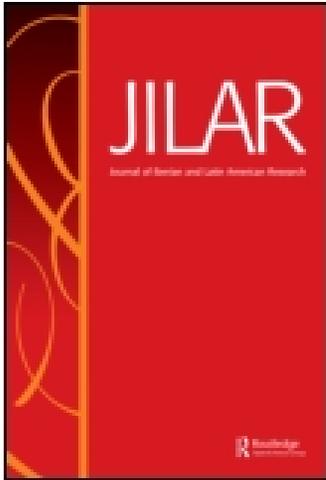


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This Woman Which is One: Helena Solberg-Ladd's *The Double Day*

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Solberg's *The Double Day* (1976), although produced in English, is recognized as the first Latin American feminist documentary. In it, Solberg, by interviewing women from (principally) Argentina, Mexico, and Bolivia, and discussing with them their work lives, demonstrates the nature of the 'double day' by which women work a full shift outside the home and then work a second shift as principal homemakers. Solberg's approach is to homologize the experience of women in societies at such differing socio-political stages as Argentina and Bolivia, and what the documentary gains in the rhetorical emphasis on a common workload is diluted by the failure to recognize important political and economic differences between Latin American societies. Nevertheless, the documentary importance of Solberg's work cannot be diminished: at a time when international feminism was just beginning to overcome the tendency to look at women's lives beyond the models of Anglo-European capitalism, Solberg's inaugural interpretation of women's work in Latin America is an important launching point for Latin American feminism.

Keywords: women in the workforce; women in Latin America and work; women and domestic work; Helena Solberg's *The Double Day*; *Panamericanismo*

The events in Latin America following the Brazilian military coup of 1964 created a climate of suppression for feminist activism in that country. One may speak of important gender rights in socialist-inspired Cuba and Chile during the period, along with the mounting record of equal rights movements under various guises in Mexico, despite the impervious masculinism of the *Partido Revolucionario Institucional* (PRI), which at the time was at the height of its power. However, it is difficult to speak of anything resembling feminist struggles in many important centres of Latin America during the period of the authoritarian/neofascist regimes. To be sure, there is a fascinating and important history of feminist movements in Latin America that date from the early twentieth century, particularly in the Southern Cone.¹ Moreover, the return to constitutional democracy in key countries of the region in the 1980s will give renewed vigour to feminist movements, although not always under that specific banner.

In addition to the authoritarian military regimes, the old-style personalist caudillo regimes that still existed in places like Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Paraguay, and the sexism of traditional democracies (e.g. Chile, Uruguay, Costa Rica), one must also underscore how the leftist movements of the period re-inscribed the essential masculine dominance of socialism. And to the extent that U.S. and Western feminism was viewed, simplistically or otherwise, by large segments of Latin American women activists as

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a bourgeois movement that favoured women moving into or replacing men in a capitalistic system that was otherwise going to remain intact, the very term feminism and the concepts adhering to it were anathema to Latin American women, even those who had important roles to play in movements of revolution and liberation.² Moreover, the destruction of those movements by the systematic onslaught at the hands of U.S.-supported tyrannies meant the elimination of any way in which such movements could have evolved to include more specific gender-rights issues (as the Sandinistas and the Zapatistas were able to do).

In this framework of both the structural and the ideological limitations on feminism in Latin America beginning in the mid-sixties as a consequence of unrelenting male authoritarianism exercised through military dictatorship, it is no surprise to find that one cannot identify much of a record of systematic feminist cultural production during the period in question. To be sure, one can identify voices that were articulating feminist issues, especially in those countries in which there was no systematic oppression of women and other dissident voices: this would be true, for example, in Mexico with the early writings of Elena Poniatowska and, a decade previously, of Rosario Castellanos. And equally so, one can establish a record of implied or coded feminism in the case of women writers who were not seen as feminists at the time, but who have subsequently become crucial figures in a history of Latin American feminism: this would be exemplified in Brazil with the narratives of Clarice Lispector, not to mention a long list of 'recovered' feminist voices, ranging from someone as important as the 1948 Nobel Prize in Literature, Gabriela Mistral, to writers previously only of minor or passing concern, like Venezuela's Teresa de la Parra, Puerto Rico's Julia de Burgos, or Argentina's Beatriz Guido. Even with all of her importance as a cultural doyenne, Argentina's Victoria Ocampo was hardly taken seriously as an essayist of feminist interest until quite recently.

It is in the context of the general impossibility of pursuing a feminist agenda that Latin American women interested in defending women's rights or even explicitly feminist issues might well have sought more propitious societies such as those of Western Europe or the United States. Women's studies scholars like the Argentine Maria Lugones and Chilean Lucía Guerra have made their career in the United States as a consequence of dictatorships and a generalized right-wing hostility to the discussion of women's rights and organized academic study of them in their respective countries.³ Among these women is included the Brazilian Helena Solberg.⁴ Although Solberg (who was born in Sao Paulo in 1938) seems to have been engaged in some film work in Brazil prior to migrating to the United States,⁵ she is not listed in a major source, the *Enciclopédia do cinema brasileiro*,⁶ and the documented record of her career dates from the 1975 documentary *The Double Day*,⁷ which was made under the auspices of the International Women's Film Project and premiered in 1975 at Mexico's International Women's Year conference.⁸ Figuring in such a paradigmatic feminist space as the conference and at the height of second-wave feminism, *Double Day* has come to be recognized as the first documentary film about contemporary Latin American women's rights and the first film of such a nature to be made by a woman.

It is important to understand why Solberg would have produced *The Double Day* in the United States in English rather than in Latin America in Spanish. In one very practical sense, this question is answered by the total lack of any production program in Latin America with the scope of Women Make Films. Although important films were being made in the 1970s—something like a highpoint of documentary filmmaking in Latin America—on social themes, there was nowhere any significant interest in women's issues. Moreover, the emergence of authoritarian (Brazil 1964, Argentina 1966) and neofascist military dictatorships (Chile and Uruguay in 1973, Argentina in 1976) meant the

persecution of socially grounded documentary filmmaking and the closing off of anything that might have come to constitute a feminist or gender-based commitment.

Most important, however, was the fact that the early 1970s was the highpoint of the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) in the United States, passed by Congress in 1972. Although the ERA ultimately failed to garner sufficient endorsement from the states for final enactment, it was part of the climate of a period that saw the intense public discussion of women's issues, their identification and definition and the intense effort to encode them in general social life and to institutionalize them procedurally and legally.

Solberg's documentary will contribute to the effort to establish international awareness of women's issues by adding Latin America to the information base. Although there were the beginnings of a Chicano or Latino feminist movement in the 1970s, this was not yet part of the larger public debate in the United States, and it is somewhat ironic that Solberg's film will add Latin America to an internationalist perspective of the U.S. women's movement, but not contribute to its awareness of the plight of Hispanic women within the United States. The way in which Solberg will construe Latin America for a U.S. feminist audience is, in turn, one of the ideological problems the documentary presents that will be part of my analysis in this paper.

Running a bit less than an hour, made in colour, with both Spanish- and English-language versions,⁹ Solberg's documentary sets itself the ambitious task—too ambitious in the opinion of some reviews¹⁰—of providing a survey of the working conditions of women from countries as widely divergent as Argentina, Mexico, and Venezuela (although the Venezuelan component is not particularly visible).¹¹ Why these countries were chosen is not made clear.¹² From highly industrialized and urbanized Argentina to the rural peasantry of Bolivia is quite a sweep, and from a sociological point of view, it would be legitimate to question the degree of representation of all Latin American women provided, even where the viewer might not question the reliability of the specific information being provided. Then again, *Double Day* is not meant to be sociology, but rather a highly ideologized interpretation of Latin American working women from a synthetic point of view. That women experience a so-called 'double day'—a full day or work outside the home and full-time occupation and responsibility within it,¹³ disproportionate to the contours of the work day of men, who may not even be present in the daily lives of these women—is unquestionable. Such a fate of women may well be one of the bedrock universals of the feminist analysis of their lives. If this is true, the question becomes not the record of the double day itself, but rather the way in which it relates specifically to women's history in Latin America.

My interest in this essay is to examine the ideology of documentary discourse underlying Solberg's film. In doing so, I am adhering to those theoretical principles that question the presumed transparency of documentary, a transparency that is frequently to be crucial to work on social minorities or subaltern groups, as is made clear in the assumptions of a treatise such as that by Paula Rabinowitz, *They Must Be Represented*,¹⁴ where there is a problematic slippage from the deontic sense of 'must' to its probabilistic one. Although important scholarship on documentary has dealt with the issues of representation of 'historical truth,' I have relied here essentially on work by Michael Chanan,¹⁵ but more specifically on *Seeing Films Politically* by Mas'ud Zavarzadeh.¹⁶ In addition to insisting on the political underpinnings of all filmmaking, Zavarzadeh's work is particularly valuable for promoting an understanding of how all film—like all culture—is highly problematical in terms of internal coherence, discursive consistency, and unexamined assumptions and premises.

My principal point of departure here, then, is the over-arching question as to what Solberg expects can be told about women's lives in Latin America, and how. It is not a matter of questioning to what extent she 'got it right' (this task belongs to feminist social historians), but rather of gauging how effective her documentary is when examined in terms of its own ideological presuppositions. In terms of documentary ideology, it is possible to speculate on a number of principles that propel the organization of the film in terms of a Latin American rather than specific national societies.

First of all, the choice of Argentina as the most urban and industrial society is reasonable, especially because of the large number of women in the workforce created by this economic configuration. Despite the military dictatorships of 1967–73 and 1976–83 (one assumes that the interviews were conducted during the period of relative freedom of the press during the quasi-democratic period 1973–76) and economic fluctuations both occasioned by them and that legitimated them, women were extensively employed in Argentina in formal sectors. Although the large number of professional women is a particularly notable Argentine phenomenon, it falls outside the labour-intensive framework of *Double Day*, whose women are unanimously factory employees in the suburban rings around major industrial centres like Buenos Aires, Rosario, and Córdoba.¹⁷

At the other end of the spectrum, Bolivia is essentially non-industrialized, and Solberg's emphasis falls, therefore, on indigenous women who are part of the rural proletariat. While the labour conditions of these women may or may not be a consequence of the capitalistic mechanisms Solberg wishes to identify elsewhere—her essential identification with the Latin American sociologist perspectives of the time is much in evidence—it is also clear that the economic practices in which these women are engaged are an integral part of rural existence in Bolivia that antedates much of the modern period: some of the products they sell may be particles of modern enterprise, but women who sell vegetables and fruits, butchery items, and herbs and spices are part of a system of distribution of foodstuffs that antedates capitalism. Their bowler hats may be icons of the imperialistic conquest of their nations, but their vending activities were conducted by their foremothers far before bowlers became part of their traditional dress.¹⁸

Finally, Mexico (and Venezuela, to the extent that it is present in *Double Day*) represents a position in the middle: Mexico is both industrialized like Argentina (perhaps even more so in the 1970s than today, as a consequence of the destruction of local manufacturers by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) since 1994) and also still a very rural society.¹⁹ It is also likely that Mexico is included because of its proximity to the United States and, therefore, within a more immediate sphere of capitalist interest. Then, too, there is the fact that the film was premiered at the International Women's Year conference in Mexico City, although that may only be a matter of chance.

A second ideological principle for understanding Solberg's film is the de-emphasis of nationalism by the militant left in Latin America following the 1959 Cuban revolution. Nationalism was considered to be integral to the nation building, and national hegemony, of the landed gentry and the upper-class bourgeoisie, whether democratic or dictatorial; it was also associated with the fascist simulacrum of national socialism movements such as *peronismo* in Argentina and the Novo Estado in Brazil and even the principles of 'institutional revolution' in Mexico. In response to an earlier overarching Pan Americanism sponsored by the United States and driven by the Monroe doctrine, the revolutionary project for all of Latin America that emanated from Cuba, symbolized at least culturally by the *Casa de las Américas*, sought continuities between diverse Latin American societies. These continuities were as much specific existing socio-historic circumstances as they were the conditions for armed resistance and revolution. The plight

of the working woman could be viewed as part of the former, although it is nowhere clear in *Double Day* where the second part of the proposition would come into play. Indeed, there is a major internal conflict in Solberg's documentary to which I will return below: the leftist commitment from which her filmmaking arose had no systematic commitment to women's rights²⁰ and, in fact, *Double Day*, no matter what Solberg's particular political commitments were, is constituted as part of the American feminist movement, which could hardly have been characterized as committed to a socialist agenda and armed resistance, no matter how its detractors may have characterized it.

There is, however, a third proposition that I would like to entertain, and it is that of the American liberal interpretation of Latin America. American liberalism of the day—as it probably has not changed much at this time of writing over three decades after Solberg's film was made—sees Latin America as a homogeneous block and sees the socio-political problems of Latin America in the abstract terms of a single unit, one where the liberal issues of the United States are reduplicated with little attention to local differences.²¹ English does not have a word equivalent to *continente* in Latin American Spanish. That is, a word that refers to Latin American society as a whole (including the Spanish-speaking Caribbean²²) and is, therefore not directly cognate with 'continent' in English. In Latin American Spanish *continente* has come to be used to refer to what socialist Cuba considered to be its purview for revolutionary change. This was all well and good for a Latin American audience that might understand the prevailing political vanguard posture of the day, but it would have been meaningless to a U.S. audience, even that of undertakings like *Women Make Movies*. It is hardly unfair to assert that such an audience would have been hard put to name the Latin American republics in any order, and their information about Latin America would have come from the American press, where liberal as much as conservative fora were wont to become agitated over the Communist threat as a blanket characterization of Latin America. After all, Kennedy, who may have been the iconic spokesperson for the very liberal American 1960s, created the Alliance for Progress in 1961, which was predicated on just such a homogenizing interpretation of Latin America. Yet, I would propose that Solberg's documentary is constructed around just such a view, where whatever real historical and material conditions of women's lives exist in differential terms between different societies, between urban and rural settings, between populaces of European origin and those that are part of original peoples, and, finally, between dominant Spanish and subaltern indigenous languages,²³ vanish for purposes of a universalizing documentary *gestalt*.

What is more, Solberg's strategy of coverage does not move in any particular order from one country to another, a practice that might have allowed for underscoring, in addition to continuities, salient contrasts. Such contrasts, to be sure, are immediately evident anyway, if only on the basis of the urban vs. rural axis and the way in which the former women wear western clothes, while the latter are marked by traditional garments. The U.S. audience may not always be able to adequately weigh such differences, but only minimal knowledge is required to understand the urban concentration of a country like Argentina and the rural demography of Bolivia. Rather, Solberg's camera moves back and forth between different societies, which contributes to the implied insistence on homogeneity between women's lives across a broad geographic axis. That one of the underlying assumptions of the film is the capitalist base for the exploitation of women is more to be inferred than understood directly from editorializing or propagandizing commentary. If this is an underlying assumption of Solberg's documentary, such that she envisions the plight of Latin American women to derive not from the universal record of sexual oppression, but from the systematic principles of U.S.-inspired capitalism, it is

nowhere articulated as such in the film. And while third-wave feminism has been more adept at linking the oppression of women to an economic system based on capitalism, Solberg's U.S. audience in the mid-1970s—the fundamental audience of *Women Make Movies*²⁴—would have fundamentally had in mind an institutionalized ahistorical sexism that was not primarily interpreted in economic terms.²⁵ Solberg's political commitments are there for those who wish to pick up on them,²⁶ but they are not part of the portrait of relentless worker exploitation and resistance to it as they are in, say, Ernesto Ardito's and Vima Molina's 2008 *Corazón de fábrica*. Thus, one would want to scrutinize *Double Day* in terms of its well-structured rhetoric as regards differing forms of women's work in Latin America, each with its own consequences of exploitation.²⁷ A rhetorical point of view lies in both the discourse of the interviews and in the role of the woman documentary filmmaker in her own text.

It is immediately evident that the women interviewed by Solberg and filmed by her all-female crew enjoy considerable confidence and respect on the part of the women whose lives figure in *Double Day*. Certainly, there is always the question of material excluded from the documentary that does not satisfy a particular level of 'subject cooperation,' although such material might at times be included because of the ways in which it constitutes a metacommentary on the documentary process itself. Yet, in the case of *Double Day*, the women interviewed are unanimously receptive to the presence of the filmmaker and collaborate in a direct and eloquent way with the project of relating their working lives. While the style of address may vary significantly along the axes mentioned above, particularly relating to urban vs. rural and Spanish vs. indigenous languages, Solberg projects a society of women eager to describe their lives and voice their concerns, some of which may come along another differential axis that has to do with discourse modalities, in the form of loud utterances at the barricades of resistance to the sustained lament of women whose voices range between a whisper and subdued friendly conversation. All of these women are nameless, a detail that adds to their value as fragments in a social mosaic. However, all of them are forthright in expressing what for them is their individual story.

An introductory segment features shots of the mostly female crew, thereby creating a brief but important self-reflective moment. The self-reflection does not concern the ideological bases or the rhetorical procedures of the film. Rather, it serves the no less equally important function of underscoring for the audience that it is witnessing a documentary made by women rather than a context-free and privileged access to a detail of social reality. Such a moment is important because of the fact that it is a documentary facilitated by women. If the zero degree of filmmaking is masculinist (and intransigently sexist), documentary filmmaking, while still dominated by men, allowed women unique opportunities to make films from very early on. It was not simply a matter of putting women behind cameras or being involved in other technical aspects of the filmmaking process, but rather of making an issue of what women were doing that might, in substantial ways, constitute unique gender or other ideological inflections. To be sure, it would be difficult to contemplate a male documentary filmmaker finding any interest in interviewing women about the structure and quality of their work days. Indeed, if Donald Mabry's dismissive comment were to be believed, 'Some conservatives and most males will not be convinced by the film or the reality it portrays', and much less will have any respect for a female filmmaker trudging the Bolivia *altiplano* to interview a woman selling offal on a plastic mat to other women for the daily meals they must prepare for their children and men folk.²⁸

Thus, when *Double Day* steps back behind the camera, so to speak, to show Solberg and her crew trudging up a rural trail to yet another marketplace dominated by female

vendors, the spectator is reminded of the fact that this is a film made by women: women are making a notable effort to tell other women's lives, women are expropriating tools of the dominant modes of filmmaking to tell women's stories, and that an enormous effort is required in this regard (as characterized not only by the bulky equipment, but by their bulking clothes against a weather and an altitude to which they are not accustomed). The result is that a specific self-reflective point about the documentary is being made. If it is true that, as both the male reviewer Mabry and the female reviewer Safa (herself a key historian of labour in Latin America) maintain, Solberg's documentary is limited as a consequence of an overly ambitious scope for less than an hour of film time, the spectator is nevertheless keenly aware that what is involved is women-on-women interaction, which was very much an important point to be made in mid-1970s Latin American documentary filmmaking.

The fact that Solberg's film was—had to be?—made in the United States, nevertheless, cannot be without ideological significance, and it is here that I wish to return to the potential slippage in *Double Day* between Solberg's subtle socialist perspective and the liberal feminism within which it is inserted. Part of the reflex of this issue is the degree to which *Double Day* enjoys virtually no prominence in either the filmography of feminist movements in the United States or in filmmaking registries for Latin America.²⁹ The fact that it deals with Latin America appears to render it of little interest to the former category, which tends to focus its interest with greater intensity on African and Asian women,³⁰ while the latter seems not to care much about U.S.-based interpretations of Latin American women. Indeed, despite the fact that *Double Day* is supposed to have been distributed in both English and Spanish, and the 69 references to Solberg in the OCLC WorldCat include only the English-language version in its original 1975 (Tricontinental Films) and 1976 (International Women's Film Project) versions and its 2002 (Cinema Guild) rerelease, although the latter, which I have not been able to examine, may well include the option of a Spanish-language track. These are, certainly, questions of bibliographic circumstance, but they do signal to a certain extent that the film has fallen, so to speak, between the cracks.

Where the matter of ideological slippage in the film becomes more important is in the decision to opt for a continental coverage of Latin America. The image that emerges from *Double Day* is that of an undertheorized Latin American woman that may well resonate with the feminist concern at a particular moment over the universal plight of women and the reiterative features across the globe of their marginalization, abuse, and exploitation. This so-called white-centred liberal feminism was strategically important as a call for the recognition of how, beyond local practices, human society had evolved over thousands of years a seamless masculinist dynamic that oppressed all women, if not absolutely to the same degree, at least in frighteningly similar ways. *Double Day* contributes to this image in the manner in which it sutures the discourse of all of the women interviewed in Latin America, with a 'database' drawn from essentially three representative societies, into a continuous discourse of workplace exploitation that, in turn, echoes exploitation within the family unit. This distributive exploitation, in which the microcosm of the family reduplicates symmetrically that of the macrocosm of the economic system as embodied in the workplace, reinforces the circumstances of women's lives as they are to be found in society after society around the globe. All of this hinges on a structural disposition in which Latin America is understood implicitly to be one representative society.

Concomitantly, *Double Day* eschews any consideration of the significant differences, in terms of the circumstances of their material history, among Latin American societies, such that the spectator might understand what separates the experience of being an urban factory worker in Buenos Aires from being a self-employed market vendor in rural

Bolivia. Of course, one could well debate whether these differences are, in terms of the essential exploitation of women, significant. Current emphases on the profound nature of historical differences would hold that they are, and it is in this sense that Solberg's documentary cannot satisfy an understanding of Latin America in terms other than those of an overarching continental society. This does not invalidate the importance of Solberg's project, which remains a singular undertaking in terms of the representation of Latin American women's lives. Yet as important as it may be historically, *Double Day* disappears from the record as a consequence of the ideological parameters imposed in the 1970s on making in English a documentary for an English-language audience.

Notes

1. Asunción Lavrín, *The Ideology of Feminism in the Southern Cone, 1900–1940*, Washington, DC, Latin American Program, The Wilson Center, 1986.
2. Yet lest one believe that the socialist/feminist debate has not been part of American culture, Charlotte Perkins Gilman, a founding figure of feminist writing in the United States, published in 1910 her poem 'The Socialist and the Suffragist,' which contains the line in the closing stanza 'Your work is all the same' (qtd. in Randy Albelda, *Economics and Feminism: Disturbances in the Field*, New York, Twayne Publishers, 1997, p. 140).
3. It must be pointed out that after the return to democracy in Argentina in 1983 and to Chile in 1990, as well as elsewhere in Latin America, the academic study of women is now a part of university and institute programs. One must not, however, see the rise of women to the presidency in several countries as ipso facto the consequence of the women's rights movements or a feminist consciousness.
4. Solberg's first work in the United States, including the film to be commented on here, is under the name of Helena Solberg-Ladd. She subsequently dropped the second name (one assumes that of a one-time spouse). Consequently, I will use just the name Solberg throughout this study, while noting that one must use the name Solberg-Ladd in order to find her at sites such as the International Film Database.
5. See the website for 'Women Make Movies'; see also Julianne Burton (ed.), 'Helena Solberg-Ladd,' *Cinema and Social Change in Latin America: Conversations with Filmmakers*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1986, pp. 81–102, p. 88.
6. Org. Fernão Ramos and Luiz Felipe Miranda, São Paulo, Editora SENAC São Paulo, 2000.
7. According to Lúcia Nagib, *Double Day* was made for television in 1975, although its film release is given by others (e.g. the International Movie Database) as 1976 (Lúcia Nagib, 'Helena Solberg,' *O cinema da retomada: depoimentos de 90 cineastas dos anos 90*, São Paulo, Editora 34, 2002, pp. 462–65). Solberg also directed in 1974 (under the name of Solberg-Ladd) the documentary *Emerging Woman*, and in 1977 she also directed, again as Solberg-Ladd, *Simplemente Jenny* on the impact on Latin American women of the myths, as much Latin American as the United States, of feminine beauty and the hegemonic aspiration to fulfil traditional women's roles. In 1989, now simply Solberg, she directed *The Forbidden Land*, which focuses on the conflict between the Vatican and peasant movements led in Brazil by progressive bishops and priests. *Vida de menina* (2007) focuses on the life of a rural Brazilian woman in the late nineteenth century, based on the diary of Helena Morley. Tavares's study of Solberg's documentary filmmaking (Mariana Ribeiro da Silva Tavares, *Poesia e reflexividade na produção de três documentaristas brasileiros contemporâneos: Helena Solberg, Eduardo Coutinho e Walter Carvalho*, Unpublished M.A. thesis, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais, Escola de Belas Artes, 2006, pp. 31–45, and 90–95) makes short shrift of her early feminist period, preferring to focus, as apparently Solberg now wishes to (p. 31), on her later political films. In her interview with Burton ('Helena Solberg-Ladd'), Solberg speaks extensively of her work on *Emerging Women* and *Double Day*.
8. That conference was the first major Latin American feminist event. For a review of important Latin American feminist convocations see Lilian Celiberti, 'El movimiento feminista y los nuevos espacios regionales y globales,' in Elizabeth Jelin (ed.), *Más allá de la nación: las escalas múltiples de los movimientos sociales*, Buenos Aires, Libros del Zorzal, 2003, pp. 279–300.
9. I worked with the English-language version, which has subtitles for dialogue in Spanish.

10. E.g. Helen I. Safa, 'Review of *The Double Day*,' *American Anthropologist*, 79:3, 1977, pp. 746–47.
11. Silvia Berger surveys research on the working conditions of women in South America in 'Economic History, South America,' *The Elgar Companion to Feminist Economics*, Cheltenham, U.K., Edward Elgar, 1999, pp. 246–57. On Mexico, see (in the same volume) Janet M. Tanski, 'Economic History, Mexico,' pp. 209–18. Neuma Aguiar articulates some of the agenda issues in the field in 'Research Guidelines: How to Study Women's Work in Latin America,' in June C. Nash and Helen I. Safa (eds), *Women and Change in Latin America*, South Hadley, MA, Bergin & Garvey Publishers, 1986, pp. 22–33.
12. Why Brazil is excluded is, however, made clear in Solberg's interview with Burton ('Helena Solberg-Ladd,' p. 90): 'I also intended to shoot in Brazil, but when we arrived there, the government forbade me to shoot and confiscated my raw film stock.'
13. See Maria Sagrario Floro, 'Double Day/Second Shift,' in *The Elgar Companion to Feminist Economics*, Cheltenham, UK, Edward Elgar, 1999, pp. 136–42, for research on the concept of women's double day.
14. Paula Rabinowitz, *They Must Be Represented: The Politics of Documentary*, London, Verso, 1994.
15. Michael Chanan, *The Politics of Documentary*, London, British Film Institute, 2007.
16. Mas'ud Zavarzadeh, *Seeing Films Politically*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1991.
17. There appears to be little research on the conditions of women factory workers in Argentina. See, however, the statement on the struggle for the rights of women workers made by Clara del Franco on behalf of the *Comisión Nacional Feminista* at the *Seminario sobre la Clase Obrera en la Argentina*, sponsored by the *Partido Comunista Argentino* and held in 1985 not long after the return to democracy and less than a decade after the coverage provided by Solberg's film. (Clara del Franco, 'La incorporación de la mujer a la producción y los servicios,' in Reinaldo A. Salinas (ed.), *La clase obrera argentina: cambios y tendencias*, Buenos Aires, Editorial Anteo, 1986, pp. 83–94.)
18. Even in highly industrialized and commercially organized Buenos Aires, it is not uncommon to find indigenous women selling farm products in front of neighbourhood grocery stores (but not supermarkets). Their sisters may be selling cheap products of modern life on other pavements, but the former women appear, even in the big city, to be part of a traditional distribution of foodstuffs.
19. One also finds the sale of products, foodstuffs and otherwise, by indigenous women in Mexico City as in Buenos Aires. It is worth noting that such vending does not occur in Sao Paulo, the equivalent commercial centre of Solberg's Brazil.
20. Or to those of most so-called subaltern groups, which were viewed as part of a bourgeois consciousness. The only subaltern groups of specific interest for the revolutionary agenda were, depending upon the society in question, those of African Americans and those of indigenous peoples, with the latter often interpreted as having already had proto-socialist societies before the arrival of the European conquerors.
21. Nancy Gray Díaz writes of how Solberg contacted the Bolivian activist Domitila Barrios, whom she eventually featured in the Bolivian segment of *Double Day*. ('Indian Women Writers of Spanish America,' in Diane E. Marting (ed.), *Spanish American Writers: A Bio-Bibliographical Source Book*, Westport, CT, Greenwood Press, 1990, pp. 546–56.) However, when Solberg invited Barrios to accompany her to the International Women's Year Conference in Mexico City, '[Barrios] found that she had little in common with the concerns of North American feminists. Instead of identifying men as adversaries, she spoke against North American imperialism, which results in an economic system of abject misery in Bolivia' (p. 548). Even though Díaz goes on to note that, for Barrios, there must be a solidarity between Bolivian men and women in the struggle against North American imperialism, the way in which imperialism itself is allied with principles of masculinist or patriarchal culture is elided.
22. Where necessary, the French-speaking Caribbean as well—that is, the Caribbean of non-Northern European societies. In this scheme, Puerto Rico has always had a problematical place. If, on the one hand, there is a close tie between Puerto Rican *Independentistas* and Castro's Cuba, Puerto Rico is excluded from the map of Latin America in the Darcy Ribeiro-inspired *Memorial da América Latina* in Sao Paulo. The Memorial is something like an anti-Organization of American States (which, of course, also excludes Puerto Rico as such, since it is

- not an independent state). Puerto Rico does, however, deserve a flag on the New York Avenue of the Americas—although at the end of the line, after Venezuela.
23. If it is true, in the famous Gayatri Spivak formulation, that the subaltern cannot speak—which really means, in John Beverley's commentary on Spivak (*Subalternity and Representation: Arguments in Cultural Theory*, Durham, Duke UP, 1999, p. 29), that she cannot be heard because there is no interlocutor to consider her speech worthy of listening to—in the case of those who speak indigenous languages, subalternity is carried to a second power, involving as it does sheer linguistic incomprehension. This is why, in *Double Day*, if the Spanish needs to be translated for the American viewer, indigenous languages need to be translated into Spanish, internally, for the linguistically hegemonic filmmaker. It is only circumstantial, of course, that Portuguese-speaking Solberg is conducting her filming in countries where Spanish—as different as it is between Mexico, Bolivia, and Argentina—is the hegemonic language.
 24. It is important to note the name of the group, particularly the use of Movies rather than Film. With the emergence of a professional and theoretically grounded film scholarship, 'movies' provide entertainment, while 'film' is a serious art form. While one should not dismiss the alliterative value of the name Women Make Movies, there is also the implication that, while not vehicles of mass entertainment, the texts sponsored by such groups are equally to be distanced from the male-dominated aesthetic of the *auteur*, a noun that does not even have a feminine form.
 25. The academic journal *Feminist Economics* only dates from 1995. For an important statement on what a feminist economics might look like, see Albelda, *Economics and Feminism*.
 26. As is the anti-Americanism in her 1996 documentary on Carmen Miranda's career in the United States, *Bananas Is My Business*, which I have analyzed elsewhere ('*Bananas is My Business*,' in my *Gender and Society in Contemporary Brazilian Cinema*, Austin, U of Texas Press, 1999, pp. 103–14). Solberg insists, in comments she makes within the film, that the United States destroyed Miranda's soul with its distortions of Latin American social reality (especially in the service of the Good Neighbor Policy) and her body with its relentless exploitation of her talent. Solberg, however, does not wonder about what Miranda's career might have been like in Brazil had she not been discovered in 1939 by Lee Schubert and taken to New York. Miranda's Afro-Brazilian persona could hardly have been appealing to the trenchant Europeanizing of the Brazilian Estado Novo (1937–45); Miranda was received glacially when she returned in 1940 to perform in Brazil the numbers that had thrilled American audiences.
 27. For example, the film does not go into the devastations on women's bodies of factory work. These are not just the overall physical devastations on the body that men and women share alike, such as the impact on the skeletal system, workplace accidents, or industrial poisoning (although Raymond Gleyzer does focus on the latter with male workers in his inaugural documentary *Me matan si no trabajo, y si trabajo me matan: la huelga obrera en la fábrica, INSUD*, 1974). Rather, in the case of women, reproductive matters (menstruation, pregnancy, maternity leave) are at issue, which have been addressed by literature relating to the *maquiladora* system along the U.S.–Mexico border. Regarding a cultural record of women's factory work in the early days of Argentine industrialization, see Adriana J. Bergero, *Intersecting Tango: Cultural Geographies of Buenos Aires, 1900–1930*, trans. by Richard Young, Pittsburgh, U of Pittsburgh Press, 2008.
 28. Donald J. Mabry, 'Review of *The Double Day*,' *The History Teacher*, 12:2, 1979, pp. 292–93, p. 293.
 29. For example, it is not included in the registry of major Latin American documentaries organized by Paulo Antonio Paranaguá (although *Bananas Is My Business* is covered in an entry by Laura Podalsky, without mention of *Double Day*: Paulo Antonio Paranaguá, org., *Cine documental en América Latina*, Madrid, Ediciones Cátedra, 2003, pp. 414–17).
 30. For example, see the singular absence of Latin America in studies of feminist and Third World cinema: Alison Butler, *Women's Cinema: The Contested Screen*, London, Wallflower, 2002; E. Ann Kaplan, *Women and Film: Both Sides of the Camera*, New York, Routledge, 1983, (who does, nevertheless, include a chapter on Sara Gómez's 1977 *De cierta manera*); Anneke Smelik, *And the Mirror Cracked: Feminist Cinema and Film Theory*, New York, Palgrave, 1998; and Rabinowitz, *They Must be Represented*. Only Robin and Jaffe include significant Latin American material (Diana Robin and Ira Jaffe (eds), *Redirecting the Gaze: Gender, Theory, and Cinema in the Third World*, Albany, State University of New York Press, 1999).