water's depth. And I had to go every day at the same time, regardless of the weather, to do the measurement. (...) I was about to measure, and the ruler was gone. It had been stolen. At the time, that was really weird for me.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Fieldwork is what differentiates Geography, and having the outdoors as an office could be interpreted as liberating and exciting for women. They had the freedom to work in a field that would dissolve social barriers and reshape students – professors' relations. More importantly, considering that the value "of fieldwork in the geographical tradition reflects the influence of foundational geographers and geographical institutions, who defined modern geography" (Phillips and Johns, 2012:4), fieldwork gave women a chance to shape Geography by incorporating their different understandings of geographical questions and challenging masculinist geographical practices.

The women interviewed mentioned that gender was not a differentiating factor between male and female students or researchers in Portuguese Geography: what was required of men was also required of women. The power dynamics found in Portuguese geographical fieldwork were quite different from other European countries, going against Rose's argument that "geographical tradition is too closely associated with macho ('masculinist') and imperialist practices" (Rose, 1993:70).

What is interesting in Portuguese women geographers' fieldwork is the contradiction with the social rules implemented by the regime. At a time when the maternal role of women was extremely important and celebrated, the patriarchal institution of "the state" allowed Portuguese women geographers to perform fieldwork at home and abroad. This action gains a new meaning when linked with the main concern of the regime in 1951: international pressures to decolonise the Portuguese overseas provinces.

At a time when such political reorganisation was part of the world agenda, Portugal saw the need for effective recognition of its overseas territories, but to Orlando Ribeiro, the country's scientific development was at risk. The Portuguese schools of Geography begin their research work, with the School of Coimbra focusing sporadically on colonial problems and the School of Lisbon undertaking a vast programme of colonial research. Thus, we have a patriarchal regime and a male geographical institution that, to take advantage of geographical research programmes at both the political and scientific levels, allowed women to enter a field and position previously denied to them.

A partnership seemed to exist that would benefit the state and the schools of Geography

in the study of the colonies, but this partnership was assumed by only one of the interviewees:

Eu dava algumas aulas práticas e (...) uma cadeira de geografia tropical. Que era o quê? As províncias ultramarinas, de maneira que aí, não sei até que ponto poderia haver alguma coisa. Havia alguma ligação com os livros publicados pela junta das missões coloniais que serviam de base um pouco para a Guiné. E talvez por causa disso, como eu tinha estado ligado a essa cadeira, a determinada altura disseram-me para andar com a tese e estudar uma área de Angola. Ia em temporadas [para Angola], primeiro para fazer o reconhecimento. Foi aí que tive contacto com a Alfreda Cruz que na altura estava a fazer um trabalho sobre o planalto dos Dombos. (...). Era das missões. O Doutor Orlando Ribeiro pediu-me para ir para aí. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[I taught some practical lessons and (...) a course in tropical Geography. What was that? The overseas provinces, so I'm not sure to what extent there could be something there. There was some connection with books published by the council of the colonial missions, which served a bit as a basis for Guiné. And perhaps because of that, as I had been connected to that subject, at some point, they told me to proceed with the thesis and study an area of Angola. I went seasonally [to Angola], first to do the reconnaissance. That's where I contacted Alfreda Cruz who at the time was doing fieldwork about the Dombos Plateau. (...). It was one of the missions. Professor Orlando Ribeiro asked me to go there.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation).

The predominant role of Portuguese women in the colonial missions of Geography between 1950 and 1973 became clear in this investigation (see Table 6). It was also evident that women were not only geographers and producers of geographical knowledge, they were also representatives of the regime's power, through their research, maps, monographs and photographs contributing to the conception of Portugal as an imperial power. In this period, the work of Portuguese women geographers was indeed an asset to the state's political vision, and women took advantage of it, producing a greater volume of work (Chart 8).

Date	Colonial Mission of Geography	Geographer
1955	Geographical Mission to India	Raquel Soeiro de Brito
1958	Scientific Group for the Preparation of Geographers for the Overseas	Maria Alfreda Cruz Raquel Soeiro de Brito
1960	Overseas Human and Physical Geographical Mission	Raquel Soeiro de Brito
1964	Overseas Human and Physical Geographical Mission	Lucília Gouveia Maria Alfreda Cruz Raquel Soeiro de Brito Suzanne Daveau
1967	Overseas Human and Physical Geographical Mission – Portuguese Africa	Lucília Gouveia Raquel Soeiro de Brito
1969	Overseas Human and Physical Geographical Mission - Angola	Lucília Gouveia
	Overseas Human and Physical Geographical Mission - Mozambique	Raquel Soeiro de Brito

Table 6: Women Geographers in Colonial Missions

Source: Made by the author

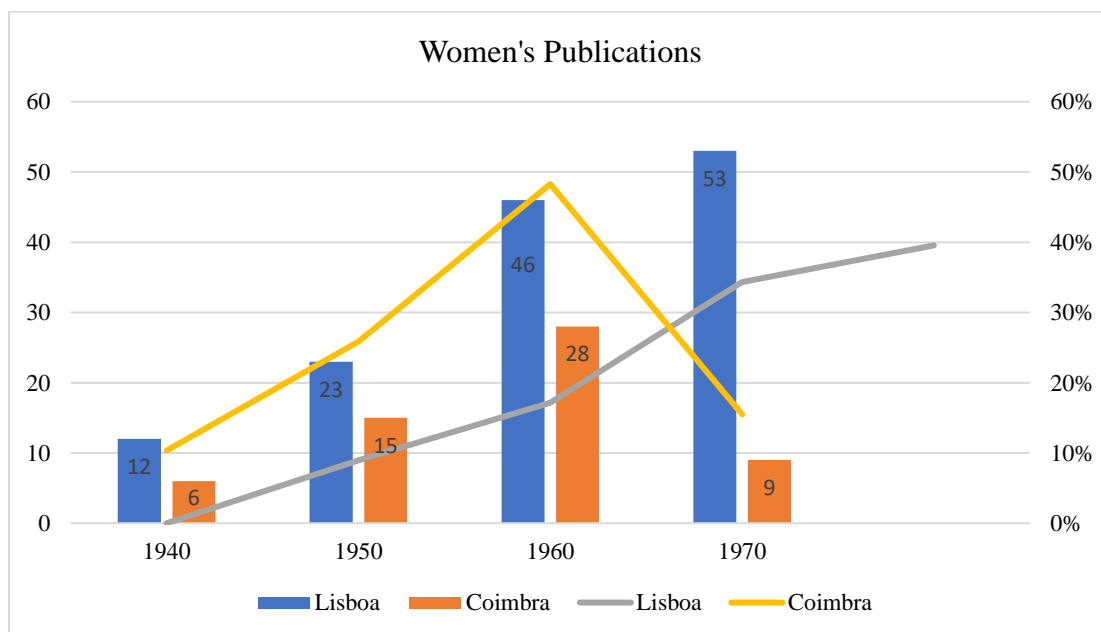


Chart 8: Increase of women's publications by decades (1940-1974)

Source: Made by the author and based in the data found in Lautensach, H. (1948) - "Bibliografía geográfica de Portugal".

Lisboa, Instituto de Alta Cultura – Centro de Estudos Geográficos and Feio, M. and Daveau, S. (1982)

- "Bibliografía geográfica de Portugal (segundo volume, 1947-1974)". Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Geográficos

* A full list of women's publications is available in the appendix 4

Women's fieldwork was distinctive from men's in one aspect - the ease of accessing spaces:

Se calhar por ser mulher, achavam piada e fui muito bem aceite em todo o lado. (...) há zonas onde os homens não entram. Só o homem delas. Eu entrava porque explicava muito o que ia fazer, falava muito. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[Maybe because I was a woman, they thought it was funny, and I was very welcomed everywhere (...) there are areas where men do not enter. Just their husbands. I entered because I explained extensively what I was going to do, I talked a lot.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Rather than this specific aspect of women's fieldwork, where women have access to spaces of minimal access and intimacy – culturally gendered spaces – it can be concluded that there was no difference in how women and men were perceived as geographers and producers of geographical knowledge. However, fieldwork was a major differentiator for women, compared to other degrees, because of expectations about women's clothing:

O local de trabalho da geografia é lá fora e obriga-nos a sair da instituição, a calçar botas, a vestir calças compridas...a usar roupas mais confortáveis e menos femininas e tudo isso faz com que os geógrafos fossem observados de forma diferente numa faculdade de humanidades onde as coisas são muito intramuros. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[The workplace of Geography is outside, and it forces us to leave the institution, put on boots, wear long trousers, (...) wear more comfortable and less feminine clothes, and all this makes geographers be looked upon in a different way in a faculty of humanities where things are much more inside walls.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Eu recordo-me que foi assim um escândalo quando algumas mulheres para as saídas de campo na geologia estavam a usar calças. Apesar de mais prático, isso não era bem visto. Eu recordo-me de uma colega que dizia "Que horror menina! De calças! Mas isso não é nada feminino, que jeito é que isso tem?".(Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[I recall it was sort of a scandal when some women wore trousers for the fieldwork in geology. Although being more practical, it was not well seen. I remember a colleague of mine that used to say “How horrible, young lady! In trousers! But that is not feminine at all, not at all”.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Lembro-me também que houve uma professora aqui na Nova que fez um comentário estranho. Eu tenho o hábito de andar sempre de calças porque é mais prático. Mas lembro-me de ela dizer – e eu já tinha quarenta e muitos anos (...) - "eu acho que se vestisse uma saíha" ficava muito mais interessante.". (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[I also remember there was a teacher here in Nova who made a weird remark. I have a habit of always wearing trousers because it is more practical. But I recall she said – and I was already 40-something years old (...) – “I think that if you wore a short skirt, you would be much more interesting”.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

(...) no trabalho de campo ia sempre de calças desde que passei a assistente, porque antes disso ia de saia-calça, porque as meninas não podiam usar calças. Ia a correr para o gabinete e um contínuo grita atrás de mim "ó menina não pode andar de calças", e quando eu me virei ele diz "ó senhora doutora desculpe que eu não me tinha apercebido que era a senhora". Mas isso teve graça nenhuma, graça teve em S. Miguel eu a andar de cavalo e andar de calças. Um dia uma velhota vai-me fazer uma espera na única meia estrada que ela sabia que eu estava para ir para casa e a senhora põe-se no meio da estrada sentadinha à espera que eu chegasse. Quando eu cheguei ela disse "ó menina, és um homem ou uma mulher?". Quando foi o vulcão dizem-me que havia moços que iam ver o vulcão para me verem de calças. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[(...) in the fieldwork, I'd always worn trousers ever since I started as an assistant, because before that I wore culottes as girls were not permitted to wear trousers. I was running to the office and a janitor yelled behind me, “Young lady, you cannot wear trousers,” and when I turned around, he said, “Oh, Doctor, I apologise because I did not realise it was you, ma’am.” But that was not funny at all. Hilarious was when I rode a horse and wore trousers in S. Miguel. One day, an

old woman waited for me on the only road she knew I took home, and she stood in the middle of the road waiting for me to return. When I arrived, she said, “Girl, are you a man or a woman?” They told me there were boys who went to see the volcano just to see me in trousers.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

According to Blunt (1994), the ideals of feminine codes of conduct are subverted by ways of dressing, such as the use of trousers, associating women with masculinity. By defying the conventional female way of dressing and “undermining ideals of feminine conduct” (Blunt, 1994:140) through a practical mode of dress, and by moving “spatially and socially beyond the domestic constraints” (Blunt, 1994:137), women geographers were identified with masculine features and therefore associated with authority, which distinguished them from other ordinary women. They were different from “normal” Portuguese women due to their lack of femininity. Accessing a degree, doing fieldwork and dressing in male clothing made women similar to men, but a question remains: was there anything preventing women from following an academic career in Geography? In the next subsection, I will demonstrate what type of hurdles Portuguese women geographers encountered.

6.1.4. Career and Recognition: Women’s Hurdles

As mulheres foram pouco para a geografia (se é que foram), porque a geografia não é reconhecida com o real valor científico, pedagógico, de cidadania. A geografia afirma-se talvez enquanto área científica mais tardiamente que outras áreas e talvez por isso menos apelativa para os alunos. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[Women did not enrol much in Geography (if they did), because Geography was not recognised as of true scientific, pedagogical and citizenry value. Geography asserted itself perhaps as a scientific area later than others and maybe that is why it was less appealing to students.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The main problem that Portuguese women geographers faced was the lack of recognition of their work, as the interviewees acknowledged:

Não haver algum reconhecimento pelo trabalho que estávamos a fazer, talvez estivéssemos a inovar demais, não sei; e obstáculos à progressão da carreira

também. (...). Eu, não sei porquê, apareci ali como uma ameaça e não tenho nada desse estilo, mas as pessoas sentiam-se ameaçadas. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[The work we were doing was not acknowledged, maybe we were innovating too much, I do not know; and the obstacles to career progression too (...) I'm not sure why but I was seen as a threat there and I that is not my style, but people felt threatened.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

[As mulheres] tinham mais dificuldades nos concursos, eram mais preteridas nos concursos. As mulheres para conseguirem chegar a catedráticas tinham que fazer muito mais que os homens ou então eram protegidas por alguém. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[Women] faced more struggles in job applications, they were more overlooked. If they wanted to become full professors, women had to do much more than men or they were protected by someone.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The interviews suggest that the recruiting process in universities was unfair to women, despite them having the same capacities as men, or perhaps even greater ones. Could the position of women in academic institutions and their progress be influenced by gender bias, supported by cultural and gender dichotomies of male/female and culture/nature?

[sobre Lucília Gouveia e Lucília Caetano] É evidente que nunca foram directoras de faculdade, nunca foram presidentes do conselho científico. A Lucília Gouveia depois foi embora, mas a Lucília Caetano foi directora do instituto já muito tarde. E numa situação "normal" teria sido directora mais cedo. (...). E depois o princípio nas universidades era o seguinte "aquele é bom aluno..." quase que se seguia a pessoa, e acabaria por ficar porque era por convite. Se havia poucos alunos e nesses poucos alunos havia homens, naturalmente que à partida as condições também eram mais facilitadas para entrarem homens do que mulheres. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[About Lucília Gouveia and Lucília Caetano] [It is clear that they were never deans nor presidents of the scientific council. Then Lucília Gouveia left, but Lucília Caetano became the dean of the institute much later. And in a "normal" situation,

she would have been dean much earlier (...) And then the tenet in colleges was the following, “that one is a good student” (...) you nearly followed the person and he/she would end up staying as he/she would be invited to teach. If there were few students and among those few students there were men, naturally, from the start, the conditions were also much easier for men than women.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Maria Fernanda Alegria, followed by Fernanda Cravidão, acknowledged that the main obstacle to women’s career success was the traditional and dominant role of men:

(...) a falta de geógrafas com papel de destaque na sociedade e na universidade. Isso de facto eram os homens que dominavam e lá fora (...) já não haveria essa subalternização da mulher como havia cá. De facto, os lugares de chefia e de grande peso social eram de homens. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[(...) the lack of women geographers with prominent roles in society and college. Indeed, men governed there, and abroad (...) there would not be that subjugation of women as it existed here. Indeed, leadership positions of great social importance belonged to men.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Quer dizer, às vezes há questões quase subliminares onde nós nos apercebemos que o discurso não formal e não institucional, se calhar até pode ser explicado por aí. Assim de uma forma mais formal e institucional eu acho que não, mas se calhar é natural que houvesse algumas pequenas questões que, se eu tivesse um homem e uma mulher, provavelmente escolhia o homem e não a mulher. Se isso era uma questão de género em si, tão objectivo, tão pragmático...se havia alguma coisa por trás que permitisse essa explicação, às vezes há. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[I mean, sometimes, there are almost unspoken questions where we realise the non-formal and non-institutional speech, perhaps that could explain it. In a more formal and institutional way, I do not think so, but perhaps it’s natural that there were small questions that, if I had to choose between a man and a woman, I would probably choose the man and not the woman. If that was a question about gender, so objective, so pragmatic (...) if there was something behind that, it would explain

it. Sometimes, there is.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The explanations can be found in the non-formal discourses that Fernanda Cravidão referred to, in the personal issues and cultural attitudes towards women that played an important role in constraining women. The first obstacles were those that women found in themselves, taking away the confidence necessary to achieve their goals:

Tive pena de não continuar, mas depois a tese não andava e eu tenho uma grande dificuldade em pôr as coisas no papel. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[I was sorry I did not continue, but then the thesis did not move forward, and I struggled immensely with putting things on paper.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

(...) sempre achei que quem vinga neste mundo é uma pessoa cheia de capacidade de concorrer e de ir à luta. E eu era uma pessoa muito metida comigo. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[...] I have always thought that those who thrive in the world are people with an enormous capacity for competing and putting up a fight. And I was a very introverted person.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Additional obstacles to women flourishing professionally came from society. The research so far has showed that women lived in a society where they did not have the same opportunities as men. These findings are congruent with the women geographers' opinions; it was a gender problem that oppressed women, as Lucília Caetano reported:

Na época, apesar de estar o Marcelo Caetano no poder e haver uma pequena abertura, eu precisei de autorização do meu pai para sair do país porque não era casada e como estava no quadro do ensino secundário, precisei de autorização do Ministério da Educação para poder sair do país e tinha que ter o cadastro limpo na PIDE. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[Back then, although Marcelo Caetano was in power and there was a small opening, I needed my father's approval to leave the country because I was not married, and seeing that I was teaching in secondary education, I needed the Ministry of Education's approval to leave the country, and I had to have a clean criminal record at PIDE.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Women were also constrained professionally by their role in the family, where being married and having children made it harder to follow or achieve anything in a professional career. Expectations of gender, body and maternity were incompatible with pursuing their career:

Sabe que esta coisa da mulher ainda ser quem põe os filhos cá fora, para alguns nichos da sociedade que julgo vão sendo cada vez menos (...) às vezes funciona como factor de desvalorização do seu trabalho. Porque se valoriza os filhos, se tem que tomar conta dos filhos, provavelmente não se pode dedicar à carreira académica da mesma forma que um homem. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[You know that this vision of the woman being the one who gives birth, for some circles in society, which I think are diminishing, (...) sometimes, it works as a factor of depreciation of their work. If she values her children and must take care of them, she will probably not dedicate herself to her academic career in the same way as a man.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Manuela Malheiro recalled the advice given to her by several people and the difficulty of completing a PhD with a newborn baby:

Sempre me disseram "se quiseres fazer carreira, o melhor é não te casares e dedicares-te à investigação e ao ensino". Facilita imenso. E às vezes é impossível, eu tive que interromper o meu doutoramento durante quatro anos, não era exequível levar o meu bebé para Londres. Há uma dificuldade em conciliar ambas as partes. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[I have always been told "if you want to make a career, you'd better not get married but dedicate yourself to research and teaching." It is much easier. And sometimes it is impossible, I had to suspend my PhD for four years, it was not feasible to take my baby to London. There is a difficulty in reconciling both parts.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The demands of academic life and their responsibilities as wives, mothers and carers made it impossible for women to achieve their goals earlier in their lives. Opportunities often presented themselves at times when women were supposed to get married and become a mother. The choice of several women in this study was to stay single or to marry but not have children:

No meu caso, o tipo de casamento que eu fiz, o adiamento das coisas, o não ter filhos, tem muito a ver de facto com, por um lado uma ideia que eu criei sobre como era preciso educar as crianças e que exigia uma dádiva muito grande; e por outro lado uma carreira que eu optei. A dada altura eu optei pela carreira e não por uma vida familiar tradicional, e isso foi claro. E a maior parte das minhas colegas que chegaram a catedráticas ou fizeram uma carreira avançada, ou são solteiras ou não tiveram filhos. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[In my case, the type of marriage I had, the postponement of things, not having children, all this had to do with the fact that, on the one hand, I built this idea of how it was necessary to raise the children and that it implied a huge commitment of time; and on the other hand, the career I chose. At some point, I opted for the career and not for a traditional family life, and that was obvious. And most of my colleagues who made it to full professors or pursued an advanced career are either single or they have not had children.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

A verdade é que são muito raras as mulheres que fazendo uma carreira universitária conseguem ao mesmo tempo fazer uma vida familiar tida como normal, (...) ser mãe e ao mesmo tempo ter uma carreira universitária. São raríssimas essas situações. (...) mulheres com filhos doutoradas a fazer uma carreira só conheço duas excepções aqui na faculdade de letras, que é a Maria Eugénia Moreira Lopes e a Maria João Alcoforado, porque as outras ou ficaram solteiras ou então optaram por não ter filhos para conseguirem fazer o doutoramento. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[The truth is that it is very rare to find women who, while pursuing a university career, can manage what is considered a family life, (...) to be a mother and have a university career at the same time. Those situations are extremely rare (...) women who have children and a PhD, who are seeking a career, I only know of two exceptions here in the faculty of letters, and those are Maria Eugénia Moreira Lopes and Maria João Alcoforado, because the rest of them either remained single or opted not to have children so they could do the PhD.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

An academic career was a complex challenge for women with demanding family and work responsibilities. Women's inability to reconcile familial and professional life (and the lack of measures to prevent it) led to gender bias in the selection process:

As pessoas interiorizavam isso e a carreira universitária para as mulheres exigia um sacrifício muito grande e opções de vida complicadas, e por isso mesmo havia muitas que começavam, mas depois não havia tantas em lugares de chefia. Porque era muito exigente, os lugares de chefia eram muito exigentes. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[People internalised that, and a university career for a woman required a gigantic sacrifice and complicated life options, and that is why there were so many women who started but then there were so few in leadership positions. Because it was very demanding, leadership positions were challenging.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The difficulty and pressures of working in an academic environment dominated by men drove women to make sacrifices and choices concerning their private and public lives. This idea of sacrifice was present in all the interviews, but also the idea of solidarity with women who decided not to have children so they could pursue an academic career. They made that choice because they were aware of how difficult it would be to be a mother and accommodate both fields. Despite the numerous obstacles they faced, the biggest one was their gender: being a woman.

Portanto acho que aí há uma diferença e uma maior dificuldade para as mulheres para chegarem a catedráticas. (...). Portanto, o ser mulher é um problema. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[Therefore, I believe there is a difference and a bigger struggle for women to become full professors (...) Thus, being a woman is a problem.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

However, when asked how their path would actually have been if they were a man, none of them truly reflected on the question. The exception was Maria Fernanda Alegria, who asserted that if she had been a man, she would certainly have faced fewer barriers, and her path would have been smoother and easier:

Provavelmente se eu em vez de ser rapariga fosse rapaz e tivesse feito o doutoramento é muito provável que não me levantassem esses problemas todos (...) Fiz uma carreira na universidade sendo mulher, e ainda por cima com muita dificuldade. Lembro-me que tive muita dificuldade em sair do meu trabalho para ir pesquisar quer para a direcção dos transportes, quer para a biblioteca nacional e eu estou convencida que se fosse homem essas dificuldades que tive não seriam tão grandes. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[Maybe if I were a boy instead of a girl and had done my PhD, it is very likely that it would not have caused me all those problems (...) I sought a career in college as a woman, which made it more difficult. I remember I had a hard time leaving my job to go and do research whether in the directorate of transportations or the national library, and I'm confident that if I had been a man, those difficulties would not have been so huge.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The diverse experiences related have a point in common: women had to overcome numerous difficulties to be able to work in the field and produce geographical knowledge:

Depois de acabar o curso ainda fui a um organismo do estado ver se conseguia entrar lá, mas não havia vaga ou eles disseram que não havia vaga e a opção que encontrei foi o ensino. Nessa altura sim, acho que fomos preteridos. (...). Fui aquele serviço ligado à cartografia e aí não tive qualquer hipótese, com certeza preferiam homens, e depois fui a um sitio ligado ao ambiente onde também vi que preferiam homens, então foi a única opção que tive. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[After finishing the degree, I went to a government department to see if I could get a job there, but there were no vacancies, or they said there were not, and the option I found was teaching. Back then I believe that, yes, we were overlooked (...) I went to a service connected with cartography to apply, and I did not have any chance there. Of course they preferred men, and then I went to a place connected with the environment where I understood that they preferred men too. Therefore, it was my only option.] (Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Tentaram-me fechar o caminho por completo. Foi um obstáculo grande, mas as pressões não vinham das pessoas da geografia, mas sim da direcção e da coordenação do departamento (...). Houve uma altura que eu era a única

doutorada no departamento, com doutoramento no estrangeiro, mas oficialmente era assistente como os outros. Alguém se sentiu ameaçado. Eu não tinha muito poder, poder só no sentido académico do termo. Não assumi nenhum cargo de direção, para mim isso estava fora de questão porque a hierarquia e a ligação ao poder formal eram de tal maneira fortes, que eu queria manter e fazer a minha vida calmamente (...). Os últimos anos foram difíceis. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[They tried to completely end my path. It was a huge obstacle, but the pressures were not coming from the Geography staff, but rather from management and the department administration (...) There was a time when I had the only doctorate in the department, with a PhD from overseas, but officially I was an assistant like everybody else. Someone felt threatened. I did not have much power, only power in the academic sense of the word. I did not take up any management roles. For me, that was out of question because the hierarchy and connection to power were strong in such a way that I wanted to keep on living my life quietly (...) The last years were hard] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Consegui ser agregé porque houve toda esta manobra complicada da parte do De Martonne que queria criar uma agregação de geografia, eu consegui entrar ali, depois consegui ser assistente porque não havia candidaturas de rapazes. Eu tive realmente de lutar, não foi uma luta como mulher, foi uma luta para fazer o que queria fazer e não aceitar que me mandassem embora porque não era um rapaz. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[I managed to become an ‘agrégé’ (associate teacher) because there was this whole complex manoeuvre planned by De Martonne who wanted to create an aggregation of Geography, I got in, then I became an assistant because there were no applications from boys. I really had to put up a fight, it was not a fight as a woman, but a fight to be able to do what I wanted to do and to not accept that they got rid of me because I was not a boy.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

[A mulher] enquanto docente nem sempre teve visibilidade, a mulher para vingar tinha de ser muito superior ao homem e havia muita maneira de travar e dificultar as coisas. Eu senti isso na pele, o quererem contrariar e o não me passas, e há sempre maneiras de o fazer e tentativas de me travarem. Não o fizeram

directamente mas há sempre um trabalho subterrâneo. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[[The woman] as a lecturer did not always have exposure, the woman had to be superior to the man if she wanted to thrive, and there were a lot of ways to halt and hinder things. That got under my skin, the opposition and the “you will not overtake me”, and there were always attempts to stop me. They did not do it directly, but there was always something happening below the surface.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Women’s experiences show that they found barriers when looking for a job, facing prejudice due to male expectations and strong power hierarchies. This was an unconscious practice most of the time, the result of a cultural discourse. Despite these opinions, some women I interviewed believed that they were not hidden in the shadows. They had an opportunity to work, contribute to Portuguese Geography and be recognised. Portuguese women geographers showed that they were not afraid of taking risks, starting at the bottom to get the top of the ladder even when that meant to sacrifice their personal lives for the sake of their professional lives. More importantly, they have showed that they were present.

6.2. Conclusion

In this chapter, I have described the career pathways of Portuguese women geographers, focusing on their education and the obstacles they encountered in their lives. The diversity of accounts demonstrated that all women’s experiences were not the same, and they remembered their journey in different ways. Some recalled an easy pathway and equality with male peers. Others recalled numerous difficulties and male superiority in the workplace. However, several similar conclusions can be drawn from the different accounts. Firstly, Portuguese women geographers had significant support from male individuals, whether family members or peers, who perceived women as equal to men. Secondly, it has been showed that the patriarchal regime did not oppose women working as geographers when this was convenient for the state. The diversity of experiences demonstrated that the major obstacle to women was Portuguese society and the old-fashioned mentality that, despite the significant social transformations of the 1960s, continued to regard women as carers and mothers.

I found that Portuguese Geography was not masculinist and did not have masculinist practices, but rather it was male dominated. A working group of geographers headed by Orlando Ribeiro allowed women to work and produce geographical knowledge to develop the discipline.

Again, the open mentality of one man was a key factor in incorporating women into the discipline and breaking the traditional and paternal lines of descent. It resulted in a magnificent number of works and publications from Portuguese women geographers, opening the doors to innovation. In the next chapter, I will use the Portuguese women geographers' own accounts to demonstrate how they have contributed to Portuguese Geography.

Chapter 7

Women's contributions to Portuguese Geography

In this study so far, I have shown how women achieved places within Portuguese Geography. However, their story is not complete if their accomplishments and contributions to Portuguese Geography are not mentioned.

7.1. In Their Own Words: Career Stories and Achievements of Portuguese Women Geographers

I have demonstrated so far that, from the Schools of Geography of Lisbon and Coimbra, several women emerged who produced geographical knowledge, despite the constraints on their journey. Nevertheless, most of them are not well known nowadays:

Há muitas mulheres na geografia de quem não se conhece o nome, como por exemplo a Fernanda Velho que trabalhou muito na geografia embora não tenha sido docente aqui, (...) teve um trabalho imenso na elaboração de mapas feitos à mão. Há algumas mulheres de que nunca se ouviu falar e que foram importantes para a geografia, como a Fernanda Velho que esteve sempre na sombra, se calhar por opção, se calhar porque na altura era assim. (Entrevista a Fernanda Cravidão, 2015)

[There are a lot of women in Geography whose names are not recognised. For instance, Fernanda Velho who worked greatly in Geography even though she was not a lecturer here, (...) she did immense work in the elaboration of handmade maps. Some women that people have never heard of were essential for Geography, like Fernanda Velho, who has always been in the shadows. Perhaps it was her choice, perhaps, at the time, that was just the way it was.] (Fernanda Cravidão, Interview, 2015, my translation)

The need to show who they were, to recognise and restore their value was repeatedly stressed in the interviews:

Acho que isso é uma dívida. As mulheres têm (...) ficado na sombra e as mulheres têm tido o seu papel, que muitas vezes não é muito visível. (Entrevista a

Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[In my opinion, it is a debt. Women have remained in the shadows (...), and they have played roles that were not often visible.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Eu acho que é interessante, dizer que elas também cá estiveram. A geografia não é só de homens. As mulheres também contribuíram para o progresso da geografia de uma maneira ou de outra. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[I think it is interesting, to say they were here too. Geography is not only for men. Women also contributed to the advancement of Geography in one way or another.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Following through on these observations and reflections, the remainder of this chapter focuses upon profiling Portuguese women geographers⁶, both biographically and professionally.

7.1.1. Celeste Coelho - Physical Geographer



1962 – Geography student – University of Lisbon
1970 – Awarded Annual Prize for Geography
1971 – Established bachelor's degree in geography – University of Lourenço Marques (Mozambique)
1974 – Admitted as PhD student – University of Aberdeen (United Kingdom)
1977 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Eduardo Mondlane (Mozambique)
1979 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Oporto
1980 – PhD awarded – University of Aberdeen (United Kingdom)
1985 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Aveiro
1998 – Associate Lecturer – University of Aveiro
2000 – Full Professor – University of Aveiro

Bio-sketch 1: Celeste Coelho

Photo Source: Taken by the author (16th September 2015)

⁶ The bio-sketches only relates to 10 of the interviewees. Fernanda Cravidão is not addressed as her professional life began after the timeframe of this study, despite the invaluable data and knowledge provided about Portuguese Geography.

Career Highlights

O meu maior desafio foi ter deixado a Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto e ter vindo para Aveiro. Na faculdade de Letras do Porto (...) introduzi uma série de novidades, criei um laboratório, disciplinas. Andava tudo muito eufórico, mas a partir de um determinado momento, eu comecei a sentir-me agrilhoada e a não me sentir bem. (...) Surgiu-me a oportunidade de vir para a Universidade de Aveiro mais uma vez ajudar a criar um curso, o curso de planeamento regional e urbano. E o desafio que me foi lançado foi ensinar geografia para não geógrafos e mostrar como a geografia tem um papel importante a desempenhar. (...) Esse foi um grande desafio.

Depois houve outro muito importante, eu agarrei [em Aveiro] oportunidades de investigação que fizeram com que eu tivesse oportunidade de criar uma área de investigação em Portugal que não existia. Criar uma estrutura de investigação muito forte (...) e desenvolver investigação em áreas que são da geografia obviamente, da geomorfologia mas também dos recursos naturais, do planeamento do meio ambiente, da percepção social. (...). Em termos profissionais eu penso que este foi o meu maior desafio, ter tido a oportunidade de mudar, de ter contribuído para o da Universidade de Aveiro. Depois do curso de planeamento regional e urbano, ajudei a criar o curso de turismo. (...) Agora atingi o limite de idade e continuo, não com tanta actividade, mas ainda continuo com alguma actividade. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[My biggest challenge was leaving the Faculty of Letters of the University of Oporto and coming to Aveiro. In the Faculty of Letters in Oporto (...) I introduced several novelties, I created a lab and even subjects. Everyone was euphoric, but from a certain point in time, I started to feel shackled and not feeling good (...) The opportunity came up for me to go to the University of Aveiro, once again to help in creating a degree, the degree of regional and urban planning. And the challenge presented was to teach Geography to non-geographers and show how Geography has a huge role to play (...) That was the main challenge. Then there was another. I took up [in Aveiro] research opportunities which gave me a chance to create a research area in Portugal that did not previously exist. To create a robust research structure (...) and to develop research in areas that belong in Geography, obviously, in geomorphology but also in natural resources, environment planning, societal

perception (...) In professional terms, I believe this was my biggest challenge, having had the opportunity to change and contribute to University of Aveiro. After the urban and regional planning degree, I helped to create the tourism degree (...) I have now reached my age limit, and I continue, not with so much activity, but I still continue with some.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Contributions

(...) aí não sou modesta. Acho que contribuí para a geografia a vários níveis. Num deles foi na componente de formação das camadas mais jovens; depois em termos mais académicos e científicos (...) dei um contributo na área onde fiz mais investigação e que trouxe para a agenda da investigação nacional e europeia a questão dos incêndios florestais e os seus efeitos no subsolo, sobre a água e sobre a população. O trabalho desenvolvido nesse campo (...), foi um contributo nacional, europeu e actualmente, (aquilo que foi um embrião de investigação nesta cidade) é gratificante ver que há uma rede nacional, imensa gente a trabalhar e n desenvolvimentos que têm vindo a surgir. Mais recentemente, o envolvimento em questões de participação pública e na transferência do conhecimento científico para quem dele precisa. O conhecimento nao existe apenas nas academias, há um conhecimento muito grande nas comunidades e se nós tivermos capacidade de interagir há uma aprendizagem mútua que pode ajudar a que nós possamos melhorar várias coisas. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[(...) I'm not modest about that. I think I have contributed to Geography on many levels. One of them was the training component of younger segments; then in more academic and scientific terms (...) I gave an input in the area where I developed more research and which I brought to the national and European research agenda, the question of forest fires and their effects on the subsoil, about water and population. The work developed in that field (...) was a national and European input, and nowadays (in what was once a research embryo in this city), it is gratifying to see that there is a national network, loads of people working, and progress has been emerging. More recently, the engagement in public participation and the transfer of scientific knowledge to those who need it. Knowledge does not only exist in academia, there is huge expertise in communities, and if we have the capacity to interact, there is mutual learning that could help us to improve various things.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

7.1.2. Lucília Caetano – Human Geographer



1961 – Geography student – University of Coimbra
1966 – Pedagogical Sciences – University of Coimbra
High school teacher in Viseu, Oporto, Coimbra and Azores.
1972 – Awarded an IVOTAN scholarship to Germany
1973 – Assistant in Commission Service – Geography Department, University of Coimbra
1986 – PhD awarded
1987 – Associate Professor – University of Coimbra
1993 – Associate Professor with tenure – University of Coimbra
1994 – Full Professor – University of Coimbra
2003 – Retired from teaching.

Bio-sketch 2: Lucília Caetano

Photo Source: Text and photo by the author (14th January 2016)

Career Highlights

Tentei fazer o melhor na parte educativa, didática e na parte interventiva no exterior, mostrar que a geografia em Portugal também se fazia. Não tenho um aspecto que me tivesse cativado mais, mas a parte de investigação puxou mais por mim. O procurar saber sempre me atraiu bastante.

O primeiro degrau, o doutoramento [foi um desafio]. Quando apareço eu com menos de 5 anos acharam logo que aquilo não prestava e não teria qualidade. Foi o primeiro embate mas passou com qualidade, e eu investi tudo o que havia para investir. Eu sabia que tinha que ter qualidade e procurava esse patamar. Foi duro, a nível de esforço e de investigação, é o doutoramento. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[I tried to do my best in my pedagogic and educational career, and in my intervening career overseas, to show that Geography was also made in Portugal. There is no aspect that captivated me more, but the research element did entice me more. The search for knowledge has always appealed to me. The first step, the PhD degree [was a challenge] (...) When I showed up, with my PhD done in less than

five years, they immediately thought that it would not be good or high quality. That was the first clash, but I passed and with quality, and I invested everything. I knew it had to be of high quality and I sought that level. It was tough, in terms of effort and research, the PhD.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Contributions

Eu procurei dar de mim o melhor, procurei sempre introduzir a ideia de contacto com o exterior daí que quando se tinha oportunidade levava os assistentes lá fora para os habituar a contactar com o exterior e beberem outras ideias; nas publicações sempre procurei que fossem úteis para a sociedade em geral e não para a elite universitária. (...) Os outros poderão dizer isso, eu não sou capaz de o fazer apesar de ter procurado fazer o melhor possível. Se realmente contribuí ou não e em que medida, os outros é que poderão fazer essa análise. O feedback que tenho é bom, mas não sou capaz de fazer essa análise. (Entrevista a Lucília Caetano, 2016)

[I tried to do my best, always tried to introduce the idea of establishing contact with the outside world. Hence when I had an exchange, I took the assistants outside to get them used to contact with foreigners, taking in other ideas. With publications, I always tried to make them useful to society in general and not only to the university elite (...) Others may say that I'm not capable of doing it even though I tried to do my best. If I did help and to what extent, others will have to make that assessment. The feedback I got was good, but I'm not capable of making that assessment.] (Lucília Caetano, Interview, 2016, my translation)

7.1.3. Lucília Gouveia – Human Geographer



1953–1957 – Geography student – University of Coimbra

1960–1961 – Pedagogical Sciences degree – University of Coimbra

1961–1962 – High school teacher

1963–1964 – Assistant Professor – Department of Geography, University of Coimbra

1964 -Member of the group of geographical missions (Angola) of the University of Coimbra

1973 – Returned to teaching in high school

2001 – Retired from teaching

Bio-sketch 3: Lucília Gouveia

Photo Source: Taken by the author (9th March 2016)

Career Highlights

O maior obstáculo que não ultrapassei foi o da tese. O aspecto mais positivo foi gostar da carreira toda, porque mesmo nas situações piores uma pessoa acaba sempre por tirar partido da situação. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[The biggest obstacle I did not overcome was the thesis. The most positive aspect was liking my whole career, because even in the worst situations, a person can always take advantage of it.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Contributions

(...) quando vemos alunas a ir para o curso de geografia por nossa causa, é uma contribuição. Contribuímos para a formação. (Entrevista a Lucília Gouveia, 2016)

[(...) when we see female students doing the Geography degree because of us, that is a contribution. We contributed to their formation.] (Lucília Gouveia, Interview, 2016, my translation)

7.1.4. Manuela Malheiro – Human Geographer



1962 – Geography student – University of Lisbon
1967–1969 – Geography teacher in Angola
1971 – High school teacher in Portugal
1972 – Postgraduate study in regional and urban planning
1974 – Granted PhD scholarship, France
1989 – Assistant Lecturer – Nova University, Lisbon
1992 – Assistant Lecturer – Aberta University, Lisbon
1992 - PhD Thesis
1992 -Director of the Research Center in Migration

Bio-sketch 4: Manuela Malheiro

Photo Source: Taken by the author (8th March 2016)

Careers Highlights

A orientação de mestrados e doutoramentos, sem dúvida nenhuma. Para já porque gosto de contactar com outras pessoas, ajudar os jovens a progredir e depois porque tenho mais interesse em ajudar na investigação e fazer investigação do que estar a ensinar e a repetir-me.

Outra parte muito positiva foi na didática da geografia, onde pude ir a congressos, pertencer à comissão da educação geográfica e ter prestígio dentro da comissão geográfica. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[The supervision of master's degrees and PhDs, without a doubt. First because I enjoy contact with other people, helping young people to progress, and then because I'm more interested in helping and doing research than in teaching and repeating myself. The other very constructive part was in the pedagogy of Geography, where I was able to go to conferences, serve on the geographical education commission and have prestige in the geographical commission.]
(Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Contributions

A minha contribuição maior foi sempre a formação de mestrandos e doutorandos. (...) escrevi um livro na Universidade Aberta sobre metodologias de investigação, escrevi outro sobre educação intercultural (...).Fui convidada para a comissão de muitos congressos da geografia portuguesa na parte da didática, era reconhecida como a pessoa que tinha um doutoramento em didática. Na didática, sem duvida, a parte internacional foi muito satisfatória, o ser reconhecida é muito agradável. (Entrevista a Manuela Malheiro, 2016)

[My biggest contribution was always in training master's students and doctoral students (...) I wrote a book in Universidade Aberta about research methodologies, I wrote another about intercultural education (...) I was invited to many conferences on Portuguese Geography for the pedagogical side, I was recognised as a person who had a PhD in pedagogy. In didactics of Geography, no doubt, the international part was very satisfactory, being recognised is lovely.]
(Manuela Malheiro, Interview, 2016, my translation)

7.1.5. Maria Alfreda Cruz – Human Geographer



1955 – Geography student – University of Lisbon

1959–1960 – High school teacher

1963 – Researcher – Scientific Institute of Angola

1972 – Assistant Professor and Researcher –
University of Lisbon

1973 – Coordinator of the Planning Sector of
Physical Resources – Portuguese Ministry of
Education

1990 – PhD Awarded – University Nova of Lisbon

1993 – Associate Professor and Coordinator of the
variant of Education, Science and Culture of Social
Sciences degree – University Nova of Lisbon

2006 – Researcher of the Philosophy Center of
Studies – University Nova of Lisbon.

Bio-sketch 5: Maria Alfreda Cruz

Photo Source: Sesimbra.blogspot.pt

Career Highlights

O maior desafio que tive de enfrentar foi quando a faculdade de ciências e tecnologia percebeu que estava a ser feito um trabalho muito interessante em ordenamento do território, e convidou a equipa para irmos ver o trabalho. Fui lá, fui muito bem recebida e quando se soube que eu não tinha defendido a tese de doutoramento convidaram-me para fazer a tese na faculdade de ciências e tecnologia, em ciências do ambiente e ordenamento do território.

Foi um grande desafio, porque eu não achava que era para uma tese de doutoramento; e por um lado salvei o meu trabalho que tinha sido posto em causa pelo Orlando e pela iliteracia portuguesa da Suzanne; salvei o meu trabalho no ministério da educação. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)


[The greatest challenge I had to face was when the Faculty of Sciences and Technology realised that very interesting work on land use planning was being conducted and invited the team to go and see the work. I went there, I was welcomed, and when they learned that I had not yet defended my doctoral thesis, they invited me to do the thesis in the Faculty of Sciences and Technology, in environmental sciences and land use planning. It was a huge challenge, because I did not think that my work was good enough for a doctoral thesis. On the other hand, I saved my work that had been called into question by Orlando and by Suzanne's Portuguese illiteracy; I saved my work at the Ministry of Education.] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Contributions

A minha contribuição penso que foi chamar a atenção para o facto de que a geografia não tem de estar de costas voltadas para o ordenamento do território, e para mim efectivamente, a grande medalha de honra foi o centro de estudos geográficos passar a chamar-se IGOT. (Entrevista a Maria Alfreda Cruz, 2015)

[I would say my contribution was to draw attention to the fact that Geography does not need to have its back turned to land use planning, and effectively for me, the big badge of honour was the renaming of the Center for Geographical Studies to IGOT (Institute of Geography and Territory Planning).] (Maria Alfreda Cruz, Interview, 2015, my translation)

7.1.6. Maria Fernanda Alegria – Human Geographer

	<p>1965 – Degree in Physical Education – National Institute of Physical Education</p> <p>1972 – Degree in Geography – University of Lisbon</p> <p>1970 – Technician – Laboratory of Sedimentology – Center of Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon (CEG/UL)</p> <p>1983 – Invited Assistant – University of Lisbon</p> <p>1985 – Awarded a PhD scholarship – National Institute of Scientific Research</p> <p>1987 – PhD awarded</p> <p>1987 -Assistant Professor – University Nova of Lisbon</p> <p>1998 – Associate Professor – University Nova of Lisbon</p>
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Bio-sketch 6: Maria Fernanda Alegria

Photo Source: Taken by the author (20th August 2015)

Career Highlights

Diz-se que a minha tese sobre os caminhos de ferro foi o pontapé de saída para depois se fazerem mais estudos. E que esse trabalho é muito útil, está organizada, tem a informação estruturada. Ela foi a base indispensável; depois podesse fazer muita coisa, depois de criado o quadro geral, que foi a minha tese. E acho que foi importante fazer o livro (...) sobre a Professora Suzanne. Ela dedicou toda a vida ao Professor Orlando mas ao mesmo tempo conseguiu tanto pela geografia portuguesa sem ninguém lhe fazer as honras devidas. Sinto-me contente por ter conseguido fazer este livro sobre ela.

Lançar-me a fazer o doutoramento [foi o maior desafio]. Se não fosse o empurrão da Professora Suzanne, nunca o teria feito. Eu sempre achei que não era capaz de o fazer. Depois convenci-me que era capaz de o concluir mas que não seria nada de muito interessante. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[It is said that my thesis about the railways was the kick-off for further studies later. And that work is very useful and organised, its information is structured. It was the essential basis; then a lot of things were done, after the general framework

was set up, which was in my thesis. And I think it was important to write the book (...) about Professor Suzanne. She dedicated her whole life to Professor Orlando, but at the same time, she achieved so much for Portuguese Geography without anyone giving her credit. I feel glad that I was able to write this book about her.

Throwing myself into doing the PhD [was the biggest challenge]. If it had not been for Professor Suzanne's push, I would never have done it. I always thought I was not capable of it. Then I convinced myself that I was capable of completing it but that it would not be too interesting.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Contributions

Fiz uma carreira na universidade sendo mulher, e ainda por cima com muita dificuldade porque estava afectivamente ligada a Letras mas tive que fazer a maior parte da minha carreira (18/19 anos), na Universidade Nova onde me senti sempre deslocada. Ter conseguido fazer alguma coisa no meio de um ambiente tão hostil... de facto não foi fácil.

Mas durante o tempo em que estava a formar professores, de que eu não tinha experiência nenhuma, fiz uma aprendizagem nesse campo, e consegui que várias pessoas com quem trabalhei na altura acabassem por se interessar em fazer teses de mestrado, e se interessaram por perceber melhor o que estavam a fazer. Apesar de eu não estar particularmente empenhada na formação de professores, como tinha que fazer isso fiz o melhor possível. Consegui entusiasmar pessoas muito interessantes. (Entrevista a Maria Fernanda Alegria, 2015)

[I pursued a career at university as a woman, and with additional struggles because I was sentimentally connected to letters, but I had to do most of my career (18–19 years) in Nova Universidade where I have always felt displaced. Being able to do something in an incredible hostile environment (...) indeed it was not easy. But during the time I was training teachers, of which I had zero experience, I gathered some knowledge in that field and got some people whom I worked with at the time to eventually get interested in doing a master's thesis and in better understanding what they were doing. Although I was not particularly committed to training teachers, I did my best because I had to. I succeeded in inspiring very interesting people.] (Maria Fernanda Alegria, Interview, 2015, my translation)

7.1.7. Raquel Soeiro de Brito – Human Geographer



1943–48 – Geography student, University of Lisbon
1950 – Awarded a scholarship from the Cultural Relations Service of the French State, Clermont-Ferrand University
1952 – Second Assistant in Geography, University of Lisbon
1955 – PhD awarded
1955–57 – Member of scientific missions of the Board of Overseas Research
1955–60 – Assistant Professor, University of Lisbon
1960–77 – Assistant Professor in the Superior Institute of Overseas Policies and Social Sciences
1960–65 – Member of the Scientific Cluster of Preparation of Geographers to Overseas
1960–74 – Member of the Human and Physical Geographical Missions Overseas
1977 – Establishes Anthropology Department, University Nova of Lisbon
1980 – Establishes Geography Department, University Nova of Lisbon
2015 – Vice-President of the Academy of Letters of the Portuguese Navy

Bio-sketch 7: Raquel Soeiro de Brito

Photo Source: macauantigo.blogspot.pt

Career Highlights

O que me deu mais nome foi o vulcão, os outros passaram. Há gente que conhece a minha obra, Goa por exemplo, o estado da Índia era jóia da coroa. (...) [o vulcão] Não o mais positivo, mas o que fez mais estrondo. Porque realmente acordar as tantas da manhã a ouvir berros e tiros quando estava a dormir pacatamente nas areias do Niassa debaixo de uma tenda militar, isso não tem interesse para ninguém, porque ninguém me viu. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[What gave me a reputation was the volcano, the others passed. There are people who know my work – Goa, for instance, the Indian state was the crown jewel (...) [the volcano] was not the most positive, but it made the loudest bang. Because

waking up in the early dawn as you heard screams and gunshots when I was sleeping peacefully in the Niassa sands under a military tent, that is not interesting to anybody, because nobody saw it.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Contributions

Bem, isso os outros que digam. Eu trabalhei, trabalhei com muito gosto e posso dizer sem exagero e sem vergonha que trabalhei o que pude trabalhar. [Enquanto mulher não levou] a uma mudança científica não. A uma mudança de comportamento de gente, acho que sim. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[Well, let the others say something. I worked, worked with great pleasure and I can say without exaggeration and shame that I worked as best as I could. [As a woman it did not lead to] a change in the science, no. In terms of changing the behaviour of some people, I believe so, yes.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

7.1.8. Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva – Human Geographer

	<p>1959–1964 – Geography student – University of Coimbra 1965 – Pedagogical Sciences – University of Coimbra 1964 – High school teacher – Rainha Santa Isabel High School 1970 – Methodology assistant – D. Manuel II High School 1972 – Special education student – University of Uppsala 1973 – Organised and established the degree in geography at University of Oporto 1980 – PhD awarded with distinction 1980 - Assistant Professor – University of Oporto 1989 – Associate Professor – University of Oporto 1990 – Full Professor – University of Oporto</p>
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Bio-sketch 8: Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva

Photo Source: Taken by the author (13th January 2016)

Career Highlights

Para mim foram todos [aspectos] positivos, havia um espírito de equipa muito grande. [o mais desafiante] foi ter tudo preparado com ajuda dos mestres de lisboa, ter que reestruturar o curso num mês ou dois. (Entrevista a Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, 2016)

[For me, it was all positive [aspects], there was an enormous team spirit. [The most challenging] was having prepared everything with the help of the masters of Lisbon⁷, having to restructure the degree in one or two months.] (Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Contributions

Em 1972 recebo um telefonema do António Cruz a dizer que abriu a geografia no porto (...) convidou-me para abrir o curso mas eu recusei. E depois recebo um telefonema do Professor Orlando e da Professora Suzanne a dizerem-me para eu ir, mas eu voltei a recusar. (...) cheguei a Agosto de 1973 e aceitei vir para o Porto mas com a condição de me ajudarem a fazer os programas. (Entrevista a Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, 2016)

[In 1972, I got a phone call from António Cruz saying that Geography had kicked off in Oporto (...). He invited me to establish the degree, but I refused. And then I got a phone call from Professor Orlando and Professor Suzanne telling me to go, but I refused once again (...) I arrived in August 1973 and accepted coming to Oporto on the condition that they helped me build the programmes.] (Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva, Interview, 2016, my translation)

⁷ Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva is making reference to Suzanne Daveau and Orlando Ribeiro.

7.1.9. Suzanne Daveau - Physical Geographer



1944–1947 – Geography student – University of Sorbonne

1950–1952 – Assistant Professor – University of Besançon

1953 – Researcher – French National Centre for Scientific Research

1954 – Awarded a PhD scholarship – French Institute of Africa

1957 – PhD awarded

1957–1964 – Professor – University of Dakar

1966 – Awarded with the Research Director Scholarship of Gulbenkian Foundation

1966- Founder of the journal “Finisterra”

1967 – Professor – University of Reims

1970–1993 – Invited Professor – University of Lisbon

Bio-sketch 9: Suzanne Daveau

Photo Source: doc-orlandoribeiro.blogspot.pt

Career Highlights

Eu penso que a maior asneira que fiz na minha vida foi casar com Orlando Ribeiro e instalar-me em Portugal, país pobre e colonialista com um Salazar. Perder o meu emprego, abandonar África (...) foi realmente a grande asneira que fiz na minha vida e da qual fiquei mais satisfeita. No fundo penso que tomando esta atitude, realmente tive uma vida muito mais interessante do que teria tido se continuasse um pouco mais isolada em África(...). E depois quando cheguei cá, encontrei este grupo de geógrafos à volta do Orlando, extremamente vivo, interessado, variado e simpáticos. Dirigi a tese de muitos deles ou se não dirigi a tese tive contactos interessantes com eles, em geral muito amistosos. Eu tive muita sorte. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[From my point of view, the biggest mistake I have made in my life was marrying Orland Ribeiro and moving to Portugal, a poor and colonialist country with Salazar. I lost my job, abandoned Africa (...) it really was the biggest mistake

I have ever made, and it made me glad. Deep down, I think that by taking this attitude I have really had a much more interesting life than I would have had if I had continued to be more isolated in Africa (...) And then, when I arrived here, I found this group of geographers surrounding Orlando, extremely lively, interesting, varied and nice. I guided the theses many of them did, or if I did not do that, I had interesting contacts with them, in general very friendly. I was lucky.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Contributions

Sempre que me fazem esta pergunta, eu respondo que não posso responder. Não sou eu que posso responder. Eu sei que trabalhei muito. Eu penso que esclareci um certo número de problemas e tive o cuidado, de publicar livros de ensino elementares, acessíveis a um público relativamente largo, porque eu considero que isso é uma das obrigações dos universitários. Não só publicar os resultados de investigação científica que faço em revistas de interesse internacional mas também publicar coisas acessíveis ao público do país onde estou a trabalhar.

(...)O Portugal Geográfico e o Ambiente Geográfico Natural são tentativas que fiz para tornar acessível aos meus alunos, e além dos meus alunos a um público mais amplo, o que penso ter percebido da geografia de Portugal. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[Every time I'm asked this question, I reply that I cannot answer. I'm not the one who has to answer it. I know I worked a lot. I believe I have clarified several problems and I was careful to clarify them, publish basic educational books, accessible to a relatively wide group, because I consider that to be one of the main obligations of scholars. I not only published the results of my scientific research in journals of international interest, but also published things that were accessible to the population of the country where I was working (...). "Portugal geográfico" and "Ambiente geográfico natural" were my attempts to make available to my students, and beyond my students to a wider public, what I had learned about the Geography of Portugal.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

7.1.10. Teresa Barata Salgueiro – Human geographer



1965–1970 – Geography student – University of Lisbon
1971 – Assistant Professor – University of Lisbon
1983 – PhD awarded – University of Lisbon
1993 – Associate Professor – University of Lisbon
1988–1992 – President of the Portuguese Association of Geographers
2009–2012 – Director of the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT)
Currently Full Professor at IGOT – University of Lisbon

Bio-sketch 10: Teresa Barata Salgueiro

Photo Source: Taken by the author (25th August 2015)

Career Highlights

O desafio é a carreira universitária, é um grande desafio, é complexa e exige muito da pessoa. Foi um projecto de vida que a certa altura abracei (...). Eu penso muito mais nisso hoje se calhar, mas a decisão de não ter tido filhos, eu acho que teve um pouco a ver com a carreira. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[The challenge is the university career, it is a huge challenge, it is complex and it demands a lot from the person. It was a life project that I embraced at some point (...) Perhaps I think about it more often today, but the decision of not to have children, I believe it was somewhat related to my career.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Contributions

Nunca pensei nisso. Sempre fui uma pessoa que trabalhei muito e que não tenho medo dos desafios, gosto de coisas novas e acho que tenho estado várias vezes em situações novas, como o 1º Congresso da Geografia Portuguesa (...). E depois na criação do IGOT, porque também não sendo uma ideia minha, mas de facto os

meus colegas empurraram-me para isso e eu não disse que não.

Agora o que vai ficar de mim na geografia? Não sei, eu espero que as pessoas ainda encontrem algum interesse - porque os nossos textos são muito marcados pela época em que são feitos, porque o território muda - e eu gostaria que as pessoas apesar de tudo, quando lessem aquilo que eu fiz, percebessem que eu gostava de descobrir, que a minha preocupação era conhecer, perceber os processos. Eu procurei não parar (...). Eu tenho procurado encontrar aspectos diferentes que me permitam conhecer aquilo que eu acho que do ponto de vista da geografia, e do ponto de vista da geografia humana é importante, que é perceber como nos relacionamos com o ambiente, como é que a cidade é produzida. (Entrevista a Teresa Barata Salgueiro, 2015)

[I have never thought about it. I have always been someone who worked a lot and was not scared of challenges. I like new experiences, and I think I have been in new situations many times, for instance the First Congress of Portuguese Geography (...) And then in the creation of IGOT, because it was not my idea, but my colleagues pushed me towards it, and I did not say no. Now, what is going to remain of me in Geography? I do not know. I hope people still find some relevance – because my texts were really defined by the period they were written in, because the territory changes – and I would like people, above anything else, when they read my work, to understand that I enjoyed discovering, that my concern was to know and understand the cases. I tried not to stop (...) I have been trying to find different aspects that allow me to get to know what I think is important from the point of view of Geography and of human geography, which is to understand how we relate to the environment, how the city was created.] (Teresa Barata Salgueiro, Interview, 2015, my translation)

7.2. Conclusion

The creation of new geographical laboratories; the establishment of new Geography courses; the study, adoption and integration of new research themes; the production of geographical knowledge that benefited academics and the public – there is no doubt that women's contributions to Portuguese Geography were massive.

In the next chapter, I will present and critically analyse the writings of four women who worked in Portuguese Geography, to discover whether there was anything distinctive about women's geographical scholarship in Portugal.

Chapter 8

Was Anything Distinctive about Women's Geographical Scholarship in Portugal?

The main point of this chapter is to understand whether, regardless of this situation, women's geographical scholarship in Portugal was, in fact, different men's. The chapter interrogates perceptions that women's geographies were in fact different, for example in the ways in which women travelled, conducted research, and wrote about places and people.

8.1. Women's Geographical Writing in the Portuguese world

The production of geographical knowledge in Portugal, and about Portugal and Portuguese overseas provinces, expanded tremendously in the middle of the twentieth century due to the work, studies, monographs and articles of the women whose careers were summarised in Chapter 7.

Recognition of these women's scholarship necessarily involves cataloguing and critically analysing their work. I will explore whether or not these works differed from the writings of male geographers of the time. To accomplish this task, four works will be analysed: two of human geography and two of physical geography. I will begin the analysis with a scientific travel narrative on Portuguese India by Raquel Soeiro de Brito. The second work is a regional study about Sesimbra by Maria Alfreda Cruz. The third and fourth works were both written by physical geographers. As it is more difficult to provide an analysis of discourse and meanings in these narratives, I will focus mainly on their positionality as women geographers. With this in mind, I will start with a statistical study of Mozambican elements by Celeste Coelho, another account of an overseas colony, to understand her positionality in a different society and how spaces are represented differently from human geography accounts. The last work is a geographical chronicle about occidental Africa by Suzanne Daveau. It is necessary to clarify that Daveau is a French-Portuguese geographer with an academic background rooted in French Geography, having worked for several years carrying out fieldwork in French colonies. After marrying the Portuguese geographer Orlando Ribeiro in 1965, Daveau settled in Portugal. Since then, she has done an immense amount of work in Portuguese Geography, contributing to the development of the area in Portugal. Daveau's work in a French colony, presents another field of work by Portuguese women geographers.

8.1.1. Raquel Soeiro de Brito: Emotional Bodies and Forbidden Spaces

Goa e as Praças do Norte by Raquel Soeiro de Brito (1966) is a monograph about the Portuguese colonial cities in India, where the physical and human environment are under scrutiny. In this book, as in other books by women about colonialism, masculine and feminine discourses clash, holding the author “between the conflicting demands of the discourse of femininity and that of imperialism. The discourses of colonialism demand action and boldness, a fearless behaviour from the narrator, and yet the discourses of femininity demand passivity from the narrator and a concern with relationships” (Mills, 1993:21–22). The duality of femininity and masculine authority and the use of a double voice is certainly connected with the universe of production of the work at a time when Portugal’s recognition of its overseas colonies was necessary to keep them.

Brito’s work can be read as distinctive from men’s writings due to the incorporation of emotions in the narrative and the fact that she was able to enter places forbidden to men as she recalled in her interview:

Há zonas onde os homens não entram. Assim como em África há muitas zonas onde um homem não entra e ponto final..Eu se fosse um homem nunca tinha entrado na casa de um dher e entrei. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[There are areas where men do not enter. As well as in Africa, there are many areas where a man does not enter. If I were a man, I would never enter into a Dher’ home and I did.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

However, her work also has similarities with conventionally masculinist discourses including scientific writing, objective language and colonial discourse. This is exemplified in the description of landscapes and interactions with the “other”. The narrative is guided by the principle and perception of a “slow time”, of a standing space in time where the West is described “as progressive in the sense of making history and the transformation of the world, while the East was set (by the Europeans) as static and timeless” (Crang, 1998:66). A second principle is also present in the narrative: the idea of the mythical Portuguese Empire based in the East, exposing an ideological agenda through space, contributing to the consolidation of a Geography of empire. The subject (Portuguese colonial India) is placed in a position of inferiority through the description of the physical framework of the region, fixing the depicted landscape and legitimising a state of civilisational backwardness underlying the written and visual text:

(...) «lajes enegrecidas e rugosas onde, em plena estação das chuvas, crescem apenas alguns tufos de erva e magros arbustos»(...). (Brito, 1966:13)

[(...) blackened and wrinkled slabs where, at the height of the rainy season, only some tufts of scrub and slender shrubs grow (...)] (my translation)



Figure 14: Physical Landscape of Goa

Source: "Goa e as Praças do Norte" (1966)

Brito promotes an image of India's underdevelopment, constructing meanings about the places pictured that locate her within the power and knowledge discourses of Western superiority:

"an important feature of colonial space is its dependency on the concept of 'fixity' in the ideological construction of otherness. Fixity as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity, and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition." (Bhabha, 1994:75).



Figure 15: Human and Physical Landscape of Goa

Source: “Goa e as Praças do Norte” (1966)

Conventionally colonial, this representation presents the Portuguese observer as a civilising figure, contrasted with traditional and religiously different and ‘primitive’ other:

Logo que se inicia a novena começam a chegar os peregrinos, primeiro mulheres, a maior parte das vezes com filhos pequenos (...). A afluência de peregrinos vai continuando pela madrugada e primeiras horas do grande dia. (...) não se vêem só cristãos; hindus e muçulmanos andam de mistura com aqueles pela estrada e caminho da Sé, habitualmente desertos mas nestes dias cheios de movimento, ladeados por barraquitas de artigos religiosos, de «comes e bebes» (...). Mas apesar de todo o exotismo do traje, do linguajar, das coisas que há para vender que, «no ambiente geral da romaria surpreendem-se aspectos que não se afiguram estranhos a quem conheça a vida tradicional» (61,180) das províncias do continente português. (Brito, 1966:116)

[As soon as the novena started, the pilgrims started to arrive, first women, most of the time with small children (...). The influx of pilgrims continues throughout dawn and the first hours of the big day (...) You do not see only Catholics; Hindus and Muslims go among those who walk the road and the path to the cathedral, usually deserted but on these days full of movement, flanked by stands that sell religious articles or food (...) But despite all the exoticism of the

attire, the jargon, the things up for sell that, «in the general environment of pilgrimage aspects are found that are not weird for those who are acquainted with the traditional life» (61,180) of the provinces of the Portuguese mainland.] (Brito, 1966:116; my translation)



Figure 16: Pilgrimage by Indian Women

Source: “Goa e as Praças do Norte” (1966)

The long description of religious spaces, where distance and cultural proximity shape her discourse, places Portuguese colonial India in a relationship of power and recognition in a clear attempt to affirm the identity and culture of Portugal.

The observation, representation and analysis of the Hindu women construct a narrative based on the interaction with the “other”, leading us to “the space not visible in the frame but inferable from what the frame makes visible” (De Lauretis, 1987:26). Brito addresses the domestic sphere, a masculinist space that projects identities of place and articulates cultural practices, where the female body, fragile and quiet, seems “more shadow than human being” (Brito, 1966:41; my translation).



Figure 17: Indian women collecting molluscs

Source: "Goa e as Praças do Norte" (1966)



Figure 18: Indian women in fishing activities

Source: "Goa e as Praças do Norte" (1966)

Developing a space that integrates power, ideology and knowledge in its representation, an area of subjugation closely associated with power relations, the emphasis on women in the private and public sphere is part of a male discourse of fantasy. The game of ambivalence, fantasy and desire that holds Brito's attention when Indian woman goes to the well "with agility, elegance and joy" (Brito, 1966:170; my translation) is forged in the representation of a masculinist discourse oriented to the description of the female element. Said (1978) recognises dichotomous characteristics between the West and the East, referring to the East as feminine, docile and exotic in the eyes of the dominating West:

(...) o caminho faz-se em silêncio, umas atrás das outras, raramente a par, entre elas aos olhos inacostumados do Ocidental, parece estabelecer-se uma surda competição: cada uma pretende ser mais airosa, mais etérea, do que a que a antecede. (Brito, 1966:170)

[(...) the journey is made in silence, one behind the other, rarely in pairs; between them, to the unaccustomed eyes of the Western, it looks like a mute competition is taking root: everyone tries to be more graceful, more ethereal, than the one before her.] (my translation)

A stereotyped representation of the Orient, where desire and fantasy, which animate the imaginary geographies, give to the place a particular poetry and creates a place of visual satisfaction of the West, is perceived in the words of the author when describing women:

(...) todos aqueles corpos pequenos e franzinos, graciosamente envoltos em longos saris de cor lisa e suave ou, em contraste com estes, totalmente cheios de desenhos policoloridos, lembram, sem querer, afinado corpo de baile num palco gigantesco. (Brito, 1966:170)

[(...) all those small and slender bodies, gracefully wrapped in long saris of smooth and straight colour or, in contrast with these, totally bursting with multicoloured drawings, unintentionally echo a practised corps de ballet on a gigantic stage.] (my translation)



Figure 19: Indian women going to the well
Source: "Goa e as Praças do Norte" (1966)



Figure 20: Indian Women – body of desire and fantasy
Source: "Goa e as Praças do Norte" (1966)

The author's perceptions about the oriental feminine "other" lead to the "enforcement of other dominant stereotypes and norms, including those of gender" (Mehta and Bondi, 1999; Namaste, 1996; Browne, 2004; Davidson, Bondi and Smith, 2012:8), where the recurrent use of observation and comparison between spaces, cultures, and bodies imprints marks of the colonial scientific thought.

Despite the prevalence of a male and colonial discourse, Raquel Soeiro de Brito several times exhibits her feminine voice and discourses of femininity. She is what Pratt (1992) called a "social explorer". As a woman, she was considered harmless, which "facilitated them the dialogue and often opened doors to private aspects of people whose lives they shared while journeying" (Slung, 2001:232). As Brito described in her interview, she got to know the native populations more deeply, increasing the value of her ethnographic work:

O Orlando e o Mariano diziam muitas vezes que houve sítios e conhecimentos que nunca teriam se eu não estivesse na missão, porque por ser mulher eu tinha acesso. Numa sociedade como a indiana, eu porque era mulher, apesar de ser estranha tinha acesso onde eles não tinham. E através de mim, eles souberam muito da sociedade e da vivência indiana. Ao homem e estrangeiro nem pensar. (Entrevista a Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 2015)

[Orlando and Mariano used to say often that there were places and knowledge that they would never have had access to if I had not been on the mission, because being a woman gave me access. In a society like the Indian one, I, because I was a woman, albeit a stranger, had access where they did not. And through me, they became acquainted with Indian society and experiences. For a man who was a foreigner, it was impossible.] (Raquel Soeiro de Brito, Interview, 2015, my translation)

To Mills (1993:91), there are several "elements that can be labelled as 'feminine' – a concern with relationships, domestic descriptions, a concern with Christianity and morality" that are common in Brito's work. For example, when she describes the interior of Indian houses:

(...) paredes decoradas com inúmeras fotografias e grandes espelhos, são rodeadas por cadeiras baixas, mesinhas, arcas, às vezes canapés de palhinha, recordando tantas salinhas de entrada do Alentejo e da Andaluzia (...). (Brito, 1966:142-143)

[...] walls decorated with countless photographs and big mirrors are surrounded by low chairs, small tables, chests, sometimes straw sofas, reminding me of so many entrance halls in Alentejo and Andalusia.] (my translation)



Figure 21: Indian house with Portuguese features

Source: “Goa e as Praças do Norte” (1966)

Her access to places forbidden to men allowed Brito to penetrate a compartmentalised world and her readers to “travel through the whole house and discover a little of the secret lives that flow according to a rhythm and an ideal very different from ours” (Daveau, 1967:264; my translation). Feelings and emotions, identified as characteristics of female writings, are portrayed in a description of the climate, creating a narrative of contrasts:

De um céu coberto por grossas nuvens cor de cinza que se desfazem durante horas seguidas em catadupas de água, passa-se a uma transparência atmosférica quase sem limites, em que os mais pequenos pormenores são avistados com toda a nitidez a muitos quilómetros de distância, e durante meses seguidos não cai nem uma gota. (Brito, 1966:18)

[From a sky covered with thick, grey-coloured clouds that undo themselves during the hours that follow into cascades of water, an almost limitless atmospheric transparency settles in, where the smallest details can be spotted in sharp detail from many miles away, and for the following months, not a single drop falls.] (my translation)

The representation of space through oppositional relations and feelings is a constant, as Brito shows in her description of Daman's climate during the monsoon:

(...) extremamente límpida e seca, em que os mais pequenos pormenores de paisagem se recortam, bem longe, num céu azul, contrastando fortemente com o amarelo ressequido do campo (...) paira no ar forte humidade e o céu, ainda há pouco de um azul puro, fica coberto por grossas nuvens cinzentas que caminham lentamente no mar (...) é um tempo depressivo e sob o qual o menor esforço é assinalado por leve camada de suor, que fica colada ao corpo e provoca quase sempre sensação de mal-estar. (Brito, 1966:123)

[(...) extremely clear and dry, where the smallest details of scenery are outlined, far away, in a blue sky, in stark contrast with the scorched yellow of the field (...) a heavy humidity hovers in the air, and the sky, of a pure blue just moments ago, gets covered with thick, grey-coloured clouds that march slowly into the sea (...) it is an oppressive time in which the smallest effort is marked by a light layer of sweat that sticks to the body and an almost-constant feeling of unease.] (my translation)

Brito reacts to changes in the physical environment through her own body, becoming part of the narrative “as a device through which the narrative becomes comprehensible” (Mills,1993:74), the “sentimental traveller” as Pratt (1985) names it. Her body speaks of the sense of place, working as a means of communication for her experiences and a means of resignification of space associated with the production of geographic knowledge.

The geographical narrative is the expression of the foreign traveller's response to the place that is strange to her, building throughout the voyage an archive structured internally and based on the writings that result from those experiences. In Brito's work, the use of an emotional and feminine discourse is quite smaller than the use of the male and colonial discourse. The Western and masculinist vision of the “other”, with a particular focus on the female “other”, means “that white women become visible at the expense of colonised women, perpetuating an exclusionary, ethnocentric discourse” (Blunt, 1994:6), a sign of their privilege.

By incorporating both discourses to represent places and expose the links between colonialism and Geography through a cultural relationship that left deep imprints, it cannot be said that the monograph belongs to either a masculine or feminine way of writing.

8.1.2. Maria Alfreda Cruz: Fishing and Home

Maria Alfreda Cruz's book *Pesca e pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho*, published in 1966, enhances the memory and local identity and “respects the social memory of Sesimbra, reviewed in the photographic portfolio attached to the narrative of the traditional way of life and work of the fishing community of Sesimbra” (Cruz, 2009⁸:5–6; my translation). As a form of geographical knowledge, the work safeguards the testimonies and heritage of:

(...) a luta quotidiana da comunidade piscatória pela preservação da integralidade patrimonial das suas artes de pesca e pela autonomia e diferenciação das pescas sesimbrãs perante o controle geral da função piscatória sustentada pela supremacia do arrasto costeiro ao longo do litoral português, durante a vigência do Estado Novo. (Cruz, 2009:6)

[(...) the daily struggle of the fishing community for the patrimonial preservation and integrity of its fishing arts and the autonomy and distinction of the Sesimbran's fisheries against the general control of the fishing function sustained by the supremacy of the coastal trawl along the Portuguese coast, during Estado Novo.] (my translation)

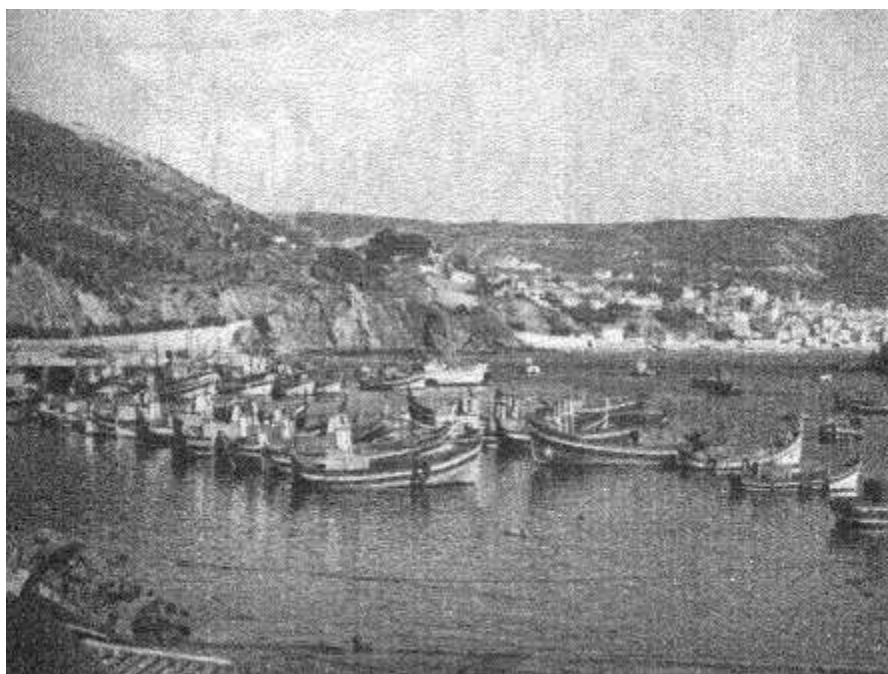


Figure 22: Sesimbra

Source: “*Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho*” (1966)

⁸ The book was republished in 2009 by the Town Hall of Sesimbra and did not suffer any alterations. This new version was used since it was not possible to access to the first version.

The work has similarities with male writings, such as the careful and scientific language to expose the physical and environmental restrictions of the region:

Recesso abrigado num litoral de arribas hostis, a baía deve-se ao conjunto de rochas brandas do Infraliássico, Neojurássico e Cretácico, que, entre as moles de calcário resistente ao Jurássico médio, se oferece facilmente à abrasão. Apenas alguns filões de teschenito desenharam no seu contorno (...), pequenos «pontões» insignificantes perante o aspecto geral do modelado; e a acumulação de areias, trazidas por correntes e ventos, individualizou, a partir do apoio da arriba oriental, a extensa e abrigada praia. (Cruz, 2009:13)

[A sheltered recess in a coastline of hostile cliffs, the bay exists due to the set of soft infra-Liassic, neo-Jurassic and Cretaceous rocks that, amongst the lines of sandstones resistant to the Middle Jurassic, easily succumb to erosion. Only a few teschenito filaments draw in their outline (...) small and insignificant "pontoons" in the face of the general appearance of modeling; and the accumulation of sands, brought by currents and winds, individualised, with the support of the oriental cliff, the extensive and sheltered beach.] (my translation)

Cruz is also very critical of the government's lack of help to improve the living conditions of the fisherman, clashing between a discourse of femininity and sympathy with the fishermen and the male discourse of political criticism:

A Casa dos Pescadores, propondo-se desempenhar funções de «educação, previdência e assistência» relativamente à classe piscatória (...) facilita a luta contra as condições de depauperamento físico da população piscatória. Isto traduz uma tendência positiva para a solução do premente problema de auxílio, necessário a uma classe inteira de indivíduos, que a ele tem e sempre teve direito, se não por um sentimento de solidariedade, pelo menos por um sentido de justiça. (Cruz, 2009:83)

[The Fishermen's House⁹, proposing to play roles of «education, pension and assistance» for the fishing class (...) facilitates the struggle against the conditions of physical depletion of the fishing population. This shows a positive trend for the solution of the pressing issue of aid, necessary to a whole class of individuals, to

⁹ The Fishermen's House was an institution designed to help fishermen families through education and financial assistance

which he has and always has had a right, if not for a feeling of solidarity, at least for a feeling of justice.] (my translation)

Este triunfo acabou finalmente por surgir, e mais que o pescador – que de miserável, passou a pobre – dele se aproveitou a própria economia que a pesca proporciona ao Estado. (Cruz, 2009:65)

[This victory finally came around, and more than the fisherman – that from miserable turned into poor - the economy itself that the fishing provides to the State took advantage of it.] (my translation)



Figure 23: Fisherman Way of Living

Source: “Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho” (1966)

The impression of masculine writing vanishes as soon as the geographer begins to introduce the landscape of the region. The feminine features of her writing are presented in a more colloquial and calmer voice throughout the text, with extremely detailed descriptions of fishing practices and living conditions:

(...) nitidamente uma terra de pescadores (...) que justifica a relevante importância que possui na nossa economia. Varadas na praia ou abrigadas no

molhe, as embarcações esperam o momento de partir. Estendidas na praia, nos «tendais», na estrada, nas próprias ruas vizinhas da praia, redes e «talas» atestam e simbolizam a vida da povoação. (Cruz, 2009:26)

[...] clearly a land of fishermen (...) that justifies the essential importance of it to our economy. Stuck on the beach or sheltered in the dock, the vessels wait for the right moment to depart. Outstretched on the beach, in tents, on the roads, in the neighbouring streets to the beach, nets and splints attest to and symbolise the life of the village.] (my translation)

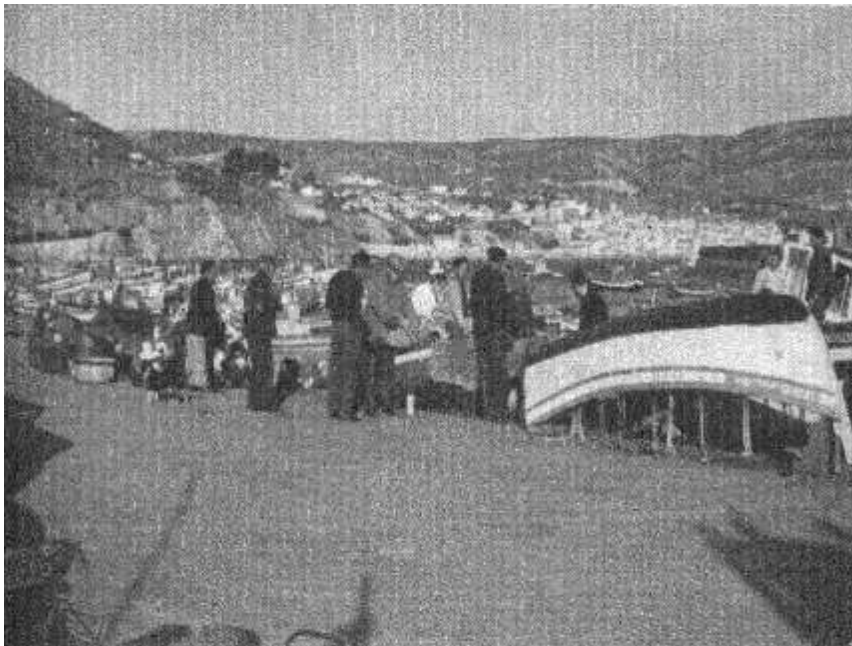


Figure 24: Boats on the beach

Source: “Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho” (1966)

The construction of a discourse of femininity is implied in the analysis of human relationships and people’s relationships with the surrounding environment, a place of intricate networks between men and the sea, where “histories of people are written into the water” (Probyn, 2016:14), and the sea and boats are symbolic of a way of living. The process of fishing is not only described but drawn by the geographer, quite common in women’s writings, to prove the “truth value” of their work and validate it as scientific. Her passive involvement in the very descriptive account of the awakening of the fishermen, and the use of numerous adjectives and terms that evoke shadows, darkness and fear are metaphors for the discourse of sorrow and sympathy:

Noite ainda, às horas em que normalmente uma cidade adormece, despertam os Pescadores do alto ouvindo o chamamento dos «moços» que percorrem as ruas, batendo às portas com um tolete que, para o efeito, designam de «chama». Gritando os nomes, aquelas vozes penetram a noite, varrendo da rua o vazio que amedronta e levando a campanha a reunir-se na «loja» - sórdido compartimento parcamente iluminado por um archote ou por um candeeiro a petróleo (...). (Cruz, 2009:28)

[Still night, at the time a city usually falls asleep, the fishermen wake up, hearing the call of the young men who run through the streets, knocking on doors with a *tolete* that, for its current use, they call «flame». Screaming names, these voices pervade the night, sweeping from the street the fearful void and making the crusade to meet at the store – a sordid compartment, poorly illuminated by a torch or an oil lamp (...).] (my translation)

Pescador da velha arte (...) virou-se instintivamente contra os modernos métodos, que fizeram perecer as suas inofensivas redes (...). Latente nas suas evasivas palavras sentimos a mágoa e o ressentimento perante a inimiga. (Cruz, 2009:53)

[The fisherman of the old style (...) turned instinctively against the modern techniques that extinguished his harmless nets (...) Implied in his evasive words are sorrow and resentment towards the enemy.] (my translation)



Figure 25.: Fishermen's gathered on the beach after fishing

Source: "Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho" (1966)

The discourse of intimacy and emotional connection is continuous in the work of Cruz, showing through her feelings and reflecting “sentiments ranging from dread to elation. Often, they are amorphous, multifarious, or inchoate. On an intuitive level, it is clear that feelings associated with place are an integral component of participant’s geographical experience” (Rowles, 1978:174). Cruz’s observations result in an emotional description of attachment to a place, uncommon in masculine writings:

(...) o homem de Sesimbra só muito raramente a abandona. O pescador não sente necessidade disso, sequer. O mar ali dá para viver, e ao fim e ao cabo, sempre é a sua terra. Lutando contra todas as vicissitudes (...) o pescador fica preso à sua terra e ao seu barco, sem o mínimo desejo de tentar nova sorte e desafiar o destino.

O homem «de terra», esse, por vezes anseia partir, tentar novo caminho, sair da mediocridade do nível a que poucos escapam. Mas quase sempre acaba por ficar. Quando a ideia surge, já é um homem, já foi apanhado na engrenagem desde pequeno, e sente receio de trocar essa mediocridade por uma incerteza que não está na sua maneira de ser. (Cruz, 2009:81)

[(...) the fisherman from Sesimbra very rarely abandon it. The fisherman does not feel the need to do that, not ever. The sea provides enough to make a living, and in the long run, it’s always his land. Fighting against all changes (...) the fisherman stays wedded to his land and boat, without the least desire to try his luck with something new and challenge the faith. The man «of the land», that one, sometimes yearns to leave, to try a new path, to leave the mediocrity that few have escaped. But he almost always ends up staying. When the idea comes up, he is already a man, he has been stuck in this gear since he was a little boy, and he is afraid of exchanging that mediocrity for an uncertainty that it is not intrinsic to his way of being.] (my translation)



Figure 26: Ancient way of transporting fish

Source: “Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho” (1966)



Figure 27: Men selling fish on the sand

Source: “Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho” (1966)

A Geography of emotions helps to build the narrative of a poor and sad region, stressing the population's insecurity and fear of leaving a place where they subsist.

The discourse of femininity is also present in the study of the home. Home is perceived not only as a place to live but as a place of belonging, a “spatial imaginary: a set of intersecting and variable ideas and feelings, which are related to context, and which construct places, extend across spaces and scales, and connect places” (Blunt and Dowling, 2006:2). Home is a space of social reproduction where “domestic relations are critically gendered, whether through relations of caring and domestic labour, affective relations of belonging, or establishing connections between the individual, household and society” (Blunt and Dowling 2006:15), but also a space for the reproduction of capital, with the geographer focusing her attention on the importance of houses as sources of economic activity, in particular the rental of houses:

(...) afinal sempre ajuda a ganhar a vida que é difícil, e a trazer, para o Inverno, uma ou outra nota de conforto. (Cruz, 2009:76)

[(...) in the end it always helps to earn a living which is hard, and to bring, in the winter, one or two notes for comfort.] (my translation)



Figure 28: Streets of Sesimbra

Source: “Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho” (1966)

The importance of houses in the geographer's narrative is emphasised by more accounts of experiences of homes. Cruz undertook participatory observations that allowed her to observe the intimacy of each household:

(...) contrasta com a noção a priori, de que a gente piscatória e a de terra de qualquer forma haveriam de se distinguir entre si, nas preferências e nas possibilidades de habitação. Nada disso contudo se verifica. (Cruz, 2009:98)

[(...) it contrasts with the a priori notion that fishing people and land people would in any way distinguish among themselves, in their preferences and possibilities of living. However, none of that checks out. (my translation)]

It is not the household preferences that calls the geographer's attention, but the normative values of home. Questions of safety, individuation whereby each individual has a place for the basic activities of life, privacy, and preservation (Young, 1997:161), which should be accessible to everyone, are not found all over Sesimbra:

(...) miseráveis barracas de madeira e de chapa de zinco (...) barracas individuais construídas ou alugadas por aqueles que as habitam, com todas as características nefastas de insalubridade que vigora nos outros abarracamentos (...). (Cruz, 2009:97)

[(...) miserable wood or zinc-plate sheds (...) individual sheds built or rented by those who inhabit them, with all the harmful features of insalubrity that prevail in other sheds (...).] (my translation)



Figure 29: Fisherman's house

Source: "Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho" (1966)

Cruz describes the terrible living situations and the filth, and writes critically of the living conditions experienced by women. The typical Portuguese woman is portrayed: dependent on men for money, protected from jobs that would harm her physically, enabling her to perform her reproductive role:

(...) aqui limita-se a cuidar, mais ou menos, da casa e dos filhos, mantendo-se de todo alheada da luta permanente pelo pão de cada dia. (Cruz, 2009:87)

[(...) here she is more or less limited to taking care of the house and the children, keeping herself away from the continuous struggle to get the family's daily bread.] (my translation)

For this reason, women as an active element of the fishing process are barely discussed, except when Cruz talks briefly about the economic consequences suffered by a widow after her fisherman husband dies:

Em tempos, os pescadores do alto tomavam a seu cargo auxiliar as viúvas dos camaradas que morriam. Mas o costume, não se sabe a que pretexto, perdeu-se e

o certo é que viúva alguma recebe hoje seja o que for, após a morte do marido.
(Cruz, 2009:32)

[Long ago, fishermen took charge of helping the widows of comrades who had died. But that is a long-lost tradition, though people do not know why, and it is certain that no widow gets anything today after her husband's death.] (my translation)

Probyn (2016) recalls that women's contributions have not been recognised in this fishing industry, although they were entwined with it. Following the same line of thought, Neis (2005:7) considers that "gender relations permeate fisheries at every level. And women's ecological knowledge was being mediated through their relationships with men – fishermen, husbands and sons, male-dominated governments, and male-dominated science and industry". Cruz's analysis acknowledges the role of women in the fishing economy, a role that others ignored:

(...) no fugaz período de intensificação da indústria de conservas, o número de operárias que existia era apreciável. Salvo este caso, a participação da mulher na actividade da povoação parece não ter tido projecção nenhuma, possivelmente até porque, para isso, lhe escassearam as possibilidades. De facto, nada no isolamento de Sesimbra parece solicitar o desenvolvimento de um tipo de trabalho ligado à venda, a retalho, do peixe, quase sempre o fulcro da actividade feminina em portos de pesca. (Cruz, 2009:87)

[(...) in the fleeting period of intensification of the canning industry, the number of female workers was significant. Except in this case, the participation of woman in the activity of the village looked like it did not have any potencial, perhaps because the possibilities for that to happen were scarce. In fact, nothing in the isolation of Sesimbra seems to solicit the progress of types of work connected with sales, fish are almost always the centre of female activity on fishing docks.] (my translation)



Figure 30: Woman buying fish on the beach

Source: “Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho” (1966)

The only time Cruz focuses her attention on the excluded element is when addressing questions of dress. The geographer emphasises the figure of the fisher wife to show how these women distance themselves from the fishing communities’ life of sacrifice:

(...) no seu aspecto ela é viva, alegre, e satírica – psicologicamente diferente de todas as outras. Longe de se vestir de acordo com a sua condição, ou de procurar, nas cores escuras, traduzir a antevisão dum futuro trágico, revela-se-nos da forma mais incharacterística, assimilando, tanto quanto possível, a moda vinda de fora. (Cruz, 2009:88)

[(...) in her aspect, she is lively, happy and satirical – psychologically different from everybody else. Far from dressing according to her condition, or from attempting, through dark colours, to express the expectation of a tragic future, she reveals herself to us in an unusual way, absorbing fashions from abroad as much as possible.] (my translation)

Cruz's work is a critique and scrutiny of social problems and deprivation, offering a mixture of political and concern speech that pervades the entire work, acknowledging a unique way of living in an isolated and untypical society that prevails only as a group:

Quando finalmente se diluem as formas e cores no negrume da noite que desce, e as ruas se vão, pouco a pouco, tornando desertas, o pescador, de regresso a casa, esquece a sua condição de simples anexo a uma gigantesca engrenagem – perante a qual não tem real valor – e toma consciência da sua existência individual e dos seus próprios problemas. (...) Dura vida que tem de viver. Díficil (...). (Cruz, 2009:103)

[When finally, the shapes and colours fade in the darkness of the night that is descending, and the streets become, little by little, deserted, the fisherman returns home, forgetting his condition as a simple cog attached to a gigantic gear – before which he has no real value – and becomes aware of his individual existence and his own problems (...) Such a hard life he must endure. Hard (...).] (my translation)

However, it is worth noting Cruz's statement that "[i]t is not our intention to exaggerate: we know that the population's average level of education is low (...)" (Cruz, 2009:87; my translation), as if implying that she was already aware that her work might be received as non-factual since "women's writing is systematically judged as to be exaggerated" (Mills, 1993:108).

8.1.3. Celeste Coelho: Practices and expectations

Women travelled for various reasons, such as the desire for adventure, to get out of the private sphere, as agents of imperial institutions or just to follow their husbands. Whatever the case, their writings and behaviour were strongly influenced by a "multiplicity of constraints – gender, class, purpose of their journey, textual conventions, audiences and so on" (Mills, 1993:21), making them different and in some cases equal to men. This is due to ambivalent discourse and power relations towards others that, in many cases, had to be negotiated.

An example of this situation is Celeste Coelho, who moved from Lisbon to Mozambique with her baby daughter in 1971, to reunite with her husband but also to seize the opportunity to teach the new bachelor's degree in Geography at the University of Lourenço Marques. Celeste Coelho is distinctive for her practices, performing what was expected of her as woman and mother according to established social conventions within Western and Portuguese society

while at the same time performing geographical practices with masculine traits, negotiating her roles within the situation presented:

Essa foi também uma experiência, chegar com uma criança de quatro meses a um país diferente, instalarmo-nos... enfim. Mas depois também, digamos, as condições não eram as melhores. Foi a chegada a um mundo tropical e também um certo deslumbramento, porque era uma outra realidade, muito diferente da nossa. O contacto com uma sociedade colonial muito hierarquizada. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[That was also an experience, arriving with a four-month-old child in a different country, settling in (...) anyway. But then also, shall I say, the conditions were not the best. It was arrival upon a tropical world and a kind of amazement because it was another reality, very different from ours. The contact with an extremely hierarchical colonial society] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

Adapting to a new country and a new lifestyle was not easy, and Coelho felt that she was not part of that world, where status and race were the main points of inclusion and difference:

Já não era tanto a diferença entre homem e mulher, mas a diferença entre o status. Mas talvez porque os europeus e portugueses tinham um nível de vida muito mais elevado, o acesso ao ensino e a uma série de coisas era muito diferente do que era aqui. As grandes diferenças eram com a pessoa local, nativa, africana ou mestiça. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[It was not so much about the difference between man and woman, but the difference in status. Perhaps because Europeans and Portuguese had a much higher standard of living, access to education and countless things, it was very different from what it was like here. The big differences were with the local, native, African or interracial person.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

In this particular context, Coelho was part of a colonial and Western society that shared with her a multiplicity of practices, such as ways of talking and acting, values and power relations. Within the Portuguese community of practice, these acted upon her “as a complement to social constructionist conceptualisations of gender as a performative social construct” (Mills and Mullany, 2011:71), and Coelho had to perform her role as social reproducer. However, since

gender is a performative act produced by cultural lines, well established (Blunt, 2008) and constructed through repetitive gendered acts, that varies according to the context (Mills, 2012:118), social interactions allow us to perceive our possibilities and react against the expectations of the group we belong to, negotiating our identity.

According to Cameron (1996:45) “we must constantly produce our gendered identities by performing what are taken to be the appropriate acts in the communities we belong to – or else challenge prevailing gender norms by refusing to perform those acts”. Coelho chose to challenge the practices seen as norms for a woman, deciding to grab the opportunity to build a career.

Coelho’s masculine traits, actions and writing were part of her professional life, where she adapted her language and behaviour, negotiating norms discursively and incorporating a more masculine style following the criterion that Geography was a male practice, especially the field of physical geography. Her time in Mozambique allowed her to understand the territory and publish in the Portuguese Geography journal *Finisterra* (1973) the article “Moçambique”, which examined the territory, population and economic activities.

At the time, Mozambique was still a Portuguese colony. What is found in the narrative of the author, is the assertion that Portuguese people were improving conditions for the people of Mozambique:

O esforço de pesca desenvolvido nas zonas de Quelimane, Inhambane e Lourenço Marques tem pertencido principalmente à iniciativa individual dos pescadores metropolitanos (poveiros). Nos últimos anos parece revelar-se crescente interesse pela pesca. (Coelho, 1973:150)

[The development of fishing in the zones of Quelimane, Inhambane and Lourenço Marques has been mainly attributed to the individual initiative of metropolitan fishermen (poveiros¹⁰). In recent years, Mozambique seems to have registered an increasing interest in fishing.] (my translation)

Similarities with a masculine way of writing are reproduced in this colonial discourse, which portrays Mozambicans as incapable of effecting their own development, and therefore need help from Portuguese people. Coelho’s way of writing is scientific and uses objective language – similar to men’s writings – that, according to Domosh (1991:99), could be related to “the fact that there were women engaged in work that was male-defined (...) Their search for a vocabulary that would lend legitimacy to their experiences was a search that brought them

¹⁰ Poveiros is how the fishing population from Póvoa de Varzim (a city in northern Portugal) is known in Portugal.

abruptly against the confines of the world circumscribed by a male-defined language”.

Bearing in mind that she was starting her professional career, Coelho could be assuming this masculine and dominant style of writing and position in Geography to prove that her knowledge was as objective as men's. This is a particular form of writing that Billinge (1983) upheld as being “transparent, characterless, neutral, evacuated from any particular author (...)” (Rose, 1993:8), removing attention from the author and her specificity and focusing on the objectivity of reason.

The great challenge for Coelho comes with teaching about the Geography of Mozambique, entailing much fieldwork, exploration of what the Portuguese saw as an uncharted territory, which was seen as a male practice due to the lack of security, which would put women at risk:

Para mim foi também um investimento muito grande aprender coisas sobre a geografia física de moçambique, e conseguia dar uma parte de geografia física de Portugal e outra de geografia física de moçambique. Muito trabalho, visitas, pesquisas. Porque também não havia manuais, foi um desafio (...). Ia sozinha geralmente, às vezes por questões de transporte levava uma ou duas pessoas, e depois tínhamos as aulas de campo. Aulas de campo geralmente com um grupo e dois professores, mas penso que não havia dificuldade em fazer trabalho de campo. Fiz trabalho de campo no sul do moçambique, geografia urbana no norte de moçambique. Excelente, com os nativos... Eu fiz entrevistas ao maguiças, aos emigrantes retornados das minas da África do Sul. A relação com as pessoas locais, com os moçambicanos foi relativamente calma. As pessoas eram amistosas (...) Não tive qualquer problema com a população, independentemente da região. (Entrevista a Celeste Coelho, 2016)

[For me, it was also a huge investment to learn stuff about the physical Geography of Mozambique, and I could teach partly the physical geography of Portugal and also the physical geography of Mozambique. A lot of work, visits, research. As we did not have textbooks, it was a challenge (...). I usually went alone. Sometimes, for reasons of transportation, I took one or two people, and then we had field classes, usually with one group and two teachers, but I think there was not much difficulty in doing field classes. I did fieldwork in southern Mozambique, urban geography in northern Mozambique. Excellent with natives (...) I interviewed *maguiças*, returned emigrants from the mines in South Africa. The relationship with local people, with Mozambicans, was relatively calm. People

were friendly (...) I did not have problems with the population, regardless of the region.] (Celeste Coelho, Interview, 2016, my translation)

The appropriation of conventionally masculine traits, which Halberstam (1998) defines as female masculinities, consists in renouncing stereotypical femininity. It also involves claiming the authority that legitimises the masculine gender, personified, in the case of Coelho, in her objective writing and fieldwork.

However, there is another hypothesis, which I think is the correct one in the case of Coelho: the construction of a personal femininity (Paechter, 2006). This process involves “significant masculine attributes (...) alongside with more feminine ones” (Paechter, 2006:262) that can be related to typical forms of masculinity and femininity, allowing the researcher to construct her identity in diverse ways, depending on the place and circumstances in which she finds herself. Coelho was challenging conventional ideas of social identity and subject position. The implied social discourse of the woman’s place at home and the scientific discourse that women were not capable of the same rigour and exhaustiveness in producing knowledge were negotiated by Coelho’s actions, attitudes, way of dressing and language.

What we have, then, is a descriptive article on Mozambique, in simple and clear language, where gender identification is only possible because the author signed the article; otherwise, it would be impossible to decipher the gender behind the writing. It shows that women are capable of rational thought and writing, going against the arguments that women are “ruled by the passion of their bodies” (Rose, 1993:9). This represents an unusual life story, especially for Portuguese women at the time, where male and female attributes were incorporated into and negotiated in everyday practices, challenging social and professional habits and making Coelho distinctive from men.

8.1.4. Suzanne Daveau: Negotiating positionality

Suzanne Daveau, a French-Portuguese physical geographer who made a strong impression on Portuguese Geography, was able to introduce several innovations to academia in Portugal through being perceived differently by others:

Nos anos 50 e 60 os estrangeiros, particularmente os universitários, eram vistos em Portugal como privilegiados e tratados diferentemente. Olhávamo-los como habitantes de países ricos, com regimes democráticos, que podiam falar abertamente do que quisessem onde quer que fosse, deslocar-se para onde

desejassem, ler os livros que entendessem sem saber o que era 'estar no index', ver os filmes que houvesse sem censura, etc. (Alegria, 2015:9)

[In the '50s and '60s, foreigners, particularly university students, were seen in Portugal as privileged and treated differently. We looked upon them as inhabitants of rich countries, with democratic regimes, who could talk openly wherever they went, move where they wished, read the books they wanted to without knowing what it was to 'be on the index', watch movies that were uncensored, etc.] (Alegria, 2015:9, my translation)

This is one of Daveau's first elements of differentiation in relation to Portuguese women geographers: the experience of freedom accomplished through the negotiation of her positionality as a subject by mimicking masculine ways of acting and writing. Her life as a geographer is a good example of how women overcame constraints. After studying in France, Daveau travelled with the Touring Club of France to the Sahara in 1954, deciding afterwards to pursue her doctoral thesis on a study of the ridge between Mali and Burkina Faso. She took part in expeditions to various countries in French West Africa:

(...) a jovem geógrafa tomou apontamentos de viagem (...) Ficam as ideias essenciais desse registo onde, surpreendentemente – ou talvez não – não há uma observação sobre si própria, e são raras as indicações sobre aquilo que mais a perturbou, ou chocou, apesar de viajar em condições muito diferentes das que conhecia na Europa. Os registos fotográficos dessas deslocações num meio árido, com habitantes pobres mas hospitaleiros que tinham formas de organizar a vida desconhecidas da maioria dos europeus, ajudam a construir a vivência dessa antiga colónia francesa. (Alegria, 2015:40)

[(...) the young geographer took travel notes (...) There are essential ideas in that record where, surprisingly – or perhaps not – there are no observations about herself, and indications of what disturbed or shocked her are very rare, even though she travelled in conditions very different from those she knew in Europe. The photographic records of these journeys in an arid environment, with poor but hospitable inhabitants who had ways of organising a life unknown to most Europeans, help to communicate the experience of this old French colony.] (Alegria, 2015:40; my translation)

The similarities with men's writing are achieved by giving a scientific vision of Africa, and not sharing her experiences and emotions in her travel notes. By putting aside sentiments and personal narratives, and conforming to the standards of scientific discourse, Daveau makes a textual representation of herself impossible.



Figure 31: Suzanne Daveau (first woman from the left) in Bandiagara -1956

Source: Geografias de Suzanne Daveau (2015)

This masculinity that Daveau performs, although clear in her writing and most of her actions, can be questioned in her pictures. For example, in the picture shown in Figure 32, Daveau is leaning against a car, smiling, in the midst of several men and another woman. However, her arms are crossed over her chest as if she is scared or protecting herself. It certainly makes one wonder about the safety of her travels and how easy it was to be a woman surrounded by men.

With this in mind, her unease about being a woman in a male-dominated world becomes apparent during her time at the University of Dakar (1957), where she was the only female professor:

Eu era a única professora. Havia a mulher do professor de inglês, que era uma inglesa que era leitora. (...) Tivemos a visita do DeGaulle, do Malraux (...) que vieram visitar a Faculdade de Letras. Eu detestava estas cerimónias, mas o professor de inglês pediu-me para o substituir e emprestou-me uma veste bonita e eu estava lá com os meus colegas homens, evidentemente, a receber o Malraux.

Devia estar com um ar um bocadinho constrangido e vejo o Malraux que se precipitava para mim e me aperta a mão e diz "Madame, vous ete bien seule au milieu de tout ça monde" - Minha senhora, está muito isolada. Eu fiquei muito admirada, eu pensei que eu tinha um ar aparentemente calmo, nobre e na realidade ele tinha visto muito bem que eu estava chateada naquele meio. Eu depois fiquei com uma grande consideração pelo Malraux, um tipo inteligente. Mas ali tive a experiência que ele tinha lido na minha cara que eu não estava à vontade, mas era a única mulher. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[I was the only female teacher. There was the wife of the English teacher, who was an English reader (...) We had a visit from DeGaulle, from Malraux (...) who came to visit the Faculty of Letters. I hated these ceremonies, but the English teacher asked me to replace him and lent me a beautiful garment, and I was there with my male colleagues, of course, to welcome Malraux. I should have looked embarrassed, and I see Malraux walking towards me, he shakes my hand and says, "Madame, vous etes bien seule au milieu de tout ça monde" – "Madam, you are very isolated." I was surprised, I thought that I looked calm and noble. In reality, he had clearly seen that I was upset in that circle. Then I looked up to Malraux in admiration, a clever man. But there, I had the experience that he had read on my face, that I was not comfortable, because I was the only woman.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Recalling the embarrassment of being the object of male humour was rapidly followed by a clear example of how she negotiated her positionality:

Outra experiência engraçada, havia uma grande cerimónia no centro de Dakar onde tinham sido convidados os professores da Universidade mas desta vez não tinham sido convidadas as mulheres. Eu chego lá, companhia de um colega, saímos do carro e precipitam-se a dizer "Madame, Madame, les dames non sont pas invitée". Respondi "não sou uma dama, sou professora", pediram-me desculpa, mas eu era a única mulher. Ele pensou que eu acompanhava o meu marido, o que era normal. Realmente não havia mulheres, eu era a única. (Entrevista a Suzanne Daveau, 2015)

[Another funny experience, there was a big ceremony in the centre of Dakar where the university professors had been invited, but this time, the wives had not. I

get there, accompanied by a male colleague, we get out of the car and immediately someone says, “Madame, madame, les dames ne sont pas invitée”. I answered, ‘I’m not a wife, I’m a teacher.’ They apologised. Because I was the only woman, he thought I was accompanying my husband, which was normal. There really were no women, I was the only one.] (Suzanne Daveau, Interview, 2015, my translation)

Perceived as a female subject by others, while taking part in academic events, Daveau distances herself from her gender, constructing an identity equal to her peers: “I am not a lady, I am a teacher”. By seeing herself as equal, Daveau recognises her female masculinity and the need to adjust her self according to the various places she is in, ambivalent in the construction of her gendered subjectivity over time and space.

While based in Dakar, Daveau travelled through several African cities and “was the first European woman that African women met in some of the villages she visited” (Alegria, 2015:52; my translation). However, this may not be historically accurate if we recall the examples of Mary Kinsley, who “made two journeys to West Africa, from August 1893 to early January 1894, and from December 1894 to November 1895” (Blunt, 1994:48), as well as other women such as Constance Larymore, Maria Church, Maria Slesson, Fanny Bullock Workman, Isabelle Eberhart or Anne Marie Schwarzenba, who had long before explored not only Africa but also the Middle East.

The distinctiveness common in other female geographers, while mimicking male attitudes, is personified in her travels. Daveau constructs her subjectivity as masculine by doing fieldwork alone, incorporating masculine traits and ways of producing knowledge in French and Portuguese Guinea (1955), Burkina Faso (1958–59), Ghana (1959) and Sierra Leone (1963). She also conducted field trips with African students to Mali (1959) and Morocco (1960), showing authority, superiority and difference about race and class. She was part of the Portuguese geographical mission to Angola and Mozambique (1961) with Orlando Ribeiro and Fernandes Martins, demonstrating that her capacity for scientific production was equal to men’s.



Figure 32: View of Adrar – Mauritania - 1958 by Suzanne Daveau
Source: Geografias de Suzanne Daveau (2015)

Regardless of the distinctiveness of her fieldwork, Daveau recalls the lack of security that most women travellers felt when she travelled alone through Mauritania: “a country humanly harder than the rest of black Africa, and where I did not always feel safe among the nomads who roamed the desert and the Sahel” (Alegria, 2015:60; my translation). In the memoir book *Geographies of Suzanne Daveau* (2015), the geographer states that she:

Percorreu tranquilamente a África negra que quis explorar, gozando de uma espécie de imunidade de que beneficiavam então os europeus. E principalmente uma senhora que se aventurava sozinha pelo interior, escalava vertentes, por muito íngremes que fossem, pernoitava perto deles, suportava o calor e a falta de água. (Alegria, 2015:57)

[Went quietly through the black Africa she wanted to explore, benefiting from a kind of immunity that the Europeans enjoyed, especially a lady who ventured alone into the interior, who climbed slopes, however steep they might be, sleeping near them, bearing the heat and lack of water.] (Alegria, 2015:57; my translation)



Figure 33: Expedition Preparation to Tegdahoust – 1963

Source: Geografias de Suzanne Daveau (2015)

From her travels and studies, several publications emerged, of which I highlight “Afrique”, a geographical chronicle published in 1960 in the “Annales de géographie”. The selection of this chronicle is related to the fact that it refers to the study of several places and populations in Africa where the geographer travelled: République Voltaïque (now Burkina Faso), Ivory Coast, Togo, Ghana, Dahomey (now Benin) and Lake Chad (between Chad, Cameroon, Nigeria and Niger). Daveau is distinctive from other female geographers, solely incorporating masculine features into her work about “the evolution of the French-speaking population in West Africa” (Daveau, 1960:216; my translation). In the analysis of the Agni people of Bongouanou, her discourse connotes small references to French colonialist acculturation as a driver of improvements in the lives of the population, while perceiving them as socially different and ambiguous, a way of othering that appreciates difference:

On assiste à la naissance de nouvelles «élites», planteurs, commis ou fonctionnaires, mais les plantations nouvelles se transmettent, comme les biens traditionnels, suivant la lignée maternelle et la cohésion familiale ne semble pas jusqu'ici ébranlée.(...) Société complexe, la société Adioukrou place chacun de ses membres dans un triple système de filiation patrilinéaire et matrilinéaire et de classes d'âge. L'acquisition de la richesse est la source essentielle de prestige dans cette société. Elle s'exprime en particulier lors des « fêtes des richesses » et lors des funérailles. (Daveau, 1960:218)

[We assist in the birth of the new «elites», planters, clerks or officials, but new plantations are passed down, like traditional goods, through the maternal line, and family cohesion does not seem to have been shaken up (...). A complex society, the Adioukrou society places each of its members in a triple system of patrilineal and matrilineal filiation and age classes. Acquisition of wealth is the main source of prestige in this society. It is expressed particularly during the “festivals of wealth” and at funerals.] (my translation)

By using a conventionally masculine colonial discourse, and perceiving African society as different due to race and social hierarchies, Daveau’s orientalist position is clear when reporting on the remarkable adaptation of the people of the south of Ivory Coast:

Les groupes humains du Sud de la Côte d'Ivoire, pour variés qu'ils soient, présentent tous le spectacle de sociétés en pleine transformation, douées d'une grande capacité d'adaptation à des conditions nouvelles, même si leur économie et leur organisation sociale présentent parfois des déséquilibres, probablement temporaires. (Daveau, 1960:219)

[The human groups of the south of Ivory Coast, as varied as they are, present all the spectacle of societies in full transformation, endowed with a great capacity for adaptation to new conditions, even if their economy and their organisation sometimes show imbalances, which are probably temporary.] (my translation)

Daveau rejects the feminine and emotional language, the “fussiness and deception, their florid and decorative prose style, the deliberate emotion (...) embellishment and luxury” (Rose, 1993:8) commonly used in human geography studies. By using a characterless and neutral discourse, Daveau situates herself with a masculine form of writing.

The distinctive representations that Daveau presents show her complex and contradictory position as a subject as well as an ambiguity of discourse. The only trace of femininity in her discourse is the representation of women’s lives in the Palimés society, a female construction of subjectivity based on the identity and sympathy that Daveau seems to share with those women in a situation of independence and self-empowerment:

Une véritable bourgeoisie locale a pris naissance, formant un certain nombre de familles importantes (...). Cette bourgeoisie, généralement christianisée, instruite, tire ses revenus d'activités multiples (...). Le petit commerce est en grande partie aux mains des femmes qui, logeant rarement chez leur mari, ont une vie

socialement et financièrement largement autonome. Dans les milieux les plus riches, le statut de la femme révèle un conflit difficile entre les structures traditionnelles et les tendances nouvelles de cette jeune bourgeoisie. (Daveau, 1960:219)

[A true local bourgeoisie was born, formed from a number of important families (...) This bourgeoisie, generally Christianised and educated, derives its income from multiple activities (...) The small amount of trade is mostly in the hands of women who, as they rarely live with their husbands, have largely autonomous social and financial lives. In the richest circles, women's status reveals a difficult conflict between the traditional structures and the new tendencies of this young bourgeoisie.] (my translation)

This small trace of femininity is rapidly erased with the study of physical aspects of the coastal region of Western Dahomey and Lake Chad. Daveau's writing style is very organised and structured, using analytical and scientific language where words such as "plateau", "valleys" and "alluvial" are commonly used, expressing geographical and geomorphological ideas. Daveau expresses a very clear and rational discourse that Rose (1993:7) defines as "masculinist rationality (...) a form of knowledge which assumes a knower who believes he can separate himself from his body, emotions, values, past and so on, that he and his thought are autonomous, context-free and objective". It is evident that she does this to be recognised as a professional and capable geographer since she had been devalued by men several times before.

In fact, it is this masculine manner that is distinctive of Daveau, if understood as a feminine strategy to prevail in institutions or contexts that are typically masculine. By adopting "particular masculine ways of speaking simply to appear to be doing their job in a professional way" (Mills and Mullany, 2011:55), Daveau was turning this behaviour into a neutral tool (Holmes and Schnurr, 2006), which allowed her to use men's dominant forms of power in her favour.

8.2. Conclusion

The work produced by women travellers has been a target of scrutiny over the years because women travellers were "categorised as doubly different: they differed from other, more orthodox, socially conformist women, and from male travellers who used the journey as a means of discovering more about their masculinity" (Bassnett, 2006:226). This idea of exceptionality is very common when referring to women travellers and explorers, but it lacks a set of

benchmarks to measure it. This difficulty arises because women's travel writing is far more complex than it appears: women can vary according to "social class, age and religion from shifts in time, from journeys to different parts of the world" (Bassnett, 2006:228), making it difficult to conceptualise women's narrative and discourse in a single category.

The diversity of Portuguese women geographers' writings reflects their social differences, backgrounds and research interests but also the context they lived in, which "shaped not only their outlook on personal matters and the structures of their social networks but operated in very material ways (...)" (Domosh, 1991:96), such as the way their knowledge was produced based on the eventualities of their social and historical experiences. More than that, the perception was that women's writings were, most of the time, located "within a masculine tradition of scientific observation (...)" (Blunt, 1994:76), allowing them to move beyond social and gender constraints by constructing their subjectivity through masculine traits.

Blunt (1994:164) claims that "women's travel writing was distinctive in the ways that women travelled, how they wrote about their travels, and how both their travels and writings were received. Patriarchal constructions of gender difference were powerful forces promoting such distinctiveness". Some women's writing differs from men's by the way they have negotiated their positionality and subjectivity to complete work that is seen as masculine and rational, and because of that, claimed as the only source of knowledge and truth. This is the case of Celeste Coelho and Suzanne Daveau: by negotiating their subjectivity and style of writing, they reject and oppose normalised and stereotypical female positions and characteristics, such as expressing emotions that are often associated with the feminine.

In contrast, Maria Alfreda Cruz and Raquel Soeiro de Brito's fieldwork and writing are particularly distinctive from both men's and the work of the other two women in the study, through the way in which they utilise their feminine sensitivity. It allowed them to have access to unfamiliar societies and write about them. Despite a masculine way of dressing, they did not put aside their female traits but incorporated them into their narratives, through their emotions. Although "emotions expressed in fieldwork accounts tend to be negatively cast" (Young and Lee, 1996:111), they should be considered in the analysis of women's writing, not only because it "brings researchers into direct contact with their research subject" (Davidson, Bondi and Smith, 2012:231), but also because it is a factor in the distinctiveness of women's writing.

Women's writing is also distinctive in what it incorporates: a dominant history and a silenced story, in a double discourse that differs "with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape, and with the positions of those who speak and those whom they address" (MacDonell, 1986:1). Those women shared experiences despite their difference of class, nationality, race and history.

Chapter 9

Conclusions

This thesis has aimed to distinguish between the relative invisibility of women in the historiography of Portuguese Geography, and their presence and significance in what actually happened, in academia and the production of geographical knowledge, even under dictatorship. A study that had as its point of departure the neglect, exclusion and invisibility of women in Portuguese Geography ended up being the antithesis as it has proved that women are long-time actors in Portuguese Geography.

This final chapter will summarise and present the main findings of the thesis, revisiting the aims and objectives presented in Chapter 1 to explain how they have been addressed. Following this, ideas for future research into the feminist historiography of Geography in Portugal will be discussed. The final section will draw conclusions from the study and assess its contribution to a feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography.

9.1. Research Findings

This study has provided a critical analysis of the history of women in Portuguese Geography, giving details of the significant contributions women have made to the growth of the discipline as producers of geographical knowledge in a dictatorial context. The main reasons for choosing this context, as well as the events linked to women's expansion as producers of knowledge, were explained in section 1.1.

Based on the biographical study of 11 Portuguese women geographers and by highlighting women's experiences and work in Portuguese Geography, this research also aimed to contribute to a feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography. To achieve this goal, Chapter 2 presented a literature review addressing the evolution and most recent studies of feminist historiography in Anglo-American and Spanish Geography. This facilitated comparison with Portuguese Geography and showed the need to introduce studies of gender and feminist historiography into Portuguese Geography as the studies in this field are almost non-existent.

The aims of this study were addressed as follows:

- Objective 1: To analyse the relationship between gender and the production of geographical knowledge in the context of dictatorship in Portugal:

Chapters 4 and 5 contextualised the historical, social, cultural and political context that

forms the backdrop to this study. Secondary literature sources, archives and interviews were used to reveal how women's lives were influenced by gender relations during Salazar's dictatorship. Chapter 4 demonstrated that women were ideologically limited by patriarchal and conservative policies and discourses that defined women's space and role in Portuguese society. Chapter 5 addressed the educational policies used to re-educate women, as all educational policies aimed to improve women according to the regime's vision of the perfect woman. The chapter outlined the role of schools and primary textbooks as powerful tools to implement representations of gender bias through discourses and images.

Chapter 6 presented new evidence about gender and geographical knowledge in Portuguese Geography, based on the life stories of Portuguese women geographers. The analysis of interviews with these women brought forward diverse accounts and experiences, and the individuality of Portuguese women geographers: three women identified themselves as from a lower social class, five women identified as being middle class, and three women could be classified as being from a higher social class due to family incomes (section 6.1.1). The chapter demonstrated that women had many obstacles and difficulties to overcome in reconciling work and family due to gender and social conventions (section 6.1.4), presenting their choices: most of these women decided to not have a family (six of the eleven women are not married and do not have children), while others delayed studies at a higher level, putting family before work.

The most interesting aspect concerned gender relations is that the interviewees did not see or think of Portuguese Geography as gendered (section 6.1.2) but only as a reflection of society. In fact, the research points directly to social and cultural causes to explain women's relative invisibility and late entry into academic Geography. This exposes a contradiction: despite the masculinist mentality of the time, in most cases, support from a male figure was essential in helping these women to pursue their goal.

- Objective 2: To understand the contributions of women to Portuguese Geography
- Objective 3: To acknowledge and examine the existence of women's geographies and knowledge:

Section 6.1.3 documented women's fieldwork and their journeys with particular reference to the School of Geography of Lisbon and the School of Geography of Coimbra. It helped to clarify women's contributions to Portuguese Geography, explaining what women endured, how they persisted and the innovations they brought to the discipline. Similarly, Chapter 7 presented women's careers, experiences and contributions to the discipline, through their own oral

testimony.

- Objective 4: To contribute to the review of the history of Geography and a feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography:

Chapter 8 addressed Objective 4, outlining the diversity of Portuguese women geographers' writings. It analysed four geographical works to answer the questions: "Did women geographers do things differently? If so, how and why?"

The analyses of their work led to the conclusion that most of the women's work differed from men's in two ways: women learned to produce writing with masculine features because of the claim that this was the only source of knowledge and truth, allowing them to move beyond social and gender concepts of difference. Women's writings were also distinctive as they were often associated with the feminine, emotional and non-dangerous, allowing them access to aspects of societies that were closed to men.

Chapter 9 – this chapter – considers future directions for research, following the precedents set by the work of Maddrell (2015) and Kilcup (1999). It presents possible alterations to the curriculum and study of the geographical canon that can be applied to Portuguese Geography. The final part presents a conclusion to this study and its contributions to a feminist historiography of Portuguese Geography.

9.2. Prospects for future research

This study has enhanced awareness and knowledge of two aspects: (1) gender relations and hierarchies of power in academic settings; and (2) studies that embrace our geographical past and acknowledge different voices, times and spaces in knowledge production. One question remains: what can be done to establish the field of feminist historiography in Portuguese Geography? I will now consider how some solutions used previously by other academics can help to build a field of historiography of Geography, feminist geographies and gender in Portuguese geographical academia.

9.2.1. Curriculum

The geographical curriculum needs to change to consider the contributions and experiences of women. This means "exploring in detail the processes and practices of patriarchy, often stressing the resistance of both women and men to patriarchal pressures" (Rose and Ogborn, 1988:406). To achieve this, I propose the creation of modules of feminist

Geography to be incorporated within undergraduate Geography degrees in Portugal, with more inclusive modules on the development of the discipline. Such modules would address and redress the gender balance within the discipline. Morin and Berg (1999:314) call for a placement of feminist historiography in contextualised settings that “might include (but would not be limited to) the context of the wider discipline of Geography, the context of training (such as schools of thought and material places where feminist historical geographies is taught) and the context of publishing historical geographies”. In agreement with their statement, I suggest the formulation of a module on research methods in feminist Geography that teaches not only theory and strategies of resistance but provide us with tools for research and analysis of “the ways gender differences work within and through economic, political, cultural and sexual differences in the creation of past geographies” (Morin and Berg, 1999:312)

9.2.2. Geographical Canon

The feminist geographies, which I advocate, should take on board the findings I have set out within this thesis, along the lines proposed by feminist geographers including Gillian Rose and Avril Maddrell. This would redress the problem, identified by Rose (1995:414) that “in virtually all histories of geographical knowledges, one apparently inconvertible fact remains: Geography whatever it was, was almost always done by men”, but in Portuguese Geography, women were producers of geographical knowledge, they were just not recognised. The feminist geography, which I propose should be taught, would also respond to Maddrell’s (2012) argument that we should “recognise the historical values of a broader body of geographical work found in other spaces and practices, including a wide range of texts (e.g. school texts, guidebooks, etc.), and the legacy of non-textual work such as field courses, films, public addresses and editorial work, in order to gain a more rounded view of our discipline’s history and our inherited legacy”.

9.3 Concluding Statements

Despite the efforts of the Portuguese dictatorship to restrict women to domestic roles, women were important producers of geographical knowledge during its period in office. Even more remarkable is the fact that when Portuguese society transitioned to democracy – shifting culturally and socially – the work of Portuguese women geographers was omitted from the history of the subject, while the work of Portuguese men geographers is reproduced to this day.

This study, despite the inspiration it takes from Anglo-American feminist geographers

including Maddrell (2009), is the first about Portuguese women geographers and their contributions to the discipline. This is its most important contribution.

The novelty and originality of this research also lies in its attention to dictatorship. This distinguishes this feminist historiography of Geography from its counterparts in and about the Anglo-American world.

What distinguishes this research is the dictatorial context in place, where male authority, women's submission, colonialism and imperialism were concepts in practice that hampered and helped the women in this study to be unique and distinctive from other Portuguese women and other women geographers in different social and geographical contexts.

To conclude, I argue that one of the geographer's roles within the discipline is to continue to go beyond what we know, enquire more and be more critical about the history of the discipline to incorporate other types of knowledge. This is the biggest challenge that Portuguese Geography faces.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Archival Material

Archives	Material Found
Center of Geographical Studies – Library of the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon	Bibliografia da Junta de Investigações Coloniais
	Pesquisa e Estudos em curso na Junta de Investigações
	Junta de Investigações: Organismos, Pessoal Científico
	Ocupação Científica do Ultramar Português
	Conhecimento actual da história da Geografia em Portugal
	Catálogo da Biblioteca – Obras que deram entrada até 31/12/1957
Center of Geographical Studies / IGOT	Centro de Estudos Geográficos: 1943 -1973
	Bibliografia Geográfica de Portugal
	Revista Garcia de Orta – Revista de Geografia Vol.1 (1953) – Vol. 19 (1971)
	Revista Garcia de Orta – Revista de Geografia Vol.1, n.1 -2 (1973)
	Revista Garcia de Orta – Revista de Geografia Vol.2, n. 1 (1974)
	Revista Garcia de Orta – Revista de Geografia Vol.2, n. 2 (1975)
Digital Archive of Center of Geographical Studies	Coelho, C. (1973) – Moçambique. <i>Finisterra</i> , v. 8, n. 15 (1973)
	André, I. (1990) - O género em Geografia. Introdução de um novo tema. <i>Finisterra</i> , v. 25, n. 50 (1990)
	Gaspar, J. (1982) - Portugal: uma geografia em mudança (O levantar de uma questão). <i>Finisterra</i> , v. 17, n. 34 (1982)
	Daveau, S. (1967). Livres récents sur l'Inde Portugaise. <i>Finisterra</i> , 2(4)
	Daveau, S. (1967) Problèmes morphologiques comparés des régions semi- arides en Afrique Occidentale et au Brésil. <i>Finisterra</i> , 2(4)

	Medeiros, C. A. (1997) Homenagem a Suzanne Daveau. <i>Finisterra</i> , v.32
	Salgueiro, T. (1977) Bairros clandestinos na periferia de Lisboa. <i>Finisterra</i> , v. 12, n. 23
	Brito, R. (1970). Nótula acerca dos povos pastores e agro-pastores do distrito de Moçamedes. <i>Finisterra</i> , V. 5, N. 9
	Cruz, M. (1966). Uma comunidade de aldeias na Serra da Azeleira. <i>Finisterra</i> , v. 1, n. 1
	Alegria, M. F. (1976). A bacia topográfica da Lousã. Características físicas e ocupação do solo. <i>Finisterra</i> , V.11, N. 22
Archive of the Faculty of Letters -Library of the University of Lisbon	Anais da Junta das Missões Geográficas – Vol.1 (1946): Junta das Missões Geográficas e de Investigações Coloniais
	Anais da Junta das Missões Geográficas – Vol.5, Tomo 3 (1950) : Estudos de Geografia
	Anais da Junta das Missões Geográficas – Vol.6, Tomo 1, Fascículo 1 / 2 (1951) : Organização da Investigação Científica no Ultramar
	Anais da Junta das Missões Geográficas – Vol.13, Tomo 1 and 2 (1958) : Relatórios das actividades dos organismos da Junta de Investigações Ultramarinas e Coloniais
	Anais da Junta das Missões Geográficas – Vol.14, Tomo 1 and 2 (1959) : Relatórios das actividades dos organismos da Junta de Investigações Ultramarinas e Coloniais
	Anais da Junta das Missões Geográficas – Vol.13, Tomo 1 and 2 (1960) : Relatórios das actividades dos organismos da Junta de Investigações Ultramarinas e Coloniais
The Archives and Documentation Services of the	50 anos de Investigação Geográfica / Centro de Estudos Geográficos
	Curriculum Vitae de Carminda Cavaco
	Curriculum Vitae de Paula Lema Bordalo
	Curriculum Vitae de Maria Eugénia Albergaria

University of Lisbon	Curriculum Vitae de Maria Clara Mendes
	Anuários da Universidade de Lisboa 1930-1979
The Archive of the University of Coimbra	Anuários da Universidade de Coimbra 1938-1975
	Rebelo, F. (1986) “Reflexões sobre o ensino universitário da Geografia em Portugal : o exemplo da Faculdade de Letras de Coimbra : a propósito do seu 75º aniversário”– <i>Cadernos de Geografia</i> , Coimbra, IEG, 1986, nº 5.
	Caetano, L. (1983). A tecelagem artesanal na freguesia de Almalaguez. <i>Cadernos de Geografia n. 2</i>
Portuguese National Library	Ribeiro, O. (1976). <i>Universidade em Crise</i> . Lisboa. Cosmos
	Ribeiro, O. (1964). <i>Problemas da Universidade</i> . Lisboa. Sá da Bandeira
	Prioridade Portuguesa das Investigações Científicas no Ultramar
	Doutoramento Honoris Causa da Professora Doutora Suzanne Daveau
	Geografia e Género: Um encontro urbano
	A lição de Salazar: Deus, Pátria e Família – A Trilogia da Educação Nacional (iconography)
Library of University of Minho	Livro Único da Primeira Classe (1942)
	Livro Único da Segunda Classe (1944)
	Livro Único da Terceira Classe (1951)
	Amaral, I. (1979). A escola geográfica de Lisboa e a sua contribuição para o conhecimento geográfico das regiões tropicais. <i>Linha de Acção nº5. Estudos de Geografia das Regiões Tropicais, Relatório n.1</i> . Centro de Estudos Geográficos de Lisboa, Lisboa
National Archives of Torre do Tombo	Arquivo Salazar – Política Ultramarina
	Arquivo Salazar – Missões Hidrográficas e Geográficas
	Arquivo Salazar – Instituto de Investigação Científica do Ultramar

	Arquivo Salazar – Conselho ultramarino. Problemas do ensino e investigação colonial
	Mocidade Portuguesa: Legislação
	Cadernos religiosos da Mocidade Portuguesa
	É a mocidade que fala: as quatro certezaas da mocidade (1942)
	Mocidade Portuguesa: Alguns discursos e escritos do Primeiro Comissário Nacional 1936 - 1940
Repository of the University of Oporto – Digital Archive	Silva, R. (1985). A Aldeia da Vázea (Serra do Soajo) : situação actual e inundaçãõ, para breve, da sua Veiga. <i>Revista da Faculdade de Letras : Geografia</i> , 01, 1985
	Silva, R. (1988). O Curso de Geografia na Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto : 1972/88. <i>Revista da Faculdade de Letras: Geografia</i> , 04, 1988, p.5
Digital Archive of Diário da República	Constituição da República Portuguesa - 1933
	Código Civil Portuguez - 1867
	Decreto – Lei nº. 27:084 (October 1936) – High School Reform
	Lei n. 1:941 (April 1936) – Reform of the Ministry of Public Instruction
	Decreto – Lei nº27:279 (November 1936) – Elementary School Reform
	Decreto – Lei nº. 47 344 – Código Civil de 1966
Persée – Digital Repository of the Université de Lyon	Daveau, S. (1960). Études sur la population de l'Afrique Occidentale. <i>Annales de Géographie</i> , t. 69, n°372, 1960. pp. 216-217.
My private archive	Goa e as Praças do Norte - 1966
	Pesca e Pescadores em Sesimbra – Contributo para a narrativa do concelho- 1966

Table 7: Archive Material

Source: Made by the author

Appendix 2: Interview Questions

Interview Questions
1. What type of familiar education did you have?
2. What type of school education did you have?
3. Did you notice any difference in your treatment because you were a girl?
4. Growing up under Salazar's dictatorship, what can you tell me about your life during that period?
5. Were you raised/educated to be a woman of Estado Novo?
6. How was access to education for men and women?
7. What was the role of your family, and more specifically, of the paternal figure, in your education?
8. In what way were they essential in your educational progress?
9. Can you tell me about your experience as a university student?
10. How did you become interested in Geography?
11. Why choose Geography and not another field of study?
12. What were your professional ambitions?
13. Did you have any moral/emotional support in following your chosen profession?
14. Some people have said that women should stay at home, taking care of the family. On a personal level, how was this choice between family and the labour world processed?
15. It is well known that women had numerous restrictions as subjects of Estado Novo. Do you think your path would have been different if you were a man?
16. What if anything held back women who wanted to be geographers? How did this affect you?

17. Some people see geography as male dominated and masculine in style. Do you agree?
18. How were you received in academia? Did you feel that you were treated in a different way?
19. Do you recall the reaction from your male peers to you, being a woman and working in academia?
20. Do you recall any institutional discrimination, due to your gender, that denied you access to scholarships or leadership positions?
21. What strategies did you have to adopt to impose yourself in Geography?
22. There was any supportive network between women in academia?
23. Considering the evolution of Geography and society itself, how do you perceive the role of women in Geography?
24. What was your major influence and support in Geography?
25. Looking at your career, what were the most positive aspects and why?
26. What was biggest challenge that you had to face? Why?
27. What was your contribution to Geography?
28. Do you think your contributions led to a shift in Portuguese Geography?
29. Do you consider the recovery of the history of women in Geography to be beneficial? Why?
30. What kind of implications can the recovery and rewriting of women's history have for Geography?

Table 8: Interview questions

Source: Made by the author

Appendix 3: Bio-Bibliography

Celeste Coelho was born in 1944 in the village of Penhascoso (Santarém), Portugal. She became fatherless at a very young age, living with her mother in a modest environment due to economic difficulties.

In 1952 begins her studies at the primary school of Penhascoso in mixed classes, and in 1954 she moved to Lisbon with her mother, continuing to attend primary school but at a girls' school. Later, Celeste moved to Alentejo to start her high school education under the care of her uncle priest, in a nun's college. She graduated from high school in Maria Amália de Carvalho High School, an all-girl school in Lisbon.

Having dreamt of becoming a teacher since childhood, in 1962, she studied Geography at the University of Lisbon. While studying, she started working in the Center of Geographical Studies (CEG/UL) under the guidance of Professor Galopim de Carvalho. She completed her degree in 1970 with a thesis on physical geography, being awarded the annual prize for Geography.

In 1971, she applied to the University of Lourenço Marques in Mozambique – where her husband was – to establish the bachelor of Geography. The bright tropical world collided with a hierarchical colonial society. Celeste Coelho saw in Mozambique an opportunity to grow, through intellectual investment not accessible to many Portuguese women.

With the independence of Mozambique on the rise, Celeste Coelho returned to Portugal after the 25th April 1974 and decided to begin doctorate in Scotland. From September 1974 until 1977 Celeste studied in the University of Aberdeen, returning in 1978 to Mozambique to work as Assistant Lecturer at Eduardo Mondlane University (formerly Lourenço Marques University).

The economic difficulties of the country and poor training for teachers, prompted her return to Portugal in 1979, being admitted in the same year at Oporto University. Here, she introduced various innovations, creating new disciplines and a laboratory of Geography.

In 1985, the opportunity and challenge of teaching Geography to non-geographers and showing the importance of Geography in other areas arose at the University of Aveiro. Here, Celeste Coelho helped to create the degrees of Regional and Urban Planning, and Tourism at the university. She also founded studies in geomorphology, an area of investigation that, at that time, was non-existent in Portugal.

Contributing greatly to the research areas of Geography, geomorphology, natural resources and environment planning, Celeste Coelho has brought new themes to the Portuguese geographical agenda. The University of Aveiro has been the home of the geographer for the last

20 years, and nowadays, despite being retired, Celeste Coelho continues to collaborate with students and faculty staff on research projects.

Academic Background

- 1970 – Degree in Geography – University of Lisbon, Portugal
- 1980 – PhD – University of Aberdeen, Scotland, United Kingdom
- 1983 – PhD in Environmental Applied Sciences – University of Aveiro, Portugal

Professional Career

- 1970–1978 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique
- 1978–1979 – Assistant Lecturer – University Eduardo Mondlane, Mozambique
- 1979–1985 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Oporto, Portugal
- 1985–1991 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Aveiro, Portugal
- 1991–1998 – Associate Lecturer – University of Aveiro, Portugal
- 1998–2000 – Associate Lecturer – University of Aveiro, Portugal
- 2000-2014 – Full Professor – University of Aveiro, Portugal

Research Interests

- Hydro-geomorphology
- Applied physical Geography
- Planning and management of natural resources

Key Publications

- Farsani, N.T., **Coelho, C.O.A.**, Costa, C. (2011). Geotourism and geoparks as novel strategies for socio-economic development in rural areas. *International Journal of Tourism Research*. 13, 1, 68–81.
- Leighton-Boyce, G., Doerr, S.H., Shakesby R.A., Walsh, R.P.D., Ferreira, A.J.D., Boulet, A.K., **Coelho, C.O.A.** (2005). Temporal dynamics of water repellency and soil moisture in eucalypt plantations, Portugal. *Australian Journal of Soil Research*. 3, 43, 269–280.
- Doerr, S.H., Ferreira, A.J.D., Walsh, R.P.D., Shakesby, R.A., Leighton-Boyce G., **Coelho, C.O.A.** (2003). Soil water repellency as a potential parameter in rainfall-runoff modelling: Experimental evidence at point to catchment scales from Portugal. *Hydrological Processes*. 17, 363–377.

- Shakesby, R.A., Boakes, D.J., **Coelho, C.O.A.**, Bento, A.J.G., Walsh, R.P.D. (1996). Limiting the soil degradational impacts of wildfire in pine and eucalyptus forests in Portugal: A comparison of alternative post-fire management practices. *Applied Geography*, 16, 4, 337–355.
- Shakesby, R.A., **Coelho, C.O.A.**, Ferreira, A.D., et al. (1993). Wildfire impacts on soil-erosion and hydrology in wet Mediterranean forest, Portugal. *International Journal of Wildland Fire*, 3, 95–110.

Scientific Roles

- Member of the Portuguese Geography Teachers Association
- Member of the Portuguese Association of Geographers
- Member of the Institute of British Geographers
- Member of the Association of American Geographers

Awards

- 1970 – Annual Prize for Geography

Lucília Caetano was born in 1942 in Coimbra, and describes her upbringing as having taken place within a rural but open minded family. Her familial education was very atypical, being taught by her mother to be very autonomous and financially independent of a man.

Her educational path started in 1953 at the Sé Velha (Coimbra) primary school, graduating in 1961 from Infanta D. Maria High School. Pressured by her father to go to medical school and by a teacher to go to law school, the diversity of topics in Geography caught Caetano's attention, beginning her studies of Geography at the University of Coimbra in 1961.

Keen to work in physical geography, Caetano was excluded by the director of the degree from that branch of Geography, writing her thesis on human geography and the importance of industry. After her undergraduate degree, she completed a course in pedagogical sciences to be able to teach in high schools. In 1966, she started teaching in Viseu, later moving to Oporto, Coimbra and the Azores.

Granted with a scholarship to travel to Germany, she applied to an IVOTAN scholarship for a summer course in Germany in 1972, having her first contact with regional science. In this year, she received an invitation to work as Assistant in Geography at the University of Coimbra, but she declined due to the bad environment of the university.

In 1973, and after some pressure from the Dean, Lucilia Caetano started the job and decided to pursue an academic career. She also decided to not get married, dedicating herself to improving the discipline of Geography at Coimbra. Lucilia Caetano introduced disciplines such as the didactics of Geography, industrial Geography and neo-positivist Geography in Portugal – topics that were not addressed at the time.

In 1986, she defended her PhD thesis, making the connection between industry and regional planning. Was appointed Associate Professor in 1987 and in 1993 she became Full Professor. In 1994, she became Professor, continuing her work and research at the University of Coimbra until 2003, when she decided to retire.

Academic Background

- 1964 – Degree in Geography – University of Coimbra
- 1969 – Degree in Pedagogical Sciences – University of Coimbra
- 1986 – PhD in Geography – University of Coimbra

Professional Career

- 1966–1967 – Geography Teacher – Alves Martins High School – Viseu
- 1967–1968 – Geography Teacher – Rainha Santa Isabel High School – Oporto

- 1968–1969 – Geography Teacher – D. Manuel II High School – Oporto
- 1969–1971 – Geography Teacher – D. João III High School – Coimbra
- 1971–1972 – Geography Teacher – D. Duarte High School – Coimbra
- 1972–1973 – Geography Teacher – Angra do Heroísmo High School – Azores
- 1973 – Assistant Lecturer in Commission Service – Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra
- 1973–1975 – Geography Teacher – Alves Martins High School – Viseu
- 1975–199 – Geography Teacher – D. Duarte High School – Coimbra
- 1979–1986 – Geography Teacher – João Falcão High School – Coimbra
- 1987 – Associate Professor – Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra
- 1993 – Full Professor – Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra
- 1994 – Professor – Faculty of Letters, University of Coimbra

Research Interests

- Geographical science
- Regional analysis
- Industrial space
- Territory and industrial development

Key Publications

- **Caetano, L.** (2005). Abandono escolar: Repercussões sócio-económicas na região centro, algumas reflexões. *Finisterra: Revista Portuguesa de Geografia*, 40, 79, 163–176.
- **Caetano, L.** (1995). Distritos industriais no desenvolvimento recente de Portugal: O caso do centro-litoral. *Cadernos de Geografia*, 14, 3–16.
- **Caetano, L.** (1986). A indústria no distrito de Aveiro. *Análise geográfica relativa ao eixo rodoviário principal (EN n. 1) entre Malaposta e Albergaria-a-Nova*, 2.
- Debesse-Arviset, M.L., **de Jesus Caetano, L.** (1978). *A Educação Geográfica na Escola*.

Scientific Roles

- Management of the Library of Institute of Geographical Studies (1975–1986; 1989–1996)
- Representative of Assistant Lecturers on the Pedagogical Board of University of Coimbra (1981–1982)
- Founder Member of the Institute of Urban and Regional Studies of University of Coimbra

(1987)

- Correspondent Member of International Geographical Union (1990)
- Member of the Executive Commission of “Regional Conference IGU”
- Member of the Portuguese Association of Geographers
- Member of the National Commission of Geography
- Member of the Portuguese Association of Industrial Archaeology
- Member of the Portuguese Association of Regional Development
- Member of the Group of Regional Studies of the Mediterranean Basin
- Honorary Member of the Industrial Geography Group of Spanish Geographers Association

Lucília Gouveia was born in Coimbra in 1936, in a conservative upper-class family. Daughter of the Dean of the University of Coimbra, Lucília started her education at the D. João de Deus kindergarten, later moving to the all-girl Alexandre Herculano primary school.

She attended D. João II High School, a co-educational school with only one female class, where her interest in Geography was kindled by teachers that motivated her to pursue a degree in Geography.

In 1953, she began studying at the University of Coimbra, with the ambition of becoming a high school teacher, concluding her undergraduate studies in 1957 and defending her graduate thesis in 1959. Lucília Gouveia also completed a pedagogical science degree in 1961 and an internship at a high school from 1961 to 1962.

In 1963 she was invited to become an Assistant in the Department of Geography of the University of Coimbra, teaching regional and tropical Geography. Member of the group of geographical missions of the University of Coimbra, Lucília Gouveia made several missions to Angola, carrying out her fieldwork between Lubito and Benguela.

Lucília never got married, which gave her some freedom to do fieldwork and travel alone. After seven years as an Assistant, she decided to leave academia due to the competition she faced and also because her PhD thesis was not progressing, and its completion would be a crucial factor in continuing her academic career. In 1973, she returned to high school teaching, which she continued until 2001, when she retired.

Lucília Gouveia was not only the first women Assistant in Geography at the University of Coimbra, but also the only woman to be part of the group of geographical missions and the first women to carry out studies in regional Geography at Coimbra.

Academic Background

- 1958–1959 – Degree in Geography – University of Coimbra
- 1960–1961 – Degree in Pedagogical Sciences – University of Coimbra

Professional Career

- 1961–1962 – High School Internship
- 1963–1973 – Assistant Lecturer – University of Coimbra
- 1973–2001 – High School Teacher

Research Interests

- Regional Geography
- Tropical Geography

Key Publications

- Godinho, M.I.M., **Gouveia, L.** (1990). Considerações sobre os novos programas.
- **Gouveia, L.** (1970). Luanda. Estudo de geografia urbana: Ilídio do Amaral. *Finisterra*, 5, 10.

Manuela Malheiro was born in 1943 in Lisbon, raised by an aunt in a matriarchal environment. Her educational journey started in a college run by nuns, Sagrado Coração de Maria in Lisbon, where she studied from kindergarten until university. With no objections from her family, she went to medical school but dropped out after two years.

Decided to study Geography, in the summer of 1961 she prepared herself to take the high school exam and began studying at the Faculty of Letters in 1962. In the final year of her degree, she got married and moved to Angola with her husband, where from 1967 to 1969, taught Geography, History and Drawing.

Returning to Portugal in 1969, Manuela Malheiro completed her degree in Geography with a thesis about the Negage. After being declined for two jobs she turned to the pedagogical disciplines in 1969 and worked as a high school teacher in Almada from 1970 and, in 1971.

In 1972 she started a postgraduate study in regional and urban planning in 1972.

After the 25th April 1974, her husband was granted a scholarship by the French government, and Manuela Malheiro applied for one herself, being granted with a scholarship on the condition that it would be in the didactics of Geography since she was a teacher. Manuela Malheiro completed a diploma in advanced studies in the didactics of history, Geography and social sciences, and another in urban Geography and space organisation at the University of Sorbonne. She was also awarded with a Doctorat Troisieme Cycle in the didactics of Geography in France, becoming the first person to complete a doctorate in this field at the Sorbonne.

Without the recognition of her qualifications in Portugal, Malheiro applied for a scholarship from the Institute of High Culture to pursue a PhD at the Institute of Education of the University of London on the subject of teaching Geography in Portugal. Forced to interrupt her PhD studies due to the birth of her son and the impossibility of working simultaneously at Nova University, Manuela only defended her PhD in 1992.

When she returned to Nova University was demoted to the position of Assistant without a PhD, moving to Aberta University in its early days, where she tried to develop the field of didactics of Geography.

Coordinator of the Intercultural Communication Group of Aberta University, Member of the Geographic Education Committee and later a Member of the Commission, Malheiro is an expert in educational methods in social sciences and recognised outside Portugal as the holder of a PhD in the didactics of Geography.

Academic Background

- 1962–1969 – Degree in Geography – University of Lisbon
- 1969–1970 – Pedagogical Sciences Degree – University of Lisbon
- 1972 – Postgraduate study in regional and urban planning
- 1992 – PhD in Geography – Institute of Education, University of London

Professional Career

- 1967–1969 – Geography and History Teacher – Northern Angola
- 1970–1971 – High School Teacher – Almada
- 1974 – High School Teacher and Planning Technician – Lisbon
- 1989 – Assistant Lecturer – Nova University – Lisbon
- 1992 – Assistant Lecturer – Aberta University – Lisbon

Research Interests

- Urban planning
- Didactics of Geography

Key Publications

- **Ferreira, M.M.** (2003). Educação intercultural.
- **Ferreira, M.M.**, Miranda, B.M., Alexandre, F. (2000). Educação para a cidadania: Tendências actuais. Encontro Internacional Educação para os direitos humanos, Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian.
- **Ferreira, M.M.**, Carmo, H. (1998). Metodologia da Investigação-Guia para Autoaprendizagem. Lisboa: Universidade Aberta.

Scientific Roles

- Coordinator of the Intercultural Communication Group
- Scientific Committee of the Centre of Studies on Migration and Intercultural Relations
- Member of the Geographic Education Committee

Maria Alfreda Cruz was born in 1937 in Montijo (Santarém), the youngest of three children. Her education started at Montijo primary school, attending high school in Setúbal, all in mixed classes. Later, she moved to Lisbon to attend D. Luís de Castro High School. Her academic path began at the Polytechnic School of Lisbon to study historical-philosophical sciences, but her brother convinced her to study Geography at the University of Lisbon.

Finishing her degree in 1959, she spent a year teaching at Maria Amália High School, but the rigid rules of the all-female environment made her quit. From 1960 to 1972, she developed her career as Assistant Professor and Researcher at the University of Lisbon. In 1965, she travelled to Angola with a baby son to meet her husband and managed to obtain an informal sabbatical and permission to work in the Scientific Institute of Angola.

In 1973 returns to Portugal, working as Coordinator of the Planning Sector of Physical Resources in the Ministry of Education. In 1990, she concluded a PhD in Environmental Sciences at Nova University of Lisbon, and until 1992 was a Public Administration Consultant in the Ministry of Planning and Territorial Administration. In 1993, Maria Alfreda Cruz was appointed Associate Professor and Coordinator of the variant of the Education, Science and Culture of Social Sciences degree at Nova University of Lisbon, a position she held until 2001. In 2006, she was invited by the Philosophy Center of Studies to be a part of the research team dedicated to the problematisation of social sciences and policies in higher education.

Cruz has dedicated her life to the development of educational methodologies, ensuring always the articulation of education and territory problematics.

Academic Background

- 1959 – Degree in Geography – University of Lisbon
- 1990 – PhD in Environmental Sciences and Spatial Planning – Nova University of Lisbon

Professional Career

- 1960–1972 – Assistant Professor and Research Assistant – University of Lisbon and Center of Geographical Studies
- 1973–1989 – Coordinator of the Planning Sector of Physical Resources – Planning and Office of Studies of the Ministry of Education
- 1990–1992 – Public Administration Consultant – Ministry of Planning and Territorial Administration
- 1993–2001 – Associate Professor and Public Administration Chief Consultant – Autónoma University of Lisbon and Ministry of Education

- 2002–2005 – INA Sabbatical Programme I&D Promoter under “Programa Sabáticas INA” – National Institute of Administration
- 2006–2014 – Invited Researcher of the Philosophy Center of Science – Faculty of Science of University of Lisbon

Research Interests

- Science policies and lifelong training for executive directors
- Citizenship and social capital promotion systems
- Definition of public service policies in a polyarchic perspective
- Conception and management of projects in partnership
- Educational research methodologies in the formation of learning communities
- Conception and management of online observatories in the scope of the user’s interaction

Key Publications

- **Cruz, M.A.**, Ceba, A. G. (1988). Caminha: Evolução e estrutura da Vila da Foz do Minho.
- **Cruz, M.A.** (1973). A margem sul do estuário do Tejo. *Factores e formas de organização do espaço*. Ed. autor, Montijo.
- **Cruz, M.A.** (1968). A cidade de Setúbal. *Finisterra*, 3, 6.
- **Cruz, M.A.** (1966). Uma comunidade de aldeias na Serra da Avelreira. *Finisterra*, 1, 1.

Scientific Roles

- Scientific Direction of the director programme and methodological orientation of the Project on Human and Regional Studies, “The Portuguese frontier regions” (together with Carminda Cavaco); CEG, Lisbon (1971–1972)
- Member of the editorial team of magazine “Manifesto” (2002–2004)
- President of the General Assembly of Manifesto Forum Association (2004–2006)
- Member of Manifesto Forum Association

Awards

- 1990 – Distinction and Unanimous Praise – Examination Board for Environmental Sciences in the Field of Territory Planning – UNL
- 1992 – Representation of the Minister of Planning and Territorial Management in the

Interministerial Programme “Education for all” – Council of Ministers

- 2002 – Municipal Gold Merit Medal – Municipality of Lisbon

Maria Fernanda Alegria was born in 1942 in the village of Sendim (Viseu), Portugal. The second of three daughters in an upper-middle-class family, Maria Fernanda Alegria went to live with an aunt in Sobrosa, where she started primary school. She then went to high school at a college run by nuns in Lamego, completing her education in Oporto.

She began her academic life studying physics and chemistry in the Faculty of Sciences at the University of Oporto, quitting after a year with to the intention of going to medical school, but her mother would not authorise. She then chose to study physical education at the National Institute of Physical Education with her older sister, finishing her degree in 1965.

Not passionate about the jobs available, she decided instead to join the Geography course at the Faculty of Letters at the University of Lisbon. In the meantime, she had married without her father's consent, and without money to pay her university fees, she had to fund her studies by teaching physical education until 1968.

In 1970, she started work as a technician in the laboratory of sedimentology at the Center of Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon (CEG/UL), finishing her Geography degree in 1972 and remaining as a laboratory technician until 1987.

Her ambition to teach, and the support of Professor Suzanne Daveau and Professor Ilídio do Amaral, led her to teaching as Invited Assistant in 1983 in the degree of Geography at the University of Lisbon. In 1985, she was awarded a PhD scholarship from the National Institute of Scientific Research, completing her thesis in 1987, about the transport organisation in Portugal and creating the basis for future studies in this subject. In the same year, she began work as Assistant Professor at the Nova University of Lisbon, becoming Associate Professor in 1998.

Maria Fernanda Alegria has also held various coordination and management roles in the Faculty of Social and Human Sciences of the Nova University of Lisbon. She is now retired.

Academic Background

- 1965 – Degree in Physical Education – National Institute of Physical Education
- 1972 – Degree in Geography – University of Lisbon
- 1987 – PhD in Human Geography – University of Lisbon

Professional Career

- 1965–1968 – Teacher of Physical Education
- 1970–1973 – Technician in the Laboratory of Physical Geography – Center of Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon

- 1971–1973 – Monitor in the Department of Geography – University of Lisbon
- 1973–1980 – Second Class Technician – Center of Geographical Studies of the National Institute of Scientific Research
- 1980–87 – First Class Technician – National Institute of Scientific Research. Technician in the Laboratory of Physical Geography – Center of Geographical Studies
- 1983–1984 – Invited Assistant – Faculty of Letters, University of Lisbon
- 1985–1987 – PhD Grant Holder – National Institute of Scientific Research
- 1987–1992 – Assistant Professor – Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon
- 1992 – Assistant Professor (Permanent position) – Nova University of Lisbon
- 1998 – Associate Professor – Nova University of Lisbon

Research Interests

- History of cartography
- Cartography
- Historical Geography

Key Publications

- **Alegria, M.F.**, Garcia, J. C. (1995). Aspectos da evolução da cartografia portuguesa (séculos XV a XIX). *Os mapas em Portugal*, 27-84.
- **Alegria, M.F.** (1990). *A organização dos transportes em Portugal (1850–1910): as vias de tráfico*.
- **Alegria, M.F.** (1988). Análise geográfica do transporte de mercadorias nos caminhos-de-ferro portugueses no século XIX. *Análise Social*, 769-803.
- **Alegria, M.F.** (1985). *A organização portuária portuguesa e a sua evolução de 1848 a 1910*. *Revista de História Económica e Social*.
- **Alegria, M.F.** (1977). Cartografia antiga de Portugal continental. *Finisterra*, 12, 24.

Scientific Roles

- Coordinator of the Educational Branch in Geography and Regional Planning –Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Nova University of Lisbon (1987–1988)
- Coordinator of Internships – Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Nova University of Lisbon (1988)

- President of the Educational Committee – Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Nova University of Lisbon (1993–1996)
- President of the Scientific Committee – Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Nova University of Lisbon (1996–1999)
- Representative of Nova University of Lisbon Ad-hoc Committee (1997)
- Representative of the Council of Deans of Portuguese Universities (CRUP) on the General Council of the National Institute for Accreditation of Teacher Education (INAFOP) (1999)
- President of the Educational Committee – Department of Educational Sciences, Faculty of Social and Human Sciences, Nova University of Lisbon (2001)

Raquel Soeiro de Brito was born in Alentejo in 1925, into an upper-class military family that moved constantly due to her father's profession. Brito ended up being raised by her godparents in Viana do Castelo, where she started her primary education at an all-girls religious school.

Her primary education was completed in small towns with mixed classes. At Maria Amália High School in Lisbon, a school separated by gender, Raquel Soeiro de Brito, that defines herself as an untamed girl and not used to discriminating between genders faced some problems.

With the ambition of seeing the world, in 1943, she began studying Geography at the University of Lisbon, completing her degree in 1948. In 1950, Raquel Soeiro de Brito travelled to France after accepting a scholarship from the Cultural Relations Service of the French State, which led her to Clermont-Ferrand University to attend courses on human and regional Geography.

Known as the first disciple of Orlando Ribeiro, Brito began her academic career in 1952 as Second Assistant in Geography, being the first and only women for several years to teach the subject at the University of Lisbon. In 1955, she received her PhD from the University of Lisbon, with her work on the Azores, becoming First Assistant and part of the group of scientific missions of the Board of Overseas Research as an adjunct to the missions. Between 1955 and 1957, she made several fieldwork trips to Portuguese India with Orlando Ribeiro and Mariano Feio, although she was alone in the final months of completing the work.

She was Assistant Professor at the University of Lisbon until 1960, when she left to teach at the Superior Institute of Overseas Policies and Social Sciences of the Technological University of Lisbon, staying until 1977. She also worked in the Scientific Cluster of Preparation of Geographers to Overseas from 1960 to 1965 and in the Human and Physical Geography Mission Overseas from 1960 until 1974.

Raquel Soeiro de Brito established the Departments of Anthropology and the Department of Geography at Nova University of Lisbon in 1977 and 1980 respectively, being also responsible for the coordination and management of these departments.

In 1996 she was nominated Emeritus Professor of Nova University of Lisbon and decided to retire from teaching. She was invited to be Vice-President of the Academy of Letters of the Portuguese Navy and served until 2015, when she retired.

Raquel Soeiro de Brito was a trailblazer for women in Geography. She travelled and wrote about all the Portuguese colonies, was the first Portuguese woman to study a Portuguese volcano and made major contributions to regional and tropical geography.

Academic Background

- 1948 – Degree in Geography – University of Lisbon
- 1955 – PhD in Geography – University of Lisbon

Professional Career

- 1952 – Second Assistant – Faculty of Letters of University of Lisbon
- 1955–1956 – Assistant – Faculty of Letters of University of Lisbon
- 1956–1960 – Assistant Professor – Faculty of Letters of University of Lisbon
- 1960–1966 – Associate Professor – Superior Institute of Overseas Policies and Social Sciences of the Technological University of Lisbon
- 1966–1967 – Full Professor – Superior Institute of Overseas Policies and Social Sciences of the Technological University of Lisbon
- 1974–1976 – Full Professor – Superior Institute of Political and Social Sciences of the Technological University of Lisbon
- 1977–1996 – Professor – Faculty of Human and Social Sciences, Nova University of Lisbon
- 1980–1981 – Invited Professor – University of Limoges and Paris (Nanterre)
- 1996 – Emeritus Professor – Nova University of Lisbon

Research Interests

- Regional Geography
- Tropical Geography
- Portuguese territory and overseas territories

Key Publications

- Bradford, M.G., Kent, W. A., **de Brito, R.S.**, Lema, P.B. - Universidade Nova de Lisboa (1987). *Geografia humana: teorias e suas aplicações*.
- **de Brito, R.S.** (1977). *Lisboa: esboço geográfico*. Junta Distrital.
- **de Brito, R.S.** (1966). *Goa e as praças do norte*. Junta de investigações do ultramar.
- Bernardes, L.M.C., **de Brito, R.S.** (1958). Pescadores da Ponta do Cajú: Aspectos da contribuição de portugueses e espanhóis para o desenvolvimento da pesca na Guanabara. *Revista Brasileira de Geografia*, 20, 2.
- Feio, M., **de Brito, R.S.** (1950). *Les vallées de fracture dans le modele granitique portugais*. Lisbonne.

Scientific Roles

- Coordinator of the proceedings of the International Congress of Geography – Lisbon (1950–1954)
- Director of the magazine “GEOGRAPHICA” (1962–1972)
- President of the Directive Commission – Superior Institute of Political and Social Sciences of the Technological University of Lisbon (1974–1976)
- Member of the Installing Committee of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences – Nova University of Lisbon (1976–1980)
- Founder and Coordinator of the Department of Anthropology – Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon (1977–1980)
- Founder and Coordinator of the Department of Geography and Planning of the Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon (1980–1996)
- Founder of the Study Center of Geography and Regional Planning and the Institute of Space Dynamics – Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon (1993)
- Responsible for the creation of the Master’s in Geography and Regional Planning – Faculty of Human and Social Sciences of Nova University of Lisbon (1993–1996)

Awards

- 1964 – Commander of the Order of Marshal Pessoa (Brazil)
- 1966 – International Award “Almirante Gago Coutinho” (Geographical Society of Lisbon – Portugal)
- 1974 – Officier dans l’Ordre des Palmes Académiques (France)
- 1982 – Membre d’Honneur de la Société de Géographie de Paris (France)
- 1987 – Navy Academy Member (Portugal)
- 1987 – Founding member of the Portuguese Association of Geographers (Portugal)
- 1998 – Grand Officer of the Order of Sant’Iago da Espada (Portugal)
- 2006 – Navy Cross First Class (Portugal)
- 2017 – Science Merit Medal 2017 (Portugal)

Rosa Fernanda Moreira da Silva was born in 1939 in Bonfim (Oporto), Portugal, into a middle-class family with an open-minded and critical spirit. She began primary school at the age of seven at the all-girl Rainha Santa Isabel High School and later Nossa Senhora da Esperança High School. At the same time, she did the advanced course in piano at the Music Conservatory of Oporto, finishing both the course and high school in 1959.

Her original intention was to go into music or to medical school to study to be a surgeon, but she was advised not to do this since it was extremely hard and a world dominated by men. Geography came as her third option and from 1959 to 1964, Rosa Fernanda studied at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Coimbra, also obtaining her degree in Pedagogical Sciences in 1965.

Her career began in 1964 as a probationary high school teacher at Rainha Santa Isabel High School and continued one year later at Alexandre Herculano High School. To become qualified as a high school teacher, Rosa Fernanda made the admission exam to the pedagogical internship in 1968 and the State exam in 1970, obtaining the mark of 16¹¹ values, a classification never achieved before in both exams.

From 1970 to 1972, she was invited to be a methodology assistant at D. Manuel II High School, developing methodologies specifically for blind people. Her fascination with special education led her to Uppsala University to attend several seminars and degrees in this area.

Invited in 1972 by Orlando Ribeiro, Suzanne Daveau and the Dean of the Faculty of Letters of Oporto University to help establish the degree in Geography, Rosa Fernanda declined the invitation, accepting it in 1973. Although with no intention of becoming a university professor, the time she spent with Orlando Ribeiro and Suzanne Daveau on several field trips and meetings, fascinated her and led her to change her mind.

From 1974 to 1982, she was part of a research team at the Center of Geographical Studies of the University of Lisbon and, from 1978 to 1979, she held a grant as an assistant from the National Institute of Scientific Research. In 1980, she completed her PhD and was awarded a distinction.

From 1981 to 1984, she was Assistant Professor in Geography at Oporto University, being nominated Associate Professor in 1989 and becoming Full Professor in 1990. She has been retired since 2004, although maintaining some links with the university.

¹¹ In Portugal the exams marks goes from 0 to 20 values

Academic Background

- 1964 – Degree in Geography – University of Coimbra
- 1965 – Degree in Pedagogical Sciences – University of Coimbra
- 1981 – PhD in Geography – University of Oporto

Professional Career

- 1964–1965 – Geography Teacher – Rainha Santa Isabel High School, Oporto
- 1965–1968 – Geography Teacher – Alexandre Herculano High School, Oporto
- 1970–1972 – Methodology Assistant – D. Manuel II High School, Oporto
- 1973 – Assistant in Commission Service in Geography – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto
- 1978–1979 – Assistant with a Grant – National Institute of Scientific Research
- 1981–1984 – Assistant Professor – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto
- 1989 – Associate Professor – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto
- 1990 – Full Professor – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto

Research Interests

- Rural development
- Agriculture
- Processes of migration
- Organisation of mountain spaces

Key Publications

- **Moreira da Silva, R.F.** (2013). Contraste e mutações na paisagem agrária das planícies e colinas minhotas. *Studium Generale. Estudos contemporâneos, Oporto, 5, 1983, 9–115.*
- **Moreira da Silva, R.F.** (1991). Dois casos exemplificativos da emigração portuguesa desde 1966 à actualidade in. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras do Oporto – Geografia I série, 7, 5–39.*
- **Moreira da Silva, R. F.** (1985). A aldeia da Várzea (Serra do Soajo) – Situação actual e a inundação, para breve, da sua Veiga in. *Revista da Faculdade de Letras – Geografia, I Série, 1, 5–83.*
- **Moreira da Silva, R. F.** (1976). Geografia agrária das doações (de 1928 a 1966) in. *Finisterra – Revista Portuguesa de Geografia do Centro de Estudos Geográficos da Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Lisboa, XI, 22, 228–257.*

- **Moreira da Silva, R. F.** (1966). *Área de doações – seus problemas agrários*. Dissertação de Licenciatura, Faculdade de Letras da Universidade de Coimbra. Coimbra.

Scientific Roles

- Founder of the degree in Geography – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1973)
- Member of the Administration Board – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1974–1976)
- Member of the Board of the Center of Studies North of Portugal (CENPA) (1981)
- Member of the Scientific Board – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1981–2004)
- Coordinator of the Scientific Committee of Geography – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1981–1995; 1996–2002)
- Vice-President of the Administration Board – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1981–1983; 1990–1992)
- Responsible for the magazine “Geografia” – University of Oporto (1987–1997)
- Member of the Pedagogical Board – Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1985–87)
- Director of the Institute of Geography (1985)
- Coordinator of the “Spatial Dynamics and Spatial Planning” master’s – Geography, Faculty of Letters, University of Oporto (1995–1999)
- Member of the Scientific Board of Geography – University of Minho (1996–1998)

Suzanne Daveau was born in 1925 in Paris, the second of four children, growing up in a lower-middle-class family. A committed student, in 1937, she finished attending an all-female primary school. Having dreamed since young age of becoming a teacher, she continued her studies holding, between 1937 and 1941, a scholarship from the city of Paris.

Suzanne Daveau concluded her bachelor's degree in 1944, when she began a degree in Geography at the University of Sorbonne, completed in 1947. In 1949, she applied to the role of associate in Geography, being placed first among the three girls who applied, and went to the French Alps to teach. In 1950 Suzanne Daveau went to the University of Besançon, working as an assistant until 1952.

The proposal of Cultural Attaché in Anselán attracts Daveau, who pre-empted by a boy, gets unemployed until the academic year of 1952–1953, when she went to Lille High School. Later, she took a position as a researcher at the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, allowing her to study for a doctoral thesis. A trip to Dakar in 1954, led her to write her thesis about the physical geography of Dakar, receiving a scholarship from the Institut Français d'Afrique. Suzanne defended her thesis in 1957, becoming the second woman in France to defend a thesis in Geography.

With the creation of the University of Dakar, she was offered a place as a professor, being the only woman professor from 1957 to 1964. Later, Suzanne returned to France to work as a professor at the University of Besançon.

Her life took an unexpected turn in 1960 when, at a Geography congress in Stockholm, she met Orlando Ribeiro, marrying him in 1965 and moving to Portugal. She was appointed as a professor at the University of Lisbon, a post financed by NATO that was later cancelled. In 1966, with the opening of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Daveau was granted with the Research Director Scholarship of the Gulbenkian Foundation. In the same year, she created the journal "Finisterra" with Orlando Ribeiro and Ilídio do Amaral, collaborating on the editing and revision of the magazine.

From 1967 to 1968, Suzanne went to France to teach at the University of Reims. Returns to Portugal in 1968 and in 1970, she began working as Invited Professor at the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon, a post she held until 1993, when she retired.

Daveau is considered to be one of the most important women geographers in Portugal in the twentieth century. She has received three honorary doctorates in Portugal: from the University of Lisbon in 1997; the University of Coimbra in 1998; and the University of Oporto in 2001, the first geographer to receive this honour from the latter two.

Academic Background

- 1944 – Baccalaureate
- 1947 – Degree in Geography – University of Sorbonne
- 1948 – Diploma of Superior Studies
- 1949 – Associate in Geography
- 1957 – PhD – University of Paris

Professional Career

- 1945 – Teacher – Primary School of Pantin – Seine, France
- 1949–1950 – Geography Teacher – Gap High School – Hautes Alpes, France
- 1950–1952 – Assistant Lecturer – Faculty of Letters of the University of Besançon –France
- 1952–1953 – History and Geography Teacher – Lille High School – Nord, France
- 1957–1960 – Maître de Conférences – Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the University of Dakar – Senegal
- 1960–1964 – Professor – Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the University of Dakar – Senegal
- 1964–1965– Professor – Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the University of Besançon –France
- 1967–1968 – Professor – Faculty of Letters and Human Sciences of the University of Reims – France
- 1970–1993 – Invited Professor – Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon

Research Interests

- Geomorphology
- Climatology
- Cartography
- Historical Geography

Key Publications

- **Daveau, S.** (1985). *Mapas climáticos de Portugal: Nevoeiro e nebulosidade, contrastes térmicos*, 7. Centro de Estudos Geográficos.
- **Daveau, S.**, da Conceição Coelho, M., e Costa, V.G., Carvalho, L. (1977). *Répartition et rythme des précipitations au Portugal*. CEG, Lisbon.

- **Daveau, S.** (1973). Quelques exemples d'évolution quaternaire des versants au Portugal. *Finisterra*, 8, 15.
- **Daveau, S.** (1971). La glaciation de la Serra da Estrela. *Finisterra*, 6, 11.
- **Daveau, S.** (1958). Les régions frontalières de la montagne jurassienne, étude de géographie humaine. *L'information géographique*, 22, 3, 130-131.

Scientific Roles

- Assistant Director of Center of Geographical Studies (1973–1974)
- Director of Research Line n°3 – Physical Geography – in Center of Geographical Studies (1976–1981)
- Assistant Director of Research Line n°6 – Historical and Regional Geography – in Center of Geographical Studies (1981–1992)
- Member of the Draft Commission of *Revue de Géographie de l'Est* (1964–1965)
- Collaborator in Portugal of *Bibliographie Géographique Internationale* (1966–1986)
- Co-Director of “*Finisterra, revista portuguesa de geografia*” (1966–1994)
- Representative of Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon on the Scientific Committee of the Natural Park Serra da Estrela (1981–1985)
- Member of the Organising Committee of the First Meeting of the Iberian Quaternary – Lisbon (1985)
- Member of the Scientific Mission of the National Board of Tropical Scientific Research to Republic of Cape Verde (1985)
- Member of the Scientific Committee of the XVII International Cartography History Congress – Lisbon (1997)

Awards

- 1964 – Chevalier de l'Ordre du Mérite Sénégalais (Senegal)
- 1981 – Chevalier de l'Ordre National du Mérite (France)
- 1997 – Honoris Causa by the Faculty of Letters of the University of Lisbon
- 2017 – Science Merit Medal 2017 (Portugal)

Teresa Barata Salgueiro was born in Lisbon in 1948, becoming fatherless at a young age and being raised by her mother. Salgueiro studied in Lisbon, going to a private primary school for girls and later to the all-girl Maria Amália de Carvalho High School.

While Teresa Barata Salgueiro was at high school, her mother finished her degree in Geography, giving Teresa the task of writing up some of her notes. Finding it pleasurable and interesting, while at high school, Teresa Barata Salgueiro started tutoring Geography to younger children. Having already thought that she would like to teach, the example of her mother and the support of an open-minded family with experience of higher education were all key factors in her decision to study Geography at university.

She finished her degree in Geography at the University of Lisbon in 1970 and began working as an assistant in the Department of Geography in 1971. In September 1972, she went to the University of Chicago in the USA to continue her studies with a master's degree. She returned to Portugal in December 1973 to collect data, with the intention of later studying for her PhD abroad. However, the difficulty of achieving recognition of her academic degrees and the events of 25th April 1974 made Teresa Barata Salgueiro change her ideas, and she engaged fully with the transformation of the country and institutions.

Between 1970 and 1980, she developed several projects with planning agencies on the regeneration of decaying neighbourhoods and the management of new areas for the growth of the central business district in Lisbon. Concerned with issues of territory and organisation, Teresa developed her PhD around those topics, concluding it in 1983 at the University of Lisbon. In 1993, she became associate professor at the University of Lisbon, where she would go on to teach for the next 20 years.

Teresa Barata Salgueiro is responsible for introducing quantitative geography and Marxist studies of Anglo-Saxon origin in Portuguese Geography. Salgueiro was President of the Portuguese Association of Geographers from 1988 to 1992, organiser of the First Congress of Portuguese Geography and a key figure in the creation of the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT) in 2009, serving as Director until 2012.

She currently holds the position of Full Professor at IGOT – University of Lisbon.

Academic Background

- 1970 – Degree in Human Geography – University of Lisbon
- 1973 – Master of Arts – University of Chicago, USA
- 1983 – PhD – University of Lisbon

Professional Career

- 1971 – Assistant Professor – University of Lisbon
- 1993 – Associate Professor – University of Lisbon
- 2003 – Full Professor – University of Lisbon

Research Interests

- Urban space production
- Real-estate activities
- Transformation and rehabilitation of urban areas

Key Publications

- **Salgueiro, T.B.** (2001). Paisagem e geografia. *Finisterra: Revista portuguesa de geografia*, 36, 72, 37–53.
- **Salgueiro, T.B.** (1998). Cidade pós-moderna: Espaço fragmentado. *Território, Rio de Janeiro*, 3, 4, 39–53.
- **Salgueiro, T.B.** (1997). Lisboa, metrópole policêntrica e fragmentada. *Finisterra: Revista portuguesa de geografia*, 32, 63, 179–190.
- **Salgueiro, T.B.**, Cachinho, H.A., Teixeira, J.A., Monteiro, A. (1996). *Do comércio à distribuição: Roteiro de uma mudança*. Celta Editora. Oeiras.
- **Salgueiro, T.B.** (1992). *A cidade em Portugal: Uma geografia urbana*. Edições Afrontamento. Oporto.

Scientific Roles

- President of the Portuguese Association of Geographers (1988–1992)
- President of the Board of the General Assembly of the Portuguese Association of Geographers (1993–1994)
- Member of Editorial Staff of the Magazine of Urban and Regional Studies Society and Territory
- Member of the Scientific Committee of “Finisterra” magazine
- Member of the Scientific Committee of Economic Studies Journal
- Member of the Scientific Committee of GEOUSP magazine
- Member of the Scientific Committee of the Postgraduate Magazine in Geography – University of São Paulo

Appendix 4: Key Publications by Portuguese Women Geographers

Name	Year	Publication Title	University
Conceição, Isabel Maria	1942	Coimbra. Ensaio Geográfico	Coimbra
Fernandes, Fernanda	1943	Figueira da Foz. Estudo Geográfico	Lisboa
Simões, Maria dos Anjos	1943	Os portos portugueses e o trafego ferroviário	Lisboa
Velho, Fernanda Lopes	1943	Variação da População de Portugal Continental de 1890 a 1940	Coimbra
Velho, Fernanda Lopes (and Amorim Girão)	1944	Estudos da População Portuguesa. I – Evolução demográfica e ocupação do solo continental (1890 – 1940)	Coimbra
Magro, Maria Alice	1945	Salvaterra do Extremo – Notas de geografia humana	Lisboa
Morais, Maria Eugénia	1945	Contribuição para o estudo da indústria de lanifícios no Tortozendo	Lisboa
Oliveira, Violinda Melo	1945	Indústria corticeira em Portugal	Coimbra
Quintela, Maria Alice	1945	Esboço Monográfico do Concelho de Manteigas	Coimbra
Simões, Maria de Lourdes	1945	Almoçageme. Esboço de uma monografia duma povoação rural	Lisboa

Trancoso, Isabel da Conceição	1945	A Veiga. Uma povoação e as suas culturas na região do Douro	Lisboa
Baptista, Clarisse Augusta	1946	Actividade da população portuguesa	Coimbra
Mónico, Ilda Celeste	1946	Gado bovino, ovino e caprino. Elementos para o estudo da distribuição em Portugal	Lisboa
Simões, Maria Clélia	1946	O vale de Loures. Esboço físico e humano	Lisboa
Narciso, Maria Armanda	1947	O desenvolvimento da população de Lisboa de 1890 a 1940. Contribuição para o seu estudo geográfico	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1948	O Soajo. Notas geográficas acerca de uma aldeia do Minho	Lisboa
Germano, Maria Aurora Ferreira	1949	Da origem e desenvolvimento das Caldas da Rainha	Lisboa
Pimentel, Emília Rosa Henriques	1949	Contribuições para o estudo do desenvolvimento de Sintra	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de (and Feio, Mariano)	1950	Les Vallées de fracture dans le modelé granitique Portugais	Lisboa
Pimentel, Emília Rosa Henriques	1950	Contribuição para o estudo da pecuária em Portugal. Espécies de bovina, ovina e caprina	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1951	Migrations pastorales et agricoles dans les montagnes du Minho	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1951	Um pequeno porto de pesca no Algarve : Albufeira	Lisboa
Silva, Maria de Lourdes da	1951	Variação da população em Portugal (1890-1940) (notas explicativas do mapa)	Lisboa

Antunes, Maria da Conceição Ribeiro da Cruz	1953	Contribuição para o estudo das migrações internas na Península de Setúbal	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1953	Uma aldeia da montanha do Minho. O Soajo. Estudo de Geografia Humana	Lisboa
Coelho, Maria Ernestina de Castro Antas	1954	Montesinho	Coimbra
Luís, Almerinda de Oliveira	1954	O porto da Figueira da Foz	Coimbra
Santana, Maria José Palminha de	1954	O concelho de Faro: a sua importância económica	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1955	A Ilha de São Miguel: estudo geográfico	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1955	A Ilha de São Tomé: estudo geográfico	Lisboa
Cotello, Eileen Gladys	1955	Um trecho do Vale do Douro	Lisboa
Maya, Maria José Dantas	1955	A vinha em Portugal (sua distribuição e economia)	Lisboa
Monteiro, Circuncisão de Castilho	1955	Contribuição para o Estudo da propriedade no distrito de Beja	Lisboa
Silva, Maria Rita Vasconcelos Reis e	1955	Golegã – contribuição para um estudo de geografia económica	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1956	Notas para o estudo dos modos de vida em Goa	Lisboa
Fidalgo, Maria da Conceição D’Azevedo A.	1956	Os viveiros de Ceira. Contribuição para um estudo de geografia económica	Coimbra

Marques, Ilda Cocharra Penim	1956	Almada e Barreiro – contrastes e semelhanças da sua evolução	Coimbra
Matos, Célia Simões de	1956	Origem e evolução da Costa Nova do Prado	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1957	Notícias do inquérito das aldeias de Goa	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1957	Notice d'une enquête sur les villages du territoire de Goa	Lisboa
Cabral, Darlinda Valente de Melo	1957	Vale de Besteiros	Coimbra
Mendonça, Matilde Antónia Mendes	1957	Esboço monográfico de uma aldeia alentejana: Salvada	Lisboa
Pinto, Yolanda Olga Pereira Ferreira	1957	Serpus (resenha monográfica)	Lisboa
Ribeiro, Maria Fernanda de Almeida Pinto	1957	Águeda – contribuição para o estudo da sua origem e evolução	Coimbra
Santos, Maria Adelaide Neto dos	1957	Cova da Iria – Génese e evolução de um aglomerado populacional	Coimbra
Silva, Maria Margarida da Conceição Marques da	1957	A Branca - sua origem e evolução	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de (and Orlando Ribeiro)	1958	Primeira notícia da erupção dos Capelinhos, na Ilha do Faial	Lisboa
Santos, Maria Lúcia dos Anjos; Alves, Maria de Fátima (and Peirone, José and Girão, Amorim)	1958	Fátima, terra de milagres	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1959	A pesca em Palheiros de Mira	Lisboa

Brito, Raquel Soeiro de (and Lísia Maria Cavalcanti Bernardes)	1959	Pescadores da Ponta do Caju. Aspectos da contribuição dos portugueses e espanhóis para o desenvolvimento da pesca na Guanabara	Lisboa
Costa, Maria Manuel Fernandes	1959	A Veiga da Campeã (Ensaio de estudo monográfico)	Lisboa
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1959	O porto de pesca em Sesimbra	Lisboa
Gomes, Maria Noémia Adão Silva	1959	A Vilariça – Estudo geográfico	Coimbra
Goulão, Ana Maria Carvalho	1959	Breve estudo geográfico sobre a freguesia de S. Martinho do Bispo	Coimbra
Gouveia, Lucília Dóris Andrade de	1959	Heterogeneidade geográfica num ponto crítico da Beira. O problema dos contactos	Coimbra
Morais, Maria Carolina Gonçalves	1959	O vale de Vila Pouca de Aguiar. Estudo de Geografia Humana	Lisboa
Barbosa, Maria Antónia Pereira	1960	Variação cíclica dos rios do norte de Portugal – o exemplo do Cávado	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1960	Agricultores e pescadores portugueses na cidade do Rio de Janeiro	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1960	Palheiros de Mira. Formação e declínio de um aglomerado de pescadores	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1960	Notícias do Inquérito das aldeias de Goa: resumo	Lisboa
Cavaco, Carminda	1960	Paisagem e vida rural numa aldeia algarvia: Boliqueime	Lisboa
Graça, Marina de Carvalho	1960	S. João da Madeira. Estudo geográfico deste aglomerado humano	Coimbra

Marques, Isabel Maria de Sousa	1960	O desenvolvimento urbano de Queluz	Lisboa
Portela, Maria Luísa Pedro	1960	Bombarral – visão económica do concelho e seu condicionamento geográfico	Coimbra
Ribeiro, Maria Julieta de Andrade	1960	Verim – uma aldeia do Minho. Estudo de Geografia Humana	Lisboa
Salavessa, Maria Emília Oliveira	1960	A barragem Marechal Carmona – as campanhas da Idanha	Coimbra
Salgueiro, Maria Margarida M. Barata	1960	Traços essenciais da região de Torres Vedras. A cultura da vinha	Lisboa
Sousa, Maria Alice Campos de	1960	O sargaço no litoral norte de Portugal	Coimbra
Sousa, Maria Ortélia Robalo Mourão de	1960	Estudo geográfico sobre Penha Garcia	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1961	A Terra e a Gente na Índia Portuguesa	Lisboa
González, Maria Helena Oliveira	1961	Génese e desenvolvimento da Indústria têxtil vimaranense. Estudo Geográfico-Económico	Coimbra
Rebelo, Arminda dos Reis	1961	Evolução demográfica e urbana e Braga	Coimbra
Reis, Maria Margarida Basto da Costa	1961	O concelho de Alcobaça – Alguns aspectos da sua economia agrícola	Coimbra
Serra, Maria Beatriz Alvão	1961	A bacia da Lousã (estudo geográfico)	Coimbra
Baltazar, Maria Gabriela de A. de Almeida	1962	O concelho de Peniche (Ensaio de Geografia Humana)	Lisboa

Castro, Maria Emília M. da Fonseca	1962	A zona mineira de S. Pedro da Cova – Elemento contrastante na região	Coimbra
Severo, Maria José Carvalho Candeira	1962	Breve apontamento geográfico sobre a cidade de Elvas	Coimbra
Velho, Fernanda	1962	Evolução demográfica e ocupação do solo continental (1940 – 1960)	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1963	Imagens de Macau	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1963	Mapas das Províncias Ultramarinas Portuguesas	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1963	Relatório da adjunta da missão: campanha de 1963	Lisboa
Lima, Maria Alves	1963	Matosinhos	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1964	Aspectos gerais de Geografia Física em Angola	Lisboa
Ferreira, Maria Deolinda Pereira dos Santos	1964	Corte do Gafo. Uma aldeia em decadência	Lisboa
Santos, Maria Teresa da Costa	1964	Matosinhos - aspectos históricos, económicos e humanos	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1965	Aspectos Geográficos de Moçambique	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1965	Aspectos da vida marítima em Macau	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1965	Geographica: revista da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa	Lisboa
Correia, Maria Leonor Cardoso Leão	1965	Nazaré (a pesca e o homem)	Lisboa

Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1966	Francisco Tenreiro	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1966	A Ilha de São Tomé vista por um Geógrafo	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1966	Goa e as Praças do Norte	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1966	Guiné, Cabo Verde e São Tomé e Príncipe: alguns aspectos da terra e dos Homens	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1966	Transformações agro-económicas na comuna de Blanzat	Lisboa
Cavaco, Carminda and Marques, Isabel	1966	Os vales de Loriga e de Alvoco na serra da Estrela. Estudo de Geografia Humana	Lisboa
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1966	O porto de pesca de Sesimbra	Lisboa
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1966	Uma comunidade de aldeias na serra da Azeiteira	Lisboa
Ferreira, Maria Clara Antunes	1966	A bacia de Poiares	Coimbra
Frazão, Maria Eulália Gomes	1966	Malveira. Uma freguesia da estremadura portuguesa	Lisboa
Lema, Paula Bordalo	1966	Tourém: uma aldeia raiana do Barroso	Lisboa
Silva, Rosa Fernanda Moreira da	1966	“Área das doações” e seus problemas agrários	Coimbra
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1967	A ilha do Príncipe	Lisboa

Castro, Ana Celeste Cardoso Rosas de	1967	O abastecimento de leite à cidade do Porto	Coimbra
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1967	Caminha. Evolução e estrutura de uma antiga vila portuária	Lisboa
Nunes, Maria Helena Lucas Cabral de Almeida Avelãs	1967	Aveiro, a laguna e o porto	Coimbra
Silva, Maria da Conceição de Vasconcelos Reis e	1967	A actividade marítima do pescador de Buarcos	Coimbra
Alves, Edite Martins	1968	O ensino da geografia ao nível secundário. Notas didácticas	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1968	Achegas para a geografia de Macau	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1968	Primórdios da colonização portuguesa no Atlântico (estudo comparativo)	Lisboa
Caetano, Lucília de Jesus	1968	Zona industrial Loreto-Pedrulha da cidade de Coimbra	Coimbra
Carvalho, Maria Armanda F. de Figueiredo de A.	1968	A evolução urbana da Guarda	Coimbra
Cavaco, Carminda	1968	A paisagem rural do Minho	Lisboa
Cavaco, Maria Helena de Almeida	1968	O trabalho de grupo no ensino de geografia nos liceus	Lisboa
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1968	A cidade de Setúbal	Lisboa

Cruz, Maria Alfreda	1968	Síntese dos relatórios dos inquéritos realizados em Coima pelos alunos ordinários de Geografia Humana I no ano de 1968	Lisboa
Henriques, Margarida Maria Duarte	1968	Indústria da cerâmica de construção em Taveiro	Coimbra
Lopes, Maria Alice T. de A.	1968	Juromenha. Estudo de geografia agrária	Lisboa
Marques, Maria Ângela Amaral	1968	Aspectos da geografia da circulação na cidade de Braga no século XX	Coimbra
Santiago, Lélia Maria Nogueira	1968	O moliço na laguna de Aveiro	Coimbra
Sepúlveda, Maria de Fátima Ferraz de	1968	A batata-semente na região de Montalegre	Coimbra
Silva, Maria M. Morais	1968	Abóboda e Trajouce. Aldeias suburbanas em transformação	Lisboa
Alves, Celeste de Oliveira	1969	A Bacia de Marmelar. Contribuição para o seu estudo geomorfológico e sedimentológico.	Lisboa
Amorim, Maria Cecília Neves Xavier	1969	Desenvolvimento urbano de Oeiras	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1969	Imigrantes na vida rural brasileira	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1969	Relatório da campanha de trabalhos de 1969 da Missão de Geografia Física e Humana do Ultramar	Lisboa
Carminda, Cavaco	1969	A pesca e a indústria de conservas de peixe em Portugal	Lisboa
Carminda, Cavaco	1969	Geografia e turismo no Algarve. Aspectos contemporâneos	Lisboa

Cruz, Maria do Céu Sucena Ferreira da	1969	Indústria do sal aveirense	Coimbra
Faustino, Júlia Rafael Pinto Ferreira	1969	A indústria de plásticos no distrito de Leiria	Coimbra
Matos, Maria da C. Faria e	1969	Apúlia. Íntima comunhão entre a terra e o mar	Lisboa
Almeida, Alice Monteiro de	1970	Folgosinho. Últimos traços duma vida de pastores transumantes	Lisboa
Alves, Celeste de Oliveira (and Carvalho, Galopim de)	1970	Notas sobre os depósitos terciários de Moura	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1970	Estudo Regional da aglomeração de Eindhoven	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1970	Ilha de Moçambique	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1970	L'occupation du sol dans l'Est de l'île de Timor	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1970	Missão de geografia física e humana do Ultramar	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1970	Nótula acerca dos povos pastores e agro-pastores do distrito de Moçâmedes	Lisboa
Cavaco, Carminda	1970	Geografia e turismo: exemplos, problemas e reflexões	Lisboa
Ferraz, Maria de L. de Freitas	1970	A região de Colares	Lisboa
Fortunato, Maria Regina Fonseca	1970	Indústria de pasta para papel e papel em Cacia	Coimbra

Lema, Paulo Bordalo (and Mather, Paul)	1970	Factor Analysis e Cluster Analysis aplicados a dados estatísticos sobre Portugal	Lisboa
Lema, Paula Bordalo (and McCullagh, Michael)	1970	Trend surface analysis aplicada ao estudo da distribuição da população rural no norte de Portugal	Lisboa
Lema, Paula Bordalo	1970	Cinco métodos matemáticos aplicados a situações geográficas em Portugal	Lisboa
Medeiros, Isabel Marques	1970	Arcos de Valdevez. Estudos de Geografia Urbana de uma vila do Alto Minho	Lisboa
Mendes, Maria Clara Teles	1970	Gabela (Estudo de Geografia Humana)	Lisboa
Queiróz, Maria João Vilar	1970	Lamego. Um passado; um presente	Lisboa
Salgueiro, Teresa Barata	1970	Torres Vedras. A vila na região	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1971	Missão de geografia física e humana do Ultramar : Campanha de 1971	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1971	Ocupação do solo no Timor português	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1971	São Tomé e Príncipe: esboço de um estudo regional	Lisboa
Cavaco, Carminda	1971	Migrações internacionais de trabalhadores do Sotavento do Algarve	Lisboa
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1971	A propósito da dinâmica demográfica em Portugal	Lisboa
Correia, Olímpia Alda Rodrigues	1971	Aspectos da agricultura na Bacia de Celorico	Coimbra

Leitão, Maria da Luz Ferreira	1971	Fundão. Aspectos geográficos de uma vila do interior do país	Lisboa
Lema, Paula Bordalo	1971	Fontes para o estudo da agricultura em Portugal	Lisboa
Lima, Maria Amélia Fonseca Freire de	1971	Alcântara – Evolução de um bairro de Lisboa	Lisboa
Melo, Maria Inês Marques	1971	Divisão da propriedade no concelho de Vila do Conde e a evolução da economia agrária	Coimbra
Pereira, Maria Gabriel Freire	1971	A bacia da Ribeira de Alcabrichel. Contribuição para o seu estudo geomorfológico e sedimentológico	Lisboa
Queiroz, Maria João Vilar	1971	Lamego	Lisboa
Rodrigues, Maria de Fátima Serafim	1971	A Cova da Iria. Problemas geográficos de um centro de peregrinação	Lisboa
Rosendo, Maria de Lourdes Gomes Rodrigues	1971	Evolução urbana. Bairro de Montes Claros em Coimbra	Coimbra
Salgueiro, Teresa Barata	1971	A rede de transportes colectivos na aglomeração de Lisboa	Lisboa
Salgueiro, Teresa Barata	1971	A área de influência da escola secundária de Torres Vedras	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1972	Acerca de algumas regiões geográficas de Portugal	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1972	Aspectos Gerais de Timor	Lisboa
Carricho, Maria Lúcia Soares Catarino	1972	Problemas agrários do Vale do Pranto. Tentativa de uma interpretação Geográfica	Lisboa

Cavaco, Carminda	1972	Comércio externo de Portugal	Lisboa
Lema, Paula Bordalo	1972	A função de algumas aldeias diferenciadas no Nordeste Transmontano - para um estudo de hierarquia de distâncias	Lisboa
Lemos, Maria Teresa Nifo Viana de	1972	A orizicultura no Baixo Vouga	Coimbra
Marcelo, Maria Fernanda S. A. Valdez	1972	A bacia topográfica da Lousã – características físicas e utilização do solo	Lisboa
Poeira, Maria de Lourdes Rosa	1972	Sines, Estudo de geografia urbana	Lisboa
Rodrigues, Maria José Correia	1972	Palheiros de Tocha – Contribuição para o estudo dos detrimientos geográficos da evolução do seu povoamento e ensaio da sua caracterização tipológica com vista a uma operação de desenvolvimento turístico	Coimbra
Salgueiro, Teresa Barata	1972	Bairros clandestinos na periferia de Lisboa	Lisboa
Salgueiro, Teresa Barata	1972	Fenómeno urbano e desenvolvimento social na região de Lisboa	Lisboa
Carvalho, Elza Maria Gonçalves Rodrigues de	1973	O fenómeno emigratório de Celorico de Basto e Mondim de Basto (Terras de Basto)	Coimbra
Cavaco, Carminda	1973	A região fronteira do rio Minho	Lisboa
Cruz, Maria Alfreda Cordeiro da	1973	A margem sul do estuário do Tejo. Factores e formas de organização do espaço	Lisboa
Duarte, Maria de Lurdes Ferrete	1973	A área industrial de Souselas	Coimbra

Galhano, Maria Helena	1973	Preliminary data about seasonal variations of pigments in the Douro estuary (Cabedelo)	Lisboa
Jorge, Maria Celeste Mendes	1973	O Ceira na passagem do maciço marginal de Coimbra	Coimbra
Lema, Paula Bordalo	1973	As feiras do norte de Portugal. Contribuições para o seu estudo geográfico	Lisboa
Lema, Paula Bordalo	1973	Os lugares mencionados num periódico de Trás-os-Montes: Análise da área geográfica desta informação	Lisboa
Matos, Maria da C. Faria e	1973	A vida rural na Apúlia	Lisboa
Queiroz, Maria João	1973	A região do vinho do Porto	Lisboa
Alegria, Maria Fernanda	1974	Estrutura etária da população de Portugal continental em 1970	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1974	Açores	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1974	Madeira	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1974	Nótula acerca dos povos pastores e agro-pastores do distrito de Moçâmedes	Lisboa
Brito, Raquel Soeiro de	1974	Portugal Continental	Lisboa
Cavaco, Carminda	1974	Monte Gordo: Aglomerado piscatório e de veraneio	Lisboa
Maia, Maria José	1974	Curso de actualização para professores de geografia do Ensino Secundário	Lisboa

Rodrigues, Maria de Fátima Serafim	1974	Fátima. Problemas geográficos de um centro de peregrinação	Lisboa
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Table 9: Publications by Portuguese Women Geographers

Source: Made by the author based in Lautensach, H. (1948) - "Bibliografia geográfica de Portugal". Lisboa, Instituto de Alta Cultura – Centro de Estudos Geográficos and Feio, M. and Daveau, S. (1982) - "Bibliografia geográfica de Portugal (segundo volume, 1947-1974)". Lisboa, Centro de Estudos Geográficos

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