Women taking up employment
-A sociological gender-study on Argentinean women’s way towards emancipation

Högskolan i Halmstad
Sektionen för samhälle och hälsa
D-uppsats i Sociologi
Handledare: Marta Cuesta
Sara Wälander, 2009
Thank you very much, Marta Cuesta, my supervisor, for guiding me through this essay and for good advice when I went to Argentina.
Thank you, Mirta Barbieri, for good advice while being in Buenos Aires.
Thank you, my family.
During the essay I have sent many thoughts to the interviewed women in Argentina. Thank you for your time and for participating in this study.
Table of contents

1. Abstract.............................................................................................................p.1
2. Introduction.......................................................................................................p.2
2.1. Disposition.....................................................................................................p.5
2.2. The aim.........................................................................................................p.6
3. Method.............................................................................................................p.7
3.1. Introduction...................................................................................................p.7
3.2. Qualitative method.......................................................................................p.7
3.3. The post-modern feminism...........................................................................p.8
3.4. Preconception...............................................................................................p.9
3.5. Ethics............................................................................................................p.9
3.6. Method in practice ......................................................................................p.9
3.7. Summering the interviews..........................................................................p.10
4. Eleven Argentinean women............................................................................p.11
4.1. Introduction..................................................................................................p.11
      Elisa...............................................................................................................p.11
      Marisa............................................................................................................p.12
      Catalina........................................................................................................p.14
      Carolina.......................................................................................................p.16
      Andrea.........................................................................................................p.17
      Norma.........................................................................................................p.19
      Ana...............................................................................................................p.20
      Isabel...........................................................................................................p.21
      Graciela.......................................................................................................p.22
      Marta...........................................................................................................p.23
      Matilde........................................................................................................p.26
4.2 Summary of the chapter..............................................................................p.27
5. Theory: Women’s life....................................................................................p.28
5.1. Introduction................................................................................................p.28
5.2. Patriarchy....................................................................................................p.29
5.3. The feminist thought................................................................................p.30
5.4. Class and the nuclear-family....................................................................p.31
5.5. Third world women....................................................................................p.33
5.6. Nurseries....................................................................................................p.33
5.7. Women’s multiple roles..........................................................................p.33
5.8. The post-modern feminism......................................................................p.34
5.9. Machismo in Latin-America.....................................................................p.36
5.10. Women taking up employment...............................................................p.37
5.11. Female-headed households are not official. Back-stage differs............p.38
5.12. Summary: Theory...................................................................................p.39
6. Analysis: Women’s life................................................................................p.41
6.1. Introduction................................................................................................p.41
6.2. Patriarchy...................................................................................................p.41
6.3. The mother’s attitude in the patriarchal family.......................................p.42
6.4. Class and the nuclear-family....................................................................p.43
6.5. Young men as breadwinners..................................................................p.45
6.6. Third world women..................................................................................p.46
1. **Abstract:**

This study in sociology is the result of a MFS-project, sponsored by SIDA. The ideal in Argentina, at least for the upper classes, has for a long time been the man as bread-winner, the one who supports the family and the woman as the home-maker, the one who stays at home, taking care of house and children. Working-class women have always been working even though it has not been shown in the statistics. This feminist study in sociology is about what influence Argentinean women in their way towards emancipation but also about patriarchy as their biggest obstacle. The study is based on theories based on that in the world there is a world-order controlled by men. Another important theory is that it is easier for working women to reach emancipation in comparison with house-wives, because working women develop themselves in an economic as well as on a personal level. Additionally I went to the field in the Buenos-Aires area in Argentina during October until November 2000 where I did eleven interviews with Argentinean working mothers. I want to emphasize that as the interviews are eight years old, I have chosen not to integrate them very much through the essay, but instead showing them in a special chapter. I have, therefore, not given the interviews a central role in the essay. Instead, I emphasize the theories in the essay. The method I am using is qualitative method, with deep-interviews, the hermeneutic method and of course comparing theories from other authors. The conclusions I have come up with mean that the post-modern feminism is an important tool to understand the diversity of women and womens´ different conditions around the world. By realising these differences it would become easier to challenge the widespread patriarchy in Argentina. Argentinean women could reach emancipation by labour work and education that contribute to development on an economic and on a personal level. Even doing a voluntary work would contribute to this self-esteem and consciousness that are crucial for women on their way towards emancipation.
2. INTRODUCTION

It was evening when the plane landed in Buenos Aires, Argentina. I could see the lights illuminate from the enormous city. Seeing it from above, it was breathtaking. In my pocket, I had the address and descriptions to the house where I was going to rent a room. The house happened to be located very central in Buenos Aires and I found it sooner than I thought I would. I rang the doorbell and the owner; an elderly woman went down the stairs and opened the door for me. Because of the high risk of burglary it is no more common with electronic door-openers in Buenos Aires. It had already struck me that quite a number of people seemed to live under hard conditions; the hysterical shouting people at the airport and in the underground, people that tried selling things, and some children begging in the streets made a remarkable difference from my meetings with European countries.

The cheerful woman and I got on well together from the very beginning and she wanted to show me around the neighbourhood. As I had left Europe in a rainy October, it was a marvellous feeling to take my first steps in a green park in Buenos Aires. Springtime had, like me, just arrived to Argentina. Dogs were running about and people were taking a stroll. The early morning-sun was intense and with the spring all around me, I had this very odd feeling of being on another continent, on the other side of the world. I felt dizzy.

I have always had a certain interest in Latin-America and its culture. The European influences are obvious but Latin-America definitely has got something of its own; the aboriginal culture and the synthesis that comes from the mix of the new world and the old. This mix of cultures has not arisen naturally but instead by the colonisation from the Spaniards and it happened in a very cruel way.

Buenos Aires is an immigrant-city. In the early 1900 many Europeans, most of them Italians and Spaniards arrived to search for a better life. These immigrants had brought their culture, knowledge and customs to their new country which gained prosperity out of the culture-mix. After Italians, there are other major immigrant-groups such as Jewish people, Russians, Arabs and nowadays also Chinese. During the colonisation of the Latin-American continent much earlier, the imperialistic state of Spain had in its searching for gold and power been supported by the state itself and by the Catholic Church. The official version of their cause, in Latin America, was to Christianise the aboriginals, which was made in a very cruel way, as one of the human being’s biggest exploitation in history took place. The Catholic Church in Latin-America, like in Europe, became very powerful and had enormous wealth in land, received capital donations and property (Williamson, 1992).

In an official conference in Mexico, 1975, it was clearly outspoken from religious groups that feminism could never fit into a Latin American context. The Catholic Church argued in the same conference that ”women were destined, by nature and divine plan, to be self-sacrificing and self-abnegating vessels of virtue and guardians of family and public morality” (Stoltz-Chinchilla p. 40 in Escobar/Alvarez, 1992). Even so, there are important factors that actually are changing the role of the Catholic Church in Latin America. If countries like Argentina had stayed rural, the church probably would have maintained its power, but as the country got into an industrialization-period in 1870-1920, it did influence society and peoples’ minds (Williamson, 1992). One important part of the industrialization-process is the opening of the labour-market, so that women could begin their way towards maintaining themselves, by
achieving paid-off jobs outside home. In the long struggle for womens´ independence, it is obvious that the economic part play an important role. In other words; education and finding a job that you are comfortable with, are crucial tools while finding one`s independence (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995).

It is hard, only from statistics, to show that Argentinean women increasingly are taking up employment and that they always, in or outside their homes, have been working. The great effort done by women has therefore not been shown, nor how women in several ways contribute to the gross national product and the countrys´ development. The reason why the statistics not in this case tell the whole truth, is that women in Argentina, and the region in general, mainly have been occupied with rural work, many times invisible in the statistics. (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995).

A big problem that makes life harder for the Argentineans today is naturally the depth-crisis, large economic difficulties and the therefore inevitable unemployment. Argentina has really, in comparison of earlier decades of the twentieth century from being an economic prosperous country, faced an extremely tough economic situation. The economic most flourishing years for Argentina took place between 1880-1914, while economic growth had rates of 5% a year, explained by large exportation of meat and grain to Europe. This success made Argentina having corresponding political stability to USA and leading industrial countries in Europe. (Williamson, 1992) “Between 1920-1925, Argentina was one of the worlds´ richest countries. It was on the same level as Canada.” (Dumont/Mottin 1984, p.233) After that, Argentina has never been the same and the economic situation has become worse and life has for many people become very much harder.

Among the third-world countries, there is an important difference whether the actual country is oil-producing or not. If not being so, a poor country easily gets dependent of those who control the oil. There was a rapid price-raising on oil in the 1980´s, which influenced countries that in to high dimensions had built their economic increase on oil. To quickly be able to pay their oil-bills, some countries had to export crops and minerals to underpaid prices and later import grain and food. To compare the development in the western world and in the third world, consider this; “What would have happened to the United Kingdom if the country from 1780 instead of having supported the industrial revolution had been satisfied with export coal and iron ore? This is exactly what happens in the third world.” (Dumont/Mottin, 1984 p. 46)

There were several military juntas and long time of dictatorship from1976 to 1983 were people from the left-winged opposition pursued and imprisoned, where they got brutally tortured or killed. Between 1976-1978, 9000 persons “disappeared”, most of them young and highly educated. (Swahn et al. 1991) To protest and to show the world what the military did to their sons, the mothers on Plaza de Mayo demonstrates every Thursday. The criticism contra the military establishment, grew and after some time, the mothers on Plaza de Mayo were joined by church-leaders, politicians and cultural important persons. What the military also tried was to put economy back on its feet again, but by way to strict moves while concerning mainly on their own privileges, the inflation-rate raised and the standard of living got worse. Even if the Argentineans finally got rid of the dictators and made themselves free, the social and economic instability remains (Dumont/Mottin, 1984).
Even if Buenos Aires meets you with colour, you are never far away from misery. Poverty is widespread and no social insurance will catch you if you fall. The unemployment-rate is constantly high and in combination with cut-downs on the public service and growing privatisations, they are some of the biggest reasons why the gap between the social classes have broaden and why poverty has increased so drastically in Argentina. Another fact is that among everybody who loose their jobs, women hit the ground first, while men also are the first ones to get employed when there later are jobs to get (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995). Today, you could express the social circumstances in Argentina as brutal, where the gap between rich and poor has widened and many people have to face poverty. In the mid seventies, three of four Latin-American countries were ruled by dictators. The eighties and nineties have been characterized by renewed democratisations and privatizations. What has been characteristic for Argentina in the nineties was growth without development. Instead there is and has been rising inflation, poverty, external debts, economic instability, while no structural changes have accompanied industrialization (Navarro/Sánchez 1999). There is not a stable welfare-state to rely on in hard times in Argentina. According to Beck, (1992) Argentina still is a traditional country, in which development towards a modern state is a process. Even though Argentina had a quite early industrialization, development has stagnated in an industrial society and not continued to a further level of “reflexive modernity” where the industrial and science are coextensive in a society. The big difference is that a country like Argentina has maintained a lot of its structure of social classes with traditional patterns concerning familial forms, gender status, marriage, parenthood and occupations. In contrast, the reflexive modernity constrains an individualized society. This includes that the individual takes bigger risks when struggling against old patterns when adapting to labour-market and finding her own social identity. It clearly results in risk-taking when the individual no longer will rely on the traditional support such as family and neighbourhood but instead have to trust their own capability with self-esteem, experience and education. Unemployment is for example a high risk within the reflexive society but on the other hand, these societies mostly in Western Europe have a welfare-state with social security systems to back you up (Beck 1992).

To improve the economy, many third world countries borrowed money from the International Monetary Fund, IMF and the World Bank during the 1980s. These banks were willing to lend out money as the oil-companies such as OPEC had put high amounts of capital on the world market. The loan were given, but on conditions were third world countries obliged themselves to foreign ownership of enterprises, minimizing state intervention in the economy, privatization of industries and great parts of the public service. This policy is named Structural Adjustment Programmes and is an example of Neo-liberalism or Neo-colonialism. The western world took, in a political way, control over less developed countries. The neo-liberalism highly affects society in the country with the rising foreign debts but it also effects the human relations within the actual country, were poverty increase rapidly (Allen/Thomas 2000). “Many countries went too far in their financial reforms for the state during the 1980’s and the 1990’s by not only cutting down unnecessary expenses, but also essential expenses for education and medical care” (DN 2001-07-09 p. A2 my translation).

Without a university-exam and as few jobs are offered, Argentina is consequently a tough country to live in with large economic and social gaps. It is hard to move from the class you grew up in where many opportunities are closed if coming from the lower classes. There is no developed social system that protects people during economic difficulties for instance: “Thriving Latin-Americans do not take their responsibility. While the tax rate in European countries like France and Sweden are more than 45 % of the gross national product, is it only
9% in Guatemala” (DN. 2001-07-09 p. A2 my translation) Additionally it is easy to skip to pay the taxes in Argentina and for companies to “wash money”(GP. 2009-02-09).

In a country were the gender-gap still is obvious, women are fighting for their independence and they are all aware of that independence starts with having one’s own income. After this first step, some women are satisfied with just earning their own money and they are happy with the freedom that the own money brings. After years of education, middle-class women also want their work to be stimulating. The expectation one has on its work is therefore connected to class and identity.

The fact that women in Argentina and Latin-American are getting employed these days brings about many changes such as that women spend less time at home. The changes give new roles for all family-members, including more responsibility according to the tasks that need to be done at home. The parents are also faced to the problem of day-care for the children. Traditional men have problems in finding anything good in the fact that women are taking up employment and may only focus on their new responsibility and tasks that women have had earlier. Some men blame the rising divorce-rates on women’s new freedom. Of course when a woman has her own income she does not have to feel trapped in a destructive relationship and she can separate herself from a man that stands in her way from developing herself. In an objective perspective the new times also give better opportunities for men.

2.1 Disposition:
The chapter of abstract is a very short summary that gives a briefly first introduction for the reader. The chapter of introduction is meant to introduce the entire essay. The aim shows the ideas with the essay, to understand emancipation for women in Argentina and the connections to education, class and self-esteem etc. The chapter of method shows the methods I have used; qualitative method, the hermeneutics, deep-interviews etc. The chapter called “Eleven Argentinean women” is a description of the conversation between me and the eleven interviewed women. The chapter of theory in this essay is about women´s situation in Argentina and show for instance that there are big gender-gaps, even though men from the younger population take a bigger responsibility than earlier generations. Another aspect in the Argentinean society is the enormous class-differences and the unemployment. The ideal with the nuclear-family is something that has been discussed and the problem with it is of course that the model has been based on men as bread-winners and women as home-makers. The chapter of analysis in this essay also treats issue s like class and patriarchy but takes the theories to discussions with the interviewed womens´ voices and author´s opinions. Womens´ situation in the different classes is something that is shown in womens´ multiple roles where the upper class woman is buying herself free from the house-work, by employing a maid. The working-class woman instead needs to attend to the house-work when coming home from the labour-work. These two examples depend of course of their husbands stepping in and take a responsibility with the house-work and children or not. I am discussing machismo, as patriarchy is called in a Latin-American context, and how it could be challenged with the post-modern feminism or the third-world feminism together with womens´ self-esteem and consciousness they get from work.
2.2 The aim

I already want to make clear in the beginning that this sociological study is based on the understanding that in the world there is a gender order controlled by the patriarchy. This male dominance is found all around the world towards women but hits more aggressively towards poor third world women.

The aim of this study is to increase the knowledge and understanding for women’s emancipation and how it is connected to labour-work, education, self-esteem and dealing with one’s own situation. I wanted to understand the post-modern feminism in a context of a group of different women in Argentina. The interviewed Argentinean women have different focus on emancipation but in the study, the relation between work for wages and emancipation is central. The study is therefore done from an angle presuming that working women have better opportunities to reach independency than what non-working women have. Labour-work is considered as an agent that strengthens emancipation. Other central themes for emancipation will also be discussed such as class and education and I definitely wanted to find out more about the obstacles for emancipation in the mechanisms of patriarchy.

The study has the perspective that a woman is an active, reflecting subject who should be capable to make decisions in her own life. For many women today, that is not a reality, as patriarchy still rules in various cultures. As social actors we are all influenced by our own life-situation and many women are still forced to obey someone else’s will. Women’s emancipation is a development that not has been in focus for long and as it contradicts traditional forces in the society, it is also interesting to look at these women’s new roles as working women, such as how the new situation influences the woman herself and her family. I am using the interviews as examples of these Argentinean women’s voices. The women’s own reflexions and my interpretations are being used according to the hermeneutics throughout the essay. Another important source in the essay is the literature studies, where having a gender perspective is crucial.

Women’s goals and movements depend a lot on who you are and were you come from. Education, culture, class, ethnic groups, traditions etc. very much form the social actor and make women different from each other. A central theme for the post-modern feminism is that it underlines explicitly that women are not a single unit nor a homogeneous group. Instead, the post-modern feminism emphasizes plurality among women, and questions the inflexibility of what is considered as ”normal” in categories such as class, sex, ethnicity and culture. I also want to make clear that although I am studying women in Latin-America, writing about the post-modern feminism, I am very much aware of my European background. Unconsciously, when analysing these women’s life-situations, I am unable to get rid of western views and thoughts. It is difficult to get totally independent from ones own background and I have for instance been used to the social system with institutionalized democracy. Another difference between many western countries in comparison to third world countries is the individualistic way of behaviour in the western world in comparison to a collective approach in the third world. In some cultures, a woman is not supposed to be able to handle situations and to independently do things on her own. Instead, it is assumed that a man should take care of her. In particular, the study of this essay aims to answer the following questions:

-What influence and what is the driving force for women towards emancipation?
-In what ways are class and traditional institutions such as the nuclear-family connected to women’s emancipation?
-How is patriarchy an obstacle for women’s emancipation?
3.METHOD

3.1. Introduction
This chapter is divided into various sections on which the essay has been built and in which different kinds of feminist theories are being introduced. I am also presenting the qualitative method, hermeneutics and a description about making portraits and writing with ethics in mind. The essay wears a feminist-approach; the third world feminism and the post-modern feminism. The point of choosing these theories is among other things to underline women’s uniqueness, heterogeneity and plurality. Being a third world woman means different things for every single woman and it will not automatically give you a certain character. Throughout the writing-process I put light on eleven women’s way towards independence in Argentina and no generalizations can be drawn from the women, as each and every woman’s life-story is unique.

3.2. Qualitative method
Reality always differs between social actors and so even for the interviewed women in this essay why the result therefore cannot be generalized. There are no precise measurements that by guaranteed reliability are able to measure social life. (Neuman, 1994) “....a qualitative researcher focuses on subjective meanings, definitions, metaphors, symbols and descriptions of specific cases.” (Neuman, 1994 p. 318) Instead, communication between the interviewed person and the scientist is one of the important tools that gives insight of the interviewed persons’ life-world. This information is constantly being interpreted and influenced by the interviewed persons’ emotions and subjective perspectives. That is why it is so important that the scientist in the deep-interview gets a broad comprehension and includes the aspect of the environment. (Neuman 1994)

Within the qualitative method, the deep-interview makes a special relation in the direct connection between the scientist and the interviewed person and that meeting can only be found in the very same context. The talk is unique and the most important tool to get the certain information from the interview is the scientist herself. (Widerberg 2002) The interviewed person would not give the same answers, interpretations and expressions to another scientist. When doing interviews concerning personal issues and personal thoughts it is necessary to reach a certain level of trust and intimacy in the talk. (ibid p.16) If not being personal, the scientist will never get a deep talk.

Within the qualitative method, theory is developed during the process of data collection and as the researcher begins the project he does not have much more than a research-question. This is an inductive method and when theory like this is grounded in the data, it is called grounded theory. An inductive method starts with observations of the world and after that it moves towards more abstract generalisations and ideas. This is what makes the scientist able to be more flexible and without fear to change direction of the project if for instance unexpected data emerges. In this way there is a greater opportunity as a scientist, to work spontaneously when for instance getting unexpected answers. You can for an example, continue further on new tracks that might be found during the interview (Kvale 1997).

The scientist should explain her knowing before she goes out on the field. It is naturally important to be professional and trustworthy by showing and explaining the reflections and interpretations that have been done through the essay. Standardization and putting "the truth” in a system is not a possible way for the qualitative scientist, as “the truth” depends on who
pronounces it. Reality always differs between social actors and so even for the interviewed women in this essay. Therefore cannot the result be generalized (Neuman, 1994).

What kind of view one has on science, influences very much the report. Kvale (1997) shows two different symbols on science; were in the first symbol, the knowledge has been compared to a metal hidden in a mine. According to this symbol, the metal is waiting in a vacuum to be discovered and the researcher has to dig it out and look at it in the sunlight. Corresponding to this view, knowledge is unimpressionable by the surroundings while objectivity is holy. The scientist gets rid of unessential information as she is searching for something that was earlier predicted.

In the second symbol, the scientist is a traveller that walks around on the field were she both can imbibe the environment but also do the interviews. If doing so, it is easier to put the interviewed persons in context in their own atmosphere, while reaching invaluable knowledge and comprehension. The most important thing is very respectfully and with ethics and morals in mind, come to conclusions, rather than getting new information. This method makes a more open-minded and flexible researcher. If the journey is successful, the interviewed persons and the scientist have together learnt things that affect their perspectives and future choices. The scientist could also in some cases, affect stagnated methods in the world of science. (Kvale 1997)

In the first metaphor it is among other things the stagnation and inflexibility in the attitude that is negative for social science. In earlier decades and maybe still today, all kind of science, even the social science, has had its ideals taken from the natural science. These days we realise that what is good for natural science not is the most suitable method within social science. Within the social tradition of science, we see the interviewed person as a subject and not an object and this subject has its own meanings and intentions. This makes for instance causality-explanations impossible to use within social science. (Widerberg, 2002) Additionally, this view makes obviously fundamental differences apart from the view in natural science, around our understanding of the scientist’s role and when it comes to the relation between the scientist and the interviewed person.

The pre-written questions and analytical references have been taken from theory and mirrors the world of the existing class, gender and ethnical hierarchy, were recreating of predetermination is common sense. As the scientist is hold back by this method, only the predetermined questions will be asked. The spontaneous questions that not were being asked might have been the ones that could have led womens’ science forward. Instead, this area has for too long been left in the periphery. (Esseveld/Davies, 1989)

3.3 The post-modern feminism
I do not generalize about the interviewed women, though I am aware of different classes, experiences and ethnicity. This is a very important tool for the post-modern feminism. Earlier feminist groups in the seventies, wanted women to get together, talking in terms of “sisterhood” and very much generalized all women as being against patriarchy. The post-modern feminism underlines the differences within the group of women, showing that gender not is the only significant aspect of making conditions of emancipation. By showing these differences in pure sunlight, there will be a more nuanced picture of how inequality must appear in different aspects of life for women in the third-world countries. Additionally, if a more nuanced view of how different kinds of inequalities come to affect women, it will be easier in the future, to find different tools for different sorts of emancipation. When women
can identify themselves in feminist-studies, showing these differences, it will appear as more trustworthy and thereby becoming more efficient tools towards emancipation. (Mohanty 2007)

3.4. Preconception
While being on the research-field, I received a lot of information from the interviews as well as from the field, from literature etc. I could never have received the same information and knowledge about womens´ situation in Argentina just from theory if I never had been on the field. This combination of having an idea of how the interview would take form, but also getting more and new knowledge after having done the interviews, is the reason why I would express the application of method as both inductive and deductive. Some of the ideas that I had before being on the field in Argentina did fit in well together with empathy and some ideas did not fit in so well. They could be called prejudices or be explained as I had an image of how women in the third world would live. I soon learned that many things influence womens´ life-situation, such as class, education, ethnic belonging and patriarchy etc. The preconception that you have before being on the field could according to Widerberg (2002, p.26) be expressed as wearing a kind of glasses that your look goes through when looking at the world. The perspective the scientist is looking from is according to the reference-world he or she has. All kind of understanding is built from a perspective. Total neutrality does not exist in this kind of research.

3.5. Ethics
What is unconditionally important throughout the essay is the ethical concern and responsibility. To take ethical responsibility makes the whole process harder for the scientist as he/she therefore needs to keep the anonymity of the interviewed persons. Names should for instance be changed and there is no need to write too personal details about the interviewed persons, as it would not make a difference for the analysis of this essay. In general about ethics, it is very important that there throughout the process of the essay; when gathering the material, when working on it, when analysing and later presenting it, the scientist is obligated to use a method that does not harm the demand of anonymity and integrity of the subject. (Widerberg, 2002) If the scientist during the interview pushes the subject, she has definitely crossed an ethic limit. This could for the scientist of course mean, that you will not receive the same information as would have been the case if pushing harder on sensitive spots. The interviewed person should not be the one to pay the prize for what knowledge costs.

The eleven interviewed women took time to give me their view of how they combined working-life and motherhood. They made the choice to tell me their life-story and did not get any financial compensation for doing me that favour. The only thing to offer them is the promise that the science of gender will continue and that these women have contributed to that.

3.6. Method in practice
The qualitative theory is the one that has inspired me. When I first arrived in Argentina it took me around two weeks before I did the first interviews. I was observing everything, imbibing the atmosphere in Buenos Aires and I talked to people about my essay and tried to make a network of people who could help me to find interview-persons. The observations are meant to help the scientist to understand “real life” apart from the interviews (Widerberg, 2002) and are a combined way of putting light on the research-field. The scientist is during these observations, listening, carefully watching and interpreting peoples´ body language, acting and expressions.
What I was looking for was working mothers in a wide range of ages. I would not focus so much on their ages as on the fact as they were mothers trying to combine family-life with their working day. The owner of the flat that I rented became an important contact-link for me, and furthermore, two of her relatives became indispensable contacts for me. One showed me the way to the university and its library and the other helped me finding some willing interview-persons.

When I, by my own, came in contact with working mothers I soon asked them if they were willing to do an interview with me. I have to admit that this was more difficult. I, for instance, once came to talk with a woman working at a bakery. When I suggested doing an interview, she looked very shy and her husband standing next to her took over the conversation. I almost felt something threatening in the air but we decided that the woman and I were going to meet later, but the woman did not turn up. Something similar happened in another shop where I talked to a women working there. This woman was honest to say that she was not interested to do the interview. Likely as the earlier occasion this womans´ husband stepped in and he diplomatically explained that normally she was very tired after work. In these two cases I felt that it was a shame that I could not offer these women anything back. The other interviewed women I found in the network that I managed to create.

3.7. Summarizing the interviews
To summarize the interviewed women, includes some form of analysis. Widerberg (2002) means that the analysis is taking place already when the scientist chooses between what is going to be presented and in what form that should be done. The scientist is gathering important themes and characters among the interviewed persons. These themes all contribute to a summary, in this case different kinds of summaries among women (ibid). The interviews took around 1-3 hours. I had earlier decided time and place with the woman I was going to interview. I always brought my small tape-recorder and recorded everything that was being said throughout the deep-interview but I naturally also brought the questions on a paper that I glanced at throughout the meeting.

This essay could never have been done if the interviewed women never had told their stories and interpreted while doing so. Everyone has given me a glimpse of their everyday-life and when doing so the interviewed woman gave me the most subjective view of her own life. The scientist listens to these life-stories and interprets when analysing. This method is called the hermeneutic method. It is an interpretation that gives the essay a fundamental ground within the qualitative method. By using the hermeneutic method the scientist tries to reach empathy and a deeper understanding of the social actors. This also means that the study would have been created differently by another scientist using the hermeneutic method (Thurén, 1991). Hermeneutic does refer to interpretation and to the knowing a scientist has before stepping out on the field in social science. Hermeneutic is about translating things into a clear message, and interpret the interviewed person’s life-world and what she says. Many times, the interpretation is taking act several times as the interviewed person firstly interprets herself and later on, the scientist tries to interpret what has been expressed. The point with interpreting is that a context and link between different understandings are being shaped, because in all interpretations and understandings does the small part depend on the unity and the other way round (Widerberg, 2002).
4. ELEVEN ARGENTINEAN WOMEN

4.1. Introduction
What follows is a description of the conversation between me and the eleven Argentinean women. They all have in common that they are working mothers, living in Argentina, most of them in the Buenos Aires area. Some of them live in a smaller town while no one lives on the countryside. They come from various backgrounds and have different views of life, which makes each of the women having her own way of combining work and family-life. This was, of course, particularly interesting as well as the question about what work means for their personal development and how new family patterns could appear. I was also interested in their general life story and why they thought work was so important for them. After having done each interview, I have shortly summarised every interview and interpretation. A briefly description of each woman places her under a specific summary. As the essay focuses on womens’ emancipation, the theme of the summaries considers whether the woman is modern and independent or whether she has stayed in a more traditional and patriarchal lifestyle.

Elisa
Elisa is a 46 year old woman who works as an assistant in the culture-section of the Swedish Embassy in Argentina. She is married and has got a 20-year-old son who was born in Sweden, as the family lived and worked there for several years. Short after his birth they went to live in Mozambique and Angola, so you could say that this woman has experience from various regions around the world, which among other things gave her the ability to see things from different perspectives. This is soon noticed when talking to her.

Elisa says that she pays a cleaning-lady who cleans the familys´ house 6 hours a week. She explains that if you can afford it, Argentinean families prefer having a nanny to take care about their children rather than sending them to a nursery.

When talking about Elisa’s husbands opinion about the fact that his wife is working, the following is what she says;

"He says that he wouldn’t like to have a woman that all day long was at home cleaning or anything like that.... I think that has a lot to do with what kind of education one gets as a child. (Elisa)

"here in the Latin-American countries that have many other kind of equality to reach before the equality between salaries...it could be difficult.” (Elisa)

"Its very possible that the Latino-mothers are bad when it comes to raise their sons. I think it has to do with something that is in the culture but in an unknown way. My son does not generally do a lot of things because of course his mother (ironically, my comment) takes care of his clothes that are lying down on the floor. If he has to make himself something to eat, he does, but if he can get away with not doing anything he prefers that. We do not talk a lot about it.” (Elisa)

Elisa is convinced of an important link between womens´ work and their independence and so is noticed in her arguments;

"At least here in Argentina I would say that it’s important and mentally it’s a way of developing yourself...It gives you some kind of security, not only economic such but also
personal security and self-esteem. You can save money, you can travel, you can do a lot of things. I think its good, I do not know, to have your own place to live in, to have your own things.” (Elisa)

...she continues with the comment...

"In fact, life is a constant learning process. Anything you read, watch or hear teaches you something.” (Elisa)

Elisa sticks to the argument that women as men, all of us, get more stimulated outside your home and that contributes in developing oneself. She also reaches the actual issue about work at home is a full-time job;

"If you have 2 or 3 small children at home, I am sure they keep you busy all day long...but what could I do if I wouldn’t be working? Of course, I am sure there are a lot of things to do at home, but I do not know if its very amusing.” (Elisa)

**Summary; Elisa**

Elisa is a well educated woman who has had the opportunity to travel and see the world outside Argentina. She works at the Swedish Embassy in Buenos Aires and gets continuously impulses from abroad. She does have an insight about gender issues, at least theoretically. But her experience in practice tells something else. Still, and maybe it depends of the generation she belongs to, she is unable to let go of old patterns. Even if the economy makes her wealthy enough to buy herself free from the cleaning tasks, the question is how her situation had looked like, if she couldn’t have had afford to get a cleaning-lady. Her husband does not seem to take any responsibility for the household while the couple together not have bothered to give their son a more equal education when it comes to gender. He has never got any such demands and therefore not learnt have to act when it comes to his own responsibility in the household.

**Marisa**

Marisa is a 21 year-old girl who originates from the region Chaco, in the north of Argentina. As a child she moved together with her family to Buenos Aires but lives today alone with her 4 year old daughter. Her brothers live in the flat next door and they share the same bathroom and help each other to pay the bills, meaning that life is easier that way. When Marisa was 18, the daughters’ father moved out and Marisa has now, some years later, another boyfriend and they will probably get married. Marisa had to quit school when she got pregnant. Today, she is therefore studying informatics beside her work as a cleaning-lady at the Swedish Embassy. She explains for me that she works half-time every day and does not have one single day off. During the weekends she works 9-10 hours at her other work and gets home very late. That is the reason why she during the weekends leaves her daughter with her parents.

"My boyfriend says that when we’ll get married I won’t have to work, but I want to keep on working. I think that as I have my child, it is good to have another salary. It is good if both of us are working because you do not earn so much money. But, of course, if I could, I would like to stay at home to take care of my child, but because of the economic situation, it is impossible.... On the other hand, if I in the future could get a job about computers that I really like, then I would prefer working with that...” (Marisa)
By Marisa’s quotation you can understand that the economy is what drives her to be working as much as she does. She works every single day including weekends. No one would choose to do that if it were only for one’s own development. I strongly believe that development at work is connected to what kind of job you get. If a woman is unable to get a developing and stimulating job, and if she also is underpaid, one can understand that she prefers staying at home with the children.

On the other hand, Marisa says that she has developed herself something by being working;

”When I started to work, I was very shy and I didn’t talk to anybody and I was afraid of everything. Then the cleaning-enterprise, the one I work for, sent me over here and I started to communicate.” (Marisa)

”In the end, women always work more because if they stay at home taking care of their children that is also a job that they are doing: Eating, cleaning the house and later on going out to the job. On the other hand, the man is working and when he gets home dinner is ready for him. It is different because he gets more time to rest... In general it is like that, but my boyfriend helps me a lot. A lot of times I get home from work very tired, and he says:”let me do the cooking.” (Marisa)

”These days, I work and study at the same time. I do it for my daughter, so that she will be able to get a better education in the future. I would like her to go to a private college. I was in a public school and a lot of times the teachers didn’t show up.... I like to study but I never had the opportunity...” (Marisa)

In Marisa’s case, she also told me that as she works more than her boyfriend, her boyfriend does the laundry, the cooking and sometimes takes care about Marisa’s daughter. My opinion is that it is a healthy masculine ideal that a man does half of the house-work and being present in the children’s life. What the adults in the family and society do make more impression on children than what empty words do.

”Since I was a little child I have liked to organise things and be independent. In my house, I used to be the ”boss” because I was the one who took care of the economy-part. Although I have my boyfriend now, I am still the one who calculates and responses for the money. A lot of the women are more independent than men. I have until now lived 3 years by myself, I am independent and I do whatever I want. As a little girl, when I was 13 I started to work. I didn’t ask for help, I was always on my own and almost all of my female friends have been acting similarly.” (Marisa)

As most of the interviewed women, no one seems to trust the nurseries in Argentina;

"I do not trust the nurseries, and I do not like to lock her in at a nursery but there are good ones and bad ones. You have to trust the people that work there so that the children eat good and so, because I have heard about very strange things that happen in some of the bad nurseries. I prefer to leave my child with a family-member or someone that I know for a couple of hours.” (Marisa)

**Summary: Marisa**

Marisa is an example of someone who originates from the countryside in quite poor circumstances and then together with the family moved to the capital to search for a better
life. Marisa means that there is much easier to find a job in Buenos Aires than where she came from and she also has succeeded in getting herself several jobs. She is able to take care about herself and her child. In that sense she is an independent woman. But Marisa does not live an easy life. She is a hardworking woman with almost no time off. The pattern behind her struggling life is something different though. In the relation with her boyfriend is it not taken for granted that men must work more or support the woman. She explicitly expresses that among her female friends it is more common that the girls started to earn their own money early and they became independent.

Marisa is definitely not a woman who represents the patriarchal system. Instead she belongs to a more modern system which we might call a more equal one. As she comes from poor circumstances it is harder for a woman like her to make a career and she has very long working-days.

**Catalina**

Catalina is one of three (3) female managers in an enterprise, selling all kind of things. She is 55 years old and has two (2) grown up daughters. She explains for me that she is also a widow even if she had separated from her husband before he passed away. Catalina means that the job one has got influences your personal development and says that it is very good to combine work with what you like to do.

"If you are working it helps you to understand a lot of things, you get knowledge that you wouldn’t get in another form. In these days, if you do not have been studying and if you do not wear a big capacity or efficiency, you will not get a very good social development, because there is a big competition between one and another out there.” (Catalina)

Catalina’s view on Argentinean politics;

"The politicians talk a lot and nothing happens. These days, people do not pay attention to the politicians…they do not adapt to new aspects in society. All this poverty is a result of that there is no help for elderly or for children to get, everybody just think of one’s own best....” (Catalina)

When talking about the issue of womens´ work, Catalina tries to put in a new aspect; what is best for the whole country;

"It is good that there are more women working in another aspect as well -it is better for the development in the whole country. If the person that is best suited for every job gets it, of course it will influence society.” (Catalina)

Later on, Catalina tries to explain how the working-situation was in her family and that she indeed had to face jealousy and a sort of machismo at home basis. In the quotation after that, she shows that she is willing to fight machismo and if she´d had a son, she would work hard to show a better way of education than the traditional;

"My husband didn’t want me to work. He was very jealous. He wanted me to stay at home or work with him, but I was working even if he didn’t want me to....” (Catalina)
"I guess, if I’d had a son, I would have been much harder and yes, I would have talked to him with more discipline about this. I do not tolerate a man that does not do what he should do when it comes to collaborate at home. Maybe he would have to do more things." (Catalina)

Underneath, Catalina expresses her version in the Argentinean society on the link between money and happiness;

"No one can cover his needs if you do not have money enough and you can definitely not feel free...if you are not able to achieve a good job that you are satisfied with, well you will feel that you are not worth anything in the society, and that does not bring happiness to anyone. Happiness is the goal!" (Catalina)

On the question if the interviewed person considers herself as an independent woman Catalina answers the following;

"...economically yes of course, I do not have any kind of help, but about the affective part in life; I would say that I am not independent, because I depend a lot on my family..." (Catalina)

For Catalina, work really helps her to develop herself. She also means that if a woman is working, it will keep her connected to the labour-market so that she in the future will be able to continue working, meanwhile a woman that stays at home will lack that needed experience for future job-opportunities.

"You just cannot stay being a house-wife and mother for all your life because it limits you a lot. I like my job, there is a lot of responsibility and especially if you have to deal with other people.... if you keep on being connected to the rest of the world, you will learn things every day.” (Catalina)

Finally, Catalina gives her opinion about Argentinean nurseries;

"Some enterprises have their own kind of nursery in the same building as the job itself. If it hadn’t been like that, someone else would also have to bring and collect the children to and from the nursery every day. It is very stressful for the mother to leave her little child for many hours every day..." (Catalina)

**Summary: Catalina**

Catalina is one of the most independent women by those I have interviewed. She shares a small enterprise with two other women and can, thereby, really influence her own working situation in several ways. She is also divorced and does not depend on anyone. Another thing, that makes her stand out from the others, is that she is able to see the general structures in the Argentinean society and really understands why it is so important with education and work. She is realistic and at the same time philosophic, and can directly see the connection between education, a qualitative working situation, salary and one´s own development. Maybe her experience of life makes this woman easier understand life and society. She definitely not strengthens the patriarchal patterns but instead dissociates herself from such ideals. This is an independent woman that claims for equal rights between men and women.
**Carolina**

Carolina is a 31 year old married woman that has a son of eight (8) months. After having given birth and stayed at home taking care of her baby, she is now planning to go back to the office were she works as an engineer.

"My husband does not mind that I only work 6 hours a day, because here in Argentina, the machismo is widespread so it is assumed, it is like if you are a man you are the one who has to work; you have to do the work that you have to do. That’s what I mean with machismo, so it is not exaggerated, because then he wouldn’t let me go to work at all.” (Carolina)

Carolina is aware of the machismo in her country, and she seems that she cannot really make her mind up, whether traditional patterns and patriachal thinking is good or bad. At first she naturally is negative about it, but soon after and I would say through the rest of the interview, she tries to explain for me why it is established and sort of accepted in Argentina. From her side, it is not only an explanation and understanding, but also a kind of defend of the machismo.

"Here in Argentina, people are very machista. (Macho. my comment) Every time when there is a man and a woman on the same post, the man are gonna earn more. It makes me angry but on the other hand we then have better excuses to go away from the job if there for example happens something with your children. If your son suddenly gets ill, you can more easily run away and take care of him. My husband couldn’t do that. I think that’s why men earn more than women but it also has a lot to do with the machismo.” (Carolina)

On the question if she sometimes works at a voluntary level she says no, but refers to an aunt that does so;

"I have an aunt that works as a voluntary in a hospital for children. She likes to help, but of course she has another job as well.” (Carolina)

It is interesting how the economy-aspect plays an important role in Argentina when it comes to the way people bring up their children. I can not avoid putting a parallel between class and upbringing:

*I will not force them to, well I will teach them how to collaborate by going to work....but if I have someone to do the things in my house, you know, here in Argentina it is very common that if you have money enough, to have a girl that works in your house and she cleans up and does everything....* (Carolina)

"I’d like to always work just 6 hours a day, so that I will have some time for my children.” (Carolina)

Saying so, does not have to mean that there is inequality or that she feels pressure from society to do so. From another aspect, if being on her own, she could probably not have done so. She continues the issue with;

"....I think that what the husband earns in salary, should go to what it costs to maintain the house and what the woman earns should be seen as a support, but not the main support. It is the man that should keep the costs for the house and what the woman earns could go for travels and so on.....” (Carolina)
Underneath, Carolina explains shortly and in a very concrete way why she thinks work makes a woman independent;

"...I believe that women that are working are independent. They can do whatever they want to if they feel like it. It is also good because you never know how your fate turns out".... “Money gives you independence. It is like if you do not like something you can just say ”bye” and you walk out of there.” (Carolina)

Here comes two other explanations why work is good for women and the last one is really connected to the woman’s own development. Carolina shows us a good example of her own personal development and she means that she became stronger since she once went to work.

"If the woman stays at home, the husband grows and grows and finally he will look for another woman. If she stays at home all day long...it is like she didn’t have a life. She wouldn’t understand what is going on in the rest of the world but her husband works actively and he gets to know new people........at home is his wife taking care about the children and does not talk about anything else....I like to work, you use the brain and you are all day long doing things and you think a lot...also, I have more confidence with myself now, it is like loosing that shyness when talking to people in public” (Carolina)

Carolina gives her view on Argentinean nurseries;

"I am going to take my baby to a nursery later on. I know the owner of the nursery, because she is the mother of one of my friends....and I also know one of the others that work there, otherwise I do not know if I would send him that young to a nursery. (Carolina)

Summary; Carolina

Carolina is a well educated and in an Argentinean view modern woman, who chooses to continue working after that her baby is around one year old. She has got an insight into the structures of the Argentinean society, but it is clear that she has been indoctrinated by the machismo. Belonging to the upper classes, I believe that she accept things so that she can have her so called liberty. She still argues that for instance it is the man´s task to economically support the family. Her salary is only considered as something less important than her husband’s salary. When later on talking about her childrens´ education, she means that she will teach them how to do the housework ”in the case of that they one day might have to do it alone” . (Carolina) The goal is therefore not to teach the children how to collaborate so that they can contribute in everyday-life´s housework and learn something about independence. Instead she buys herself free from housework by having a maid.

Andrea

Andrea is a teacher for children in the ages from seven (7) and above. She is 30 years old and works 20 hours a week. She is married and has got two children in the ages of three (3) and four (4). Andrea´s mother, who lives in the same building, is the one who takes care about the children those hours. On the question whether Andrea is religious, the following is what she answers;

"I am catholic and the children have been baptised, but I do not go to church. To be honest, I am not very interested in it.” (Andrea)
Andrea describes herself as independent, with a good self-confidence who knows what she wants. She says she is dominating in the group she works in. She also says that she thinks she is reliable and friendly. When we later on get to talk about why work is important for people she first of all explains that;

"it is the unique form to develop oneself as a person. But it depends on with what you are working, right?! My work as a teacher is very interesting, because every year you get a new group of children with different aspects. It is very creative, because you cannot do the same year after year. It depends on that group´s interest, what they know... You learn from it...” (Andrea)

When we then are talking about earning one´s own money she stresses the importance of it and makes a link between one´s financial situation and independence;

"By getting that salary you can develop yourself in several ways. Money gives you independence, you can study, you can do the things you like or you can live alone if you like to”. (Andrea)

Even though she looks on herself as independent, her economic situation is so difficult that she does not think she would be able to maintain the house right now.

...I could also work more hours, but then I would need someone to take care for the children and the result would be the same salary as I have now.” (Andrea)

I asked the interviewed persons about the habits at home and if the parents speak with the children about equality between men and women and also what tasks that were given to the children;

"they pick up their toys after them...they do their beds as much as they can, they help me to lay the table. Everyone have their part of responsibility in the house. If it wouldn´t be like that, it couldn´t work at all. However, the woman always does a little bit more than what the man does....” (Andrea)

Another question was about studies, if the interviewed person considers it important and in that case why. This is Andreas´ answer;

"First of all, you learn a lot from your studies. Life can be quite monotonous, for example, if you work as a hair-cutter and get the opportunity to develop yourself, to do something else...You can choose between different kinds of jobs as well.....” (Andrea)

Summary; Andrea
Andrea is definitely an independent woman and her ideas and her thoughts are against the patriarchal system. Economically she seems to have some sort of hard situation, mostly because of her low salary, but also as she explained because she did some priorities for her children and partly for herself.

In her own case, Andrea chooses to continue with the job as a teacher even though she knows that she could get better paid working somewhere else. She chooses to stay at school and teach children because that is what she wanted to do. In the interview, you notice that she really is excited about her job and she explicitly expresses that she learns a lot and gets a
personal development out of it. The question you always must ask yourself when arguing about independence is whether the person in focus could afford to live the same life if she was on her own or if she had separated. The answer is many times no because it is easier to handle the expenses together with someone.

Norma

Norma is a 37 years old woman with four children and she has been married several times. As her husband also has children from previous relationships, there are nine (9) children all together in the family, even though all of them do not live in Norma’s house. Norma works 30 hours a week in a kitchen as a cook-maid, but also as a volunteer at a kindergarten were she takes a lot of responsibility. In her struggling life Norma is still a person who can see the good things in the bad. This is how she expresses herself;

"I am very good at cooking. I can persist a lot, I mean in the bad times I try to think positively and search for the possible ways, I do whatever I can....If I have a goal, before I reach it I will not give up. I am a good person. In general I try to help others. I have learned that the best thing is to ask someone that has more experience.....” (Norma)

Norma is one example of a strong woman with a complex working-day. Her family is a typical female-headed one, were even if her husband also works something, he is the one who takes care about the children during day-time. As mentioned earlier, Latin-American women works a lot, especially if taken into consideration that several times their work takes place in the informal sector. That people are heading towards a more equal society is a first step when men actually do get influenced by womens´ work and have to deal with the house-work and taking care of the children. (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995) Norma’s role in the family is central and so is her income.;

"well, my husband takes care and helps me with the children. If he didn´t do that, I wouldn´t be able to work at all. We share the work, he takes care about the children those 6 hours while I am working...” (Norma)

The children are educated to take their responsibility in the house;

"....they have to collaborate in the house-work, we are like a company. For example, I go to work and I can trust them and everyone have their things to do in the house. They do the beds and help me out and it does not matter if it is a boy or a girl, they have to collaborate...” (Norma)

Beside the salary one gets at work, Norma talks also about other advantages;

"If I wouldn´t be working, I couldn´t stay at home all day long. I have always been working with things I like. I like to be with the children at the nursery. ”....meeting a lot of people have helped me a lot in being able to see other things” (Norma)

As Norma comes from a family with traditional attitudes she has gone through a changing process were she has been fighting against poverty and has become a very strong and independent woman;

"I started working when my first husband left me. My younger sisters nor my mother have never ever been working. They still argue that when you get married, your husband should be
the one who works so that you can stay at home, taking care about house and children.”
(Norma)

Norma believes that studies give oneself more opportunities in life even though she never has had the economic opportunity to study at a university. She thinks that the social system not is fare as not everybody has the possibility to study further after compulsory school. Instead of studies, work is therefore the key-word when talking about the future of her children;

"To be working is important for them, because they will not be able to live of us if they are not working. (Norma)

Summary; Norma
There are no doubts about that Norma is a very strong and independent woman. She lives under poor conditions but she is managing the every-day struggle to survive in a heroic way. She earns her own money, supports a husband and family of nine children. Beside that, Norma was the establisher of the kindergarten and she still works and takes a great responsibility there. It is easily seen in Normas´ behaviour that she can not cope with unfair treatment of people and she is not too scared to stand up and fight for her and other peoples´ rights. In her way of living, Norma is a healthy model for all the children that she is responsible for. She belongs to that kind of working-class women that never could be satisfied if she wouldn´t know that her voluntary work did good for the children. It is important for the children but also for her identity.

Ana
Ana also works as a volunteer at the same kindergarten as Norma. She is 26 years old and works 18 hours a week at the kindergarten. Ana has got three children; a girl of nine, a boy of six and a little boy of three years old. Ana is married and her husband works with cleaning houses. She tells me that her mother has during the years been working, at least temporary in the tourist-business. She likes her job and thinks that the mothers appreciate that it is such a flexible place;

"when the mother is busy working, she can leave the children on the nursery and in this place, if she has to stay a little bit longer, well the children can also stay a bit longer. This kindergarten is for free for them." (Ana)

I asked Ana about the main reason why women are working;

"first of all if your husband does not have a job you are obligated to be working." (Ana)

She also said that;

"With your own salary you do not depend of anyone...." (Ana)

Even though her job was paid when she started at the kindergarten, it is these days totally voluntary work that she is doing. There had to be something more, a drive, that makes her the will to work for free and she said;

"I work as a volunteer in this kindergarten...I am pleased because....you need a lot of things, I mean emotionally.... and by working with this, you also get involved as a woman. I am like a second mother here.” (Ana)
Another drive for Ana is;

"the woman has to be seen; it is like she wouldn´t exist if she hadn´t been working.” (Ana)

Ana also says that she has developed herself and has got plenty of new experiences since she started working;

"you get experience by working with the children and the mothers and from the contact I have. The children get their food everyday because we collaborate to get it. (Ana)

Ana considers herself as an independent person and she motivates it in following way;

"first of all because I bring up my children...I like to structure things. I do things that I like...” (Ana)

Ana tries to bring up the children equally;

"They do a lot of things and I want them to feel companionship between brothers. I do not make a difference between them whether they are boys or girls because we are everybody the same. The girl helps me more because she is older and by helping me she learns a lot... (Ana)

Summary: Ana
Ana does not really belong to those women, who frankly stand up against the patriarchal patterns in society. Even though she has quite independent thoughts, there are still some important bricks that are missing in the way of becoming an independent woman. Her attitude to work gets stuck with traditional ideals such as the man as the one with main-responsibility for supporting the family. Ana means that a woman does not have to work until she is obligated to it. Still, Andrea is out there working for free, because she feels that she is doing something important for the women and the children in the village, but it is also good for her self-esteem. She has therefore grown stronger from her voluntary work at the kindergarten, but she is still economic dependent of someone and would not be able to manage herself economically.

Isabel
Isabel is a middle-aged house-wife who also works at the kindergarten but beside that has a big family of her own. Her religious identity is very strong and she talks a lot about God and wants to do good for the children;

"I have one daughter of 20 years old who is married and has a daughter, then I have a son of 19, a daughter of 13, another of 14 and Perla. I also have my disabled mother-in-law.(Isabel)

Isabel believes in God and is a member of the Angelican Church.

"The only thing we do is to help others, and we are very tired of hearing people talking without doing anything. It does not matter if you are catholic, Mormon or protestant, but I think that everything that is good, does exist within the religion.” (Isabel)
Soon after having met Isabel, you notice her faith and she says that she is forgiving and that she hopes that she is a good person. She owns a big will to help others;

"There are children at this place that do not have neither a mother nor a father and there are young girls that are pregnant when they are 13, 14 years old. I would like to have a place for them and for single-mothers." (Isabel)

Isabel gives some of her thoughts about equality and says something about the situation in her family;

"They do a lot. The oldest girl, she washes her clothes. There are no difference between the boys and the girls. As I believe in freedom, I believe that the man does not have any rights to be machista. You do not get married to be a slave. I want to have equality!" (Isabel)

Isabel makes another comment about her relationship with her husband;

"We have a lot of freedom and confidence between one and another. If I have to go to Mar del Plata or Buenos Aires, I just go there and I tell my husband what day I will come back. He trusts me and even likes what I do because it makes me feel good." (Isabel)

Isabel thinks that work is good for one’s independence but makes a difference between different kinds of work.

"The work must be based on studies to be able to have freedom. By that way you will be more independent and have a better self-confidence" (Isabel)

Isabel likes her job and means that work gives you something more than just the salary;

"I have always liked to be working. For me it seems like it helps you to get more creative because you use the brain a lot." (Isabel)

**Summary; Isabel**

Isabel is a deeply religious house-wife with some equal thoughts and with a big will to help others. This woman does not belong to the modern Latin-American women that go to work, get paid while being able to take care about themselves economically and independently. Even though Isabel has some quiet equal thoughts about her relationship, there is still missing an important brick as she does not have her own income. She is therefore dependent of someone who supports her. She belongs to what I believe the old school of working-class, is married and would probably not manage to be independent

**Graciela**

Graciela is a 49 years old woman who lives with her husband and their 16-years old daughter. She also has a 20-year old daughter and another of 29, but they have both moved out. Her husband works with agriculture in a cooperative while Graciela works in a private school that is for free for the pupils. Therefore, most of them come from poor circumstances. She works 40 hours a week at school, but as the teacher has to prepare a lot of things for the next day, in reality she works more.

Graciela has grown up with the Catholic Church, but today she is critical against it;
"I was born into the Catholicism, but I do not agree with the Catholic Church. I think it’s just another power against people.” (Graciela)

Graciela is definitely critical against the patriarchal society that she is living in. She expresses underneath how much harder it is for a woman to get a good job and how women’s sexuality is being exploited in the society;

"In the private sector does exist that difference, but not as much difference in salary as that they simply just do not employ women. When it comes to women, they search for a good appearance before capability.” (Graciela)

When it comes to studies, Graciela believes that no difference should be made between boys and girls, because you have, according to her, no other chance than to study;

”...there is no other way, no other opportunity. Society requires you to have more and more knowledge and capacity in different areas to get a job. Still, it is difficult to get a normal job and of course, with less capacity it is more difficult.” (Graciela)

Graciela considers herself as being an independent woman and expresses her independency as follows;

"I can express what I think and what I feel. I have my own ideas about life, about everything. I can communicate and listen to whoever I want. I go independently through life and I do not depend on anyone. The old social situation, when a woman had to depend economically on her husband because he had a job that gave money and she had not.... that influences everything and you get very dependent.” (Graciela)

In earlier years, Graciela used to work actively with politics;

"I did participate in the politics earlier in my life but its like I get very disappointed of it. If people get more organised...That makes pressure towards higher levels.” (Graciela)

Summary: Graciela
This is indeed an independent woman who has a full-time job that she likes and learns new things from while at the same time the job makes her economic independent. Graciela does not economically depend on anyone and would if the case were so, stand on her own feet and get things going. With her own words she expresses that she goes independently through life and in her way of raising her daughters but also in her ideas about raising children in general, she makes no difference between boys and girls. Graciela shows in many ways and in her way of living that she dissociates herself from patriarchal ideas and behaviour. She is not satisfied until she knows that she did the best for the poor children in her school.

Marta
Marta is a woman of 54 years old and she is these days divorced but has three grown up children in the ages of 35, 33 and 21. Marta is not religious as a catholic believer but instead she is more spiritual;

"In reality, I do not agree with any religion. In fact I am more spiritual than religious. I meditate and go a lot to the north where I get in good contact with the earth.” (Marta)
Marta has together with two other women a firm were they contact other firms for selling stationery, presents, pens, etc. The women work in Martas´ house and they feel therefore free in many aspects. Marta is an energetic woman who does not mind working;

"I really believe that working gives you a good self-confidence. You know that you manage yourself. I started working when I was very young, but it like opened up my mind”.... “I am totally convinced that you have to work and study. I believe that in life, we can not only be good students, workers or house-wives. We need a little bit of everything.” (Marta)

In Martas´ family it is taken for granted that the children have to study;

"From the cradle they have always heard that they are gonna have to study. They are studying because that´s the only way in life.” (Marta)

Marta is talking about how women lately have liberated themselves;

"Here we are very ”latinos” and that´s why very conservative when it comes to the family.... but since some years ago, women have like liberated themselves from a lot of all those prejudices and structures. If the marriage does not work out, the woman will get a divorce.” (Marta)

...about the connection between that women are working and a honest marriage;

"In a relationship, its more authentic, more real; I mean you do not accept things just because you are married.” (Marta)

When Marta explains her background it explains something about why she wanted to ”spoil” the children. First when the children had grown up she realised that children get better prepared for life if they early learn to take part of everyday work that needs to be done at home.

"I come from a humble place so I wanted my children to have everything that I couldn´t get. We gave for instance a very nice car to our son on his 16´th birthday. But he wasn´t mature enough.... My children did therefore not need to help me to clean the house. We have always had someone to do that for us. Now, afterwards they have learned all that stuff, but it is better that they learn from that they are small. It is my fault.” (Marta)

Even if Marta started working early, after having children, she did not go back to work until her husband, couldn´t support the family anymore.

"I started working when I was 13 years old. I got married when I was 19. Later on, it didn´t go very well, economically, for my husband and my husband thought it was good that I was working, so I did. Since then I have never stopped and both of us collaborated with the house. (Marta)

Still, there seems to be a predetermination in the Argentinean society about men as the head-supporter of the family, and women still have the main-responsibility for the children.

"No one stays at home all day long, not knowing to take a job if your husband looses his, but on the other hand women shouldn´t put on pants and be a man. When women started working,
besides from all the good things it brought, I also consider that women have lost something very important. She lost some of that protecting-part of her nature... “what also happens here in Argentina, is that nurseries are still not very organised and controlled, I mean as it should be, but of course there are good nurseries. There are all kinds....” (Marta)

Instead of nurseries, Marta had always someone in the house that took care of house and children;

"I have a maid, and she has helped me for 25 years. She has helped me to raise the children and I have always been able to keep on working because of that.” (Marta)

According to the following quotation, there is a link between one’s economic level and the feeling of having an equal relationship. If this is the truth, that women with money can buy themselves free from everyday housework and children’s care while men still do not see these issues as their responsibilities, then this kind of freedom should be considered as a false equality between men and women. It might look like there is equality but in the end, if not being able to afford having maids, the same old patterns should be visible and women would once again have to do the unpaid work at home.

"It is very tough to survive in this country and a woman who do not have a good economic level, well when she gets home after work, she has to keep on working attending her husband and her children and do all the things that are necessary in the house.” (Marta)

A further explanation;

"Earlier, it was like included in the education, when your parents raised you, that it was the man who had to go out and find a job and the woman should stay at home, being a housewife.... and no-one talked about that women those days did a lot of work at home; cooking, taking care about the children, washing the clothes and ironing.....” (Marta)

About the younger generation men;

"The generation right now, young men do a lot more of the house-work, they collaborate more with raising the children, than what did earlier generations, yes yes.... He has to know how to change wrappers, how to feed the child and in general take care about the children when the woman needs to go out and work.” (Marta)

Finally, Marta in the end is quite optimistic and focuses on the development between men and women that actually has taken place;

"I think that women in many places are getting revalued, also in the politics. Women are occupying places that earlier not where allowed!”

**Summary; Marta**

Marta has her own company and is divorced. It is obvious that this is an independent woman. Marta dissociates herself from patriarchal patterns but maybe, because of the generation she belongs to, she does not completely liberate herself from the patriarchal attitude that it is the mans´ task to maintain the family. Not until there were harder times and her husband did not manage to support the family alone, she went out and took a job. What Marta also does is that she talks about the existing link between money and womens´ independence. She clearly says
that life is much harder for working-class women that after their paid work have to go on with their unpaid work; Taking care and dealing with the children, doing the housework and attending the husband. If this is true, it means that over-class women buy themselves free from housework, while men are taken for granted that they do not need to share this work.

Matilde
Matilde is a woman in her mid-fifties. She is divorced since many years and has a son of 19. She has three or four different jobs to make things go round; She is a promoter for different kind of products such as beauty-products, limping-products etc. She makes interviews, talks about what she is selling and makes a demonstration about it. During the weekends she also works at a realtor-agency were her task is to show customers around. Beside all this she also takes care about an elderly woman. Matilde describes herself as a nice person and she likes to help others. Many times she found herself very realistic; she does not think over things to many times before she realises that she needs to do something about it. When we were talking about religion, Matilde tells me that there are many different people and religions in Buenos Aires and that she is a Jew, even though she does not go often to the temple. She considers that the best thing would be just to be spiritual and wear the faith inside of you;

"...there are people that have like God inside themselves and they are still good persons and that´s okay, do you understand?” (Matilde)

....and she is quite critical towards the Catholic Church;

"I do not agree with the Catholicism, that you have to confess yourself....and as well I think that the priests should get married to a woman, like the rabbis do, they must be married to be able to be a rabbi, so that they can be more open-minded towards what is happening in the community. For me, it seems like the priest cannot understand people properly, because he hasn´t lived his life, if he never had a son for example and how you feel and how you do not feel about your children. It is not right that he blames you for the wrongs you did.” (Matilde)

Then we start to talk about womens´ independence and this is how Matilde looks upon her own independence;

"I manage myself, I have my own flat and I do not depend of anyone. On an economic level I do not depend on anyone. I do not know but sometimes a woman keeps on being with her husband or boyfriend and sometimes they do not separate because the woman depends on her husband´s money.” (Matilde)

For Matilde, it is very important that women are working, especially to develop yourself;

"you have to go out and keep on working, because if you do not it is like you do not develop yourself. But there are women that do not need to have a job, I mean for the money, because the husband sort of responses for her. But they could do something else to learn things and to make themselves feel good.” (Matilde)

she continues...

"I believe that it is necessary for the woman because otherwise it would be very monotony. I would never give up working, even if I had the opportunity. If I didn´t have to be working, I
would do other things, there are a lot of things to learn…Of course, work gives women independence. Otherwise you are gonna have the machismo. (Matilde)

This is how Matilde and her husband solved the issue with child-care;

"When my son was a baby, an elderly woman, a neighbour took care of him and she came over here to my house. She did so from that he was 6 months old, but it was only for like 3 hours a day.” (Matilde)

When talking about responsibility in doing the tasks in the house, many times the woman takes to much responsibility with the house-work so that there is no chance for the son, to do what they should do in the house, as the mother does not let him;

"In general, the one who did something wrong is the mother, I mean if she wants to do everything all by herself, if she cannot wait until he does it. You have to give the children space to do things, understand? The mothers have shown their sons that they don’t need to do anything in the house and that has been going on for generation after generation." (Matilde)

Matilde means that in today´s Argentina, the only way forward for young people is to get a good education so that you at least can try to get yourself a good job in the future:

"You have to keep on studying, there is no other way and you have to get prepared and learn things because a person who is studying is more independent and you have more knowledge about things. Your opportunity to get a job is bigger.” (Matilde)

**Summary; Matilde**
Matilde belongs definitely to the independent women. As she has no higher education, she has different kind of jobs to be able to manage. She is divorced and lives alone with her 19 year old son. She thinks and acts independently towards the state and patriarchal structures. Even though she is over 50, she has no sign of traditional behaviour. Instead, she honestly dissociates herself from the patriarchal society and succeeds in making things go round.

**Summary of the chapter**
Most of the women in the interviews act quite independently and at least theoretically express independent thoughts. However, reality seems many times to differ a little bit from the first impression. Even if everybody except Ana and Isabel are employed and have their own income, some of the women are still dependent on their husbands. One part of it is connected to the small income a work brings. It might be so small that the woman probably not would be able to support the children if she had been living on her own. If a woman still argues because of tradition, that the husband should remain as the head of household, then I would say that the woman herself also is trapped in patriarchal patterns. Some women prefer to adapt to patriarchal patterns because they benefit of it and mostly on economic basis. Others, such as Norma and Matilde are examples of female heads of household and they are fighting to survive by all means that they have got. They know that if they do not do their very best for the family, no one else will. No one else can rule over their lives because they are good examples of women who have reached emancipation.
5. THEORY – WOMEN’S LIFE

5.1. Introduction
This chapter describes how the feminist movement started and how it at the beginning only had one unified front, but today has many different orientations. The post-modern feminism is one of them and it has put focus on the heterogeneity of women, meaning that women around the world are different with various life-conditions and expectations. Class, religion, education and sexuality etc, make diversity between people from the same geographic area. Also within these groups, people have no certain characters that are taken for granted. The chapter does also cover the relation between patriarchy, the ideals in society that are influenced by patriarchy and how that connects to the women’s situation in society. Women have multiple roles in society and in the household. When labour-work is over the woman has house and children to attend to and many times she is also an active member in the community. All kind of work that women do, including a lot in the informal sector, make it hard to know how time women spend working. That reality looks different than what the statistics show and that women in one way or another always have been working is for sure. There is still a long way to go for women’s independence even though Argentinean women have taken their first steps.

It is clear that a large difference for humanity took place during the transition from the band-organized gather-hunter societies towards the settled agricultural societies. Evidence from around the world shows that women in agricultural societies have a lower hierarchical position than in earlier eras. One theory is that once a group of people settled down on a certain place; they became part of a greater system and part of a capitalistic and state-based society. While people still were in the gatherer-hunter society, women could enjoy the fruits of their own labour while as in the settled agricultural societies, property was controlled by men. The man was officially seen as the head of household even though women’s role within cultivation and production was essential. At the same time, it became more common for men to control women and by claiming himself to be the owner of women and children; he could control women’s life and sexuality. (Bandarage 1998, p. 121)

How men are controlling women’s life is very much a question that the feminist movement wants to show and to act against by giving the right tools to women. If women became more aware of their many times unequal situation and how the society takes advantage of women, they could get empowered and with the right tools they could feel encouraged to take the step to the labour-market, be economic independent, and thereby reach an important tool towards emancipation. The economic independence makes women not feeling reinforced to stay in a relationship of only economic reasons. If women in general could reach this emancipation, society would make a big change. Women’s unpaid work at home and with the main responsibility for the children would not be taken for granted anymore. There is a lack of trustful staff and good and healthy nurseries in Argentina which I argue is an indicator of how far women’s emancipation has developed. This is a big problem in society as women traditionally have had the responsibility for house and children. If the fathers do not step in to take a part of that responsibility and if society does not back you up on a structural level with reliable nurseries, how could women take those steps towards labour-market and emancipation?

That men and women are acting differently, having different roles in a relationship and taking different levels of responsibility for the children is nothing new. By society, we learn about different roles and what is expected from us. As we are being aware of these roles, traditional
forces are brought to daylight. As every person is a part of society, we constantly influence society, many times without noticing. We also get influenced by society. We are creating and re-producing mayor values that we are taught early in life. There are strong and conservative control-mechanisms that indicate people what is suitable to do and not to do in different situations. As we want to be accepted by society we also get dependent on society. There are unwritten rules about how to behave and not. The problem is that these rules differ whether you are a man or a woman.

5.2 Patriarchy
In earlier days, men’s dominance was expressed and defended in the law-books. Argentinean women did for instance not have the authority to vote until 1947 (http://lanic.utexas.edu/la/region/aid/aid98/democracy/tab4.html) and the father in the family always had the last word when deciding things about his woman and daughter. The message towards women was clear: women should stay at home. There were not enough of jobs for the men already being at the labour-market. (Hirdman 1998)

The unwritten rules and peoples´ behaviour in a society influence everyone even though the masculine form of behaviour is very dominant, at least if dealing with patriarchy. That mens´ behaviour is central in womens´ life has to deal with the patriarchy, the ruling form of masculinity and it is very common in South-American contexts. There is also a stereotype for the typical, descent woman within the patriarchy, were subordination makes a mayor part. Patriarchy is central for Latin-American women as it removes womens´ possibilities to express themselves and to make individual choices in their own life.

Patriarchy means: "the rule of family and tribe by men" (Bandarage 1998 p. 120) "Gender history begins with the hypothesis that the ways in which societies perceive and reproduce sexual difference are the result of social processes, not biology...." (Dore 1997 p102)

That gender differs from biological evolution is the very basic thinking within the feminist thought. Human behaviour is not only a result of what your body wants us to do. We can actually use our brain to make a change of our behaviour and a change in society. The technological development in all countries should have shown us the way to an easier and more equal life. I mean that by for instance using a washing-machine, what traditionally have been womens´ work, to wash clothes, could by technology be so much easier than to hand-wash, which is common in Latin-America. If more people could have access to washing-machines, womens´ unpaid work should be less, even if men of course also should take their responsibility. What I wanted to point at, that also comes with the technological development is that the exaggerated view of what we think technology can create for us. The biggest problem is that natural science has influenced other sciences such as the view of social behaviour where it for instance can be impossible to measure reliability or other social experiences.

Our belief in technological solutions that started with the scientific revolution in the seventeenth century, has given rise to a new approach also to social life. Positivist approach based on empiricism and mathematics became very dominant. “This hierarchical and mechanistic outlook was also applied to the female body and mind. Attributes such as nurturance and caring, defined as feminine, came to be increasingly subordinated to that which was defined as masculine and strong. Women were seen as overly emotional, unpredictable and weak, requiring control by males, who were associated with scientific rationality and technological superiority” These attitudes were based on thoughts from the
Industrial Revolution, the capitalist mode of production, the bureaucratic state, western science and patriarchy. (Bandarage p.123. 1998)

In traditional, patriarchal families there is a common attitude among men and women who have absorbed the ideals when it comes to the economy; The man should be the one who pays the bills. They mean that a real man supports the family, economically and therefore need more salary than women. Other attitudes originated from men in a patriarchal society might be offending towards women that are fighting for independence. Such examples that Faludi (1992) gives us are men that are acting aggressively towards their wives and behaves irresponsible towards their own families. For instance; one of the women wants to take up employment on the fabric nearby, because the money her husband earns is not enough to feed the whole family. The womans´ husband feels ashamed for not being able to support the family and tries to force her to stay at home. By not taking care of the children on the hours when he could have done so he forces his wife to stay at home. Another example is that men, by all means, are telling women on their working-place that they do not behave in a feminine way. If they quit working though, they would get their femininity back. Faludi (1992) means that all masculine aggressive behaviour is an expression of fear when starting to realise that also men have to find their new roles when women are finding a way towards independence (Faludi 1992).

What Faludi (1992) shows us is that not only men, but also women can feel fear for womens´ new situation when having to be strong and independent. Some traditional women want to feel harmonic and safe like their grandmothers did. Instead of being a single-mother raising the children, those women thought that it had been better in the good old times, when men and women knew what roles they could expect from each other. (Faludi 1991) That kind of thinking might for some women be easier to follow, as women then follow the old tracks. Instead, following a new path towards emancipation and development might be frightening. So, the patriarchy is not only a behaviour coming from men. It includes the society even on a structural level which many times are swallowed by men and women. As the feminism is the path we choose without experience of how exactly a feminist society would be, many women feel afraid and insecure when thinking of a future they know little about. Some of these women might think they prefer the old school as they at least would know what would be expected from them.

“The patriarchal family, the cornerstone of patriarchy, is being challenged in this end of millennium by the inseparably related processes of the transformation of womens´ consciousness. Driving forces behind these processes are the rise of an informational, global economy, technological changes in the reproduction of the human species, and the powerful surge of womens´ struggles, and of a multifaceted feminist movement” (Castells 1997. p.135).

5.3. The feminist thought
Travelling on the social field, talking with men and women about gender, I could notice that many people, both men and women had the ability to defend patriarchy with biological explanations. I have for instance heard things such as “men have always behaved in a certain way and it is natural for them” or “it is womens´ fault that men loose their jobs because women have always stayed at home taking care of children and household and therefore things were better in the old days”. These attitudes are separated from the feminist thought, as the feminism finds their answers in society instead of searching for biological explanations. This means that the interviewed women could have a more equal situation if attitudes in society change.
Feminism starts when arguing that gender is separated from biology. Biological belonging tells us nothing about the social behaviour. On the opposite, gender is a social construction. (Moore, 1988) Biology does not decide how social life will appear, which is the very reason why gender exists. (Connell p.110, 2008)

The following descriptions of the inequality between men and women tells us a lot about the ideals and how women’s role have been constructed in relation to men; ”The enlightenment’s man turns out, indeed, to be a man. The state subject becomes an individual male-citizen, soldier, worker -a reasonable man. Women are not only different, but constructed in relation to men, and given inferior value. This gender dichotomy includes men as active, women as passive; men as heads of households and breadwinners, and women as their dependents.” (Peterson/Runyan, 1993 in Pettman, 1996 p.7). Feminism grew out of the neglect of women in social and political western thought were the western man is the norm and women compared and measured negatively in relation to that norm. Women are in traditional thought looked upon as different and as a complement to the man. Some feminists would call mainstream western thought as ‘male stream’ with an inadequate authority that definitely needs to be challenged (Beasley 1999).

When feminism started out and women joined together in order to make a change against patriarchal society, women started as a unified front. “What unites feminists is a belief in the human dignity, the human rights, freedom of choice, and the further empowerment of women rather than any ideological, spiritual or religious stance.” (Bayes/Tohidi 2001. p.50) To challenge patriarchy there have been several directions within the feminist thought and women with varying experiences according to class, race, sexuality etc, could have difficulties to find their own place within the feminist movement. In the beginning, feminism could therefore be quite inefficient in it is own battles.

How the male-supremacy should be challenged became very soon a matter of dispute and gave rise to several orientations within the feminist thought. What also contributed to these new approaches is that the many differences and life-conditions among women around the world became clearer. Although these different orientations do not focus on the same problems, it is important that these orientations do not work against each others´ goals, but instead that the different wings can communicate with each other. “For effective feminist strategizing, the importance of dialogue, conversation, and coalition building among women activists of various ideological inclinations cannot be overemphasized.” (Beasley 1999). One of the orientations is the post-modern feminism.

5.4 Class and the nuclear-family
Within the debate of feminism, the issue of family-patterns and especially the nuclear-family have become relatively central issues. The nuclear-family, is an example of a traditional ideal which simply means that mother, father and their children, not more than two or three, live together in a family. This kind of family-pattern has only existed since the early nineteenth century. The problem with the nuclear-family is of course that it has been based on women’s unpaid work at home and that she therefore has been economic dependent on her husband and his salary.

The ideal with the nuclear-family is connected to the development in the society. “Among middle and upper social classes in the north today, children are economic liabilities not economic assets. Historically, with the shift from large extended families to nuclear families,
wealth flows from children to parents declined.” (Bandarage p.157, 1998). Where each child adds a large economic burden and where children are not expected to provide future support, adults opt for few or no children at all (Bandarage, 1998). In Argentina, old and new family-patterns live side by side and what decides the choice of family-pattern is many times influenced by the social class. Working-class still has the tendency to higher fertility rates.

Bourgeois is another expression for the middle-class. (red. Danielsson 1987) It has become a general form for living that is characteristic in western Europe, even though it nowadays, among other family-patterns exists all around the world. Historically, bourgeois has in view a special kind of living that put the individual interests and development as the most important. (red. Swahn 1991 nr.3 p.235) The nuclear-family is a part of the bourgeois ideal and these days, the nuclear-family is being questioned if being the best solution for all individuals in the society. As it is based on that the woman ”takes care” of house and children while the man supports them, and as our social roles are changing, as follows, we are also realising that the nuclear-family has not been reality for all parts of society. The following quotations also show the relation between class and independence;

”Although the model of housewife and mother was an ideal of the bourgeois family, women in the lower state had always been forced to earn money because their husband’s wage was rarely enough to support the family.” (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim, 1995 p.59) Within working-class, masculinity was built as a reaction of feeling humiliated. The companies’ paternalistic organisations gave fuel to the masculine ideal. That was a reason why women received less salary and were demanded, when having children, to stay away from the factories and instead becoming housewives. We have to understand other aspects, outside gender, such as the class-perspective, to be able to understand gender. In the same way, we could neither understand race, class nor global injustices without gender (Connell 2008. p. 113).

Argentina is 2009 in a deep economic crisis, which makes a grand influence on society. The Latin-American countries in general have from the economic crises in the 1980’s increased in both poverty and inequality. Dramatically spoken, middle-class does not longer exist in Argentina. What earlier was middle-class has vanished and been transformed into two poles; upper-class and working-class. Women with opportunities to get a good education have higher goals than just taking care of the family. They expect to have a stimulating job. Working-class women simply just do anything they can to feed the family but when there are few jobs to get, the first ones go to men. As poverty grows, women are also the first ones to suffer, which directly has to do with their less priorities and unequal sharing of power in the society (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995).

That poverty grows seems to hit women and children most and if women loose their jobs first, they might have to go back to be a home-maker again. If there have been no bigger changes in the relationship, the woman might have to face the patterns of patriarchy again. No income and thereby economic dependence of her husband. The economic dependence brings even the traditional thoughts as women can not have the freedom to choose what interests her in life. The housework and bringing up the children includes a lot of hidden work and is not that stimulating that many paid jobs might be. When women later on get employed again, there is a risk that she keeps on having the main-responsibility at home at the same time as she goes out to work. This should be considered as a double trap and especially working-class women continues with house-work in the evening when they get home from the paid work. Women from the upper classes simply get a maid to do the house-work. Men should take a bigger responsibility for their own family.
5.5 Third world women
As mentioned earlier, women, especially in the seventies, tried to join together to fight patriarchy. Feminist movements could work towards different directions and were never very efficient in the third world countries. That women were realizing the enormous gaps between women’s groups, classes and individuals became the first step towards the post-modern feminism.

A global sisterhood or category of women was something western feminism was trying to achieve but experiences from the western feminism could not be compared in the third world context. Women have many different experiences according to class, education, race etc. Feminist studies must put women’s situation into the context of historical and colonial oppression. Western feminists who do not try to take off their western glasses, who do not put themselves in the context of women’s different experiences and do not have respect nor understanding is just another colonial expression (Mohanty 2007.p.13). What Mohanty means is that western feminists come to the third world to study women’s liberation and cannot get rid of the western perspective when analysing women’s emancipation. She means that there must be a de-colonisation and a deeper transformation of ourselves and of the society. To achieve this she means that all of us need to protest against social and psychological structures of power. "Factors such as discriminatory recruitment and promotion practices of firms, self-selection of women out of higher paying occupations, and the interrupted career pattern of women due to their child-bearing role all contribute to pay inequity in the region.” (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995) Probably most importantly, we have to understand that not all women are oppressed in the same way or to the same extent, even within the same society at any specific moment (Yuval-Davis 1997). There are many kinds of inequalities for women.

5.6 Nurseries
Reliable daycare-centers for children are a service that a developed society should offer. Without them, someone has to stay with the children. So, you could say that the lack of reliable day-care-centers becomes a bigger problem for the working-class and hits working-class women most. People with low salary cannot afford to have a maid and as machismo gives women pressure concerning the role of how a real mother should be. Therefore the mothers are the first ones to stay at home with the children.

The fact that nurseries and other activities for childcare are so hard to find in Argentina, in bad conditions or simply to expensive is because of the unequal roles between men and women, and a matter that strikes women. "The inability to obtain or finance day care for children is a significant obstacle that inhibits women’s ability to take advantage of work or educational opportunities” (Iglesias/Birdsall. 1995 p.60). For women in the upper classes, the problem with child-care is not that difficult as for other women, as they easily get a maid for childcare and house-cleaning. "Even when a woman has the financial resources to hire someone to do this work, she is responsible for supervising that employee” (Iglesias/Birdsall. 1995 p.13). That women consider themselves as responsible for showing that employee is a sign that they still take the main-responsibility for the children and that child-rearing is their area. “ Still, the question of getting childcare and thereby be able to go to work, is obviously a matter of class.

5.7 Womens’ multiple roles
It is important to bear in mind how complex a woman’s workday and responsibility is. It is hard to get enough of time as being; “mothers, workers and often members of their
communities with responsibilities for cultural, religious or political organizations.” (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995). Even if men and women generally both are working nowadays, they are far away from reaching total equality as men and women are having so different roles in society. Facts show that Latin-American women work a lot, sometimes 12-18 hours a day. This influence the family-patterns drastically, as women then do not have the same time left for domestic tasks. If men, by this point, still are unwilling to change their traditional roles and thereby do not put on any more effort to make things work at home-basis, then this new situation may have a negative influence on the relationship and on the children. What happens in many of these cases is that the children, especially girls in poor families, quit school and instead have to do the domestic tasks. Logically, this leads to that the suffering children will miss important time at school. If no adult can take care of the children during daytime, as then being out of control of parents, they will not get a healthy childhood. This leads to a circle that makes poverty continue even in the next generation (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995).

Still, although women in general are getting employed in Argentina, they keep on, like women in general, having the main-responsibility for the household. The jobs that women are offered are many times low-paid and without any opportunities to advance. These two facts do not make things easy for women. Instead of what traditional ideals spoke for where women should be housewives, these days women have two jobs; labour-work and house-work (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995). This means that there might be a double burden for employed women today, especially when there is a very patriarchal context. Even if this not always is the case, there might be a time when women have this double burden. It must be related to men’s (and womens’) attitudes before men learn about their new role where taking a bigger responsibility in the household is included. At least, women taking up employment must be the first and crucial step towards emancipation.

Another example, on womens’ multiple roles is that it is very common to also, outside the normal job, or when being a house-wife, work in the local community. When participating on a voluntary level in a so called soup-kitchen for poor people, women receive skills in organisations and information about other activities in society. These skills are very important and leads to access to other paid job-opportunities. Looking on it from another perspective, these kind of unpaid jobs, including the domestic tasks that have to be done, are not in any form calculated on in any kind of official statistics. Not being so, it is hard to know how much Latin American women work in reality. This complicates the issue to make realistic development-plans. It also means that working un-paid, or working in domestic services, does not include social security or retirement-benefits (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995). Other studies (Pettman 1996) show that the formal work women attend to is in a high degree part-time work. Whether it is part-time or not, works from the informal sector is many times added. The informal sector contains a wide range of work from home-cooked food for sale, cleaning houses, to prostitution that not is uncommon. Going in and out from the informal sector makes it difficult to summarize the hours that women in the third world add to their work-day. Later, when the official work-day is over, it is hard to find time to the household labour that needs to be done.

5.8. The post-modern feminism
Geographically, the states of Latin America, Sub-Saharan Africa, the Caribbean, South and Southeast Asia, China, Oceania and South Africa are all classified as the Third world. This is a huge area which contains many different nations, including a large number of people. The many individuals living in those areas do not automatically share the same view of gender with varying expectations, opinions and characters. Of the same reason that one cannot speak
in terms of one single unit regarding western feminists, there should neither be any
generalizations upon third world women. Third world women do not constitute any automatic
unitary group when class, religion, sexuality, history and ideology instead make gaps that may
be hard to bridge (Mohanty 2007.p.63).

The critics from the Post-modern feminism towards the traditional feminist theory concern the
view of women as a single group of white, middle-class and Western. When instead Western
feminists express their view of third world women, they are all referred to the context of the
third world, such as being poor, underdeveloped, and from an oppressive tradition, with high
illiteracy and religious fanaticism. When western feminist are speaking about “the others”
they are often referring to a certain group of poor third world women, even though Yuval-
Davis (1997) refers to “others” in several cultural expressions, even among groups within the
western world.

“There are many different kind of “others”. In different situations and ethnic projects the
collectivity boundaries might include some “others” and exclude others. In contemporary
Europe an other could be, for example, a migrant, a black person, a member of an “old” or a
“new” minority, somebody from another religion, someone who speaks with another accent,
someone who comes from another region: in some situations and to some people, any, all or
none of the above could become the “other”. In other words, any culturally perceived sign
could become a boundary signer to divide the world into “us” and “them”. (Yuval-Davis
p.47. 1997) With this quotation (1997. p.47) Yuval-Davis expands the notion about “the
others”. This is not only a relation between the west and the rest of the world, but also
something that exists within the groups. In makes it even harder to judge people from another
group as it emphasizes the heterogeneity among people.

When the post-modern feminists underline heterogeneity they include diversity concerning
the female character, meaning that there is no such. Post-modern feminists mean that it does
not exist a certain kind of female character or female behaviour, just because a woman was
born into a female body. There should not be any special expectations for certain characters
whatsoever on women, homosexuals, coloured or white people etc. and that is the reason why
post-modern writers do not find it essential to fight for certain identities like the ones just
mentioned. The inflexibility in the meaning of conceptions like class, gender and ethnicity are
being challenged by the post-modern feminism. The inflexibility once again is a heritage from
the western thought and perspective and is linked to the male-dominance and power.
(Beasley, 1999) Considering all these injustices related to different forms of inequalities, I
believe that the solutions have to be connected to each other. There are no simple
explanations or solutions and as it is impossible to generalise groups towards each other the
solutions have probably to be based on local knowledge.

Mohanty (2007.p. 19) refers to the different inequalities around the globe and have a vision
and some ideas about how to create a more human world-order. One of the ideas that
Mohanty uses is “feminist solidarity” and explains something about her goal in the world and
society. Homosexuals and heterosexuals should have the same rights in society and one
should feel free to choose how to live one’s life. Economic stability is another crucial theme
where her anti-capitalist thought clearly shows. Ecologic attainability and equality between
races are also central in her theory (Mohanty 2007.p.19). Giving this idea shows that Mohanty
really has a cross-over view of feminism, that touch all kinds of inequalities in a society. She
means that the injustices are connected and would at least as ideology like to create a more
human kind of world-order. Maybe one inequality is related to another but we all need to reach a deeper respect for human life to create a more human society.

5.9. Machismo in Latin-America

There are several ways to define the machismo-culture. One way might be the following: “Machismo is not only defined by a specific type of relationship between men and women, but also by a specific type of relationship between men. Asserting masculinity through male bonding and distance from the feminine, from both women and the feminine in other men, is central to the reinforcement of notions of maleness in macho ideology” (Mulinari 1995 p.64).

One understands soon that you need to look deeper to understand this phenomenon and that the explanation has strong connections to how the society was built. "In Argentina, struggling to forge nationhood in the first half of the nineteenth century....there was also a strong link between domestic and political or "public patriarchy"....there was consensus, among elite politicians and between elites and plebes, that patriarchy underpinned social stability, however elusive that stability might be (Dore 1997. p.107). What machismo means is that men look at themselves as superior above women and that they should be privileged, both in society and in the family. In many ways, the machismo is connected to the interests of those having power in society. "Male supremacy relies on the fact that historically the activities which were valued by society coincided with the work done by men” (Bussell, 1980 p. 9). It is important to understand the relationship between society’s demands, control-mechanisms and the machismo. The machismo is connected to the ideals with very strong powers in society. The machismo itself is based on these powers, why it not can be separated from that society (Pettman, 1996).

Patriarchal men might show their masculinity by conquering as many women as possible, taking control over women and having many children. This is more common in less developed countries than Argentina and depends of course on class and background. Most important attributes for these men are honour, pride and the love to himself. Even if it is a basic component of these cultures it is a worldwide-phenomenon. "The difference is that in more industrialized and developed societies, it does not appear that brutally” The machismo is a heritage from the Iberian conquers. The lack of knowledge and the high rate of illiteracy contribute that it is still so widespread. It appears more brutally among men without education and those already oppressed by society” (Wedin 1986. p.25-26).

The characteristics of the masculine are clearly associated with ruling, such as being impartial, disconnected and independent. There is a silent but clear link to the political man. Women as a stereotype are connected to nurturance and the private home, but also to disorderly, sexuality and unruly behaviour. From this view, the woman needs to be under control and protection of a man. Additionally, a society where members have this attitude legitimises women as being locked out from the public sphere. It does then exist a gendered division of labour were society makes women cling to the domestic sphere. Women are filled with the vision of motherhood, marriage and femininity which disguise unpaid work in the home. One of the most important issues that feminism is criticising, is therefore the ruling sexual hierarchy. To be able to make a change for women, you have to start by analysing patriarchy and look how it works (Pettman, 1996).

Another theory about men in a similar situation, oppressed by society comes from Connell (2008, p.147). She means that working-class men tends to become twice as marginalised in society by economic weakness and by belonging to the working-class with its limits within
society. One cornerstone of patriarchy is men’s economic dominance over women and if there is no such dominance, patriarchy will lose some of its power. These men that accept the lost of promotions towards a higher level of working-class, might also accept the justice in their own social situation. Some of these men that consider themselves twice as marginalised in society might have a greater ambition to equality and another understanding for their women. (Connell, 2008, p. 147).

As a sociologist, it is reasonable to believe that one could respond in different ways of the marginalisation towards society. A man’s lost of control over his working-situation and over his wife could increase his frustration. In a Latin-American context where machismo still is widespread and society assumes that the man is the head of household, and he realises within himself that he is losing his power, he might take out his anger over wife and children. How Wedin above describes the behaviour of machismo-men, is probably one possible theory of how these men could react when losing control. To at least know that he can control wife and children, could make him believe, to convince himself that he is more valued than someone else in the hierarchical society. By this way he will never gain more self-esteem when in reality it is his own alienation towards society that makes him feel this way.

Connell’s (2008) theory about twice marginalised working-class men brings another explanation for men in a similar situation. I assume both Wedin’s (1986) and Connell’s theories could be reality for different men in the same situation. Connell’s theory about the marginalised men that comes to a deeper understanding and equality for women might be true for men with a wider perspective of how society works. Maybe the greatest difference between Wedin’s and Connell’s theories are that Connell’s oppressed men have accepted their own situation while in Wedin’s theory, they have not.

Bussell (1980) explains more about how machismo became so widespread in Latin-America in the first place. There is one explanation how the machismo is linked to the colonization; when the western world came to dominate and cross the cultures in Latin-America, the aboriginals got brutally robbed on their identity. The machismo and the often used violence are connected to the violence people once had to face. “As a response to his own alienation, the Latin-American male recognize himself to be at least the master of “his” woman and will often use mental and physical violence, against her. By doing so, he is not realizing that by alienating her he increases his own alienation.” The western world’s values, that accepted that the colonization could take place, are obviously also based on male-domination where rationality, technique and efficiency are the only dignified compositions. Having this perspective on the world, in combination with overvaluing capital and power, the western world claims to have the right to extinguish every kind of different cultural expression (Bussell. 1980).

5.10. Women taking up employment

Women in Latin America are gradually in recent years, taking greater part of labour-work outside their home and the reasons originates from the very basics; the need to feed the family. Another reason to that women these days in a higher degree than before choose labour-market instead of staying at home is definitely that women are searching for more creative tasks. By working, a new world opens up for women and of course; education makes it even better with even more opportunities (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995).

That women are finding the way to the labour-market is one of the most important steps towards emancipation. To be economic independent makes your possibilities so much bigger in order to choose important directions in your own life.
"Education opens the trap door: it allows the woman to escape from restrictions of her existence as a housewife; it deprives inequality of its legitimating; it sharpens her sense of self-confidence and willingness to take up the battle for prizes long denied; her own earnings strengthen her position within the marriage and free her from the need to remain married for purely economic reasons" (Beck/Beck-Gernsheim, 1995 p.8). In contrast to those married women who remain married for the money, women who have their own income start to feel independency. Having your own income is the most important factor for emancipation as the income brings liberty to choose things in life. This is where emancipation starts.

For one group of women it is mainly the income that work brings that makes them feel independent. For other women, beside the income, is the personal development one gets from an interesting job needed for them to call themselves independent. These kind of middle-class women have a quite stable economy with no bigger financial worries. The third group of women are not satisfied with their definition of independence until they, except having an ordinary income, have another meaningful task to fulfil. This could presumably be expressed in the desire of helping people in need at a voluntary work. This searching for a deeper content in life might have its explanation in ones class-identity. This person is not satisfied until she can relate to its identity in helping others. Other womens´ identities could simply be connected to the economic surviving one gets from a job and then be satisfied. These different levels of satisfaction have a direct link to class, age and identity. From middle-class there are certain expectations on the job to be interesting, which not is hard to understand if the woman for instance has a university exam. That will naturally lead her to look for special kind of works that are in her interest. Also the woman’s experience and age may influence her to make other choices when applying for jobs. Castells (1997) also underlines the importance of womens´ paid work as part of the global economy and among many things womens´ consciousness and feminist movements. That women are taking up employment is part of a process of a greater transformation around the world and brings change for not only the families but the whole society.

5.11. Female-headed households are not official. Back-stage differs from front-stage
The official picture of Latin-American women can tell that in general, women does not work a lot outside home, as Latin-American women are house-wives. Reality has always been different though, at least for the working-class. It was first in the 1980’s that sociologists found the high number of female-headed families in Latin America (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995). Reality has always been different than what the politics wanted it to look like. In Argentina, among many other Latin-American countries, there is a tradition where the political system has relied on that every family has a husband that carries the responsibility for the rest of the family-members. That society gets more stable by patriarchy and that Argentinean families always are male-headed is a myth. Women in lower social-groups have for instance always been working, including the responsibility for the children and the domestic tasks (Wedin, 1986).

As the strong ideal during last decades have been the nuclear-family, relying on the man’s paid work and the woman´s unpaid work at home, I believe that, to change that image, for the people to be aware of that reality is far away from the ideal, is a process that will take time. First and foremost, people need to be aware of that reality is different than the ideal. Secondly, society needs a family-ideal that will be based on gender-equality. To be honest, the society in general needs ideals, not only family-ideals that are based of equalities between gender, race, class and sexuality. The thing the society is slowly realising, is that the ideal of
the strong man never could carry the whole society or nation on his shoulders, makes people confused. Before the man has found his new role in the family and in the society, I assume that there will be confusion in society and if feeling fear for the future, some people wants to hold on to the old path while others might be to proud to understand that society needs a change and that they also have to change their own behaviour.

The ideologies about segregation of women doing the housework are simply built of the feminine and masculine stereotypes concerning protection and property. These stereotypes underline women as being mothers, sisters and wives and womens´ most important task is to take care about marriage and family. To maintain the picture of the man as a breadwinner, it is therefore important for men to title womens´ work as spare-time work (Mohanty 1991).

Other authors also underline the difference between the official picture and reality. Goffman (1959) has made a sociological point when arguing that the sociological interaction between people is compared with dramaturgy. He means that in life we all have a front-stage and back-stage. On the front-stage we show people, the audience, the best of ourselves and the audience knows more or less according of the manners from the person on stage what to expect from the performance. The performer on the front-stage underlines the agreements towards the audience and tries not to make a fuss about the contrasts. On the other hand, while being on the back-stage, the performer shows in his behaviour a more realistic side of himself and this is where the performance is being prepared. The audience has no access to the back-stage which is a private part of the stage, where secrets between different performers are being shared. The audience is in this way manipulated because if the actor succeeds with his presentation, the audience will view the actor as he wants to be viewed (Goffman 1959).

In Latin-America it has obviously been crucial for mens´ identity and the patriarchal society to support the picture of male-headed households: This picture is the front-stage when using Goffman’s (1959) theory. One explanation why back-stage differs so much from front-stage when it comes to female-headed families is that a man can not accept that it shows that a woman, instead of a man, feeds and supports the family. On the countryside it is still happening that a husband receives both his and his wife´s salary (and the salary for the children, if they are forced to work) which of course is one explanation to why womens´ part does not show in the statistics. Officially, male-headed households have been generally more common in Latin America, but some social groups do have the norm of female-headed households. Facts show that this has been reality since the early nineteenth century and that the change is part of a huge transition in society. That transition means that patriarchy is heading towards liberalism and feudalism goes towards capitalism. Such important change influences attitudes, rights, duties and patterns within the households (Dore 1997).

The fact that women are taking up employment and do produce for the world market is beginning to give a new picture of all work being done by women. It is now shown that men also get benefits out of womens´ productions (Mohanty 1991). It is difficult to see the whole picture of womens´ exploitation and how to find new paths towards equality. I believe that it is fundamentally important to be open and listen for what local women have to say in order to support womens´ emancipation.

5.12. Summary of theory
The Man has for a long time been considered head of household even though the woman´s role always has been crucial within cultivation and production. During the industrialization-process women stayed at home taking care of the house and children, supported by their
husbands. When women later started to take up employment there were obstacles such as mens´ opinion about how a real woman should be and that the man is supposed to be the breadwinner and the woman the home-maker. The message to women was clear; women should stay away from the labour-market. There were not enough of jobs for the men already being at the labour-market. This attitude of male-supremacy is called patriarchy but in a Latin-American context we call it machismo.

Feminism starts when arguing that gender is separated from biology, meaning that womens´ or mens´ behavior could no more be explained with biological explanations such as “women were made to stay at home and take care of the children.” Feminism started as a unified front to gather women in a sort of protest against patriarchy. The aim was that women should have their rights to develop, to take up employment and the hidden work at home should be shared. How the patriarchy should be challenged became very soon a matter of dispute and made way for altering views and orientations within the feminist thought. One of the approaches is the post-modern feminism and it has put focus on the heterogeneity of women, meaning that women around the world are different with various life-conditions and expectations. Class, religion, education and sexuality etc, make diversity among people from the same geographic area.

Women are taking up employment and by doing so, women are taking a very important step towards emancipation. Womens´ emancipation means that women liberate themselves; they develop and do not have the limits of being a home-maker. When taking up employment women get their own salary so that they do not need to be dependent of someone else. What also happens when you enter the labour-market is that you develop on a personal level; you get new self-esteem. Life is a constantly learning-process if you only get stimulation, meet new people and not stay isolated at home all day long.

Argentina is a traditional country that has maintained its old structures of family-patterns concerning marriage, parenthood and roles within the family-structure. It is not a reflexive modern (Beck 1992) society in the sense of individualism in the society. The reflexive modernity demands an individualized society as people need to adapt to labour-market and find one’s own social identity, for instance having to move to another city or another country to get a job. Thereby you can no more rely on the support of relatives or the harmony in the neighbourhood. Another central aspect within feminism in Argentina is the class-perspective. Working-class women have always been working even though the ideal in Argentina was for men to maintain the family. Women have multiple roles to attend to and if a working-class woman gets employed, she has a burden of house-work to attend to when she gets home. A woman from the upper-classes simply hires someone; a maid to do that kind of domestic work. The point is that it is still the woman in the household that have the responsibility for the housework and men are still not stepping in very often to take their share of the burden. Upper-class women buy themselves free, but must at the same time adapt a little more to their husbands wishes and might have a longer way towards emancipation. This is strange because women from the upper-classes have their education that should put the light on these structures. Another aspect is the knowledge from voluntary work that quite a big number of women do apart from their ordinary work. This gives skills and most importantly; self-esteem that is crucial for women in their way towards emancipation.
6. ANALYSIS-WOMENS´ LIFE

6.1. Introduction
That women stay at home to take care of the house and children has until recently been the ideal for women in the western world. Women are now liberating themselves and finding their ways to the labour-market. In some parts of the world women’s liberalization is more developed while as in other parts of the world, in many of the third world countries, women have just recently taken their first steps towards emancipation. Argentina, with a development of the industry that took off early, is today a country in financial crisis with deep poverty and widespread social problems. Argentineans are open-minded on things going on in Europe and women just began their journey towards emancipation even if the Mothers on Plaza de Mayo have thirty years experience of women’s movements. Patriarchy puts many obstacles in the way for women, though. The country in crisis makes labour-market very unstable, were inflation and exceptional high unemployment-rates make people, men and women, grab any job-opportunity they come over. High living-costs make both the men’s and the women’s salary important for the family. This has of course an impact on the old patriarchal system.

6.2. Patriarchy
Women as house-wives has until these days been the ideal for women in the western world. These days’ women are getting developed and take up employment. Development has come further in some parts of the world while as in others, it just started. There is a very hard economic situation these days in Argentina; jobs are few and salaries low and among working-class, people do whatever they can to survive. According to what I have seen, because of the high unemployment-rates, people in general, men and women are happy if they just manage to get a job.

Argentina, with its social problems and wide gaps between rich and poor is with an early industrialization and European immigration influenced by European customs. Argentines are in deed open-minded on things going on in Europe and women’s liberation is a quite new phenomenon. Even if the circumstances are tough, labour opens up a new world for women (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995). Education makes it even better as you then will have a bigger choice. If you put it the other way round, you could say that if women did stay at home being house-wives, life would more or less stay the same, as it would be harder to experience new things. Housewives get less stimulation from the outside world, in comparison to men and in that way it is harder to develop oneself. The step to the outside world might feel too big.

Patriarchy does exist when; ”a senior male controls and protects everyone in his household, male and female” (Dore 1997 p.102). In what degree parents want to control and protect their children, is something that can be discussed, but if a man also controls his woman he automatically puts himself on a higher level and believes that the woman not is capable to make her own decisions. How it comes that a man controls everybody in the household, depends on the structure of society and how the woman reacts on this behaviour, the tradition the man once got from his parents combined with his own ideas etc. Still, patriarchy is a very unequal and unjust system. Even the protecting part that Dore (1997,p.102) above mentions when describing patriarchy, is a kind of control which just can be unbearable if you get over-protected. Additionally, by being over-protected you do not practice to think and act independently which in the long run will make the journey towards emancipation more difficult. In this way a woman is being used to that someone always takes care of her.

How the children are brought up is important for how the machismo in the next generation will develop. By putting focusing on women, giving also them part of responsibility for the
machismo, it will be easier to understand how society influences people. If blaming men for being “machistas” and wanting to understand why, it is also important to take a look at society in general and on its history. As mentioned previously, women’s emancipation has won some battles while heading for equality and has reached some more degrees of understanding. Despite the fact that women’s but also men’s roles are changing, you can still hear the sound of the traditional roles and the man is in many cases still supposed to take the economic main-responsibility and go to work. Many women discover, after having worked for a while, the opportunities connected to working-life;

“When I started to work, I was very shy and I didn’t talk to anybody and I was afraid of everything. Then the cleaning-enterprise, the one I work for, sent me over here and I started to communicate.” (Marisa)

“If you are working it helps you to understand a lot of things, you get knowledge that you wouldn’t get in another form. In these days, if you do not have been studying and if you do not wear a big capacity or efficiency, you will not get a very good social development, because there is a big competition between one and another out there.” (Catalina)

The drive for emancipation is the self-esteem that comes from the personal development and the freedom that the salary can offer you. There are other opportunities than the economy aspect linked to labour work, but of course, having ones’ own income is central as it brings opportunities to make a change in your own life. Still, if lacking of self-esteem to make that change, but instead sticking to the old patterns, there will be no change.

If a woman has been away from labour-market for a long time, the risk of feeling unsecure, is bigger. It is a psychological problem that you have to solve by strengthening your self-esteem. Of course, the fear is also linked to the lack of knowledge that will be required when going back to work. If that fear is too big, women might prevent themselves from getting a divorce and simply continue in old tracks. Economic circumstances, like high rates of unemployment would probably make this destructive thinking worse, while other women that really have made up their minds might see the labour-market as a challenge.

6.3. The mother’s attitude in the patriarchal family
Defining what is a patriarchal family, Dore (1997 p.102) argues that: “I assume that for a household to qualify as patriarchal, whatever else it is, it must be male-headed”. Dore (1997) adds that male headship of course not is the only characteristic for being patriarchal but one of the most important conditions. On my part, I am not willing to back her up all the way. I suppose it would be logical, following her line and say that male-headed families are predicted to be more patriarchal than female-headed ones. What I want to say, and now talking about what I have seen several times while being on the social field in a Latin-American context, is that some women support and contribute to the conservation of the patriarchal system. Labour-work might for those women be connected to insecurity and alienation. Those women stick to traditional ideals and prefer life in the traditional way. They bring up their children in more or less the same tracks as their parents and grand-parents have done for generations. Those women have agreed to the conception of the machismo, accepted of what terms they have to play on and want their children to continue the old patterns as a hierarchical family within the machismo ideal.

By living a traditional life herself and by raising her daughter to take the main-responsibility for the domestic work, the mother contributes to the patriarchal family. Mothers do not expect
their sons to take any responsibility for the domestic tasks as they always will have someone to do that for them. Her daughter will get an illusion of her future husband, whoever it might be, and she knows that a good man maintains the family on an economic level. This is also the reason why those mothers do not find it important to teach their daughters about independency. As a contrast, it is crucial for the mothers that their sons will get strong and independent, so that they can get a good job and maintain a family in the future.

"It’s very possible that the Latino-mothers are bad when it comes to raise their sons. I think it has to do with something that is in the culture but in an unknown way. My son does not generally do a lot of things because of course his mother (ironically) takes care of his clothes that are lying down on the floor. If he has to make himself something to eat, he does, but if he can get away with not doing anything he prefers that. We do not talk a lot about it.” (Elisa)

Elisa above and in the following quotation Matilde are both clearly aware of how the mothers can be “machistas” and how they let the machismo-attitudes continue in the link between generations;

”In general, the one who did something wrong is the mother, I mean if she wants to do everything all by herself, if she cannot wait until he does it. You have to give the children space to do things, understand? The mothers have shown their sons that they don’t need to do anything in the house and that has been going on for generation after generation.” (Matilde)

6.4. Class and the nuclear-family

As Argentina is a country where the gaps between classes are wide, I have chosen to analyse the class-perspective in the essay. Class and nuclear-family are central subjects in the Argentinean context and what I believe crucial factors in the Argentinean society. They are decisive when it comes to womens’ emancipation. The nuclear-family, which means that mother, father and two or three children live together, has for a long time been the ideal in the western world. The nuclear-family belongs to the bourgeois ideal and has for a long time been, and is still by many people seen as the only accepted family-pattern. The reason why it these days is beginning to get criticized is because it is based on that the woman stays at home having the main-responsibility for house and children. The man’s role is to maintain the family.

As earlier mentioned, working-class around the world still in general have higher fertility rates. There are many explanations. Women feeling pressure from the paid employment together with their men not stepping in to take that responsibility for the children, are factors that make couples having less children. “The globalization of middle-class consumerism along with womens´ education and the necessity of their paid employment to meet rising aspirations have been decisive factors in the decrease in family size across the world” (Bandarage p.158. 1998). On the country-side traditional ideals might delay and the power of globalization is weaker. Big families are more common here, traditional ideals and patriarchy stronger which of course adds womens´ working burden.

In the ideal of the nuclear-family, you can easily find an attitude that is common by both men and women. That attitude is concerning men as bread-winners; although women nowadays are working and do earn some money themselves, the man should still be the bread-winner. Susan Faludi (1991) has analysed this attitude and she means that there is a pressure from society and as social actors, of course the pressure also comes from the man himself and from
his wife. According to this attitude the man should take the main responsibility for the economy. His salary should be enough to pay for house and living for the entire family;

"...what the husband earns in salary, should go to what it costs to maintain the house and what the woman earns should be seen as a support, but not the main support. It’s the man that should keep the costs for the house and what the woman earns could go for travels and so on....." (Carolina)

What the woman earns is less important as she will not have to pay any heavy parts for the living. (Faludi 1991) In my interviews I could also find this conservative attitude;

"Every time when there is a man and a woman on the same post, the man is gonna earn more. It makes me angry but on the other hand we then have better excuses to go away from the job if there for example happens something with your children. If your son suddenly gets ill, you can more easily run away and take care of him. My husband couldn’t do that. I think that’s why men earn more than women but it also has a lot to do with the machismo.” (Carolina)

By conserving this attitude in today’s Argentina, men still feel good about playing the protagonist-role within the marriage and women feel free or even satisfied while happily spending her own-earned amount of money. This is definitely a question of class, as it depends on how much the man earns. In working-class it is not possible that the woman stays at home as surviving of course must be the most important thing. The pride the patriarchal husband would feel if he alone could support the family is therefore more shown in the upper classes. However, by this view, I have not said that a couple from the working-class have reached a deeper understanding of equality. The same husband with a higher income would probably “take care” of his woman in the same traditional way as generations had done before him and maybe he then would like his woman to stay at home.

The upper classes can always find solutions as holding up an image of the perfect family might be important for these families. Women from the upper classes can sort of buy themselves free but have to pay a price for it. According to my own Latin American experience, an ordinary person doing a class-journey from poor working-class towards the higher classes will change his/her attitude. When still working hard in working-class, you can easily express yourself as an independent woman while contradicting but quietly dreaming about marring yourself rich. When reaching the goal and “a ticket to the rich man’s world”, you will probably change your attitude. On the other hand, you should not say that you in this situation definitely will adapt to upper classes attitudes because it probably takes a lifetime to get adapted to the ideals of the upper classes. I will not analyse class-journeys anymore but there are several important sociologists that have done so. What I do want to address is how womens’ emancipation appears differently according to her background. I was surprised to find that some of the working-class women had a stronger fighting spirit than what I consider women from the upper classes had.

"I am very good at cooking. I can persist a lot, I mean in the bad times I try to think positively and search for the possible ways, I do whatever I can....If I have a goal, before I reach it I will not give up. I am a good person. In general I try to help others…”(Norma)

A woman like Norma is an excellent example of a strong independent woman who besides having to fight poverty in her own nine-children family also works as a volunteer to help other poor children in the daycare-centre. She can not accept any injustices and uses all her
power to fight all inequalities there is in her life. To have a maid that would do the house-
work is just too expensive and out of the question in this case. Norma could never “buy
herself free” from the work that needs to be done at home. That Norma and her husband
shares the burden of the household is fundamental so that she in fact could reach this
emancipation.

Graciela is another example of a woman from a female-headed household where sharing the
unpaid work at home with her husband is fundamental. Her work as a teacher is stimulating
and gives the main support of income to the family. She expresses herself as liberated from
traditional ideals;

"I can express what I think and what I feel. I have my own ideas about life, about everything.
I can communicate and listen to whoever I want. I go independently through life and I do not
depend on anyone. The old social situation, when a woman had to depend economically on
her husband because he had a job that gave money and she had not.... that influences
everything and you get very dependent.” (Graciela)

Even if these women argues that having your own income is the most important part for being
independent, they also express that independency is complex. While economically
independent women can decide for themselves and be independent in a more general aspect,
some of the interviewed women start talking about an affective aspect. They mean that you
should not let independency go too far and get completely emotionally independent;

"No one stays at home all day long, not knowing to take a job if your husband looses his, but
on the other hand women shouldn´t put on pants and be a man. When women started working,
besides from all the good things it brought, I also consider that women have lost something
very important. She lost some of that protecting-part of her nature…”(Marta)

I agree with those women saying that independency should not go to exaggeration in the
sense were you could be emotional independent, not needing anyone. I think there might be a
big miss-understanding if people equals feminism with women´s emotional independence
from other human beings. These kinds of reflections could also be linked to the capitalism
that I will come to further on.

6.5. Young men as breadwinners
One aspect that has little research is whether the new generation of young men are prepared to
support their girlfriends/wives if they prefer to be a house-wife. It should be mentioned that
men of earlier generations did sacrifices to a large extent in old times when having to be the
only economic support of the household. To do that, one must work hard and even these men
should have had dreams of doing something else. The best for all parts would of course be to
share the working-burden and men as well as women actually are changing attitude towards
this. This would also be a sign of that we all are changing roles and that we are developing
towards a more equal society. Today, the economic aspect, meaning it would probably be
impossible for one person to support an entire family also influences how things turn out;
Another aspect that also shows a society in the process of reaching more equality, is the
young mens´ attitude if getting forced to be the bread-winner. That is what happens if society
puts pressure on women to stay at home with the children. The attitudes of these young men
are still unclear, but there are big doubts if they really are prepared for the role as the one
having the economic responsibility for wife and children.
If living as the old pattern with the husband as bread-winner and the wife as home-maker, the couple will live in two worlds that easily create a distance between them. If going further, you can hereby also see how “el machismo” that normally gains the man, also makes problems for him. If he does not allow his wife to get a job, in the end he will create that gap between himself and his wife. So, from this perspective, you could say that the man, who chooses the machismo, also chooses to not letting the relationship develop through a higher degree of understanding. It is difficult to have a deeper relationship if you cannot understand each other and have little in common. A hierarchical relationship with one person in power is not a good relationship. Logically, the subordinated person will never be treated with the respect she deserves nor be able to express her opinions.

Within this system the woman will neither have freedom nor respect. If putting this perspective from familiar micro-level to society’s macro-level and if the man continues with this unequal behaviour and treats people disrespectfully on this non-democratic way, how could there ever be democracy? Or, putting it in other words, how can the week democracies that do exist in the Latin-American countries grow stronger, if there is no democracy between man and woman. Equality and democracy are closely connected. 1970’s Argentina, with dictatorship, disappearances and military forces did certainly not bring peace in peoples’ minds nor in society. Justice in general were far away while democracy was out of sight. Democracy had not been rooted and institutionalised itself very well. Looking from this view, one can easily conclude that before it is possible to reach equality between the genders, a society needs to obtain justice for all in a well-established democracy.

Even if women still has the main-responsibility for the housework the changing process is set. There is a big step between the generations according to the willingness to take up employment. As society slowly is changing, the gender-system, that sets the limits for what is accepted for men and women, is changing also. Women are taking up employment and are looking for more creative tasks.

6.6. Third world women
As have been mentioned above, feminism in the third world and feminism in the western world are hard to compare with each other. One reason is that the women in the different areas may live under such varying circumstances that basically make them having different priorities in life. If the main-priority for the day in a poor third world woman’s life is to find food, everything else must seem less important. She might be ready to do anything to avoid starvation. She would for instance never turn down an unjust job-opportunity or be too proud when having to tackle tough situations at work. Instead, she has to save all money that is possible. In this situation, when you feel that you have no options in life, of course you have another attitude towards society and feminism. It might be difficult to see the benefits of feminism when the results cannot be shown immediately.

Unlike the history of western (read: white, middle-class) feminism, which at least has been studied for the last decades, there has not been the same focus on third world women’s engagement with feminism. Various ideological differences make the women having varying views on society and being female does of course not automatically make you a feminist. To make a definition on third world women based on their problems, in relation to an imagined white, liberal democracy is pointless. (Mohanty, 1991) What post-modern feminists do is therefore emphasising plurality, diversity, sensitivity to local and diverse voices of feminism. It also rejects a universal feminist view. With open eyes and with a more creative view,
liberated from the predetermined tracks that the colonialism left behind, is the only way to begin a more dynamic science on the third world feminism.

6.7. Nurseries
As a sociologist I believe that an equal society should offer good and healthy nurseries for the children. If there are no such and as the path towards equality only has started, women are still the first ones to take that bigger responsibility for the children. If nurseries are too expensive for an ordinary family to afford, or if the nursery is in bad condition, I consider the problem is on a structural level, related to how society is constructed. This is a very important issue for women’s independence and naturally related to class, where working-class women are more vulnerable.

“Parenting is not a rewarded occupation; everywhere, the burdens of raising children are borne overwhelmingly by women.” (Bandarage 1998. p.158) I have my own hypothesis about it though; As the Argentinean society has, until today, been based on women taking care of the children; there has not been any use for building nurseries. Now, when it is more common that women work outside their homes, there has still not been time to make good and protected nurseries or it is simply low-priority. Even if women seem to have a lighter future, it is important to be aware of strong forces that try to lead women back to the kitchen. Having children is still hard for single mothers. The Latin-American societies could definitely do more to strengthen women. Nurseries are several times offering their services on hours when it is hard for a single mother to combine her working-hours with the nursery’s open hours. This is shown by the quotation below:

"For a little baby, I do not like nurseries because you do not know what could happened, I do not know if they take good care of the baby. "when my son was a baby, an elderly woman, a neighbour took care of him and she came over here to my house. She did so from that he was 6 months old, but it was only for like 3 hours a day.” (Matilde)

"I do not trust the nurseries, and I do not like to lock her in inside a nursery, but there are good ones and bad ones. You have to trust the people that work there so that the children eat good and so, because I've heard about very strange things that happen in some of the bad nurseries... “ (Marisa)

Unfortunately, the ones that suffer from the social system not being helpful are women and children. If society does not offer any support with reliable nurseries then the women are forced to solve the situation by her own. Matilde chose to let someone she knew take care of the child and she could still go to work. Others might have been forced to stay at home. To hire someone to babysit for them is very much a matter of class and the woman considers it as her responsibility to make things work with the employee. At least she can get out to work and the stimulating world outside home, and she probably feels free and liberated but I believe that this freedom has more connection to class, that she can afford an employee in the house. Women from working-class need to work more hours to make things go round and maybe they do not feel this freedom connected to money, but instead they might have their identity strengthened by their true independency. Like Andrea;

"it is the unique form to develop as a person. But it depends on with what you are working, right?! My work as a teacher is very interesting, because every year you get a new group of children with different aspects. It is very creative, because you cannot do the same year after year. It depends on that group’s interest, what they know... You learn from it... “ (Andrea)
6.8. **Womens’ multiple roles**

As women are taking up employment and as patriarchy still is outspread, her burden for what needs to done will be heavier. One example of everything to do in the house is washing clothes. Washing-machines are not common in Latin-America so people are spending several hours every day just to wash clothes by hand. On the countryside, washing clothes in the river might still be most commonly used. Obviously, this makes work very hard and a big difference among all the work that needs to be done at home, especially with many children to take care of. Another example, mentioned above, on womens´ multiple roles is that it is very common to also, outside the normal job, or when being a housewife, work in the local community. When participating voluntary in a so called soup-kitchen for poor people, women receive skills in the organisation and information about other activities in society. These skills are very important and leads to access to other paid job-opportunities. Looking on it from another perspective, these kind of unpaid jobs, including the domestic tasks that have to be done, are not in any form calculated on in any kind of official statistics. Not being so, it is hard to know how much Latin American women in reality work. This complicates the issue to make realistic development-plans. It also means that working unpaid, or working in domestic services, does not include social security or retirement-benefits. (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995)

When analysing patriarchy, the economic aspect always is present. A woman with a considered high economic level can “buy herself free” if having a maid. By doing so, it might appear that she is a more liberated woman compared to a woman that after the working day also has to do the housework. Without a good economy, rich woman would have to do the housework alone while her husband in both cases still gets away with doing nothing;

“In the end, women always work more because if they stay at home taking care of their children that is also a job that they are doing; Eating, cleaning the house and later on going out to the job. On the other hand, the man is working and when he gets home dinner is ready for him. It is different because he gets more time to rest…” (Marisa)

When stressing womens´ issues, it is important to have in mind the complexity of a working woman’s day. When her paid work finishes, there are other jobs that are taken for granted, that she has to deal with. Beside being a mother and having to do the house-work, she is as well many times member in a community or doing voluntary-work. (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995) Three of the interviewed women are working as volunteers at a kindergarten. Two of them are not employed anywhere even if still doing the domestic tasks at home. Their skills are very important for the kindergarten though, and the women themselves also gain experience for the future.

I have written about Norma earlier, because she is such a good example of a working-class independent woman that with her fighting spirit not only prevent her nine-child family from poverty but also helps other poor children when working as a volunteer in the day-care-centre. She has a complex working-day. She has one paid job as a cook-maid but as well she runs this day-care-centre. Her family is a typical female-headed family, were even if her husband also works a little, he is the one who takes care of the children during day-time. As mentioned earlier, Latin-American women works a lot which very much changes the family-patterns. What shows that people are heading towards a more equal society is a first step when men actually do get influenced by womens´ work and have to deal with the house-work and taking care of the children. (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995) This is what happens in Norma´s case when she
and her husband share house-work and responding for the children. Norma´s role in the family is central and so is her salary.

"well, my husband takes care of and helps me with the children. If he didn´t do that, I wouldn´t be able to work at all. We share the work, he takes care about the children those 6 hours while I am working..." (Norma)

If the man wouldn´tdo any effort, the ones that have to suffer are the children. They would have to quit school to help out with housework which in the long run leads to poverty even in the next generation. (Iglesias/Birdsall 1995) This was never the case in any of the interviewed womens´ family-situations as all of them had solved the issue with the children during daytime.

7. The post-modern feminism
What differ the post-modern feminism from other feminist thoughts is mainly the fact that they indeed are questioning the western thoughts to a level of deconstruction of all foundational thoughts. This means that they are not only criticising womens´ situation in history up to today, but also criticising all taken notions presented as neutral that in reality have been forged in a traditional male form. Even though other feminist thoughts are criticising male standards in society, the post-modern feminism actually questions all foundational thoughts as they are linked to (male) power, analyses them and later demands a reconstruction and innovation of them. The focus on plurality at women instead of unity is therefore what makes a difference between post-modern feminism from other feminist thoughts. As living under different conditions, the reality for women around the world never looks the same. There is no unified truth valid for all women. In other words; one woman has rarely the very same goals from another and it is therefore hard to fit in a woman in a pre-made social role. When the post-modern feminism underlines diversity, it questions norms around what is considered as normal/abnormal. These norms are challenged by the post-modern feminism because they have been constructed under western power that marginalizes what is considered as different and by various means tries to force abnormality to change into normality (Beasley, 1999).

Western feminist writers assume that women from the third world have the same kind of experiences or simply codify them as “non western”. By doing so as a scientist, you will assume that your own culture is the norm and the third world culture is something else. This narrow view freezes the women in old tracks. There are several problems linked to this way of thinking, but the most important is the claim of privileges in an ethnocentric universalism. Another problem is the lack of knowledge concerning how the western science in the third world makes an impact. This kind of thinking is a product from colonial times and what is required within science is a radical de-colonisation (Mohanty 2007.p.26). Western feminists need to change their view on third world women; to stop looking at women as victims and instead see women as active and look at the possibilities there are. If the post-modern feminism could show some of the many experiences, differences and inequalities between women it will be easier to find ways towards emancipation.

If western feminists could have a better dialogue and communication to the local women in the third world, I believe that western womens´ perspective would change. The local women have of course local knowledge and their own experiences of how things work in their community, and they have their own social identity. Some third world women have experience of racism. Other women have not been treated differently because of their race.
Another example is that of working-class women from the same country do not necessarily need to have the same experiences just because of the class-belonging. Within the third world there are so many different cultures. There are conclusions that have been based on the western world’s perspective of third world women as victims and not actively taking command of their own life. Mohanty (2007) says that feminism should not try to join together as one single unit like during the seventies. I believe that we instead should integrate our different angles and ideas for each other and see if we could learn from working-class women, from women with colour, from lesbian women etc. As our problems in the society turn out differently we then need to work toward different kind of equalities at the same time as we work towards equalities between man and woman. I believe that women from the third world need to speak up and illustrate local knowledge so that the different worlds could reach consensus about the different work that has to be done to reach many kinds of equalities.

What we easily can realise is that; “Poverty is a manifestation of social inequality; as such, poverty can not be understood outside of unequal distribution of wealth within the global population”…”gender inequality needs to be understood in relation to increasing race and class disparities as well as global disparities between the North and the South. Although statistics are not widely available, in most regions and countries significant differences prevail in distribution of resources and income by race and ethnicity. In many regions such as South-America and Mexico, indigenous people deprived of traditional modes of living find themselves at the bottom of the class hierarchy with native women being among the worst off” (Bandarage p.189, 1998). This must be connected to the growth of capitalism in traditional societies and that many traditional native women do not have adapted into the capitalist world-order. Capitalism hits hard towards those in the lower part of the hierarchy with unemployment and widespread poverty while as those standing outside the entire system might be better off. For instance, if keeping a bit of ground where one could keep some small size of agriculture just to feed the family could be the main-reason why the entire family not falls into starvation.

7.1 Third world feminism
When studying womens´ fight for liberation in the western world and in the third world, it is not possible to make a simple comparison. In countries were the democratisation-process just started, it will take long time before institutionalisation of democracy has developed so much that a more equal way of dealing with everyday life is shown in peoples´ minds. I am especially thinking of societies with huge gaps between rich and poor, where the rich people are getting richer and the poor people are getting poorer. Many times there is a lack of understanding between these groups. The feminist movement started earlier in the western world and as many aspects of the society affect equality between the sexes it would not be fare to judge inequality in the third world in the same way as in the western world. If a western world feminist wants to understand the development of the third world feminism, its crucial to start by trying to understand other societies than her own and the first thing to realise is that women, even when they come from the same geographic area, never should be generalized.

Third world women do accordingly not form an automatic unitary nor homogenous group. Class, religion, sexuality and history, make among other things, divisions between women even though western feminists tend to write about third world women as a single category. If they do, a typical expression of that attitude is to think of third world women as “the others”. In general, it is dangerous to draw one’s conclusions and compare the western world and the third world. The norm has been constructed after a white western hierarchy. Legal, economic,
religious and familial structures often get judged by a western standard. “When these structures are defined as underdeveloped or developing and women are placed within them, an implicit image of the average third world woman is produced” (Mohanty, 2007). When I arrived in Buenos Aires I could very soon notice that women not could be described as a homogenous group and that they lived under widely different conditions. I could see a six year old girl begging for money in the underground and the next day be invited for dinner at a friends house were having maids to prepare the dinner. This was part of everyday life so I could with my own eyes see the social gaps. While being aware of the different conditions women live under, there is no way I could generalize Argentinean womens´ life-conditions.

One priority from the western world feminism would bee for women to take up employment. This is definitely a crucial theme even for the third world feminists, but there is no need to judge each other if a third world woman has chosen to stay at home to take care about the children. We need to look a little bit deeper to understand her choice. Many times it is so simple that the family could not find or afford a good and responsible nursery in the area and maybe the woman would loose more money if having to pay the nursery-costs of an already low income. The only solution in that particular case might be for the man to maintain the family and letting the woman stay at home. This is one such example:

...I could also work more hours, but then I would need someone to take care of the children and the result would be the same salary as I have now.” (Andrea)

8. Machismo in Latin-America
Mens´ over-protection is calculated to make especially the daughters dependent on a father-figure and it leads in the longer run to girls and women that are unable to take care about themselves. The circle is closed if the daughter finds a man that can protect her in the future. I do have witnessed men in Latin-American-contexts, behaving accordingly to this patriarchal pattern. But I have also seen their daughters acting like irresponsible teenage-girls, when they in reality are grown-up women. I believe it is a natural response if you are used to have someone around that always takes care of you and who does not let you make your own decisions. The over-protecting father makes the daughter loosing her chance to take her own responsibility in the present, but in many cases this prevents her from also doing so in the future. Within the marriage, it might be the husband that stands for the over-protection of his wife. In reality, men depend on womens´ work, which is the very reason why society wants to hide this fact. In the patriarchal society it is the man who considers being the strong person who maintains the family. When reality shows that these days a family needs support from two persons or when the family is female-headed, it manages to survive without a support from a man. As mentioned earlier, there are many different kinds of family-constructions and that a family always is male-headed is a myth that patriarchy wants to attach.

8.1. Women taking up employment
The woman from the upper classes that all her life have heard about the importance of a good education has long ago realised the many opportunities that are connected to great job-offers. Not only what it first looks like; higher salary, but primarily what Iglesias/Birdsall (1995) indicate, that these women are looking for more creative tasks. If enjoying the work you are dealing with there is a bigger chance that in the end it besides the challenge of the work itself may bring a personal development. If working-class women are satisfied and not ask for more than salary, at least that’s one big step towards economic independency has been taken. As have been mentioned before, once being out in the society you can not avoid getting influenced by it and as social actors we constantly influence each other. A social meeting with
other persons, as included in a normal day at work might help a previous house-wife to get the distance that she needs for looking at her former situation and may give her the self-confidence to make a change towards emancipation.

For some women it is primarily the income that work brings that makes them feel independent. For other women, beside the income is the personal development one gets from an interesting job needed for them to call themselves independent. These kind of middle-class women have a quite stable economy with no bigger financial worries. The third group of women are not satisfied with their definition of independence until they, except having a salary, have another meaningful task to fulfil. This could presumably be expressed in the desire of helping people in need at a voluntary work. This searching for a deeper content in life might have it is explanation in ones identity. This person is not satisfied until she can relate to its identity in helping others. Other women´s identities could simply be connected to the economic surviving one gets from a job and then be satisfied. These different levels of satisfaction have a direct link to class, age and identity. From middle-class there are for instance certain expectations on also having an interesting job, which not is hard to understand if the woman has gone through many years of education. That will naturally lead her to look for special working-sectors that are of her interest. Also the woman´s age and with that experience may influence her in other choices in her searching for a job.

“I would like to stay at home to take care about my child, but because of the economic situation, it is impossible... On the other hand, if I in the future could get a job about computers that I really like, then I would prefer working with that...” (Marisa)

By Marisa’s quotation you can understand that the economic aspect is what drives her to be working as much as she does. She responses for her little girl and works every single day, including weekend. No one would choose to do that if it were only for ones own development. I strongly believe that development at work is connected to class and to what kind of work one has. If a woman is unable to get a developing and stimulating job and if she is treated badly while getting deeply underpaid, maybe even the most dedicated feminist would prefer staying at home if she had the chance. On the other hand, Marisa says that she does have developed herself by being working and if she had a job that she was more interested in, for instance something that includes work with computers, in that case she would prefer working instead of being a house-wife.

8.2. Female headed households are not official. Back-stage differs from front-stage
That Latin-American women work a lot, 12-18 hours a day (Iglesias/Birdsall, 1995) is a number that is hard to measure as women´s work in reality never has been shown in the statistics. The effort that women do in the informal sector can never be shown like as the unpaid work done at home bringing up the children and doing the housework. There is also paid work done by women but officially written as spare-time activity. By doing so, mens´ work could still officially be seen as the most important and his higher salary could still make him the head of the household. Reality differs from this picture, though, and women do produce for the world market. By trying to show the real statistics of womens´ work and by putting light on the masculine definition of work, a picture of womens´ real work and costs will appear (Mohanty 1991).

Beside female-headed families and families with a single mother as the only parent there are all kinds of family-constructions. Within the families where the parents are homosexual there are all kind of varieties while other children could be brought up by a step-mother or step-
father. In the case of Marisa, she also told me that as she works more than what her boyfriend does, he needs to do the laundry and the cooking. Sometimes he takes care about Marisa’s daughter. My opinion is that it is a positive masculine ideal that a man, and in this case the step-father shares the housework and is being present in the children’s life. What the adults in the family and society do makes more impression on children than what empty words do.

That back-stage differs so much from front-stage (Goffman 1959) is not very strange as you could see it as a sign of how established machismo is in the Latin-American countries. Front-stage is the side you want to show the audience in life and in this case the strong and independent father is connected to the political man. That working-class always needed both men and women to work and cooperate with the salary is nothing new but also nothing that society wanted to show the audience. If ordinary people would find out that men cannot always be independent enough to support their own family, maybe the picture of machismo would start to weaken. If people were aware of the back-stage, the weaker picture of machismo, would probably help more women to find self-esteem and another step towards emancipation would have been done. This could frighten the entire society where men always have been in power.

8.3. The feminine stereotype as a result of patriarchy

The created passivity as the norm of behaviour for the daughters in a patriarchal context, do have consequences in the future. A great part of Latin-American women agree to the men around them when acting according to patriarchal behaviour. These women might follow the steps of machismo and also express opinions similar to the patriarchal men around her. This does of course not make any improvements for women’s situation and when these women, as usually have the main-responsibility for raising the children, spread the attitudes of machismo to the children, it will only result in another generation of patriarchy (Mulinari, 1995).

I would not say that this repeated patriarchal pattern is only the men to blame nor is hard to understand when looking from this angle. Firstly, not only men but women as well and the pressure of the entire society makes the next generation continue acting in a patriarchal way. If the girls from the very beginning are “protected” from the same freedom as their brothers in the same age, they will be prevented from discovering things on their own, worrying to much about what would happen if they tried to do something new and in other terms not learn how to think in an independent way. I definitely believe that independence is connected to how you were raised. If only Latin-American girls have had a chance in practising how to do things on their own and were free from certain housework, as the boys always have been, and if they had a chance in practising to speak out, to express ones opinion, then a long way towards independency would have been started.

"We have a lot of freedom and confidence between one and another. If I have to go to Mar del Plata or Buenos Aires, I just go there and I tell my husband what day I will come back. He trusts me...” (Isabel)

Isabel says that there is a lot of freedom and confidence in her relationship towards her husband. That she can go alone to the capital and come back home another day is for her a symbol for liberation. With my western glasses on, I would have taken that kind of freedom for granted while Isabel is grateful in a patriarchal surrounding. While you can express a society as patriarchal, “el machismo” is more directly connected to a person’s behaviour. Logically, more men compared to women, are “machistas”, but I would say that even a woman can be “machista” and partly be blamed for that “el machismo” continues.
"Here in Argentina, people are very machista. Every time when there is a man and a woman on the same post, the man are gonna earn more. It makes me angry but on the other hand we then have better excuses to go away from the job if there for example happens something with your children. If your son suddenly gets ill, you can more easily run away and take care of him. My husband couldn’t do that. I think that’s why men earn more than women but it also has a lot to do with the machismo.” (Carolina)

Carolina is aware of the machismo in her country, and she seems that she cannot really make her mind up, whether traditional patterns and patriarchal thinking is good or bad. At first she is naturally negative about it, but soon after, and I would say through the rest of the interview, she tries to explain for me why machismo has become established and sort of accepted in Argentina. From her side, it is not only an explanation and understanding, but also a kind of defence of the machismo.

8.4. The feminine stereotype within the Catholic Church

The Roman Catholic Church has been powerful in Latin America since the Spanish and Portuguese Conquest, shaping social structures, legislation, political thought and cultural identities. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church has a strong influence on the government in Argentina. It is a confession state, which means that Argentina is a country supported by the Roman Catholic Church in its very constitution. The Catholic Church, but also protestant sects on mission, contribute strongly to the picture of how a decent woman should be (Guzmán-Stein in Bayes/Tohidi 2001). Traditional ideals in the Argentinean society have during a long time being linked to women staying away from labour-market. There is also a stereotype for the typical woman within the machismo. She should not concentrate on anything else except the domestic tasks and the family. This is shown in the following quotation from an official conference in Mexico, 1975 were it was clearly outspoken from religious groups that “feminism never could fit into a Latin American context”. The Catholic Church argued that:”women were destined, by nature and divine plan, to be self-sacrificing and self-abnegating vessels of virtue and guardians of family and public morality” (Stoltz-Chinchilla p.40 in Escobar/Alvarez, 1992).

Even the machismo that has been linked to the Latin-American male identity is a product of the colonizers and the Catholic Church. The central aspects of machismo has been the focus on honor and shame and thereby the control of womens’ behavior and sexuality. The central aspects of maternity in a Latin-American context are linked to that machismo. There is also a special expression for women characters in a Latin-American context called “marianismo”. It refers to the Virgin Mary as a role model for women, were humility and sacrifice for others are crucial (Mulinari, 1995). As women always have been used to the advantage of men, women might as a part of that view be considered as objects. There is a stereotype for how the typical woman appears within the patriarchy and the Catholic Church. The valued honors for women are: submission, passivity, obedience, virginity, motherhood, to maintain being widow if you once have become it, not distinguish onself by her work or production but instead collaborate with a man with good reputation (Newbury 1992. p.90). A woman should have patience with sinful males while have respect for the sacred image of the mother. Latin American women are socialized to believe that men are not responsible for their faults, because they are unable to control their sexual impulses and behave morally like children (Bayes/Tohidi, 2001). In my interviews, the woman who I believe is most likely to behave accordingly to the “marianismo” must be Isabel. She is a member of the Angelical Church and I remember her as talking a lot about God and she was very self-sacrificing.
What I could see by just being on the social field is that some of the descriptions of the ideals of how a decent woman should be did correspond to what I could see. By behaving according to the feminine image a woman gets her so called feminine identity confirmed by her husband and by society. My strongest feeling about this issue is that women in a context of machismo not are supposed to be independent at all. The man drives the car, pays the bills and the majority of the things that have to be paid. It does not seem to be unusual for Latin-American men to spoil their girl-friends or wives so that they will get used to a certain, a more luxury life-stile. In that way the woman walks right into the trap of machismo. If she gets used to this way of living but cannot afford it on her own, then it might be difficult for her to not stay in a relationship for mainly economic reasons. Of course it depends on the individual woman and what choices she makes.

These thoughts about how a decent woman should be, with the ideals from the Catholic Church do not correspond to the life-style of the considered modern woman. Bandarage (1998) talks about capitalism and globalisation that underpin individualism. She means that the materialist and rationalist attitude has resulted in devaluation of motherhood. I believe that in a developed capitalist society people get indoctrinated to behave in a certain way. Everything needs to run efficiently; people are busy and always in a hurry. Shops, restaurants, companies, communication etc, everything is running accordingly to the quick and efficient capitalist manners. There is not really time to rest as the most valued thing is to be working and to make money. Showing a busy agenda means that you are making career and this includes men and women. Capitalism makes people egocentric and cold. Maybe capitalist thinking is more brutal in the big cities in the newly developed countries where there is nothing, no developed social securities, in society that can protect you. Capitalism gives little place for morals and the values that the Catholic Church stands for. Therefore, if being indoctrinated in these thoughts it is not strange if there has been a devaluation of motherhood. Children are expensive in capitalist society and you do not normally use children for working-labour like in the old times. Women do not want to spend to long time nursing and bringing up a child. Anything that makes you turn your back towards labour-market is a disadvantage for your career. In my interviews most of the women had according to the ideals of the nuclear-family only two or three children while in some working-class-families there were more children, but not always. Norma and Isabel were the only ones with more than three children and especially Norma does not fit in the standards of having a nuclear-family.

Capitalism is connected to machismo and makes it difficult for women to combine a good career with childrearing. Where machismo rules the man always has the advantage. The power in the society and in the household has until now been exclusive for the man. Even if a lot of work is required when it comes to an attitude-changing not only between the sexes, but in the entire society, still feminists want to turn traditional thought towards equality. This should be shown on micro-level between man and woman and on macro-level in all kind of institutions. For instance, social and political traditional thought has been questioned by the feminists to be to narrow-minded. There ought to be an expanded discussion within the analysis of social and political life.

8.5. The mother’s attitude influences the patriarchal family
Defining what is a patriarchal family, Elizabeth Dore (1997 p.102) express the following: ”I assume that for a household to qualify as patriarchal, whatever else it is, it must be male-headed”. She adds that male headship of course not is the only characteristic for being patriarchal but one of the most important conditions. On my part, I am not willing to back her
up all the way at her definition. I suppose it would be logical, following her line saying that male-headed families are predicted to be more patriarchal than female-headed ones. What I want to say, and now talking about what I in reality have seen several times in Latin-American contexts, is that women also can be patriarchal, or at least “machistas”. These women stick to traditional ideals and I would express it as they like the idea of a male as head of household, while they for many reasons such as education might have difficulties with looking at their situation from a broader perspective of life. The women in patriarchal contexts become so much indoctrinated in the patriarchal thinking until the women themselves express similar thoughts as the men. These women are the ones raising up the children to keep on in the same tracks as their parents and grand-parents have done for generations.

“This can also be noticed in a mother’s way of educating their sons in a way of giving them priority before her daughters” (Bjerrum-Nielsen/Rudberg, 1991). By living a traditional life herself and by raising her daughter to take the main-responsibility for the domestic tasks and the sons not to do so, the mother contributes to the patriarchal family. She will also play an important role for the appearance of the next generation’s gender-roles. When the father is not present, the mother is the person who brings up the children and is therefore the one who will carry on her view on gender to the next generation. Her own gender-socialization with values, fear and ambivalence will then be transferred even if it is done unconsciously, when taking care of and dealing with the children. How much the daughter will be influenced by her mother is of course individual but some kind of overtaking of values between the generations is taking place in this way. Her daughter will get the illusion about her future husband and she knows that a good man will maintain the family. That is also the reason why those mothers do not find it important to teach their daughters about independency. As a contrast, it is crucial for the mothers that their sons will get strong and independent, so that they can get a good job and raise up a family in the future. Traditional machista-mothers do not expect their sons to take any responsibility about the domestic tasks as they always will have a woman, his mother or his wife to do that for them. What seems good for equality when this generation grows up, is that the mothers nowadays and according to the interviewed women, are aware of not separating the education between boys and girls;

“....they have to collaborate in the house-work, we are like a company. For example, I go to work and I can trust them and everyone have their things to do in the house. They do the beds and help me out and it does not matter if they are a boy or a girl, they have to collaborate...”” (Norma)

Matilde is clearly aware of how the mothers can be “machistas” (patriotic motherhood) and how they let the machismo-attitudes go further in the link between generations;

"In general, the one who did something wrong is the mother, I mean if she wants to do everything all by herself, if she cannot wait until the child does it. You have to give the children space to do things, understand? If I want to do everything myself, its my own fault. Maybe the children do not help you because you let it happened. My son for example, never cleans the bath-room, but that’s my own fault...The mothers have shown their sons that they shouldn’t have to do anything in the house and that has been going on for generation after generation.” (Matilde)

If the mothers are involved in letting the machismo continue from generation to generation is really sad. This shows how strong and well-established the machismo is. That women that
suffer from machismo themselves let this happen is a sign of that woman are so indoctrinated to the system that they even believe men when arguing that a strong man needs to rule in every family. If women then get aware of the trap and their unequal situation and if getting educated in feminism, machismo could be stopped.

There is also a link between nationality and patriarchy that I am only mentioning briefly; “Patriotic motherhood has its roots in a male political leadership that aims to preserve patriarchy” (Berkin/Lovett p.75 in Mulinari, 1995). Once a man wants to own land, there is a conflict of power. When a woman fights for the land or nation, she has very clearly been indoctrinated by the patriotic system herself. Also in existing patriotic motherhood has their root in a male political leadership’s aim to preserve patriarchy (Mulinari 1995 p.75). The link between nationality and patriarchy connects to Catalina’s quotation where she means that the best suited person that applies for a post should get it, independently if it is a man or a woman:

"It’s good that there are more women working in another aspect as well –it’s better for the development in the entire country. If the person that is best suited for every job gets it, of course it will influence society." (Catalina)

That women are working would of course be the best for the development in the country. Equality would probably change and become high priority. It makes the best out of people if being treated by dignity and respect and if people around you feel good, the environment, for instance at work, gets better which also affects creativity and innovation in a positive way. I definitely agree to what Catalina has to say about the best suited person for every job-opportunity should get the job. Man or woman.

8.6. Summary: Analysis
One sign of society heading for a more equal character is that men actually do get influenced by women’s paid work and have to deal with the house-work and taking care of the children. Another sign of heading for equality on a structural level is in my opinion that society can offer good and healthy nurseries for the children. If there are no such and as the path towards equality only has started, women are still the first ones to take that bigger responsibility for the children. If nurseries are too expensive for an ordinary family, or if the nursery is in a bad condition, I consider the problem as based on a structural level, related to how society is constructed. This is a very important issue for women’s independence and naturally related to class, where working-class women are more vulnerable. From this perspective, a woman from the upper classes can get a maid to babysit, while the working-class woman either needs to rely on the husband to step in and take his responsibility, ask a friendly neighbour or relative to babysit or to stay at home with the child.

What just has been mentioned is one example of women’s different conditions around the world. What Post-modern feminists do is therefore emphasising plurality, diversity, and sensitivity to local and diverse women’s voices. There is no unified truth valid for all women. As living under different conditions, the reality for women around the world never looks the same. Additionally, the impact of the Catholic Church for women in Latin-America has worked as an obstacle for women’s emancipation. The conservative picture of how a decent woman should be originate from the Catholic Church were the ideal of the perfect woman has been compared with the Virgin Mary. Humility, submission and sacrifice for others are important characters within this ideal and obviously this role-model is linked to the
machismo. This is an example of one of the obstacles for women’s emancipation. These obstacles make women lose some of their self-esteem that is fundamental for emancipation.

How machismo will turn out in the next generation is connected to the children’s education and how they have been brought up. If living under the conditions of male-supremacy, the woman in the family is the one who has got the responsibility for bringing up the children. The woman has therefore a very important role concerning how the next generation of gender-equality will appear. In Latin-American contexts, women can also be patriarchal. These women bring up the children in more or less the same tracks as their parents and grandparents have done for generations. They have swallowed the idea of machismo and accepted their restricted limits, believing in the traditional family-structures and relying on what they consider as safety in these unequal patterns. By living a traditional life herself and by raising her daughter to take the main-responsibility for the domestic work, the mother contributes to the patriarchal family. These mothers do not expect their sons to take any responsibility in the house as a woman is supposed to do that for him. There is a glimpse of a social change in terms of gender-equality, though. There is a gap between the generations according to the willingness to go out and take up employment. As society slowly is changing, the gender-system, that sets the limits for what is accepted for men and women, is changing too. Argentinean women are taking up employment and are looking for more creative tasks these days.
9. SUMMARY AND REFLEXIONS

This study brings up women’s emancipation in a Latin-American context. The fact that Latin-American women are taking up employment has been shown to be crucial for women’s emancipation. When a woman goes out to work, it is a big step for her personally. Additionally it is an important transition for the traditional family and for the traditional society and it brings many changes. First of all, when a woman gets employed and receives a salary, she becomes independent on an economic point of view. This means that she does not need to be economic dependent on someone else, she now know that she can manage by herself; pay the bills and buy what is necessary. There is no longer need to be married for purely economic reasons. One cornerstone of patriarchy is men’s economic dominance over women and if there is no such dominance, patriarchy will lose some of its power. Women’s subordination will not disappear only for having an income; that she also needs to liberate herself on a mental level is of course something that makes things more complicated. This is the very essence of emancipation; to be independent both on an economic and on a mental level; to not hesitate in trying new things that would be in use to oneself or to one’s career, to make your own choices independently to other peoples’ choices, without someone else dominating you. The self-esteem that originates from the personal development and from having one’s own income is what drives the woman towards emancipation.

Secondly, when being on the labour-market there are many things to discover and learn, especially if having been an isolated house-wife earlier. By working outside home you get a lot of experience including knowledge of how to handle various and difficult situations. Most importantly; you get the self-esteem required for reaching emancipation. The self-esteem gives women power not to tolerate submission. Together with other women in a similar situation they could interact and support each other to take the final step towards emancipation. The self-esteem could also be won from a voluntary work, were you also receive skills required when applying for a paid job.

Thirdly, education is important in a struggle towards emancipation because it increases your opportunities to succeed on the labour-market. What happens in a country like Argentina is that education is very much connected to class. Not everybody has the opportunity to study, even if the University in Buenos Aires, UBA, is free of charge. As soon understood, studying is a class-issue as Argentina is a country with wide social gaps. Class is therefore another aspect that influences emancipation but in different ways. The link between class and education is not very difficult to understand as a woman not can lose her income by dedicating her time to study. There are also other explanations why working-class women have more difficulties to find a way to the university. The family might not understand the point in having a university-degree and simply does not support her at all. Another explanation are the large geographical distances in Argentina and a not-supportive family will probably not let a girl go away to a university far away so that they cannot control her at all.

A very interesting aspect about class is the very common use of maids in Argentina. As the state not seems to have focused on the importance of having a supportive social system for the people, building good nurseries has not been done. Nurseries would definitely have supported women’s way towards emancipation. Argentinean women seem not to rely on the existing nurseries there is and prefer therefore to leave the children in the grand-parents’ care if possible, or asking a neighbour to babysit. For women in the upper classes, this is not a problem since they let a maid or nanny to babysit for them. They let another maid do the hidden house-work that needs to be done; cooking, cleaning the house, doing the laundry etc.

59
Having a maid in Argentina is a status symbol and as in all societies with big gaps between the classes, status symbols are important to show that you belong to the right groups. When the woman is having a maid to do the hidden house-work or to take care of the children, she is actually buying herself free from those demands. With equality between the couple, the man should step in to take his responsibility in the house and with the children. I believe that the system with employing private nannies and maids make the state not to build any new nurseries and as there are no nurseries, people, at least from the upper classes, have maids to take care of their children. Argentineans are not used to the state being supportive and it is not very strange as no long time has passed since the dictatorship in the seventies.

The working-class woman has a heavy day. Woman have multiple roles; labour-work, house-work, cooking, dealing with the children, voluntary work. Traditional men take for granted that women will step into the multiple roles. This is of course one obstacle for emancipation. It is the machismo that puts up these roles as considered how a decent woman should be. I will come back to this, but first I will explain something important about having maids in the house. A woman from the upper classes, who buys herself free from the tasks that are expected from her, gives her an illusion of freedom. In this way she will have more spare time to do other things and it will give her a false sense of freedom, but it is still considered as the womens´ area to have the responsibility for the house and children.

Without money, even the woman from the upper classes would have to do the house-work as little equality has been reached. This is what happens for the working-class woman if her husband not steps in to do his share. The working-class woman needs to attend the house-work after coming home from the labour-work which of course makes her more tired. On the other hand, working-class women have in this sense come further on the way towards emancipation as they do not depend on anyone, not even a maid and do not need to pay attention to a husband’s wishes. When a woman from the upper classes is buying herself free from taking the fights with equality with her husband, she makes a choice. Her choice is of a more conservative nature as she chooses to be subordinated. By adapting to her husband´s wishes, she will not have to work as much as the working-class woman, and she is also having more spare-time but she is paying a price for it. She will not be as independent as the working-class woman who gets the very stimulation, the drive to emancipation at labour-work and at the voluntary work she is attending to. The voluntary work will push her even more in that direction because it feels good to help others and it gives you energy and perspectives on your own situation. Many of the working-class women seem to have a stronger fighting-spirit and can not afford to be lazy. They are aware of how important their works are for the family. Among the women working as volunteers, it is also created an atmosphere of solidarity. All this gives self-esteem that will help her on a personal level, to deal with her own situation towards emancipation.

A major obstacle for emancipation is of course patriarchy. In a Latin-American context we call it machismo. In earlier day´s men´s dominance over women were defended in the law-books, but these days the attitudes are hidden in the social structural system and in peoples´ attitudes. This is all about men-supremacy, domination and subordination. Between different groups and between men and women in all societies there is a hierarchy of power were you can lead the power to the dominated group. The dominant group is acting destructively against subordinated groups, while it also is limiting the possibility to act freely for such groups. The impulses from dominated groups hold back womens´ courage to develop and express themselves. The machismo takes many different expressions such as men having opinions of how a decent woman should behave; that men are supposed to support the family.
while women are supposed to take care about house-work and children. This isolated living
has consequences for women who have difficulties to express themselves; they are being
controlled by men as they are in charge over the family. If being economically dependent on
one’s husband he could theoretically control everything about you if you do not prefer to go
out and live on the streets. This is of course an example from the extreme, but in a country
like Argentina, were practically no social security exist, you would probably have nowhere to
go.

The nuclear-family is an example of a traditional ideal which means that mother, father and
two or three children live together in a family. The problem with the nuclear-family is that it
has been based on womens´ unpaid work at home which has given her the position of
economic dependence of the one who maintains the family. Other signs of machismo
definitely are seen at the labour-market were the man gets employed instead of the woman
applying for the same post. Some men also consider women taking the jobs from men, in this
way blaming women for the unemployment. On the other hand the numbers of female-headed
households are increasing, at least statistically. A female-headed household is when a woman
is head of household, the one who supports the family. That households in reality not always
have been male-headed according to the conservative ideal, has been known for a long time
among people. Womens´ work has always been crucial within cultivation and production.
Working-class women have always been working with the simple explanation that it is
necessary that everybody, many times even children get a job. Not unusually, the job was
officially written on the man, which also explains the high amount of women officially
considered as house-wives.

Argentina is a country supported by the Roman Catholic Church in its very constitution. The
Catholic Church, but also protestant sects on mission, contribute strongly to the picture of
how a decent woman should be. This picture is linked to the machismo and emphasizes the
importance of maternity. The central aspects of maternity are linked to the machismo with
focus on honor and shame. This makes it easier to control womens´ behavior. If a religious
woman, influenced by the ideal of maternity, gets married and have children early in life, I
consider it must be easier to control her life. She struggles for the conservative ideal of how a
real, self-sacrificing mother should be while others (men) know that by conserving these
ideals it will be easier to control womens´ behaviour and sexuality. This is of course a very
conservative ideal, but as the Catholic Church together with machismo are hierarchical and
very powerful elements in Latin-America, they are enormous obstacles for womens´
emancipation.

The challenge against patriarchy is the feminism. In the seventies, first women joined together
as a unit to fight patriarchy. This were soon a matter of dispute and after some time women
realized that they live under such different conditions that it was of little use to generalize
their different circumstances. Third world women do accordingly not form an automatic
unitary nor homogenous group. Class, religion, sexuality and history, make among other
things, divisions between women around the world. Western feminists tend to write about
third world women as a single category which shows the importance of listening to different
womens´ voices, with different experiences. There are many inequalities to solve but clearly,
women should have their rights to develop and the possibilities to take up employment.
House-work and dealing with the children should be done together and not only be womens´
responsibility. Labour-work, voluntary work and education are crucial for emancipation as
they give experiences, knowledge and self-esteem. With the self-esteem women can reach
prizes long denied.
10. REFERENCES


Allen; Tim/Thomas, Alan (2000) *Poverty and development into the 21:st century* Oxford University Press, United Kingdom


Danielsson, Bror (red.) (1987) *Primas moderna engelsk-svenska svensk-engelska ordbok.* Bokförlaget Prisma, Finland


French, Marilyn. (1994) *The War against women*. Aktietykkeriet i Trondheim, Norge


Neuman, William Lawrence (1994) *Social research methods. Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Allyn and Bacon. Massachusetts, U.S.A

Newbury, Sofía Feminismo (1992) "Feminismo"


Swahn, Jan-Öjvind (red.) (1991) *Bra Böckers lexikon nr. 3*. Brepols, Belgien. Bokförlaget Bra Böcker


Wedin, Ingrid (1986) *Kvinnor och Arbete i Latinamerika*. Brevskolan, Sjuhäradsbygdens Tryckeri AB, Borås, Sweden


**ARTICLES:**
Dagens Nyheter 2001-07-09 p.A2 "Latinamerikas osäkra demokrati” Kolumn av Oscar Arias, Sweden


Göteborgs-Posten 2009-02-09 p.18 "I Argentina blir svart till vitt. –Genom att betala några procent i skatt kan argentinare tvätta pengar” Kolumn av Maria Petersson, Sweden

**INTERNET:**


**The interview questions**
-Could you first tell me your name and age, please?
-In what age are the children?
-What kind of work do you have?
-How many hours a week do you work?
-Are you religious? What kind of religion do you belong to?
-Could you please describe yourself? What character do you think you have?
-Do you consider yourself as an independent woman? Why/Why not?
-Why do you think work are important for women?
-What do you think about women making ther own money?
-Is being independent as a woman important for you?
-What habits do you have at home concerning doing the housework? Do the children help?
-What is your husband’s role concerning the housework?
-Is education important for you and your children? Why?