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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIAL WORK

GENDER EQUALITY IN ARGENTINA

A study of women in rural and urban areas of province Salta and
their understandings and experiences of gender equality

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ABSTRACT

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Abstract

The aim of this thesis is to investigate how Argentinean women understand and experience gender (in)equality in their homes, societies and other arenas. The purpose is also to create knowledge about whether conventions and legislations stating gender equality have had any consequence in Argentinean women's everyday life. The thesis is based on qualitative interviews conducted with women in rural and urban areas of province Salta, Argentina. In the study power, resistance, theory of culture of silence and feminist theory of violence are used in the analysis of the empirical data. The results indicate that women are aware and critical about unequal power relation where women are subordinate of men. The findings show how gender inequalities take the form of gender-based violence, limited physical and economical direction and women trapped in the private sphere. Results also indicate how women rather blame the machismo culture than individual men's actions for causing the oppression against women.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Woman serves or serve the man in all aspects. She will clean and organize everything in the house, she will cook the food and the men expect all this from the woman. Generally, men are more exempt from many things in the home, it is this culture, it's just so. The man has more rights and can do more things (Teacher).

I basically never rest, when my husband comes home from work he expects me to cook and arrange everything, and with the kids and all that. He is tired after a full day of work (Sandra).

In this study thirteen women are interviewed in order to create knowledge about gender (in)equality in the northern Argentinean province Salta. The quotations above are taken from the “Findings chapter” in this thesis and are part of the research results of this study.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights adopted by the UN in 1948 states that all humans are born free, with equal rights. Equality of rights for men and women is therefore a basic human right (UN, 2014b). All human rights apply to women, but being a woman can in it self be a reason of getting human rights violated (Amnesty, 2012). Despite international legal instruments such as the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) which aims to abolish gender based inequalities, UN Women state that “the continued prevalence of violence against women and girls demonstrates that this global pandemic of alarming proportions is yet to be tackled with all the necessary political commitment and resources” (UN Women, 2012:1).

Gender inequality is a global problem found all over the world that poses many challenges. Women in all countries and societies find their rights violated in many areas such as political, social and economical. Women are for example found in low-status jobs with less security and salary to a greater extent than men. This does not mean that women work less than men, on the contrary women carry out most of the unpaid informal household work. Another issue of gender inequality is gender-based violence, which is an enormous societal concern and considered as one of the most widespread violations of human rights in the world (UN Women, 2012). According to UN Women, six out of ten women experience physical and/or sexual violence during their lifetime (ibid.).

There are many ways to investigate how far a country has come in terms of gender equality. One way is the *Global Gender Report*, published by World Economic Forum, which ranks countries according to how gender equal they are. The report shows that Argentina in 2012 was the 32nd most gender equal country in the world, which is an increase since Argentina in 2006 was on 41st place in the ranking. The *Global Gender Report* is measured by factors such as education, health, politics and economics (World Economic Forum, 2013).

The *Report on Human Rights* from Swedish ministry of foreign affairs (UD, 2012) describes the situation of human rights in Argentina as complex. The Argentinean government on the one hand focuses on compliance of human rights through sanctions of various UN conventions and national legislation. The Argentinean president has made the issue of human rights the cornerstone of her presidency and she places great emphasis on paying attention to the

country's efforts to ensure all citizens' enjoyment of human rights. On the other hand, reports from several organizations and UN committees show that there are major flaws in the implementation of the ratified legislations. Figures from the *Report on Human Rights* show that about 30 per cent of the Argentinean population live in poverty. The report also indicates that there are large differences between urban and rural areas and provinces. Indigenous people have generally worsened living conditions and lack access to education, health care and other social benefits (UD, 2012). Rural income poverty is widespread and deep; it is especially extensive in northeast and northwest Argentina (Verner, 2006).

There are numerous studies concerning gender equality in Argentina (e.g. UNGEI, 2006; UNDP, 2008; UN, 2013 and World Bank, 2012). In these quantitative and qualitative studies indicators such as women's health, income, access to labour market and political empowerment are used to measure and describe gender inequality. Nonetheless, very little is written about how women in north province of Salta understand gender equality.

Purpose and Research questions

The aim of this thesis is therefore not to contribute to the various studies of economic or political signs of gender equality, but to gain understanding of how women in rural and urban areas of Salta *understand* and *experience* gender equality. The purpose is also to create knowledge about whether UN conventions stating gender equality have had any consequences in women in Salta's everyday life. This study will unlike previous quantitative research of gender equality, be based on qualitative interviews.

The following research questions guide this study:

- How do women from Salta experience gender equality in their everyday lives in the home, society and other arenas?
- How do women from Salta understand their everyday life as gender (in)equal?
- How are principles of UN conventions stating gender equality expressed in women's description of their everyday lives?

Argentina is a federal republic with president Christina Fernandez de Kirchner as supreme leader. With its great mainland Argentina is the eight-largest country in the world. In 2012 the country had a population of 41,09 million, which makes it the largest Spanish-speaking nation in the world. The country is classified as an upper middle-income economy by the World Bank and is one of the leading and most important economies in South America (WB, 2012). Argentina benefits from rich natural resources, large export culture and a well-developed industry. The country is largely urbanized, less than 10 per cent of the population live in rural areas. The Argentinean policymakers are though often accused of neglecting the rural areas, which by politicians is legitimized by the lack of data from these areas. Regular household surveys are not conducted in rural areas, consequently these are areas not included in national statistics (Verner, 2006).

In the classical book *La Cabeza de Goliath* (The head of Goliath) (Martinez, 1947) Argentina is described as one big head and a body made of skeletal, which refers to that the country is very centralized. Approximately one third of the Argentinean population live in the capital city

Buenos Aires with its surroundings (Landguiden, 2014). Further, Argentina is divided into 23 provinces, which independently are controlled by governors. The provinces are significantly different from each other, largely because of the countries geographical diversity with the Andes Mountains in west and the South Atlantic Ocean in the southeast. In addition to purely geographical diversities, also culture, ethnicities and living standard such as access to electricity and tap water differs from one province to another (Verner, 2006).

Salta

Province Salta with capital city Salta is located in northern Argentina at the foothill of Andes Mountains. Salta has a strong colonial flavour and is know to be one of the most traditional and conservative areas of Argentina. The province has an estimated population of 1,2 million inhabitants and approximately half of them live in the urban province capital city, while almost 20 % of the population live in rural areas (UBA, 2003). Agriculture is an important industry in Salta consisting mainly of sugar, tobacco and wine production. In particular the cultivation of snuff has been significant for Salta, the province produces 20% of the total the Argentinean production (UBA, 2003).

Compared to other parts of the country, Salta and the northern provinces have more widespread poverty. Statistics from UBA (2003) shows that 36.7% of the Saltenian population suffers from some unsatisfied basic need, such as food, clean water or shelter. Another indicator that helps describe Salta, is their relatively underdeveloped economy. The economy of Salta represents approximately 1% of the total Argentinean BNP. Given that the population of Salta represents 3% of the Argentinean population, the economy in Salta is far under the national BNP average. One reason for this is the widespread informal working sector in Salta, consisting of primarily agriculture and non-registered businesses in rural areas. According to INDEC (2014) the province of Salta has one of the highest percentages of workers in the informal sector in Argentina. In the rural parts of Salta it is very common that especially men, but also women are forced to travel far to work on plantations under slave-like conditions in order to support their family (Sjödín, 2012). In addition to that informal work not provide any security in terms of legal rights, the informal workers also lack access to social security benefits and the possibility to join a union or in other ways collectively influence the work situation (INDEC, 2001).

Compared to other provinces, Salta also has a younger population. While the population under 14 made up 30.6% of Argentina's population, this value is 38.5% in Salta. The population aged 65 and over is 8.9% for the country and 5% for the province of Salta (UBA, 2003).

Salta together with the other north western provinces of Argentina are often described as feudal, since certain powerful families have significant influence over the economy and politics in the province. The wealth distribution in the province is thus very uneven. Compared to the northern provinces, the southern provinces are modern and democratic with higher developed economy and industry. What also distinguishes Salta from other provinces is that the society is permeated by social class structures. Opportunities for higher education, power and wealth are benefits families in the higher class possess (UBA, 2003).

Not only is Salta distinguished compared to the rest of Argentina, also within the province there are major differences of living standard. The extreme opposite pole is the urban province capital city of Salta and rural villages in the mountains. While capital Salta is a highly developed city, people in villages of Andes Mountain lack access to tap water and electricity.

Limitations

Gender equality is very complex. In a study of women's understanding and experience of gender equality there are many relevant views, theories and understandings. However, in the

scoop of this thesis there is no room for discussing all the interesting connections, causes and effects of gender (in)equality in Salta. The study therefore contains a number of limitations.

As earlier mentioned in this chapter, race and class are causes of oppression in Salta. Even though including an intersectional perspective in this thesis would create wider understanding and important nuances of gender inequality in Salta, the analysis of this study focuses on gender as the main problem without considered other systems of oppression. As also highlighted in this chapter, poverty and rural income are challenges in Salta. Although it would be highly relevant to discuss these themes in the thesis along with the problem of gender relations, the study will due to lack of time and space not contain a discussion where poverty and rural income are included.

As also shown in this chapter, men in Salta generally and men living in rural areas of Salta in particular live very tough lives. Being forced to travel far to work in the fields means that for long periods staying outside the home. This not only results in a higher workload for women who are left at home, but also a great strain on the men. Undoubtedly, many men are exploited at work, in order to support the family. Although it would have been interesting and highly relevant to include men's view of gender equality, this thesis focuses on how *women* understand and experience gender (in)equality.

CHAPTER 2: THERORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents the analytical tools and defines the core terminologies that are central in the interpreting and understanding of the empirical material. The chapter also aims to provide an overview of the theoretical grounds that are relevant for this study, which are power, resistance, culture of silence and feminist theory of violence. The thesis is structured with this chapter before the “Methodological approach” and “Literature review” since the theories and central concepts presented here, are necessary to understand later chapters.

Definitions of core terminology

In order to gain knowledge about Argentinean women’s experiences and understanding of gender equality, some theoretical concepts are needed. The most central term in this study is *gender equality*, which according to the UN definition refers to equal rights, opportunities and responsibilities of boys and girls, men and women (UN Women, 2001). Gender equality exists hence when men and women are able to share equal in the distribution of responsibilities for the home and children, power, financial independence, equal access to education, free from gender-based violence and the opportunity to develop personal interests (UNFPA, 2005). Within the concept of gender equality many other concepts are linked, these concepts will in this section be clarified.

Gender

Gender refers to socially constructed roles, activities, attributes and behaviours that a given society considers appropriate for men and women, boys and girls (WHO, 2014). The two gender categories man and woman, are constructed with different characteristics and behaviours that changes depending on the social, cultural and historical context. These constructed differences are used to exercise power and legitimate a skewed distribution of power and resources in all communities. Through domination and subordination a hierarchal social order is created in which women as a group, are made subordinate to men as a group (West and Zimmerman, 1987). In order to answer the research questions a *gender perspective* was applied in the analysis of the empirical material. When using a gender perspective in research, the social order in which men are superior to women gets visible. Gender perspective includes the importance of understanding the power relations between men and women in society in order to understand inequalities (Gemzöe, 2013). Two dimensions of gender, *power relations* and *production relationships*, refers to how gender relations in the modern society's can be seen through different perspectives. According to Connell (2003) power structures relate as the name indicates to power structures in a relationship, while production relationships refer to gendered division of labour (Connell, 2003).

Linked to gender are the concepts of *patriarchy* and *machismo*. The term patriarchy describes a political and social system, where men hold power and privilege (Kelly, 1988). Patriarchy refers hence to how men through for example tradition, direct pressure, by force, education or law, determine what part the woman shall play in the home, society and other arenas (Rich, 1977). Closely connected to patriarchy is machismo, which refers to the culture of male dominance, legitimated through patriarchal system, often associated with Latin America (Quinones Mayo and Resnick, 1996). According to the machismo a man is, by virtue of his sex ensured a dominant and regulatory role of the family, and especially over the women (Wells, 1968).

Gender is also closely connected to the *public* and *private spheres*. Public sphere refers to spheres with higher status that men traditionally are associated with such as the labour market, politics and the legal system. The private sphere refers to the spheres with lower status where women traditionally are found, such as informal household work and caretaking of children in the home (Gemzöe, 2005).

The concept of *everyday-life* is about interpreting the world through collective interpretations. The everyday-life is also a place where one risks to be interpreted and categorized as good or bad and as a more or less worthy person. This categorization can lead to individuals or groups being excluded or included from communication about possibilities to affect (Madsen, 2008).

Equality

Equality is central in the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights*, adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1948. The universal declaration states the equal rights of everyone, everywhere and was ratified by Argentina in 1986. The creation of the declaration and of UN as an organization was a result of the ending of world war two. The leaders of the world wanted to avoid and prevent that any similar conflict could ever happen again (UN, 2014a).

Connected to the Declaration of the Human Rights is *Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women*. CEDAW consists of 30 articles, which describes discrimination against women together with an international agenda to prevent it, was adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979 (UNTC, 2014). CEDAW ensures women's equal access and opportunities in public and political life, education, health and employment. In 1985 Argentina ratified CEDAW and thereby commit themselves to take all appropriate measures to abolish discrimination against women, including temporary special measures and national legislation (UN Women, 2009).

According to CEDAW, all forms of *Gender based violence* including a range of acts of violence such as physical, sexual, psychological and economic abuse, is a violation of the human rights and recognized as a widespread public health problem. Gender based violence is both a caused by and a cause of gender inequality and as the name indicates gender-based violence also evolves women's subordinate status in the society (Population Report, 1999; WHO, 2005). One form of gender based violence is *physical violence*, which refers to different physical acts against the women's body that causes pain, injury and/or limited discretion (Ekbrand, 2006). Another form is *sexual abuse*, which by the UN is defined as an actual or threatened physical intrusion of a sexual nature, whether by force or under unequal conditions (UNPSEA, 2013). Further, a feminist understanding of sexual abuse is applied in the study, in the sense that sexual abuse is viewed as an exercise of power and an expression of gendered inequality. Since the sexual abuser is a man and the victim a woman in this study, the abuse creates and recreates the notions of gender and restriction of women and girls (Carlsson, 2009).

Theory of power

The concept of power has been defined by various researchers (e.g. Dahl, 1957; Lukes, 2005). In this section the definitions of power that will be used in this study to analyse women's understanding and experiences of gender (in)equality in Argentina, will be presented.

Foucault states that power is not static, neither groups nor individuals can own or have power. Power should according to Foucault, rather be viewed as produced in the interaction between people (Foucault, 1980). Even though power is not static and can change, concentration of power to one individual or group exists. According to Foucault there are two main reasons or components for these unequal power relations to exist. The first reason is the expectations of the two individuals in an unequal power relation. That is, if both parties in a relationship expect a certain power balance, where one individual has power over the other, the power balance will

be affected in that way. The other component refers to the recourses that are important in a certain power relation, which can be money, knowledge, responsibility and authority. With responsibility comes power, and if one individual is responsible for certain area, he or she will often also get power over that area. An individual's responsibility for an area thus becomes a resource in the power relationship between the individuals (Foucault, 1980).

According to Börjesson and Rehn (2009) it is crucial that people are in some form of system, for power to exist. Power can be exercised in different ways such as through violent, forcing or demanding actions, but always builds on a system from where it gets its form. Börjesson and Rehn state that "Violence is one of the most primitive and important element of power" (Börjesson and Rehn, 2009:13). It is not necessary for violence to be implemented in order to be classified as power, threat of violence is also to exercise power. Linked to violence is compulsion, which is a form of power. Compulsion involves A forcing or pushing B to do something, but compulsion can also be subtle. Subtle compulsion relates to a compulsion that is seen as normal or natural in a given context. Violence and compulsion as forms of power have many similarities, but violence tend to be more explicit than compulsion. There are accordingly not only different forms of power, these forms are also visible or invisible to varying degrees. One form of power that often is subtle and invisible is control and monitoring. Control can be exerted through creating "us and them" thinking. This can both create a feeling of belonging within a group, but also a sense of exclusion. Power can consequently refer to distinguish between spheres through exclusion and inclusion. The ones who can access a sphere get more knowledge and influence than "the others" that cannot access the given sphere. The creation of "the others" makes it possible to not only to dominate but also suppress the group (Börjesson and Rehn, 2009).

Another form of power is economic power, which refers to having the financial means and these can be used to control and/or influence other people (Renzetti, 2008).

Theory of resistance

Resistance is a form of coping strategy, which can take the form of fighting, opposing actively or refusing to co-operate (Kelly, 1988). According to Scott resistance is "all actions taken by members of a subordinate group with the intention to decrease the power of the superior group" (Scott, 1985:290). Lilja and Vinthagen (2009) state that power and resistance are interdependent, but in the same manner as different dimensions of power were explained in the previous section, resistance could also appear in various ways. In this study resistance is used as a term for women's opposition to abusive men's behaviour, the control men seek to exert or other forms of expression of male dominance over women (Kelly, 1988). *Collective resistance* refers to when individuals or a group perceive that the suffering has a collective or structural reason, which can be solved by social change (ibid.).

Resistance can manifest itself through a violent confrontation or through hidden transcripts. There are situations where no resistance is visible, but according to Michael Foucault are there "no power relations without resistance" (Foucault, 1980:142). Lack of protests and open conflicts does not necessarily mean that neither power nor resistance is exercised (Lilja and Vinthagen, 2009). Scott divides resistance into open or hidden resistance (Scott, 1992). Fights, strikes or protests are examples of open resistance, while hidden resistance consist of resistance behind the official stage, such as talking behind someone's back, work extra slow or gossip. The hidden resistance is performed while the individual all-outward appearance is loyal to the one who has the power. According to Scott such masked or converted forms of resistance particularly are crucial when the subordinate group's or individual's security and basic needs are dependent on the superior group or individual (ibid.). Only groups or individuals that can afford losing a battle against the superior group make open resistance. Such vulnerable groups whose

existence is depending on a superior group can for example be refugees, children or women. These groups use hidden transcripts not as a formally organized or an explicit strategy; on the contrary is it a matter of trying to avoid attention from the superior group (ibid.).

Theory of culture of silence

Paulo Freire's concept *culture of silence* refers to how the reality of individuals is defined by another person. Individuals or groups that are oppressed by external economic, social, cultural or political conditions are more vulnerable of ending up in the culture of silence. These external conditions, or lack of opportunities, result in an internal submission where the oppressed see themselves as they are described by the elite which is inferior and ignorant (Freire, 1972). Further, Freire states that a person risk getting immersed in a culture of silence when the subordinated party squeezed into a quiet indifference that is constantly self-fulfilling by the oppressor, then the unequal power relationship itself constantly repeats the theory of the subordinate inferiority (ibid.).

The culture of silence is thereby not a result of people's disinterest or indifference, but rather created by the power elites and the people who make people silent. It is the power and oppression, in its various forms of expression, which in itself creates culture of silence. Being forced to inferiority and born with messages about their inferiority makes people silent (Freire, 1972).

Feminist theory of violence

There are several theories and explanation models for gender based violence. Men's violence against women have gone from being declared as men with mental illness to focus on the social roles. A basic explanation of men's violence against women is lack of gender equality between the sexes (SKL, 2011). Central in the feminist theories is that power is linked to gender and that men's violence against women is seen as a structural rather than an individual phenomenon (SKL, 2011) and that men abuse women to maintain power and control (DeKeserdy and MacLeod, 1997; Saunders, 1998). According to radical feminist theory the patriarchy is the reason for injustices and the ultimate explanation for men's violence against women. Men's control over women and their sexuality through rape and other forms of sexual violence is according to the theory central in the maintaining of the patriarchy. Griffin's article *Rape: the all American crime* suggested in 1971 a new kind of feminist analysis of sexuality and power. Griffin argued that rape was not as a sexual crime, but rather a political and violent act, which serves as a form of social control over women (Griffin, 1971). Brownmiller (1975) expand on Griffin's analysis and stated that rape is the primary mechanism through men performs control and dominance over women. A threat of rape creates a fear among women, it is enough that some women will be raped for many women to be afraid. Brownmiller talks about how rape creates a *climate of fear* among women and how men are the winners of that climate since they can control the women (Brownmiller, 1975). Kelly presents in *Surviving sexual violence* (1988) the theory of that rape, together with physical abuse are expressions of fundamentally patriarchal relations. Kelly states thus that different forms of violence are interconnected since violence can be seen as a manifestation of unequal power relations. Similarly to Brownmiller, Kelly (1988) argues that offences such as harassments can serve as a reminder or a treat of more serious forms of violence, which creates fear and power structures (Kelly, 1988). The focus of research on men's violence against women has thus shifted from acting on deviant individuals and groups that focus on social and cultural patterns that we all reside (e.g. Hearn and Pringle, 2006; Lundgren, 1993; Messerschmidt, 1997). Men's violence against women are to be found in all classes of the society (Mäns våld mot missbrukande kvinnor, 2005).

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will focus on previous research linked to gender (in)equalities in Argentina. More specifically the chapter aims to create broad understanding of gender (in)equality in Argentina through different perspectives. These are Gender Equality, Gender Equality in Argentina, UN and Gender Equality, Women's movement, female participation in education and labour market, female political participation, unpaid domestic work and Gender-based violence. In conclusion this thesis relevance in relation to previous research will be discussed.

Gender Equality

Gender equality is first and foremost a human right to be enjoyed by all women, everywhere. Everyone is affected by gender equality in some way, since inequalities between men and women to various degrees are entrenched in all societies (UNRISD, 2005). Incorrectly gender equality can sometimes be previewed as a woman's issue, but the concept involves rights and responsibilities of both men and women and the interrelationship between them (UNFPA, 2005). The work to promote gender equality should thus concern and fully engage both men and women (UN Women, 2001). Men are as strongly influenced by gender equality as women, the norms of masculinity and the expectations of men as leaders and as main breadwinners create demand on men and gender stereotype roles. Although gender inequality affects and creates difficulties for men, it is generally women who are excluded or disadvantaged in relation to decision making, social and economic resources. Consequently the empowering of women is an important instrument in the work towards a more gender equal society (UNFPA, 2005). According to the World Bank empowerment is defined as increasing the capacity of individuals or a group to make choices and to transform these choices into desired actions and outcomes (WB, 2011).

To measure gender equality is necessary in order to evaluate its development (UNRISD, 2005). How to evaluate global gender equality progress is however a question that poses many challenges. According to the UNRISD report *After Beijing: Uneven progress in an unequal world*, indicators such as income distribution between men and women and health statistics can serve as a guidance of the gender equality in a country (ibid.). Data from *Global Gender Gap report 2013* indicates overall slight gains in countries ability to close the gender gap in areas of economic participation and opportunities, health and survival, political empowerment and educational attainment (World Economic Forum, 2013).

The *UNRISD Report* shows that there have been significant changes of gender equality over the past decades, most of them positive. The social and economical status of women has increased, female health has become better and maternal mortality has decreased. The presence of girls in primary and secondary school have radically increased all over the world; the gender gap in school attendance has thereby been reduced or in some countries even reversed. During the last decades also the presence of women in politics, labour market and other public arenas have increased significantly. These changes have resulted in gender equality often being linked with economic growth of a country (UNRISD, 2005). According to the *Global Gender Gap report*, the increased numbers of women on the labour market and in the political sphere are signs of reduced gender gap (World Economic Forum, 2013). Women are however, according to UNRISD still concentrated in jobs with low status, low pay and little power, which creates asymmetry in the narrowing gender gap (UNRISD, 2005).

Minguez (2012) state that gender equality cannot be measured in political and economical terms. Minguez argues that the options of the individual woman often are strongly influenced by social structures and stereotypical gender roles embedded in a traditional cultural context (Minguez, 2012). Social structures and stereotypical gender roles can be affected by economic growth, but more likely by social movements and state reforms (UNRISD, 2005).

According to UNRISD political transformations were a crucial part of why gender equality became globally recognized during the last decade of the 20th century. These transformations promoted shifts in the international policy agenda towards emphasis on the importance of human rights and democracy in the development process (UNRISD, 2005). The changed political agenda gained the women's movement that influenced both national and international labour legislation and reforms promoting women's rights.

Furthermore, Minguez (2012) claims family policies to be very important in order to reduce gender inequalities and empower women. To get a more gender equal society, a shift in attitudes against women, values of the family and unpaid household work must be done; this would according to Minguez be facilitated by social and political policies. According to Minguez, changing of attitudes and values regarding un-paid household work, is as important as education in order to promote gender equality (Minguez, 2012).

Several feminists (Minguez, 2012) have criticized stakeholders and policymakers for only promoting gender equality in purely economical term. Questions like same wage for men and women, female integration on the labour market and financial assistance policies are successful ways of promoting gender equality, nevertheless it is also necessary to work within the private sphere in order to access the arena where gender inequality is comprehensive; the family and home. Very few policies are done in order to change stereotype gender roles, which are source of gender inequality. According to Minguez the policy makers prefer policies promoting gender equality through income and education, rather than policies combating gender inequalities caused by cultural traditions in the private sphere (ibid.).

Gender equality in Argentina. Consequences of the Catholic Church

In order to understand gender equality in the Argentinean context, historical review of how the patriarchal structure emerged in the country will be presented.

During the colonization of Argentina in the sixteenth century, Spain brought Catholicism as the main religion and basic normative parameter to the country. After the independence in 1816, the national state Argentina was formed. During this process Argentina together with other South American countries adopted a patriarchal conception of the family with influences from Spain and France. Single women were then under the authority of their fathers, and married women of their husbands. The patriarchal conception is evident in the 1869 Argentinean civil codes, which contained legislation of the family. The framework stated the right for the man to decide over his wife and family. The woman had to obey the man and in every way follow his rules. Not only were women excluded as fully citizens; they also had very few rights in their private sphere. In the 1869 civil code legislation, women were defined as dependent and inadequate to conduct public activities on their own. During this time the law was though very fragile and it was impossible for the state to determine whether people followed it or not. The legal industry was simply not sufficiently developed to ensure the implementation of the law, especially not in rural areas. The laws, however, were strong enough to influence a society where women were subordinate men not only in rural areas but also in the more developed

cities (Stahler-Sholk, Vanden and Kuecker, 2008). In the beginning of the twentieth century gender equality before the law was a gradual struggle. In 1926 an Argentinean law stated the equal rights between men and women, but not until 1968 equal property rights and full civil capacity were legislated for women (ibid.).

Another important milestone for women in Argentina was the law stating women's right to vote, in 1947. The law had been pushed during the electoral campaign by the president Juan Domingo Perón and his wife Eva "Evita" Perón. The first lady Evita became a front figure and spokesperson for women's right to vote but also for female empowerment in general. Her role in the struggle for equal civil and political rights between men and women was significant (Molyneux, 2000).

Evita also played an important role in making women appears in the public sphere. In 1949 she together with other political active women founded the Female Peronist Party (PPF), whose ambition was to promote female political participation. As a result of the work made by PPF, many women appeared into the politic arena. The Peronist party however also supported the ideal of women first and foremost as mothers, which in many ways opposed the idea of a free and politically engaged woman (ibid.).

The Catholic Church has always had a strong position all over South America, Argentina is no exception (Hutn, 2003). The federal government must according to the Argentinean constitution sustain the apostolic Roman Catholic faith. The state also provides the Catholic Church with a variety of subsidies including financial support. Approximately 92 per cent of the Argentinean population belong to the Catholic Church (Country report: Argentina, 2014).

The strong catholic values not only pervade the Argentinean society, but also influences national legislation. The Catholic morals and values about for example sexuality have influenced laws regarding abortion, women's rights and marriage (Hutn, 2003). Over the years there have been frequent conflicts regarding family norms in Argentina between, on the one hand the hierarchy of the Catholic Church and on the other hand the liberal social actors who wanted legal changes and new norms in the society. The Catholic Church has fought to keep the civil and national laws as close to their view of the family as possible (Stahler-Sholk, et al 2008).

Under the nineteenth century the influential pope Leo XIII stated: "the family is the most important building block of society and the households headed by a lonely mother are incomplete" (Dore, 1997:121). The Church has often reinforced and supported the woman's role as a self-sacrificing mother belonging in the home domains (Noonan, 1995). Another famous quotation from pope Leo XIII illustrates the catholic view of man's position in the family: "As Christ is head of the church so is the husband the head of the wife" (Mead, 2001:101).

Today the Catholic Church claims to have a more modern view of the family and promotes gender equality between men and women. Despite the modernization of the church and changed values, the attitudes in questions like divorce and abortion are unchanged, meaning women should not make such decisions (Hutn, 2003).

According to various researches the construction of gender in Latin America is based on the dichotomies of machismo and marianismo (Craske 1999; Dominguez 2004). Marianismo is based on the catholic icon creation of Virgin Mary. This feminine idealized image is based on the idea of the self-sacrificing motherhood and linked with characteristics such as weakness, kindness and passivity. According to Craske (1999) the motherhood is an identity in Latin

America larger than ethnicity, class and nationality. The male gender construction of machismo refers to fearlessness, spuriousness and toughness (ibid.).

UN and Gender (in)equality in Argentina

In October 2012 the UN Human Rights Council and the Universal Periodic Review, evaluated Argentina and its effort to achieve the ratified UN conventions. The *UNCT Report* articulates concerns about the lack of efficient mechanism by the federal government to ensure the provincial governments and municipalities to fully implement the CEDAW. This concern is shared with the HR committee and a number of Argentinean NGOs. The UNCT observed that the state have made major efforts to combat discrimination against women on the national level by strengthening the legislative framework, introducing institutional mechanisms and implementing public equality policies. Criticism however was levelled against the implementation of CEDAW on provincial and municipal level, which according to UNCT lacked effective and functional instruments for ensuring gender equality (UN Human Rights Council, 2012).

The *UNCT Report* showed that the political participation of women had increased over the years. In 2011 the share of female participation in the national legislature was 38 per cent. Much poorer though was the participation rate in local government with only 8 per cent women. The large difference in female participation is an indicator that the degree of gender equality varies between the Argentinean provinces and in Buenos Aires, where the government is based (UN Human Rights Council, 2012).

The *UNCT Report* also showed that, despite the massive influx of women into the labour market in recent decades combined with implementation of various institutional mechanisms to promote such participation; irregularities continues to exist which manifests in segmentation and earning gaps. UNCT also expressed their concerns about Argentina, despite being a middle-income country, have areas in deep poverty and large existing gaps between the various national regions. The sharp contrasts in provincial development and the reduction of existing inequalities is according to the report a major challenge, especially in the Northwest and Northeast regions (UN Human Rights Council, 2012).

According to UNDP (2008) another challenge for Argentina is not only to promote gender equality in the public sphere but also in the private sphere. The large number of female politicians in the national parliament must be spread to national and local companies and other private sectors in order to pervade the country with gender equality. Another challenge pinpointed in the report is for Argentina to promote gender equality at provincial and local level, where the need for empowering women is great in some parts of the country (UNDP, 2008).

The eight millennium development goals (MDG) were adopted by the UN member countries in 2000 as a platform for fighting inequality and poverty around the world. The eight goals are; 1) eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, 2) achieve universal primary education, 3) *promote gender equality and empower women*, 4) reduce child mortality, 5) improve maternal health, 6) combat HIV and other deceases, 7) ensure environmental sustainability and 8) a global partnership for development (UN, 2014a). The MDG:s are the most successful anti poverty push in history according to the *MDG Report* (2013) and most of the goals already are or will be met by 2015 (UN, 2013). The MDG are signed by all 193 UN member countries and over 20 international bodies such as WB and WHO (Webster, 2012). The work on achieving some of

the targets has exceeded the expectations. In other areas more resources are needed, which is the case on promoting gender equality and empower women. The *MDG Report* states that “Whether in the public or private sphere, from the highest levels of government decision-making to households, women continue to be denied equal opportunity with men to participate in decisions that affect their lives” (UN, 2013:23). According to *MDG Report* Argentina has made progress in terms of gender equality in areas such as political presentation, the labour market and education (UNPD, 2012).

Women’s movement in Argentina

Latin America has a long history of demonstrations and collective action as a response to social injustice in the society (Safa, 1990). Protesting out on the streets in the public sphere has traditionally been men’s role, but in recent decades also women have taken place on the barricades. Women's participation in demonstrations and protests have led to that violation of women's human rights and gender equality issues have been noticed. Some of the most high profile demonstrations have led to local women's movements in Argentina led by women for women, with human rights for women as their core issue (Safa, 1990).

Policies and issues mainly affecting women such as domestic violence and child-care have historically been and still are seen as “private” issues for the family to solve without state involvement. Several women’s movements in Argentina have organized identification of a traditional female gender construction, such as motherhood and household tasks. They have fought for their problems to be accepted not as private problems, but seen as matters of public policies and subject for legislative changes (Franceschet, 2010). During periods of economic and political crises, women in Argentina have mobilized in social movements to demand human rights and better living conditions (Craske 1999; Howe 2006).

One of the most widely known women's movements in Argentina is “Madres en la plaza de Mayo” (Mothers of the plaza de Mayo), which was established in 1977 in Buenos Aires (Safa, 1990). The movement started as a protest by mothers as a response to their children’s disappearance during the military regime. What started as demonstrations in front of the government building in order to draw attention and create debate about their children’s disappearance, developed to the first Argentinean women’s movement where women made their voices heard out on the street. The Mothers further developed and divided later into two groups with different goals. While one group continued to focus on the disappearance of their children, the other group spread their opinions about the unjust social and political structures in Argentina. The latter branch became an influential and famous group fighting against violation of women’s human rights (Howe, 2006).

Although mothers' thoughts and opinions spread throughout the country, the women's movement continued to be concentrated in Buenos Aires, where most of the women's movement was organized. In 1990 a new women’s movement was though launched in a neighbouring province of Salta, that later would be called *the protests in Catamarca*. The protests were a reaction of that 17-year-old Maria Soledad was found raped and murdered in a ditch. Eight years after the tragic event, two men from rich and powerful families who had controlled the town for nearly 40 years were convicted for the crime. The women's movement that was formed consisted mainly of young female students, protesting about how rich and powerful men could commit crimes against poor women without any penalty (Bergman and Szurmuk 2001). Soledad was poor and dark-skinned were circumstances that in the public debate were considered as relieving the rape, she was portrayed as a temptress. The women's

movement demonstrations therefore focused much on portray Soledad as an innocent Catholic girl. According to Bergman and Szurmuk (2001) the protests and later women's movement in Catamarca were strongly influenced by the Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo in the way that they became aware of rape and assault as a way for men to exercise power. The death of Maria Soledad and the women's movement therefore become a political event, a human rights movement that made "the private political". Inspired by the Madres of Plaza de Mayo the movement broke even those against the division between private and public. The protests contributed to challenging the political system in Catamarca, the division between private and public, and oppression of women (Bergman and Szurmuk, 2001).

Women in education and the labour market in Argentina

Since 1870 Argentina have had free and mandatory public education for all children. Even though this was a big and important step for Argentina, the outcome was not all children having access to education. The low school attendance was and still is a problem, especially in the rural areas where the long distance to school and poverty are reasons for children not accessing the education. Although under the early 1900's school attendance increased and illiteracy started to decline, both among boys and girls. By the 1930's, there was practically no gender differential in illiteracy rates and in primary school enrolment. During the 1950's and 1960's, women equalled men in secondary school attendance and the 1990s; there were more women than men enrolled in higher education.

The merely positive development of girls' school attendance is however not a fair replication. Girls and women have higher drop out rates than boys and men at all levels of the Argentinean educational system (Jelin, 1991). The latest (2010) so called *Shadow report* published by Argentinean NGOs together with OHCHR states that even though equal access to education for men and women, is important, it does not translate into equal employment access or equal pay. On the contrary the *Shadow Report* shows that gender segregation and wage gap continues to exist (OHCHR, 2010). The report also illustrates that although the increased female participation on the Argentinean labour market, the distinctions between different provinces remain large. There are for example higher levels of women employment in Buenos Aires with surroundings than in the northern provinces, where the number of women on the labour market is the lowest in the country (ibid.). A field study carried out in Tucuman, neighbouring province of Salta, demonstrates that even if women can access the labour market, it will not automatically lead to gender equality. On the contrary, the study demonstrates how women through practices and social norms entrenched in the male-dominant culture, remain subordinate in the workplace (Vazquez Laba, V, 2009).

Female political participation in Argentina

The female political empowerment has further developed since Evitas days and Argentina has today one of the highest per cents of female participation in the political representing in the world. The relatively large proportion of women representatives is a result of that Argentina in 1991 as the first country in the world introduced gender quotas to the parliament. The Quota law (Ley de Cuotas, Law 24,012) stipulates that at least 30 per cent of the parliamentarians must be women (Craske– Molyneux, 2002). According to the ranking of the participation of women in ministerial posts and parliamentary seats made by Economic Forum in 2011, Argentina is the 20th most gender equal country in the world, of a total number of 135 countries. This is a positive development for Argentina, which in 2009 was to be found on place 26 (UN, 2013). The gender quotas have hence *numerically* been a success in Argentina.

According to the report *The Implementation of quotas. The Latin American experiences* the high number of female represents in the parliament and a female president do though not necessary lead to high priority of gender related questions (TIQ, 2003). On the contrary Argentinean politicians are accused of having patriarchal and conservative views and that female politicians have a hard time getting out their political agenda (UN Human Rights Council, 2012). The big challenge for Argentina according to the *TIQ Report* is to translate statistical numbers of gender equality in the parliament into real changes in the politics (TIQ, 2003). A problem raised by the *CEDAW Shadow Report* is the lack of effective follow-up mechanisms to assure the implementation of female quota in the provincial governments. Unlike the national parliament level the female participation in the provincial governments is far from significant (OHCHR, 2010).

Unpaid female domestic work in Argentina

Jelin states in the article *Why care for care? Who cares?* that women all over the world carry out the major share of care work in the homes (Jelin, 2011). Argentina is no exception. According to the report *Encuesta de Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes* (EANNA) (survey on activities of girls, boys and adolescents) from the Argentinean government, mothers tend to take the main responsibility for the caring of people in the home, cleaning and cooking. The study implies that women take responsibility for the unpaid household work both in rural and urban areas of Argentina (Ministerio trabajo empleo y seguridad social, Argentina, 2004).

The increased female participation on the labour market is a major step of progress towards gender equality (UN Human Rights Council, 2012). On the contrary, Jelin states that the feminization of the labour force, not automatically leads to less gender inequalities. Rather does the increased female labour force result in women combining the unpaid domestic work with work for pay, which creates an extremely heavy workload (Jelin, 2011). According to a qualitative study carried out in Tucumán, a neighbouring province of Salta, women describe the distribution of housework as unchanged despite women's increased work outside the home. The study show that this is mostly because of the unpaid domestic work carried out by women is invisible, compared to the work men carry out (Garrido, 2006).

Another sign of improved gender equality is as stated earlier the increased school enrolment for girls (UN Human Rights Council, 2012). Jelin though argues that this creates an overburden of the girl's schedules, since they help out in the home as much as before they started school (Jelin, 2011).

Jelin underlines that even though unpaid domestic care-work such as taking care of the children often is viewed as *labour of love*, it has consequences for the women. The care work is very time consuming, involves hard work, responsibilities and loss of other opportunities (Jelin, 2011). What also complicates the balance between formal work and family life for women is lack of childcare services. Offering day-care would help women accessing the labour market to a greater extent since some of the unpaid work performed by women would be removed. Since Argentina is a federal state with political decentralization, decisions on whether childcare should be offered or not is taken in each province, the access to day-care varies therefore across the country (OHCHR, 2010). Women's justice activists argue that there are large differences in the provinces' social policies and laws, depending on in which province the woman reside (Franceschet, 2010). "Policy actors do not have a quality bureaucracy into with to delegate policy implementation" (Spiller and Tommasi, 2007:156).

Gender based Violence

The most common form of violence against women is domestic violence, which is used by one person in a relationship to control the other person. Often the perpetrator is the women's husband/partner or other another man in their family. The different forms of violence can often succeed one another, or in other ways be correlated and can for example consist of physical, physiological and sexual abuse (Population Reports, 1999).

Until recently gender based violence was viewed as a minor problem by policy-makers and governments around the world. However, since 1990 the problem has received attention and due to the effort of NGOs, women's movement and governments have the public awareness about gender based violence increased all over the world (WHO, 2005). Many cultures have though norms and beliefs that legitimize violence against women and view it as a family problem, that not require the involvement of non-family members. The same act directed at a woman by male partner will go unchallenged, but would be punished if directed at a neighbour or a schoolfellow in many societies (Population Reports, 1999).

Gender based violence is a widespread problem in Argentina. The northern provinces in general and Salta in particular is the province where most women get exposed to violence (APP, 2012:35). According to a qualitative study collected in rural areas of northern Argentinean provinces Salta, Misiones and Santiago del Estero, the whole family is affected by gender based violence, even though not all family members are physically affected. The study also shows how violence is viewed as "normal" in families living in rural areas in the sense that it is very common. According to the women in the study the reason for gender based violence can be lack of love, jealousy, alcohol, drugs or frustration over a lack of financial resources (World Bank, 2001).

This Study

As shown in this and the previous chapters, Salta is one of the most conservative and traditional areas of Argentina. Compared to other provinces, Salta also has an underdeveloped economy and very clear social class division where some families have great power over the provincial politics and economy. Previous studies presented in this chapter also illustrates how gender based violence is most widespread in the northern provinces of Argentina and Salta in particular. The reason for conducting this study in Salta is therefore that the province together with other northern differs markedly from the rest of the country.

Not only are the differences between Argentinean provinces numerous, the differences within the provinces are also comprehensive. Therefore this study will build upon interviews with women both in rural mountain villages in Andes Mountains and women in urban province capital Salta.

As stated by Minguez (2012) even though female integration on the labour market and financial assistance policies are important tools of empowerment, gender equality cannot be measured purely in economical and political terms. The aim of this study is to gain understanding of how gender equality shapes a woman's everyday life in Salta through qualitative interviews. The study's ambition is to contribute with knowledge of how women living in rural and urban areas of province Salta in north Argentina, *understand* and *experience* gender (in)equality in their families, homes, societies and other arenas. The purpose is also to create knowledge about whether UN conventions stating gender equality have had any consequence in Argentinean women's everyday life. In order to find the answers to the research questions, the experts themselves, the Argentinean women will be interviewed.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Methodology refers to the research techniques used in a study (Bryman, 2008). This chapter presents the methodological and epistemological approach as well as the different types of material used in this research. The ethical considerations that have arisen during the working process will also be discussed, together with the quality concepts; reliability, validity and generalizability. The chapter concludes with a critical reflection over the chosen method.

Research methods are often divided into qualitative and quantitative approaches. The choice of method for a study is guided by the objectives and research questions. While a qualitative method shows the characteristics or nature of something, a quantitative study focuses on the amount or connections (Widerberg, 2002). The aim of this study was to gain knowledge about how the respondents understand and experience gender equality in their everyday lives. In order to accomplish this, qualitative interviews were used, since such emphasizes words, stories and the understanding of them rather than numbers or statistics (Bryman, 2008). An advantage with qualitative interviews is also the ability to make follow-up questions, something that is useful when the respondent's understanding of a phenomenon is central (Widerberg, 2002). Or as Kvale simply states: "If you want to know how people understand their world and their life, why not talk with them?" (Kvale, 2007:2).

The women living in Salta's understanding and experiences of gender equality in their everyday lives were captured during the interviews. This was done with tools drawn from hermeneutic and phenomenological theory of knowledge.

In women's *understanding* of gender equality a *phenomenological approach* were used, where the subject's perspective of the world is the relevant perception of the reality. This study accordingly by using the phenomenological approach, aimed to through interviewing women who have experiences of the given phenomenon, create knowledge about gender equality from their perspective. Phenomenology focuses on understanding social phenomenon through the respondent's perspectives of her world, the aim with phenomenology therefore is to describe rather than explain (Kvale, 1997).

Women's *experience* is understood as a process in which subjectivity is constructed. Through this continuous process, which continuously is executed or renewed, one become placed or place themselves in a social reality. "Experience is thus an on-going construction created by one's personal subjective engagement in the practices, discourses and institutions that provide meaning (valuation, meaning and sense) to events in the world" (De Lauretis, 1996:40).

In the study *hermeneutics* was used as theoretical approach. Hermeneutics states that there is no objective knowledge in the world, all knowledge is subjective and dependent on its context. During the analysis process of the empirical material, a hermeneutic understanding was used of the interviewee's understandings of reality as subjective. Thereby, the researcher interpret the respondents interpretations of a given story or phenomenon. Through the analysis process these interpretations were reconstructed by the chosen theoretical approach and the researchers language (Molander, 2003).

Interviews

This study consists of a total number of 13 interviews conducted in the province of Salta, Argentina. Due to time and cost reasons, the study was carried out in two different areas in the

same Argentinean province. The reason for delimitate the study to province Salta was as discussed in the “Literature review” the lack of qualitative research on gender equality in the northern provinces of Argentina. Also the fact that Salta is one of the most conservative Argentinean provinces strongly influenced by Catholic family values made Salta province an interesting area to investigate.

The research is based on 10 interviews conducted with women from rural and urban areas of Salta. Three additional interviews were also conducted with professional women, which refers to women working in disciplines connected to gender equality. This first section will cover the way in which the interviews were conducted, outline the sample, present the respondents and the analysis process of the conducted data. First the main interviews will be presented, followed by the additional interviews.

Main interviews; Respondents, selection and sample process

The 10 main interviews were conducted in province of Salta during January-February 2014. Five of the interviews were held in the urban province capital Salta and five in rural villages of Andes Mountains. Each interview lasted 30-45 minutes and all respondents were interviewed on one occasion. Every interview commenced with questions about the respondent’s background in order to get knowledge of the woman and her life. This section will start with a brief presentation of the research respondents. By ethical reasons the respondents will be presented as two groups (women in Salta city and in mountain villages), since quotes in the findings chapter together with detailed information such as the names of villages could reveal their anonymity.

The respondent group from Salta city contains of five women 24 to 50 years old. They all lived together with their respective families consisting a male husband/partner and children, with the exception of one woman whose children recently had moved out. The women were not all originally from Salta, but have lived there most of their grown-up lives. All respondents had finished their studies up to secondary level, two of them also have university degrees. At the time of the interviews all five women had a formal job outside their home.

The other five respondents lived in three villages in the rural area of Andes Mountains in Salta province. The women were between 17 and 57 years old, they all live together with their families consisting of a male husband/partner with the exception of one woman who recently became widow. Out of the five respondents one had finished school up to secondary level and another one will finish this year. The women do not have formal jobs, but work within the household. Four respondents were born in the villages where they now reside, one woman was born in Salta town and moved to the mountains as a child.

The recruitment process of respondents was a combination of the researcher contacting potential respondents and women volunteering to participate in the study. Especially in the mountains, the presence of the researcher of this study spread quickly in the villages and women showed interest and volunteered to participate in the study. One required criteria for the research was to include both respondents from urban and rural areas of the province. Further, women living together with a family also were potential respondents, since stories from their daily life where both men and women appears were desirable during the interviews. The family and homes are according to Magnusson associated with strong emotions and traditions in the perception of femininity and masculinity (Magnusson, 2006), which are relevant for this study. Another objective of the sample process was to include women with different ages in the study, in order to make the respondent group as heterogeneous as possible.

All women who showed interest in participation in the study were given an informed consent, so that they in peace and quiet could form an opinion about the study and choose to decline or to participate.

Interview procedure

Before conducting the first interview, a pilot study was carried out in order to test the questions and the length of the interview. Since the interviews were to be held in Spanish, the pilot interview also served as a test of the questions and to get linguistic feedback. The interviews were inspired by life-form interviews (Haavind, 2000) in which the researcher searches for gendered meanings in everyday life situations. Direct questions about gender equality were not asked during the first part of the interview, instead the respondents were asked to talk about selected episodes of their childhood and their daily routines. In the stories told during the interviews, both men and woman appeared, which led to the respondents spontaneously talked about situations of gender (in)equality. This created a greater diversity than if direct questions about gender equality in relation to their every day life's would had been asked (Haavind, 2000). However, towards the end of the interview questions of the respondent's thoughts about gender equality were asked, which according to Haavind is appropriate when conducting a life-form interview (ibid).

The specific questions asked during the interviews varied due to the women's different stories. Follow-up questions were created during the interview based on the researchers thoughts and understanding of the respondents stories. An interview guide (see appendix III) with relevant themes and related question though served as a support, but were often overlooked in favour of women's free story telling.

According to Kvale (2007) it is important to take into account the consequences of the interview interaction for the respondent. Similarly to Carlsson (2009) the respondents in this study were asked to determine location for the interview in order to create such safe environment as possible. Before starting the interview, the respondents had the option to allow or decline the interview to be recorded. The women were also encouraged not to answer questions that in any way felt inconvenient, which happened at some rare occasions.

Processing and analysis

The processing of data is according to Haavind on-going during the entire research process and does hence not start when the interviews are collected, but rather in the beginning of the research process when creating research questions and taking interview notes (Haavind, 2000). The interviews were transcribed, which refers to transposing spoken to written word (Kvale, 2007). The conducted data were carefully transcribed with as much accuracy and details as possible. By letting pauses, silence and laughter be visible in the transcription, the aim was to keep the nuances in the stories. Symbols were used during the transcription when the respondents for example spoke extra low or emphasized something, in order to maintain the respondents expressions. Since the interviews were held in Spanish they were accordingly transcribed in Spanish. Later the transcripts were translated into English, to enable the use of quotations in the findings chapter.

During the transcription the names of the respondents, villages and other circumstances, were replaced with fictitious names, since the confidentiality of the respondents was of utmost importance (Kvale, 2007).

Before starting the systematic analysis of the collected data, reading through the transcriptions several times was necessary in order to get a good overview of the material. A deep understanding of the material was necessary since many stories were complex and difficult to understand at first. What the respondents understand as obvious can for the researcher take time to understand. During interviews consisting of narratives the respondent often can switch between past and present when telling stories, for this reason it is essential to dedicate sufficient

time to develop understanding of the respondent's stories (Ekman, 2004). Further, the work continued with searching the transcribed material for recurring themes. By using highlighting pens in several colours the women's quotations were divided into groups. The quotations that somehow belonged together and covered the same subject were given the same colour. To formulate themes that were central in the material was a time consuming process. During the initial work there were four key themes, which were: "division of labour", "financial/physical freedom", "violence and "women's understandings of gender (in)equality". In the further work to organize and understand the material, several sub-themes of women's understandings of gender (in)equality were visible. These themes were "gender equality in the society", "gender equality in the home", "the concept of gender equality" and "women's explanations of gender equality". Consequently, during the analysis process two main themes with sub-themes were created that in a clear way covered the conducted material. The main themes were; "women's *experiences* of gender (in)equality" which included "division of labour" "financial/physical freedom" "violence" and "women's *understanding* of gender (in)equality" which included "gender equality in the society" "gender equality in the home" "the concept of gender equality" "women's explanations of gender (in)equality". These seven themes were accordingly not determined in advanced since the respondent's thoughts and stories guided the research process.

Additional interviews; Respondents and sample process

As a complement to the interviews with the 10 women in rural and urban areas of Salta, three interviews were carried out with professional women to get additional understanding of gender equality from women representing the public sphere. This section presents the interviews conducted with the professional women. Since these interviews only serve as additional results of the study, the used approach will be presented briefly.

The chosen professions were education, judiciary and social work. The three respondents were first contacted by mail, with a request of participation the study. The sample of respondents were guided by the desire to include professions that in different ways come in contact with gender equality and its challenges. The chosen professionals were on daily basis in contact with boys and girls, men and women and the interaction between them. It was also a consciously chosen strategy to interview female professionals, since the aim with this study was to get knowledge about how *women* understand gender equality.

The interviews were conducted in Salta town during February-March 2014. Similarly to the other respondents the professional women were asked to determine the location of the interview. Two interviews were held at respondents working place and one in the respondent's home. The interviews lasted 25-45 minutes each. Likewise as the main respondents, the professionals were given an informed consent which contained the over all purpose with the study, the main features of the design, information about the respondents voluntary participation and their right to withdraw from the study at any time.

Interview process and analysis

The additional interviews were conducted after the main interviews, to enable the creation of an interview guide that contained the central themes from the main interviews. Based on these focus areas the respondents were asked to express their understanding of gender equality in relation to their respective profession and their daily work.

Similarly to the main respondents the professionals were asked for permission to record the interviews. Thereafter the conversations were transcribed from spoken to written word, and from Spanish into English.

Ethics and quality of the study

Ethical issues occur continuously during a research process (Bryman, 2008). This section deals with the ethical considerations that have arisen during the work with this study. The concepts of validity, reliability and generalization will also be presented and reflected over. The section concludes with reflections of how the researchers previous knowledge of Salta has affected the study together with a critical review of the chosen methodology of the study.

Ethical considerations

Ethical challenges permeate the whole research process and potential ethical concerns should be taken into account in every step of the research (Kvale, 2007). Ethical considerations can be described as finding a balance between various interests. One interest of the researcher is the quest for new knowledge. To gain knowledge by doing research is necessary for societies and individuals to develop. However, in all research the interest of creating new knowledge must be set against the individual's interest and potential harm of the research participants (Vetenskapsrådet, 2011). The researcher have to find a good balance between conducting research with an important purpose and protect the people taking part in the study (ibid.).

Bryman has summarized ethical research recommendations into four main rules for good research practice. The researcher should according to these recommendations take into account invasion of privacy, lack of informed consent, harm of participant and deception (Bryman, 2008). Each one of these recommendations will be discussed in the following section.

The first area of ethical concern relates to the *informed consent* given to the researcher participant. The aim of the informed consent is to give a potential respondent all the necessary information about the study and its purpose so that the participant can decide if he or she want to participate in the study or not (Bryman, 2008). The informed consent handed out to the participant in this study contained the overall purpose with the study, the main features of the design, the respondents voluntary participation and their right to withdraw the study at any time. All respondents were asked to sign the letter in order to determine that they understood and accepted the conditions of the study. Included in the informed consent was also information about how and where the respondent would be able to find the report.

Closely related to the informed consent is the second area of ethical considerations, invasion of the respondent's *privacy* (Bryman, 2008). By signing the informed consent, the participants do not repeal the right to privacy. It is thereby possible for the participants to agree on participating in the study and later refuse to answer questions in the interview. Similarly to what Carlsson (2009) describe in her report, the respondents opportunity not to answer questions were carefully explained before the interview and it happened on a few occasions that the respondents for various reasons did not want to answer a question. On these occasions the interview continued with next question and for ethical reasons the respondent was not asked why she did not want to answer a certain question (Carlsson, 2009). According to Bryman refusals of this kind can have to do with respondents not wanting to make certain things public, even though the interview is anonymous (Bryman, 2008).

The third ethical consideration refers to the *potential harm* of the research participant. There are many different types of harm that a study can cause a respondent, such as stress, loss of

self-esteem and physiological harm to mention a few (Bryman, 2008). As researcher it has been of paramount importance to reflect over these risks while making the interview questions, while conducting the interviews and in the over-all work with the research. The ethical principle of beneficence refers to that the harm of the respondent must be as little as possible. It is also important not only to consider the potential harm of the interviewee but also of people in the respondent's immediate vicinity (Kvale, 2007).

Since the respondents in this study are anonymous, it was imperative to maintain the identities of the interviewees as confidential in order not to expose them to harm. Carefully consideration must thus be taken when publishing the study in order not to reveal any identities of the individuals (Bryman, 2008). In order to keep the confidentiality of the research respondents in this study fictitious names of the women were used together with changed names of villages and other circumstances. To clearly show which one of the respondents who came from Salta, they were given names beginning with S, while women from mountain villages were given names starting with V. Respondents Susana, Silvia, Sarah, Sandra and Sofia were hence from Salta, while Valentine, Victoria, Viola, Veronica and Wilma from mountain villages. The three professional women are referred to as "lawyer", "social worker" and "teacher".

Kvale states, "In a qualitative study where subject statements from a private interview setting may be published in public reports, precautions need to be taken to protect the subjects privacy" (Kvale, 2007:28). With Kvale's thoughts on the respondent's privacy in mind the decision was made not to publish certain stories conducted during the interviews. These stories were very interesting and instructive, but like Carlsson (2009) reasons in her study, the decision not to publish all stories was taken with respect and solidarity for my respondents and their life stories.

The last of Bryman's four ethical considerations is *deception*, which refers to if the researcher presents the study as something that it is not (Bryman, 2008). To counteract this, the description of this study was explained as openly as possible, in order to allow other people to being able to critically examine this study. The choice of having extensive excerpts in the findings chapter also was a deliberate choice since it provides the opportunity for readers to consider and reflect on the researcher's interpretations. In the following section the quality concepts of reliability, validity and generalization will be discussed.

Reliability

The reliability refers to if the findings are reproducible by other researchers, that is if another researcher could remake the study and thereby test its result. The reliability is thereby a measure of the trustworthiness and consistency of the research findings. Reliability also concern whether another person transcribing the transcription of the interview would result in the same findings as in this study (Kvale, 2007). Since no transcribed text entirely can reflect the oral language, the transcription affects the content of the interview to a certain extent. However, during the transcribing process as great accuracy and details as possible was used to reduce the researchers impact of the material (Riessman, 1993). This methodology chapter aims to present the work process of this study as clearly as possible in order create insight that make it possible for other researchers to test the reliability of the study by remake it.

Validity

Validity is often defined as "if you are measuring what you think you are measuring?" (Kerlinger, 1979:138). In other words validity refers to whether the research study investigates what it intend to investigate or not. Validity does not only aim to evaluate the finished thesis, but rather is an on-going process during the entire research process. Kvale uses the term of

craftsmanship to describe how the researcher should theorize, question and check the findings during the work with the research in order to get a result with good validity (Kvale, 2007). During the work with this thesis the researcher's own interpretation of the conducted data was regularly questioned, the supervisor also has been a great support when discussing the findings and the understanding of them.

The interviews were as previously mentioned conducted in Spanish, but the results are presented in English. To collect data in one language and present the findings in another, have a direct impact of the validity of the study, since the researcher has to make decision of the translation during the research process. Birbili (2000) states that the translator's linguistic competence together with her knowledge of the culture in the studied context is crucial for the quality of the translation. The researcher's proficiency in Spanish together with previous experience of conducting research interviews in north Argentina was therefore essential of the translation quality. Another according to Birbili important factor of the translation quality is the circumstances under which the interviews were transcribed (ibid.). The transcribing and translating process have been very time-consuming, since great importance has been attached to accuracy. Even though the translator of this study fulfilled the by Birbili suggested criteria's for translation, the researcher is aware of that it does not completely reduce the dilemma of conducting data in Spanish and presenting it in English.

Generalization

Generalization refers to if the findings are of primary local interest or whether the findings can say something about a larger population, than the researched one. Quantitative research is based on random selected respondents, meaning that the persons, who get selected also can present the ones who did not get selected if the sample is large enough (Kvale, 2007). The sample of this study was done both in a fixed context and with women who volunteered to participate in the study. Since the sample was not randomly chosen, statistical generalization cannot be used to assess that the experiences of gender equality among the interviewed women is consistent with the rest of the women in Argentina.

Difficulties of generalization are not unique for this study, but rather common in qualitative research where the samples often are selective. If the researcher despite the difficulties strives towards saying something about the situation outside the studied group, the group of respondents should be as heterogeneous as possible. What also makes it easier to compare the respondents in this research with others is to as accurately as possible describe the sample process and the respondents (Miles and Huberman, 1994). In this study there have been a quest to make the sample group as heterogeneous as possible when it comes to for example age of the respondents. Respondents from both rural and urban areas were selected in order to create a sample that could present province Salta, even though the representation cannot be evidenced by statistical generalization (Kvale, 2007). However, according to Carlsson (2009) no one express himself or herself in a vacuum, the language of expression is always collective in some sense (Carlsson, 2009).

Prior knowledge

The reason for investigating gender equality in Argentina and more specifically in Salta was that the researcher of this study in 2011 did one semester internship at the foundation "Salta Crecer" in Salta as a part of the bachelor program in social work. Through the foundation the researcher came in contact with many women whose stories illustrated unequal power relations between men and women. Within the scope of the internship, there was no room to further examine how gender (in)equalities shaped these women's lives. This thesis gave the researcher

the opportunity to return to Argentina in order to investigate women in rural and urban areas of Salta and their understandings and experiences of gender equality.

According to Thurén (2007) prior knowledge about the research topic can both be a strength and a challenge. On the one hand previous cultural understanding of a context can help the researcher. It can also be useful with already established contacts, which can make it easier to get in connection with respondents and local organizations. On the other hand prior knowledge can implicate how the researcher view the world and cause preconceptions and expected result. It is therefore important for the researcher to be aware of the own interspersions, in order to understand how the respondents view and perceive a given phenomenon or situation (ibid.). To be able to come in contact with respondents especially in rural areas the researcher`s prior knowledge of the context and culture was considered as crucial.

Compiling background material

The “Introduction” and “Literature review” chapters of this study are based on a number of reports, publications and studies. More specifically, 23 reports, 16 UN publications and 8 scientific journals in English, Spanish and Swedish are used to create a good knowledgebase about gender (in)equality in Salta and Argentina. The searching process for previous research started in October 2013, through searching through the Gothenburg University library database “Libris”, “GUNDA” and “KVINNSAM”, “Google scholar” and “Web of science” to get an overall picture of the published studies of gender equality in Argentina. The search words “gender equality Argentina”, “gender equality Salta” “violencia genero provincia de Salta” and “igualdad genero” were used in different combinations. In order not to miss out on relevant research, the titles and abstracts of all publications search resulted in, were read through. The following work to narrow down the number of previous research included skimming through the remaining publications. During this step of the literature analyse were numerous irrelevant articles rejected. The literature that remained after the analysis consisted of interesting and relevant studies that resulted in the first chapters of this thesis.

Critical analysis of the Study

The aim of this study was to gain knowledge of how women understand and experiences gender equality in their every day lives together with investigate how principles of UN conventions stating gender equality are expressed in women's description of their everyday lives. The method of qualitative interviews was selected for the study since the research questions involved how the women themselves understand the gender (in)equality in their families, societies and other arenas. For this reason interviews were well suited, since women's own words and thoughts regarding gender equality is central to the result.

As stated in this chapter a *phenomenological approach* was used, where the subject’s perspective of the world is the relevant perception of the reality. The themes and questions in the “Interview guide” were therefore created in a way so that they would frame as little interpretations as possible and rather just encourage the respondents to talk about given themes. The researcher is though aware of that it is not possible to create knowledge about gender equality purely from the respondent’s perspectives when the researcher has created the interview guide, since the themes and questions influence the interview and what the respondents will tell.

Despite the clarity about where to access the thesis presented in the informal consent, the recommendation of giving the respondents access the thesis was not considered as fulfilled.

This is mainly because of two reasons. First the language barrier will prevent the respondents from being able to read the study, since it is written in English. Due to lack of time, the thesis could not be translated into Spanish, which although had increased respondents' access to it. Secondly the lack of computers and internet connection in the mountain villages is problematic since the thesis only will be available online.

There are both advantages and disadvantages linked with the way the data was collected in this study. An advantage was that respondents themselves selected the interview environment, something that contributed to the respondent's sense of security during the interview. One possible disadvantage could be the way in which the respondents were chosen. As described earlier the selection process was a combination of respondents voluntary participation in the study and the researcher contacting potential respondents. The risk of this selection process being viewed as biased, is considered. The fact that the researcher in the selection process had certain requirements from respondents, such as broad age variation among the respondents as possible, led to not all women who wanted to participate in the study were selected as respondents. The researcher in that way controlled the selection process is considered to increase the study's validity.

In the working process with this thesis the researcher have tried to be as open minded as possible in order to allow the unexpected to speak. The theories have not been decided in advance, instead women understanding of gender equality have been central in the explanatory work with the thesis, not preconceived notions. Widerberg (2013) states that a too theory-driven approach in a qualitative study can be a disadvantage rather than an asset.

That the researcher of this study comes from Sweden and investigates a phenomenon in South America with theories from the western world poses a number of challenges that are important to take into account. With the exception of "the culture of silence" which has its origin in Brazil, the theories used in this study are exclusively from western countries such as USA, United Kingdom and France. Applying theories from western countries into other contexts can cause dilemmas and requires reflection (Hugman, 2010). One risk with applying western theories on developing countries is according to Fergusson (2005) that the research gets influenced by colonialist legacy, where the western countries "wants to help" the developing countries (Fergusson, 2005). In line with the MFS scholarship guidelines, this thesis does not aim to "help" a developing country, but rather examining something that the country in question itself can benefit from. Nevertheless, it has been important to during the work with this thesis be aware of and reflect on how a researcher from the western world using western theories can examine a phenomenon in a previously colonized country without being influenced by the colonial legacy.

The theories forming the theoretical framework of this study are selected with utmost accuracy given the Argentinean context. The researcher is aware of that the selected theories cannot be seen as universal, but are considered as appropriate for this study. Although the dilemma of using western theories in an Argentinean context cannot be completely ignored.

CHAPTER 5: FINDINGS

This chapter presents the research findings of this study. The text includes several quotations from the respondents in order to provide a fuller sense of the women's way of thinking. In addition, the understanding of gender equality by professional women will serve as a complement.

The findings chapter is divided into two sections, the first one presents how gender (in)equality shapes women's everyday life in their homes and society. The second section contains women's understanding and interpretation of their everyday life as unfair. Finally, concluding remarks will be presented.

The results presented in this chapter are based on interviews conducted with women from rural villages in the mountains and the urban province capital Salta. When differences in how these two groups understand gender equality occurs, the results of the two groups will be divided. This is to clearly show the differences and similarities between women in rural and urban areas of Argentina.

Women's experiences of Gender (in)equality

This first section presents findings on gender (in)equality in the lives of the women, as indicated by three main themes; division of labour, physical/economical freedom and violence.

Division of labour

The link between gender equality and the labour market were apparent during the interviews. Women's stories showed that uneven division of labour is perceived as a strong cause of injustice. The understandings and attitude towards on the one hand unpaid household work and on the other hand paid work outside the home differ between Salta city and the villages. The findings will therefore be presented separately, starting with women in the villages followed by women in Salta town.

Women's household work in the villages

After visiting the respondents in the mountains there was no doubt about women working very hard, from sunrise to sunset. According to the respondents, men and women work within different areas. As a consequence of the lack of jobs in the smaller villages, men are forced to seek employment in bigger villages. Women exemplifies during the interviews that many men find jobs in the valleys on vineyards, tobacco plantations or work for the municipalities in bigger villages. Veronica and Victoria illustrates their everyday life with the husband away working:

We are four. Two children and us, me and my husband, but we are mostly just me and the kids since my husband works. Yes he works, he works in El Carill. He runs the municipality's jeep, he has worked there for a long time. For five years now and he works all week and comes home on the weekend, mostly. Sometimes he also have to work on the weekend to. [--] I weave to sell to Amaicha (a nearby village). [---] Yes. But the children's my all, that's my main job. But I also need to work to provide security for them (Veronica).

Yes, he (the man) also works and makes sure we have a home and as I have said before. He takes responsibility and all that. When my children asks where daddy is, I reply them always that he has to work for us to get food on the table (Victoria).

Since the respondent's husbands/partners mostly are away from home, the women explain how they not only take the main responsibility but all responsibility for children and the home. The

women perform the daily duties of the unpaid household work. They describe how they, beside taking care of their children and home by themselves, also try to find a way of making extra money to stretch the family economy. This is done by selling self-manufactured items such as knitted clothes and food from the family's animals. Valentine and Veronica describe how they produce and sell handcrafts:

Here are very few women working, and here there is no work for men, when the season of the grape comes all men go to Mendoza to work. Us women we stay home when the men are off working, many women are spinning, weaving, handcrafts and then we sell them to get some extra money (Valentine).

But the men, now, yes they work, well mostly outdoors growing potatoes, and to build and tangle. Most women in this village are working to make yarn. Spin and weave and wash the yarn and then sell it. [--] The women working in the home, they weave and knit and other things. They keep the home in order and so the children, of course, the responsibility of women, the children (Veronica).

According to the respondents, women and men in mountain village's work as much and as hard but within different areas. Women work with jobs including both unpaid household work but also selling of crafts. The women affirm that the reason for selling for instance eggs and homemade clothes is to contribute to the family income. However, the women remarkably do not refer to their work as *real jobs*, even though they through these jobs stretch the family income. Compared to the work men have, women's creative ways of earning money by selling different products does not count as a job by themselves. The quotes from interviews with Valentine and Viola illustrate this:

I do not have a job, my husband works. I work in the house with the children and everything, we are a family of 14 people you know. I also take care of the lama wool and I spin the yarn you know and knit things that I sell to the tourist shop in Cafayate. Small lama animals and knitted jumpers. I have to do that to help my family survive (Valentine).

I grew up with my mother at my grandparents house, my mother was not married or had no husband who could support us. When my grandparents died, we were alone, we suffered a lot. My mom did not have a job or any savings to feed us on but she worked with doing clothes from the wool of sheep to sell (Viola).

The women describe in the interviews how they have to work and contribute to the family economy, but still the hard work is not understood as important as their men's jobs.

Women's double jobs in Salta

Unlike women in the villages, women in the city have better opportunities to get a job on the labour market. In the urban area of Salta it is also possible to access nurseries, which is described as a prerequisite for women to be able to work outside the home. The interviewees describe the labour market in Salta as open to both men and women but strongly divided in female and male profession. Even though the women express great happiness over the labour market being open to both men and women, which was not the case 20 years ago, the division of men's job and women's jobs is understood as injustice and a reason for gender inequalities. Sara and Susanna narrates:

Yes I do think it is more gender equal now. In the past, I think the man just worked but now I do not think it is so. Today, I think that women are like men, they can work if they want (Susana).

Women often work with things that men do not work with. Yes it is true. I believe that women and men work as much and hard, but it is true that they are not dealing with the same things, they do not (Sarah).

All five respondents have jobs outside their home, but also have to carry out all the unpaid household work. The women describe the household work as their duty or as something they are expected to do without help from their husbands/partners. Susanna exemplifies:

Yes, for example, so I wash, I clean, my daughter often cleans the kitchen and my son helps with hanging laundry sometimes. And my husband, he just works (laughs). He always says I work rather than taking care of the kids, then I would be mad he says (Susana).

The interviewed women are thus working outside the home, and also with unpaid household work. Accordingly they have two jobs, while men have one. The respondents view this as very tiring and unfair. Sandra explains her situation and the interviewed teacher describes her understanding of women's unpaid work:

I basically never rest, when my husband comes home from work he expects me to cook and arrange everything, and with the kids and all that. He is tired after a full day of work (Sandra).

There's obviously a lot of women who work outside the home, but then they have two jobs, because they also have to take care of home and children (Teacher).

The interviewed lawyer describes how she understands that the recent opening of the labour market for women has led not only to freedom for women, independence and a chance for a job, but also to women working twice as much as before, since they still take care of everything at home while having a formal carer.

And this with rights, today is not just any woman who works in the home, today we are workers too! Before we didn't, before we were just in the home. And helped our man and took care of our children. But now we do both all the things we did before in the home and then we work (Lawyer).

Financial and physical freedom

Examples of women's freedom or rather the lack of freedom is recurrent in the women's stories. The women from the villages and the city both proclaim limited physical freedom and lack of access to the families' money as a part of gender inequality, but in different ways. The findings therefore will be presented as separately, starting with women in rural villages and their understanding of how gender inequality and the lack of freedom shape their everyday life.

Limited physical and economical freedom in the villages

As showed in earlier sections, the interviewed women from villages work in their homes, while the men have jobs in the valleys away from home. This means that the women are alone with the children with the exception of some weekends. The women thus raise the children by themselves and take care of the home without any help. In the mountain villages there are no nurseries for children, which makes the women bound to their homes and children. The women describe their physical freedom as very limited since they are "on duty" always.

According to the interviews it is clear that women in the villages not only lack physical freedom, but also access to money. The women explain in the interviews how the men distribute the family income without women having control or access to it. Since the women only earn small money on selling handcrafts, they are dependent on the money the man earns.

The money the women gets every month from the men only covers the costs of living for the family; it gives the women no room for expenses. Veronica illustrates how she is financially dependent on her husband:

My husband works in Rio Grande for the municipalities, he comes here (home) every weekend, or almost every weekend. Then he brings me money so that I can buy food and the things I need to cook, but it is just enough to buy food, nothing else. But I am very happy for this money (Veronica).

Limited and economical freedom in Salta

Unlike women in the villages, women in Salta describe their physical freedom as relatively large. As a result of for example Salta having nurseries for children, women can work outside the home without being bounded to the household work. The interviewed teacher underlines how she understands the differences in the villages and in Salta:

The women in the mountains do not have as many opportunities; here in Salta there are more opportunities. Here women can actually do something about their situation, it is not easy, but it is possible. In the mountains you are much more isolated with your family, no one else may know what is going on in a family. And as we talked about before with the economy, the women in the mountains have usually almost never their own money or job so they are not independent in that way, they are financially dependent on their men (Teacher).

According to the interviewed social worker the fact that many women now have jobs outside the home, improved their physical freedom. But even if the women now earn money and thereby are contributing financially to the family economy, they do not take part in the decision-making or the distribution of money in the family. The interviewed lawyer expresses her understanding of the male economic dominance, followed by Sofia who narrates about the distribution of the money she earn:

But even within the family there are consequences of the male-dominant society. The man is working and has the financial power over the family. And today, there are the families where both man and woman are working and earning money but it is still the man to take economic decisions. The women have no say in that area (Lawyer).

I get money from my husband for things I need to buy, you know clothes and food. (P: But what about the money you earn?) Oh, no I don't have them, my husband takes care of the economy [...] (Sofia).

The women are aware of the inequality the lack of access to money creates, since they have to ask their partners for money they have earned themselves if they want to buy something else than food. Some of the women even describe how they have to do their husband favours to *deserve* money. Sandra describes:

But I think the man earns the money now and money is power. I'm working as much or much more really, I often get money from my husband "pocket money" that will last all day for food for man. If I want some extra spending money to buy items, such as a deodorant or something, then have to earn it (Sandra).

Similarly, Sarah describes how the society in Salta is more closed for women, with less freedom to have a life outside the house.

For the woman, it is much more closed society, working in the house, it is very traditional here in Salta (Sarah).

The professional women understand the dilemma of limited physical freedom and lack of access to the family economy as serious problems, with far worse consequence than the women being forced to ask their men for money. Both the lawyer and the social worker describe how money gives the man power over his wife. The financial power is described as a possible reason for women not to leave their violent man or press charges against the abusive partner. The women cannot afford to be left by their husbands, since they do not have any own savings, while the man easily can take the families money and leave. According to the lawyer, the financial power leads to many benefits for the man.

With money comes power, and with power it is easier to *get away with things*. He may know someone in the police force. For everything is about having contacts and friends (Lawyer).

The interviewed social worker states that without money it is not possible to get a good lawyer, which is essential in for instance a lawsuit concerning custody of children or a trial of abuse. The men will therefore afford a good lawyer, while the woman cannot. This is according to the social worker a reason for women not to press charges against their partners, without money or any savings, they do not have a good chance to win a case in the court, nor possibility to start over with the children without their man.

Well for example, if a man and a woman are fighting over something and there will be a legal dispute, the man may want something from the woman, the children or anything else. It is almost always the case that the man can get a very good lawyer because he has made money and can afford it (Social worker).

Silvia further exemplifies her understanding of how women are more connected to the home, while the men are connected to the society and how it inhibits woman's developing:

There are a lot of attitudes against women, the woman should be at home in the house and the man going to work. The woman may not develop to their full potential through education and work outside the home (Silvia).

During the interviews the women not only described negative consequences of mostly being at home. That they get a close relationship to their children is considered as valuable and the caring work in the home such as taking care of the elderly and children in the family is viewed as important. Many women describe the unpaid domestic work as acceptable, but that it keeps them in their home without the possibility of assistance or help from their partner as the real problem. The women understand being tied to the home as a major restriction of their freedom.

Violence

Without specifically asking questions about violence, women`s experiences of different forms of violence were central in the interviews. Out of the ten interviewed women, all had been or are being exposed to physical and/or sexual violence by a related man. The experiences of violence by women in rural and urban areas were similar; therefore the findings will be presented together.

And this uncle, he raped me when I was nine years old and then he was in the house like nothing had happened. It is very common with violence, and when you're little girl you cannot defend yourself (Valentine).

As stated above it was not an objective to make the respondents talk about domestic violence, on the contrary it was surprisingly when one woman after the other illustrated violence as men`s tool to maintain women's subordinate position in the family and society. In all stories of

violence the victim was a woman and the abuser a man close to her, such as her husband/partner, father or an uncle. Some of the stories of violence took place in the woman's childhood, which means that the victim of the violence was a child. Other told stories of domestic violence described on-going violence. Although the forms of violence differ, such as physical or sexual violence, shared in the experience of violence is the notion that man has *control* and *power*, while women feel immense *fear*. Shared among the respondents is also that violence is *very common* and *pervades the entire society*. These different aspects of violence will be presented in this section.

Power and Control

The interviewed lawyer, teacher and social worker understand different forms of violence as major social problems in Salta. Sexual and physical violence is understood as a way for men to get control over women. The social worker narrates:

The men do what they want with women. This is very common that I often hear during investigations (Social worker).

The social worker also explains how she often at the office for domestic violence in Salta, meets sexually abused women who are deeply affected by the abuse, long time after the occurrence. The social worker daily listens to stories from sexually abused women and girls, she understands the abuse as a way for the man to maintain his power over the girls and women in the family. The social worker explains:

[...] for example just yesterday I talked to a girl here at the office who had her first sexual relationship with her father. She explained to me that ever since then, the first time, the father have had power over her, because she knew what he could do to her. The father had power over his family, of his wife and of his daughter (Social worker).

In the respondents understanding of violence, power structures are essential. The lawyer illustrates:

And this includes of course together with the phenomenon of violence. There is an unequal power between men and women. One person has power over the victim, and this is almost always the man who is the perpetrator and the woman who is the victim, regarding domestic violence. And this is because women generally are inferior to men, that is my opinion (Lawyer).

Fear

Shared in women's experience of violence is fear. Fear of being beaten, fear of what will happen if the woman tell anyone about the abuse and fear that any other woman in the family would be beaten, is described during the interviews. In the quote below, Susanna describes how her mother out of fear did not dare to act when Susanna told her she had been abused:

When I lived at home, I was raped by my uncle. When I told mom she said that we would not say anything to daddy because then he would get angry. In retrospective I realized that my mother was afraid of my father. So you know I have been carrying on, many women in this area have been through similar stories; it is very, very common. But many are trying to maintain the façade of their conduct (Susana).

There is a great fear of men's violence among women. Men's consumption of alcohol is described as something that increases the risk of violence.

Yes, now the problem is with young alcoholism, many single mothers are separated because of violence in marriages, and even more mothers who do not separate even though they live in a violent relationship, that is how it is (Viola).

Violence is common and pervades the entire society

The women's stories not only witness about themselves being abused, but also of other women in the family as victims. Physical and/ or sexual violence are told by both women from the city and villages, it is by the women themselves understood as a very common problem in families in their societies. Also the teacher has the same understanding of violence as a widespread problem in all classes of the society:

Physical violence is the most common violence in the home, clearly. And that includes of course also associated with alcoholism, it is linked very much. For example, it is common that the man works Monday to Friday, and Saturday and Sunday he drinks. He drinks Friday night, all day Saturday and then Sunday. And then just a little thing lead to violence. The wife may ask something or point out something and then he hits her. This is a huge problem and growing. It is found in all social classes, of rich and poor. It occurs in all areas here in town and in the country. Everywhere (Teacher).

Susana narrates how she was sexually abused by a man in her family several times during her upbringing. She describes how the abuse became something that she thought every girl had to go through, since many of her friends also were exposed.

My home as a child was very violent, my father battered my mom and it was just not a good life. I was also sexual abused (Susana).

This section have presented the study's empirical material on women's experiences of their everyday life as gender (in)equal, as indicated by the themes; division of labour financial/physical freedom and violence.

Women's understanding of gender (in)equality

This second section of the findings chapter presents the findings of women's understanding of gender (in)equality, as indicated by the themes; gender equality in the home/society, the concept of gender equality and women's explanations of gender equality.

During the interviews the women were asked to describe occasions or circumstances that have affected them by being particularly important or problematic. These answers made it apparent that women in both villages and city experience great gender inequalities. The purpose with this second section is to present how women understand and experience gender inequality in different arenas. Since women in the mountains and in the city share the same understanding of gender inequality, the result from the interviews from rural and urban areas will be presented together.

Gender equality in the home

Women describe men's position in the family as the head of the household. The interviewees also explain how there is a widespread understanding in the society of men as the main breadwinner, protector and decision maker of the family. Women's stories show how an unequal power relation markedly influences the relationship between man and woman in the family, where the woman is dependent on the man. Women's dependency on the man in the family is clarified as a result of men as a group being superior to women as a group. Susana narrates how it is necessary to have a man in a family:

For example, if I am a single woman, I get no respect, but if I go home to my house and my husband then I get respect. There are many lonely women in this area who want to have people's respect but they do not because they have no husband. I think this is not gender equal here in the area because you *need* a man for a family; it's always good to have a man, to gain respect and safety as well. [---] Yes in this area, there are great, great needs among the families (Susana).

The fact that women have lower status than men in the family is described as connected to the unequal power relation between men and women. Not only do the women describe themselves as having lower status than men in the family, they also carry out what is understood as the low status work in the house. As low status jobs, the respondents defines cleaning, cooking, taking care of the children, elderly and other forms of caring work in the home. Silvia articulates how she invariably performs the low status tasks in her home:

For example, the one who make food, prepare everything for the kids and follow them to school, clean the house, do shopping list and buy medicines and sometimes also work it's me. Most men think it's a woman's job and they would never help. And instead he looks on TV or standing and talking while the wife is cooking. My man would never wipe the table or clean a toilet. Because all the work that has low status, the woman will do (Silvia).

The women describe how injustice between them and their male partners are present everyday in their homes. The respondents are critical about how men and women are attributed to different tasks in the home, such as men as main breadwinners and women as the caretaker in the home. The fact that women take mostly or all responsibility for the home is understood as deeply unfair and a sign of gender inequality.

Gender equality in the society

The women's stories indicate an awareness, not only of gender inequality and injustices in their own home, but also in their society and in Argentina overall. The respondents describe the Catholic Church as powerful both in rural and urban societies. The respondents understand the church as having great influence over the society, advocating for traditional sex-stereotyped roles for men and women. The women describe the Catholic view of the family and a good mother as norms in the society. The catholic values influence the society greatly due to their uncontested unique position in the Argentinean society. One woman considers the Catholic Church to reflect the male-dominated society, by only having men in the superior positions:

And in the Catholic Church that influence the society in everyway, there are only men in leadership positions. It's kind how they think that society should be, men are best suited to determine (Sofia).

The awareness and frustration of men and women not having the same opportunities and responsibilities in the society is evident in the women's stories. The understanding of Salta province as a part of Argentina with major challenges in terms of gender equality is central in the interviews. Salta compared with other parts of the country is being described as more traditional with conservative thoughts of gender roles. Buenos Aires and other southern provinces are seen as more liberal where women and men live more gender equal life's. One woman describes the southern and northern parts of Argentina as different countries, where attitudes towards women, men and the family are completely different. Sofia illustrates:

In the south it is much freer. In their culture, men are much more involved and help more. It is much different there, they help more at home, but here in the north is it not like that (Sofia).

Further Silvia describes how she considers the woman in the capital city and other northern provinces compared to women in the north:

The woman from the South is a woman who is much more independent (of the man) than the woman from the north. She is educated and is more prepared and have more opportunities for a professional career. The woman from the north, it is not so, the culture makes her after studying comes back to the house and work at home (Silvia).

The women in Buenos Aires have according to Silvia more opportunities. Sandra explains in a similar manner how she understands women in Buenos Aires as more independent with possibility to leave a violent man, compared to Salta were women are more dependent on the men:

In Buenos Aires do the women have boyfriends, they don't believe in marriage, they live with the boyfriend and if things does not feel good, they just move out. They are not dependent on the man in the same way as us women in the north are. Women in Buenos Aires are freer and more open-minded. There is a saying that state that *God is everywhere but he lives in Buenos Aires*. We say that as a joke, but it really is like that, for women life is better in Buenos Aires (Sandra).

For women in the city, the television is described as an important channel in order to gain understanding of what life looks like in other parts of the country. National newspapers also keeps women updated on demonstrations and debates in the capital. Sarah exemplifies:

You see it on the television everyday, how women in Buenos Aires are more independent from their husbands, you can see demonstrations on the television or documentaries where you see that (Sarah).

The women from the mountains villages describe how friends and relatives are important sources of information about the outside world since they lack access to newspaper, television or other medias.

Everybody knows life is better in Buenos Aires, everybody talks about that (Viola).

The women describe how it is common for young people to go to Buenos Aires to find a job or study. Therefore many women in Salta know people in the capital city and thus get information about how Buenos Aires is a place with better opportunities for women.

Gender (in)equality in national perspective

Some women target awareness of gender equality on national level during the interviews in form of criticism against the president, who they not consider promote gender equality in all parts of the country. The interviewed lawyer has similar views and proclaims that the president does not enough in order to promote gender equality and empower women.

Just because we have a female president does not mean that we are a gender equal country, we need a president who works for equality, it does not matter if the president is the woman or man (Lawyer).

The interviewed professional women have similar understanding of gender equality as a non-priority issue in northern provinces, compared to capital Buenos Aires and the southern provinces. According to the lawyer the province of Salta do not live up to the international laws or conventions of gender equality. All three professionals point out how poorly signed laws and constitutions of gender equality are implemented in Argentina. The lawyer illustrates the

relation between the national legislating parliament situated in Buenos Aires and the implementation of these laws in Salta as very weak:

We have laws stating that men and women have equal rights and we have also ratified a number of laws from the UN that deals with children and women. But here these are not complied, not complied. These laws are the formalities, constitutions written on a paper in Buenos Aires. But here we do not fulfil them. And I as a lawyer get tired just thinking about the laws we do not fulfil, the Declaration of Human Rights, CRC, CEDAW, ehh, dealing with the elimination of all discrimination against women, we fulfil nothing (Lawyer).

The social worker has a similar understanding of Salta as a province with many challenges to face regarding implementation of international law:

It is possible that in Buenos Aires follow all international laws, but here. Just go for a walk on the street to see yourself, there are many children any time working and many children also work in the tobacco industry here in the north, it is completely unacceptable. What would the UN say about that? (Social worker).

Many women brought up the labour market as an example of gender inequality in the society. According to the respondents, men and women do not have the same opportunities to enter the labour market nor to get the same wage. The women express great concern over not being able to access certain jobs, not as a result of lack of knowledge or education, but rather because of them being women. Silvia describes her view on gender inequality on the labour market:

I think I do not live with gender equality in my life, because there are things that are totally wrong in society, for example, there are jobs that are only for men, as for example a bus driver that I simply cannot be. I would surely not like to be a bus driver (laughs) but I want to be able to have the same opportunities as men to choose profession (Silvia).

Together with the gender inequality on the labour market, the question of same rights for men and women was described as a challenge of gender equality. The fact that Argentina's national laws advocates gender equality is not perceived as sufficient to promote gender equality in the whole country. Although the law states that all men and women have equal rights, the women experiences something else.

Women and men are different sexes, we are after all different and that's okay. But what is not okay is that we do not have the same rights in reality, regardless of what the laws says and what the law says (Sandra).

The concept of gender equality

The women's stories show that they are engaged in and aware of gender equality both in their immediate area such as the family or the village/city, but also in the province of Salta in relation to the rest of Argentina. Despite their awareness of gender equality, the *term* gender equality is never used in their answers. Towards the end of the interviews the term was therefore introduced as a concept or explanation for the systematic injustice between men and women that were portrayed in their stories. It became clear that the women were not familiar with the concept as such.

Veronica, who earlier in the interview described men as a group superior to women as a group in her village, stated the following in the discussion of the concept of gender equality.

This gender equality is probably something that they came up with in Buenos Aires (where it is more gender equal), I guess it has really nothing to do with us here (Veronica).

Sarah, a woman from Salta expressed that:

The woman is simply worth less than the man, I do not know if it is about gender equality or not, it's fairly new concept for me as I have difficulty to really understand, but certainly, I believe it has to do with culture (Sarah).

The examples seem contradictory to the stories told by the women, but as explained by some women the concept is not familiar to them and they have difficulties relating to it.

Also, decision making, men and women should take part in the decision-taking on equal terms, you call it gender equality, well that's fine (Valentine).

Women's explanations of gender equality

As described in the previous section women are aware and critical of the gender inequalities in their everyday life, while they are not familiar with the *concept of gender equality*. Some women rather use the term machismo as the definition of the male power in their homes and societies:

I would not call this gender equality, it is a culture, a way that people live on, it has always been so (Sarah).

The following section presents women's understanding of how machismo culture creates and sustains gender inequalities. The respondents describe the machismo culture as the main reason for the gender inequalities both in their homes and in the Argentinean society. The machismo culture is explained as a force advocating patriarchal structures and degrading attitudes towards women. The social worker articulates her view:

Machismo culture is not just that men have power, but also that women are in an inferior position (Social worker).

The interviewees also describe the machismo culture as proclaiming men and women's different roles in the family and society. The two sexes are supposed to complement each other, by having different responsibilities. Men should keep the family safe and provide them with money that he earned, while the women's role is to take care of the children and the home. The interviewed teacher narrates her view of machismo:

Machismo culture is when a man has more power than the woman. It is very much so in northern Argentina. Woman serves or serve the man in all aspects. She will clean and organize everything in the house, she will cook the food and the men expect all this from the woman. Generally, men are more exempt from many things in the home, it is this culture, it's just so. The man has more rights and can do more things (Teacher).

The machismo culture is thus connected to power relations between men and women according to the women's stories. Women suffer from the dominant masculine culture on daily basis, when compelled to submit to men and their decisions. Viola articulate her view of power connected to machismo:

The machismo culture is when the man has power over the woman, woman's role is to serve the man in all aspects. She should clean and organize everything in the house, she should cook the food and the men expect all this from the women, he would never ever help the woman with these things, it is the job of the woman (Viola).

Sandra illustrates a similar view of the power relation between men and women:

For my part, I believe the power relations between women and men are composed of culture, there is something that goes from generation to generation. If the grandfather of the family behaves in a certain way towards the grandmother, then the father will behave the same way towards his wife and the boys will behave the same way towards the girls. It is unfair. The man has always more power, because he works because he is family and head of the house and because he simply is a man (Sandra).

Sandra describes the machismo culture as habitual patterns that go from generation to generation. Sandra clearly claims that the attitudes and norms of the culture is passed on from one generation to the next generation, the women blame the culture for the gender inequalities rather than the people who carry and create the culture. Instead of questioning the men (and to some extent also women) who use the machismo culture as an excuse to ascribe women with lower status, the interviewees understand the machismo in it self as creating uneven power structures and gender inequality in Salta. The lawyer underlines how machismo culture is normal in Salta and how it is not being challenged:

It is so that the woman has lower status than the man. We have very conservative thoughts here in Salta, with very macho culture. The man has the power and the woman is inferior. And so it has been for many, many years, that's nothing new (Lawyer).

The women understand gender inequalities as a result of the machismo, rather than blaming the individual man. The machismo culture permits men to have more liberty and rights to leave the home, something that is not appropriate for women. The interviewed social worker exemplifies how machismo culture excuses irresponsible behaviour of the men:

Yeah then again so is the machismo culture, which is reflected in society. It is very common that the men get together on weekends to watch football and drink (alcohol) together. They meet together with many other alcoholic friends. All this while the woman washing clothes and taking care of the kids and cook. This goes on Fridays, Saturdays, Sundays, and sometimes on Mondays (Social worker).

Both men and women sustain the culture

The women understand the machismo culture as influencing the society with patriarchal power structures and gender roles that affect them negatively. According the interviewed teacher the sustaining of the male dominant culture is both women and men's fault.

So machismo culture's not something that men just create, we create together, both men and women, everyone. So it's everyone's fault that we have that culture (Teacher).

Sandra proclaims that in order to counteract gender inequality, women must raise their children without machismo influences and attitudes. She argues, however that this is not as easy to implement in reality as it may seem. Further on she explains that the fact that machismo culture is the norm in the society and also unawareness about the culture are reasons why mothers raise their children in the spirit of machismo:

One might think that the mothers would stop the macho culture by bringing up their boys differently. But honestly, I think most women never thought about it. It is this great fear that boys will be feminine, they want real men. Boys are boys and girls are girls. I remember a little boy I met at one of our projects, he had fallen and hurt himself and had a gash in his forehead. I ran up to him and asked if he wanted be to help him, but then he responded with an authoritative voice. I'm tough. That had a girl of the same age is never said, the boys will be brought up to be tough and independent (Sandra).

During the interviews with the women many reasons was mentioned for women not to make opposition to the machismo culture that shapes a patriarchal structure in the society. One reason explained by many women is that challenging the machismo culture is to challenge the husband/partner. The machismo is understood as tightly linked together with the personalities of the man, and to complaining about the culture would be complaining about the man. What is seen as a major risk if criticising the husband, is for the man to leave the woman. To be left by the partner is understood as a worst case scenario, since life as a single mother is worse than living together with a man in a relationship influenced by patriarchal structure and machismo culture. Three women illustrate the dependency of a man in their family:

Most people do not resist the machismo, first they dare not, secondly, she has lost the desire, and if she resisted she will lose money, the house and be able to support the children, but also for fear of being beaten. Many women are afraid! (Silvia).

The truth is that it is better to have a man that beats you, than not having a man at all, how would you survive? How would you support your family (Valentine).

Silvia claims that the change of the abusive machismo culture must come from the people themselves; no law can improve the gender equality if the people reproduce a male dominant culture.

This with Argentina being so macho sits deep in the culture. It can no laws in Buenos Aires change. The children are brought up like this. A boy brought up to be out there and play football, while his sisters should do the dishes and cook. The women raise their sons to this. It is not the boys' fault that they grow up to be macho men (Silvia).

The interviewed professional women state that the machismo culture is very abusive. The culture is often used as an excuse of why women are treated badly. Not only do the men themselves use the machismo culture as excuse, also women do rather blame the culture than the men for violence. Susana describes how her mother being abused excused by her father:

My mother, for example, she has lived with my father in his whole life and they had a very loving relationship, but strongly influenced by the macho culture. For example, my father died when he was 49 and my mother was by her self with six children. And then my mom told me that dad sometimes had beaten her and so, but as *a gesture of love* she explained to me (Susanna).

Sofia exemplifies her understanding of the relationship between the machismo culture and sexual violence:

I know many women that had their first sexual relationship with their father. Because the father has power over his family, over his wife and over his daughter. This is our culture here in Northern Argentina. The father is abusing his daughter, so that he gets power over her entire life. Then when the daughter marries a man she knows that the man has power over her, she has learned that from the beginning (Sofia).

According to the women they neither challenge their men nor against the machismo culture for creating gender inequalities. Reasons for women not to challenge their men are financial, fear and women's dependency. Even though the situation is very severe, the risk of challenging the power structure or the cultural gender roles could lead to the man leaving the woman, which is a risk the woman does not dare to take.

Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented the main findings of this study. The results were presented in two parts; women's experience of gender (in)equality in everyday life and women's understanding of gender (in)equality. The first section of the findings chapter illustrated how division of labour is understood as a great cause of gender inequalities, where women are forced to carry out the unpaid household work while men have jobs with higher status outside the home. The findings also show how the division of labour results in men having more physical and financial freedom, while women are bound to their homes and financial dependency on their husbands/partners. The first section of this chapter concludes with women's experiences of violence. According to the findings, men's violence against women is very common in all parts of the society and creates great fear among the women, while it gives men power and control. The second section of the findings chapter presents women's understanding of gender (in)equality in their homes and in society. The results show how women are aware and critical about how they are subordinated to men, in both their homes and in the society. It is evident that the women not only are aware of men having power over them, the women also have fewer opportunities and fewer rights than men. In the second section of the findings chapter, women's thoughts of the concept of gender equality are also presented, together with their understanding of the machismo culture as creating and maintaining gender inequalities. In next chapter these findings will be discussed and analysed through key concepts and theories.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

The aim of this study entails gaining knowledge of women in Salta's understanding and experiences of gender equality in their homes, societies and other arenas. The purpose is also to create knowledge about whether UN conventions stating gender equality have had any consequences in the women's everyday life.

In this chapter the results presented in "Findings" together with the theories presented in "Theoretical framework" will be used in analysis. The chapter also entails connections of the research findings to previous research. The chapter is divided into two sections, the first one discusses women's *experiences* of gender inequality and the other one contains interpretations of women's *understandings* of gender inequality. In conclusion the thesis relevance to social work is discussed.

Women's experiences of gender (in)equality

The stories presented in "Findings" illustrate how women from both rural and urban areas of Salta, experience unfairness in their everyday life as a result of their subordinated position in the society. According to the research results, the division of labour is a great source of gender inequality in women's everyday life. While women in the villages are bound to their homes and carry out all unpaid informal household work, women in the city perform double jobs since they in addition to their formal jobs also have the responsibility for all household work. Linked to the division of labour is women's lack of financial and physical freedom. The findings show how women in the rural areas have no or very little economical or physical freedom, since they cannot leave their homes and have no say in how to use the family money. Women in the urban area, according to the study, have wider physical freedom since they have formal jobs on the labour market. They have, similarly to women in the villages, no access to the money they earn. The third and last topic where women experience gender inequalities in their everyday life is violence. All women from both rural and urban areas have experienced violence as a power strategy used by men in their families.

In the first section of this chapter these experiences of gender (in)equalities will be analysed and discussed through theories and core terminologies. Women's experiences of gender (in)equalities will be presented as dimensions of gender (Connell, 2003), in relation to the MDG and CEDAW, and as resistance to men's superiority.

Dimensions of gender

In this section the research results will be discussed from the perspective of two dimensions of gender (Connell, 2003). The two dimensions, which are power- and production relations, describe the modern society's gender relations through different perspectives. According to Connell, the dimensions are not separated but rather integrate each other (ibid.). However, to clearly analyse the results from a gender perspective, the two dimensions will be presented separately.

Power relations

Power is central in women's experiences of gender inequality. Similarly to as stated by Börjesson and Rehn (2009) the women experience that men exercise power in many different ways. The result illustrates that individual men have power over women not only in their homes, men as a group also have power over women as a group in society.

Women's experiences of male dominance in their homes and society fit well with the concept of *patriarchy*. In this concept, power is central since it refers to men's dominance over women on an individual level, but also on a societal level where the patriarchy structures are created and maintained (Connell, 2003). As shown in the "Literature review" patriarchal structures have historically been strong in Argentina. Even though equal rights for men and women were legislated in 1968, (Stahler-Sholk et al, 2008) it is according to the results of this study clear that patriarchal structures still influence both rural and urban societies. During the colonization, Catholicism was brought to Argentina and with that patriarchal values of the family followed (ibid.). Even though the Catholic Church as stated in the "Literature review" nowadays has a more modern view of the family, the research findings show that patriarchal structures and catholic values still permeate the Argentinean society.

According to Renzetti et al (2008) *economical power* refers to someone having financial means and use these to control and/or influence other people. As stated in "Literature review" women's participation in the labour market has increased during the last decades in Argentina (OHCHR, 2010). The findings of this study similarly show how women in urban areas now can access the labour market to a greater extent than some years ago. Women in the rural areas have though according to the findings no or limited access to formal jobs. The improvement of women's access to the labour market in urban areas however, has not resulted in women having more economical discretion. According to the findings even women who by themselves earn money have no access to the money. The results illustrate that neither women in the villages that earn small money on selling crafts, nor women in the city who earn money by formal jobs have access to the family money. The men exercise the economical power over the women, which clearly is evident when women describe how they have to deserve money from their husbands if they want to buy something else than food. Therefore the interviewees have very limited or no *economical discretion*. The man's economical power puts the woman in a situation of dependence where the power structure is evident. The results show how men's economical power prevents women from being able to leave a violent husband since she is financially dependent of her husband/partner. The economical power held by men also controls women in the way that it prevents them from reporting their men to the police. A report of abuse can lead to a trial, which is very costly, something that the women cannot afford. According to Foucault (1980) one of the main reasons or components for unequal power relations to exist is the recourses that are important in a certain power relation. Money is an important recourse and thereby affects the power relation deeply (Foucault, 1980). As shown in "Findings" men have the economical power over the women, which according to Foucault leads to unequal power relations where the one who have the recourses also have the power.

The results of this study clearly indicates that *gender based violence* is widespread in Salta. Out of the ten interviewed women, all had been or are exposed to physical and/or sexual violence by a related man. The findings are therefore in line with previous research showing that Salta is the province with highest rates of women exposed to violence (WB, 2001). Findings also show how women have experienced gender-based violence both in their childhood and as adults.

There is a great awareness among the respondents of how other women have experienced different forms of violence. The women's stories not only witness about themselves being abused, but also of other women in the family as victims. In the same way as previous research (APP, 2012) shows, the women describes how the whole family get affected by gender based violence, even the ones who are not physically abused.

Women from both rural and urban areas have been exposed to physical and/or sexual violence and it is by the women themselves understood as a very common problem in families in their societies. Similarly to as stated in the "Literature review" (Mäns våld mot missbrukande

kvinnor, 2005) the results of this study show that violence is a widespread problem in all classes of the society. In the same way as in previous research (APP, 2012), it is according to the results of this study clear that sexual and/or physical violence is so common that the respondents as young girls thought that it was normal to be abused since so many other girls also were exposed to violence.

Central concepts in respondent's experiences of violence are power and control. As stated in "Literature review", violence is often used by one person in a relationship to control the other (Population Reports, 1999). According to Börjesson and Rehn (2009) violence is one of the most primitive elements of power. In the same way the results of this study illustrate how violence is a tool used by men to maintain power over women. The stories demonstrate violence where the woman is the victim and the man is the perpetrator, which make *gender based violence* (Population Report, 1999) a suitable term to use since it refers to physical, sexual, psychological and economic abuse which evolves part in women's subordinate status in the society. In line with previous research, men's violence against women is according to the findings seen as a structural rather than an individual phenomenon and as a tool for men to take and maintain power and control over women (SKL, 2011; DeKeserdy and MacLeod, 1997; Saunders, 1998).

Another central concept of violence is according to the results; women's feeling of fear. Similarly to how Brownmiller (1975) describes a *climate of fear*, the findings illustrate how violence or threat of violence creates fear among the women. The climate of fear is not only an expression of fear of women themselves being exposed to violence, the results show that the fear of what will happen if they tell anyone about the violence, or the fear that another woman in the family will be exposed, also creates a climate of fear.

The last concept connected to power relations is how women according to the findings claim that they do no work, while they at the same time describe how they do nothing but work during the entire day. That they define themselves and their work from the men's view is clear according to the findings. Although household work and the work to sell self-manufactured clothes and food is essential in order to stretch the family economy, the women devalue their work to the extent that they do not even call it work. The women see the situation through male eyes, which only considers the formal to be "really work". Women cannot critically review the situation and evaluate their own work, because they see themselves and their work through men's eyes. This indicates that women partly are immersed into what Freire describe as the culture of silence (Freire, 1976).

Production relationships

A production relationship refers to gendered division of labour, that is, how men more often perform some tasks, while women perform other tasks (Connell, 2003). According to the findings there is a very clear division of man's- and women's jobs and tasks in Salta, both in the home and in society, in rural and urban areas. As Gemzöe (2013) states, the results of this study show that it is not the biological differences of men and women that determine the division of labour. Rather is it the stereotypical gender roles of women as caretakers and men as workers that result in women being unable to access all jobs on the labour market.

In the home the women are responsible for all care-taking, cleaning and cooking, while the findings illustrate that men have great freedom to leave the house and move around in the society with little or no responsibilities for the home. It is described as unthinkable that the husband/partner would help out in the household, since it is a woman's job. Similarly, Gemzöe (2013) states that when a task is attributed to one of the sexes, it becomes "forbidden" for the other sex to perform the task. The women describe how men never would help them with cleaning the house since that are viewed as a low status job. Men who perform "female tasks"

can risk losing prestige and that his manhood get questioned (ibid.). To help out with cleaning and caretaking in the home does not go together with how men are expected to be according to the machismo culture. In the same way as previous research (Garrido, 2006) show, the findings of this study illustrate how women's unpaid household work has very low status. The women view according to the research findings the task of taking care of the children and the home, as an important part of their lives, however it is viewed as unfair that they must take all the responsibility themselves, without any help from their male partners.

Not only is the gendered division of labour evident in the homes. The findings illustrate how women on the contrary to men, are expected to exclusively reside in the home and perform unpaid *informal* household tasks. Because men have paid *formal jobs* in the society gives them many advantages over women who work in the homes. One described advantage is the broad network of contacts which men acquire in the community and that may be important in several contexts, such as when applying for jobs or in contact with the police or other authorities. Another obvious advantage for men working is that they make money, which the women do not. In the women's stories, it becomes clear that the men not only earn money but also are responsible for the family finances, which as stated in the above section about the power dimension of gender relations, creates a situation where men have economic power over the woman. According to the results women are frustrated over the division between the home as woman's domain, and society as man's domain, especially over the fact that women are bound to their homes, while men have access to both the home and the society and can move between the two freely.

The fact that women in this study are strongly associated with maternity and household work are as shown in the "Literature review", is not unique neither for Salta, nor Argentina. Most societies in the world are organized based on the conception of differences between the sexes (Okin 1998; Pateman 1989). How the women from Salta describe home as their domain, while men liberally can move between home, work and other areas in the society relates to the concepts of *public* and *private spheres*. According to (Okin, 1998; Pateman, 1989) the perception of differences between women and men is the basis for that political and social structure around the world has been divided into private and public spheres. Similarly to various studies (e.g. Craske, 1999; Okins 1998; Pateman 1989) the results of this study illustrate a clear division of public spheres as men's spheres and private spheres as women's spheres. The public "male" sphere is linked with politics, economy and employment, while the private "female" sphere have been associated with the body, family, emotions and sexual relations (ibid.). According to the findings, women are very critical about the division of spheres, it is seen as injustice that men and women have different opportunities and responsibilities. Feminist theory states that household work is often seen as part of the exploitation of women in the private sphere (Gemzöe, 2013). Delphy (1980) argues that women's unpaid domestic work is the basis for their subordination. Due to that women carry out the unpaid household work, make them less attractive on the labour market and the economical power that men have over women, makes the marriage the best financial recourse for the woman (Gemzöe, 2013). Similarly to Gemzöe the findings of this study show how women find living with a violent man a better option compared to divorce. Even though a marriage with a violent man affects the woman negatively, it still ensures a relatively economical stability for women and children, which is most important according to the results. The unequal production relationship between men and women, which leads to women having no access to the families money and little knowledge about the society and public sphere, makes the women dependent on their husbands/partners.

CEDAW and MDG

One of the aims with this thesis was to investigate whether UN conventions stating gender equality have had any consequence in women living in Salta's everyday life. In this section women's everyday life and experiences of gender (in)equality will be discussed in relation to CEDAW and thereafter MDG.

Convention on the Elimination against all forms of violence against women

As stated in the "Literature review" Argentina has signed the CEDAW (see appendix IIX) and is thereby committed to take all appropriate measures to abolish discrimination against women (UN Women, 2009). The findings of this study illustrate how women experiences that they do not have the same rights as men, neither in their homes, nor in society. Article 5b of the CEDAW states that men and women have equal responsibility in the upbringing of their children. On the contrary to that, the results of this study show how women carry out all unpaid informal household work, while men take no responsibility for caring or upbringing of children. According to article 7 of the CEDAW, the states parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the public life. The findings of this study illustrate that women have very limited or no access to the public life/sphere in Argentina. It is viewed as deeply injustice that women are bound to the private sphere, while men freely can move between the two spheres. Women can according to the results not access all kinds of jobs in the society as men can. This goes against both article 10a in CEDAW, which states that women shall have the same conditions for a career as men, and also article 11b were it is stated that women shall have free choice of profession and same employment opportunities as men. Similarly to what the *Universal Period Report* (2012) argues, it is according to this study clear that Argentina have failed in the implementation of the CEDAW in areas such as employment opportunities, discrimination and obligations for the home and children (UN Human Rights Council, 2012). Argentina have therefore despite that they signed the CEDAW and strengthening the national legislation framework, not succeeded to implement the conventions and legislations in order to Eliminate all forms of Discrimination against Women.

The Millennium Development Goals

The MDG (see appendix IX) refer to promote gender equality and empower women. According to the *MDG Report* (2012) Argentina have made progress in terms of gender equality in areas such as labour market (UNDP, 2012). The findings of this study show on the contrary that women in rural parts of Salta have no access to the labour market. Lack of access to day-care centres for children and women's responsibility for the home is according to the findings two strong reasons for this. Whether the result of the MDG report on gender equality is consistent with the real situation of gender equality in Argentina cannot be argued within the scope of this thesis. However, women's experiences of gender inequality on the labour market are clearly illustrated in this study. According to the results the norm still is that the woman works in the home with the children and takes care of the household while the husband/partner is gainfully employed. The interviewed women from urban Salta who have formal jobs outside the home describe the difficulty and stress with two jobs, the household work and formal employment outside home. This study accordingly shows that women in rural areas of Salta have no access to the labour market and women in urban areas of Salta who have access the labour market, are forced to have double jobs since they still have the responsibility for the home. Although women's access to the labour market according to the *MDG Report* is a sign of equality, the researcher of this thesis is critical about how women being forced to have double jobs can be called gender equality.

To offer day-care for children would according to the findings be a way of helping women not

to be bound to their homes. Day-care for children would also help women not only to access the labour market, but to give women the same *conditions* and *opportunities* as men.

In both *Universal Period Report* (2012) and the *MDG Report* (2012) the Argentinean women are presented as a homogeneous group, and the improvements regarding gender equality is presented without illustrating any differences of rural and urban areas of Argentina. The results of this study shows that gender equality not only differ in different provinces, such as the women's experiences of a more gender equal Buenos Aires. Findings also show that within provinces, in rural and urban areas are the differences of how gender equality shapes a woman's life great. These diversities are not shown in neither the *Universal Period Report* nor the *MDG Report*.

Resistance

According to the results, it is difficult and sometimes impossible for women to act against or by other means question the male power dominance. However, their stories illustrate that they are critical about men's superior. Findings shows that it is hard for the women to challenge the patriarchal structures since it is so strongly connected to challenge their male partners, which by the women is described as unthinkable. As noted in the theoretical chapter there are according to Foucault situations where no resistance is visible, but although "no power relations without resistance" (Foucault, 1980:142). According to Lilja and Vinthagen (2009) power and resistance are interdependent. Where power is, there is also some form of resistance. Resistance can according to Scott (1985) be seen through violent confrontation or demonstration, but lack of visible protests and open conflicts does not necessarily mean that no power is exercised, nor a resistance against the power (Lilja and Vinthagen, 2009). The findings show that women in Salta not challenge the patriarchal norms by criticizing their men or in any other way make open resistance. According to Hollander and Einwohner (2004), resistance must be an activity or an act carried out by someone. In order to change their situation it is thereby not enough to be critical, the criticism must be transformed into a critical act in order to make resistance. Instead the findings indicate that the women tend to practice the hidden form of resistance.

Women use what Scott (1985) defines as hidden transcripts to express their opposition through resistance that neither is loud nor visible for the male oppressor. Resistance refers according to Scott to all actions taken by members of a subordinate group with the intention to decrease the power of the superior group (ibid.). The fact that the respondent's very frank talk about gender-based violence, their inferior position in the family and society is according to Scott a form of hidden resistance. Women's participation in this study contributes to a greater awareness of gender equalities, which is a form of resistance against the oppressors. To even talk about sexual abuse is defined as a revolt or resistance against the social structure or the man (Varallo et al 1998). Similarly to what Carlsson (2009) discovered in her study the interview situations becomes a place where the women make resistance. The meeting between the researcher and the respondents create a social discretion where interpretations can be made and be expressed (Carlsson, 2009). Women's participation in this study can thus be understood as a way of drawing attention to their inferior position and resistance against patriarchal structures and male dominance in society and the home.

According to Scott only people who can afford to lose a battle, make open resistance. The hidden resistance on the contrary is suitable for individuals or groups who cannot make open resistance against the subordinate group or individual. A hidden transcript refers to how an individual or group can appear to be loyal to the oppressor, while doing resistance. Such masked or converted forms of resistance particularly are crucial when the subordinate group's

or individual's security and basic needs are dependent on the superior group or individual, as the finding shows how women are dependent on men (Scott, 1992).

Women`s understanding of gender (in)equality

In the second section of this chapter women`s understanding of gender (in)equalities will be analysed and discussed through theories and core terminologies. The section is divided in two main themes. The first theme covers a discussion of women in rural and urban areas and their ability to compare their understanding of gender inequalities with women who live a more gender equal life. The second theme is about how the women understand machismo culture as creating and maintaining gender inequalities in the homes and society.

Women`s comparison with something better

The research result of this study show how women from both rural and urban areas of Salta are aware of women`s situation in other places of the country. During the interviews the respondents frequently compared gender equality in their society, with Buenos Aires and other southern provinces. The southern provinces in general and Buenos Aires in particular are described as places where women live a freer and more gender equal life. According to the findings, women particularly appreciate how women and men in Buenos Aires have equal access to the public sphere and how questions about gender equality get more space in the public debate in Buenos Aires.

According to Antrobus (2004) everyday suffering is sometimes not enough for an individual to act against what make her feel pain. Kelly (1988) states that it is important to meet women with similar experiences in order to develop understanding of their problems as not individual but rather caused by social structures. In order to get such understanding and strength to change the situation, it is crucial not only to compare with someone in the same situation, but also compare with someone who has a better life (Antrobus, 2004). Women in Salta`s understanding of how women in Buenos Aires live a more gender equal life and are less dependent on their men are therefore essential driving forces for women in Salta to imagine and strive for a more gender equal life. Similarly Carlsson (2009) shows how the public debate about violence and women`s rights in Sweden during the 70s, helped girls and women who were victims of sexual violence to start to think about sexual violence as a violation of their rights (Carlsson, 2009).

The fact that the women in this study mention Buenos Aires as a place where women and men live more gender equalities and where questions of gender equality get more space in the community is no coincidence. As stated in the "Literature review" Argentinean women`s movement have traditionally been concentrated to Buenos Aires with surroundings and although thoughts and ideas (of making the private political) have spread across the country and even to other countries, the influences of women's movements are primarily concentrated to the province where demonstrations were held (Borland, 2008).

Women's discovery of their problems as a collective struggle among women and that things can get better, as showed in the findings are according to Crossley (2003) likely to lead to connectedness. The findings show how women are critical about how women are inferior to men in the family and society. The results indicate that women being able to compare with other women who live a more gender equal life have been essential for their awareness and criticism against gender inequalities.

Culture of Machismo

Women understand and explain the gender inequalities they experience in their homes and in society, as strongly connected to the *machismo culture*. According to the findings the women rather blame the culture than the individual man for his gender unequal views and actions. As

shown in the “Literature review” the machismo culture is closely connected to the man as superior to the woman. In machismo culture characteristics such as passivity and kindness are linked to women, while fearlessness and determining are linked to men (Craske, 1990). As also presented in the “Literature review” the construction of gender in Latin America is to a great extent based on the macho culture (Craske 1999; Dominguez 2004). Correspondingly the results of this study show that machismo values influence and permeate both individuals and communities. It is stated by the women that machismo affect their lives in a negative way and legitimate their inferiority. The machismo culture is according to the findings an explanation and reason for gender inequality in Salta.

It is evident in the findings that women see themselves as sustaining the machismo culture together with the men, even though they are critical about it. Gemzöe states that people in a given culture even though they sustain the culture, can be critical against their own cultural norms and traditions (Gemzö, 2013). The findings show how women see themselves and other women as raising their children with machismo values, even though they are critical about the values connected to machismo. The machismo is inherited from generation to generation. One according to the findings reason for women not to resist the machismo culture is that it is so closely connected to men’s personalities, something that is described as unthinkable to make resistance against. It is according to the findings required to change the machismo culture in order to change patriarchal structures, since the machismo creates and maintains patriarchal structures. The results show that such change must come from the people themselves, the women believe that national legislation and international conventions are not enough to ensure gender equality in the homes and societies.

According to Foucault (1980) one important component in an unequal power relation is the expectations. That is, if both parties in a relationship expecting a certain power balance, where one individual has power over the other, the power balance will be like that. Machismo, according to the findings permeates both the homes and societies in Salta. It is evident that the patriarchal values of machismo create expectations of what a man and a woman should do. These expectations contribute to an uneven balance of power, where women as machismo traditionally advocates are subordinate to men.

Relevance of the study to social work

This study is carried out within the Master's program in Social Work and Human Rights. According to the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) social work can be understood as human rights put into practice (IASSW, 2014). The topic of this study *Gender (in)equality in Argentina* has strong connections to both social work and human rights, since gender equality and women’s rights are basic human rights who need social work to be fulfilled (UNRISD, 2005). Social work as a practice profession recognizes structural barriers as contributing to discrimination, oppression and inequalities. An important part of social work is to critically reflect over these structural sources of oppression based on for example gender. The social work profession hence strive towards liberate oppressed and promote social inclusion (IASSW, 2014). This paper exposes the major challenges for gender equality and the lack of social work promoting gender equality in Salta. As shown the widespread gender inequality in Salta is a violation of human rights. In order to create a more gender equal society in Argentina, I believe that Social Work as profession needs more resources and more efficient organization.

The results of this study indicate that women from Salta carry many severe traumas, particularly related to physical and/or sexual violence. A suggestion of social work that would

help these women is social meeting places, where women both can talk to other women and professionals about their trauma. A prerequisite for such a meeting place to be successful is access to childcare, so that the women in quite and peace together with others can reflect and talk about sensitive and difficult things.

The results of this study also indicate a need for strong actions based on the laws, together with national and municipal policy work to ensure gender equality in both rural and urban areas of Salta.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study has been to gain understanding of how women in rural and urban areas of Salta understand and experience gender equality in their homes, societies and other arenas. Moreover, the purpose has also been to discover whether UN Conventions stating gender equality have had any consequence in women living in Salta's everyday-life. In order to gain in-depth understanding of gender equality and answer the research questions, qualitative approach together with extensive sources of data were used. This chapter will briefly answer the research questions.

- How do women from Salta experience gender equality in their everyday lives in the home, society and other arenas?

Research findings of this study indicate that women from rural and urban areas of Salta experience gender inequalities in their homes and in society. According to the results, the women not only are *aware* of gender inequalities as unequal power structures they also are *critical* about them.

Furthermore, the findings show how gendered division of labour is a great cause of gender inequalities. Women are bound to the homes working with unpaid informal household work, while men get paid for formal work outside the home. According to the findings the advantages with men having formal jobs are that they earn money and get valuable knowledge and contacts in the public sphere. Women experience the lack of economical and physical discretion as creating unequal power structures where women are subordinated to men.

Nonetheless, findings show how women experience gender-based violence. The consequences of being exposed to physical and/or sexual violence are a climate of fear among the women, while men get power and control.

It is hard and sometimes impossible for the women to challenge the unequal power structure, since the women are dependent on their partners/husbands. However, by participating in this study, women make hidden resistance by contributing to a greater awareness of the gender inequalities they experience in their every day life.

- How do women from Salta understand their everyday life as gender (in)equal?

Findings of this study show that women living in Salta, understand gender inequalities as consequences of the machismo culture, rather than as actions carried out by individual men. According to the research results, the machismo culture is closely connected to women as a group or individuals being subordinated to men. The machismo values of men as the head of the household and woman as the caretaker, influences and permeates both homes and societies.

Findings show how machismo affect women's lives in a negative way and legitimate their inferiority. It is by the women understood as crucial to change the machismo in order to get more gender equality between men and women. To change the machismo is though understood as difficult since the values goes from generation to generation and are sustained by both men and women.

- How are principles of UN conventions stating gender equality expressed in women's description of their everyday lives?

Even though Argentina signed CEDAW, the country have not succeeded in implementing the convention in areas such as equal responsibility of the children and equal access to public sphere, judging by the findings of this study.

Argentina has according to the findings not achieved the third MDG, which refers to promote gender equality and empower women. This is clearly shown in women in Salta's lack of access to formal jobs.

Furthermore, the findings show how Argentinean women in MDG and CEDAW reports are presented as a homogeneous group, without illustrating the different conditions of gender equality in different provinces or rural and urban areas of Argentina.

Suggestions for future research

During the work with this study many interesting and relevant perspectives on gender (in)equality have been rejected due to lack of time and space. In this concluding part of the thesis, some of these perspectives will be described in the form of suggestions for further research.

The MDGs and Global Gender Report, which are indications of how gender equal a country is, are measured with quantitative tools. Women's access to the labour market is an example of one indicator of gender equality, which is measured by qualitative statistics. According to the findings of this study, women's access to the labour market, does not automatically lead to women living more gender equal lives. On the contrary the findings show that women getting a formal job, leads to twice as much work for the woman as before, since she still has to perform all the unpaid household work. Quantitative reports stating that Argentina have made progress in terms of gender equality says something about the situation, but to in a more nuanced way illustrate gender equality, qualitative research is necessary.

In the UN publications used in this study, the Argentinean women are often portrayed as one homogenous group. Gender equality is complex and varies in different parts of Argentina. A suggestion for further research is that that the reports, which are the basis for the UN's measurements of gender equality, must reflect entire Argentina, not just modern urban cities like Buenos Aires, but also rural areas in provinces like Salta.

As stated in the "Literature review" gender (in)equality in Salta in relation to poverty, class and race would have been interesting to investigate. A suggestion for further research is therefore qualitative studies where both men and women, and their understanding and experiences of gender (in)equalities are examined in relation to intersectionality.

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APPENDIX

Interview Guide

Interview guide 1: Women in urban and rural areas of Salta

Interviews conducted in Salta and mountain villages January to February 2014

Introduction

How do the respondent perceive the interview environment?

The aim with this study.

Voluntariness

Can I record the interview?

The right to terminate the interview or stop the tape recorder etc.

Share the information letter

Tell where and how to contact me in in Argentina and Sweden.

Background Information

- 1) Age?
- 2) Where were you born?
- 3) Did you grow up in a rural or urban area, where?
- 4) Completed educational level?
- 5) Profession/livelihood?
- 6) Current family? Family as a child?
- 7) How many people belong to your household?

Gender equality and childhood

- 8) Can you tell me about your childhood?
- 9) Can you describe your mother and father during your childhood?
- 10) Can you tell me about when you got married/formed your current family? (age, how did life change, moved from your home, when got children, tasks in the home)
- 11) Can you tell me about an occasion from your childhood that have affected you in some way?

A typical day

- 12) Can you tell me about what a typical day of your can look like? (who make breakfast, help the children to school, work etc.)
- 13) Can you describe how/who prepare/buy the food?
- 14) Can you tell me about who live in your house and what task they have in the household?

Gender Equality in the society

- 15) Can you describe a typical Argentinean woman/man?
- 16) What do you feel it is expected of you as a woman of society?
- 17) What is gender equality?
- 18) Have you thought about gender equality earlier?
- 19) Is gender equality necessary?
- 20) Would you like to add anything?

Appendix II

Guía de Entrevista

Guía de entrevista 1: Mujeres en las zonas rurales o urbanas

Entrevista realizada en Salta, enero a febrero 2013

Introducción

¿Cómo el entrevistado percibe el entorno entrevista?

El objetivo de este estudio.

Voluntariedad

¿Puedo grabar la entrevista?

El derecho de terminar la entrevista o detener la grabadora, etcétera

Comparte la carta de información

Dime dónde y cómo ponerse en contacto conmigo en la Argentina y Suecia.

Información de antecedentes

- 1) Edad?
- 2) ¿Dónde nació usted?
- 3) ¿Creciste en una zona rural o urbana, ¿dónde?
- 4) Completa el nivel educativo?
- 5) Profesional / medios de vida?
- 6) La familia actual? Familia cuando era niño?
- 7) ¿Cuántas personas pertenecen a su hogar?

La igualdad Género y la infancia

- 8) ¿Me puede decir acerca de su infancia?
- 9) ¿Puede describir su madre y su padre durante su infancia?
- 10) ¿Puede decirme de cuando te casaste / formado su familia actual? (edad, ¿cómo cambió la vida, se mudó de su casa, cuando se tiene hijos, las tareas en el hogar)
- 11) ¿Puede decirme de una ocasión de su infancia que han afectado de alguna manera?

Un día típico

- 12) Puede usted decirme sobre cómo es un día típico de su puede parecer? (que hacen el desayuno, ayudar a los niños a la escuela, trabajo, etcétera)
- 13) ¿Puede describir cómo / quién prepare / comprar la comida?
- 14) ¿Puede decirme de que viven en su casa y lo que la tarea que tienen en el hogar?

Igualdad de género en la sociedad

- 15) Se puede describir a una mujer / hombre típico argentino?
- 16) ¿Cuál crees que se espera de usted como una mujer de la sociedad?
- 17) ¿Cuál es la igualdad de género?
- 18) ¿Ha pensado en la igualdad de género antes?
- 19) ¿Es necesaria la igualdad de género?
- 20) ¿Le gustaría añadir algo?

Appendix III

Interview guide

Interview guide 2: Professional Women

Interviews conducted in Salta February to March 2014

Background Information

- 1) What is your profession?
- 2) In what way do you come in contact with gender equality in your profession?

Machismo & Culture

- 3) What is machismo and how does it affect the Argentinian/Saltenian society?
How does it affect a family and the relation between a man and woman?
- 4) How does alcohol affect the machismo and the relation between men and women?
- 5) How does women you meet in your work understand the machismo?

Gender equality

- 6) How would you describe a typical Argentinean woman and a typical Argentinian man?
- 7) Have women and men different areas of decision-making?
- 8) What is gender equality?
- 9) How do you understand gender equality in different areas of the province?
(Mountain villages and capital city Salta)
- 10) How much physical/economical discretion does an Argentinean woman have?
- 11) How does violence affect gender equality in Salta?
- 12) How does power affect gender equality in Salta?
- 13) Is there anything you would like to add?

Guía de Entrevista

Guía de entrevista 2: Mujeres profesionales

Entrevista realizada en Salta, febrero a marzo 2013

Información de antecedentes

- 1) ¿Cuál es su profesión?
- 2) ¿De qué manera como entró en contacto con la igualdad de género en su profesión?

Machista y la cultura

- 3) ¿Cuál es el machismo y cómo afecta a la sociedad argentina / Salta?
- 4) ¿Cómo afecta el alcohol el machismo y la relación entre hombres y mujeres?
- 5) ¿De qué manera las mujeres que se reúnen en su trabajo a entender el machismo?

La igualdad de género

- 6) ¿Cómo describir a una mujer argentina típica y un hombre típico argentino?
- 7) ¿Las mujeres y hombres de diferentes áreas de la toma de decisiones?
- 8) ¿Cuál es la igualdad de género?
- 9) ¿Cómo se entiende la igualdad de género en las diferentes zonas de la provincia?
(Pueblos de montaña y de la ciudad capital de Salta)
- 10) ¿Cuánta discreción física / económica tiene una mujer argentina?
- 11) ¿Cómo afecta la violencia igualdad de género en Salta?
- 12) ¿De qué manera el poder afecta la igualdad de género en Salta?
- 13) ¿Hay algo que le gustaría añadir?



Consentimiento informado

Este proyecto de investigación es una parte de mi educación en el programa internacional de maestría en trabajo social y los derechos humanos en la Universidad de Gotemburgo, Suecia. El propósito de mi estudio es entender las experiencias de igualdad y desigualdad que tienen mujeres en diferentes ámbitos de Argentina, y como forma la vida cotidiana de ellas. Para recopilar los datos, voy a realizar una serie de entrevistas.

La siguiente es una presentación de cómo voy a usar los datos recogidos en la entrevista.

Con el fin de asegurar que este proyecto cumple con los requisitos éticos para una buena investigación me comprometo a cumplir con los siguientes principios:

- Los entrevistados en el proyecto recibirán información sobre el propósito del proyecto.
- Los entrevistados tienen el derecho de decidir si quieren participar en el proyecto, incluso después de que la entrevista se haya realizado.
- Los datos recogidos serán tratados de forma confidencial y se mantendrán de tal manera que ninguna persona no autorizada pueda ver o acceder a ellos.
- El estudio completo se publicará en la Universidad de Gotemburgo directorio web en el sitio web www.gu.se.

La entrevista será grabada con el fin de facilitar la documentación de lo que se dijo durante la entrevista. En mis análisis algunos datos serán cambiados para que los entrevistados no sean reconocidos. Los datos sólo se utilizarán en este proyecto.

Usted tiene el derecho de contestar o rechazar cualquier pregunta e incluso terminar la entrevista sin dar explicaciones. Le invito a ponerse en contacto conmigo en caso de tener alguna pregunta.

Estudiante

Entrevistada

Paulina Erwing

guservpa@student.gu.se



Informed Consent

This research project is a part of my education in the international master's program in social work and human rights at the University of Gothenburg, Sweden. The purpose of my study is to understand the experiences of equality and inequality that women have in different areas of Argentina, and daily life as a way of them. To collect the data, I will conduct a series of interviews.

The following is a presentation of how I will use the data collected in the interview.

In order to ensure that this project meets the ethical requirements for good research I undertake to comply with the following principles:

- Respondents in the project will receive information on the purpose of the project.
- Respondents have the right to decide whether to participate in the project, even after the interview has taken place.
- The data collected will be treated confidentially and maintained so that no unauthorized person can see or access them.
- The full study will be published in the University of Gothenburg web directory website www.gu.se.

The interview will be recorded in order to facilitate the documentation of what was said during the interview. In my analysis some data will be changed to ensure that respondents are not recognized. The data will be used in this project.

You have the right to refuse to answer any questions or even end the interview without explanation. I invite you to contact me if you have any questions.

Student

Interviewee

Paulina Erwing

guservpa@student.gu.se

Appendix VII

Abbreviations and Acronyms

CEDAW Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women

EANNA Encuesta de Actividades de Niños, Niñas y Adolescentes [Survey on activities of girls, boys and adolescents)

HRW Human Rights Watch

MDG Millennium Development Goals

MFS Minor Field Study

NGO Non-governmental organization

OHCHR Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights

PPF Female Peronist Party

SIDA Styrelsen för internationellt utvecklingssamarbete [Swedish international development cooperation agency]

UD Utrikesdepartementet [Swedish ministry for foreign affairs]

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Program

UNFPA United Nations Populations Found

UNPSEA United Nations for Protection from Sexual Exploitation and Abuse

UNRISD United Nations Research Institute for Social Development

UNTC United Nations Treaty Collection

WHO World Health Organization

Appendix IIX

Convention on the Elimination of all forms of discrimination against Women

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex,

Noting that the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal rights of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights,

Considering the international conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Noting also the resolutions, declarations and recommendations adopted by the United Nations and the specialized agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Concerned, however, that despite these various instruments extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,

Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity,

Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs,

Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equity and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women,

Emphasizing that the eradication of apartheid, all forms of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation and domination and interference in the internal affairs of States is essential to the full enjoyment of the rights of men and women,

Affirming that the strengthening of international peace and security, the relaxation of international tension, mutual co-operation among all States irrespective of their social and economic systems, general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control, the affirmation of the principles of justice, equality and mutual benefit in relations among countries and the realization of the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination and foreign occupation to self-determination and independence, as well as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, will promote social progress and development and as a consequence will contribute to the attainment of full equality between men and women,

Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields,

Bearing in mind the great contribution of women to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, so far not fully recognized, the social significance of maternity and the role of both parents in the family and in the upbringing of children, and aware that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination but that the upbringing of children requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women and society as a whole,

Aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to

achieve full equality between men and women,

Determined to implement the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and, for that purpose, to adopt the measures required for the elimination of such discrimination in all its forms and manifestations,

Have agreed on the following:

PART I

Article 1

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Article 2

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and, to this end, undertake:

(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realization of this principle;

(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;

(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;

(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;

(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organization or enterprise;

(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;

(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Article 3

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4

1. Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating de facto equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

2. Adoption by States Parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory.

Article 5

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

(a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;

(b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Article 6

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

PART II

Article 7

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and, in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

- (a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;
- (b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;
- (c) To participate in non-governmental organizations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Article 8

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organizations.

Article 9

1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.
2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children.

PART III

Article 10

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

- (a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;
- (b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;
- (c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and, in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;
- (d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;
- (e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particularly those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;
- (f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organization of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;
- (g) The same Opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;
- (h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

- (a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;
- (b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;

(c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;

(d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;

(e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;

(f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.

2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:

(a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;

(b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;

(c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities;

(d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.

3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

Article 13

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

(a) The right to family benefits;

(b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;

(c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and, in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:

(a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;

(b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;

(c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;

(d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as

well as, inter alia, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;

(e) To organize self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment;

(f) To participate in all community activities;

(g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;

(h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.

PART IV

Article 15

1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.

2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.

3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.

4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Article 16

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

(a) The same right to enter into marriage;

(b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;

(c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;

(d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;

(e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;

(f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;

(g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;

(h) The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.

2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

PART V

Article 17

1. For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be

established a [Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women](#) (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and, after ratification of or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilization as well as the principal legal systems.

2. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.

3. The initial election shall be held six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention. At least three months before the date of each election the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a letter to the States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties.

4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of States Parties convened by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters. At that meeting, for which two thirds of the States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

5. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

6. The election of the five additional members of the Committee shall be held in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of this article, following the thirty-fifth ratification or accession. The terms of two of the additional members elected on this occasion shall expire at the end of two years, the names of these two members having been chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

7. For the filling of casual vacancies, the State Party whose expert has ceased to function as a member of the Committee shall appoint another expert from among its nationals, subject to the approval of the Committee.

8. The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.

9. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

Article 18

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for consideration by the Committee, a report on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and on the progress made in this respect:

- (a) Within one year after the entry into force for the State concerned;
- (b) Thereafter at least every four years and further whenever the Committee so requests.

2. Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfilment of obligations under the present Convention.

Article 19

1. The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure.
2. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years.

Article 20

1. The Committee shall normally meet for a period of not more than two weeks annually in order to consider the reports submitted in accordance with article 18 of the present Convention.
2. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee. ([amendment](#), [status of ratification](#))

Article 21

1. The Committee shall, through the Economic and Social Council, report annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received from the States Parties. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be included in the report of the Committee together with comments, if any, from States Parties.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit the reports of the Committee to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.

Article 22

The specialized agencies shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their activities. The Committee may invite the specialized agencies to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities.

PART VI

Article 23

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the achievement of equality between men and women which may be contained:

- (a) In the legislation of a State Party; or
- (b) In any other international convention, treaty or agreement in force for that State.

Article 24

States Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at achieving the full realization of the rights recognized in the present Convention.

Article 25

1. The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States.
2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention.
3. The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
4. The present Convention shall be open to accession by all States. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 26

1. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.
2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request.

Article 27

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.
2. For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 28

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.
2. A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted.
3. Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to this effect addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States thereof. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received.

Article 29

1. Any dispute between two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation or application of the present Convention which is not settled by negotiation shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organization of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court.

2. Each State Party may at the time of signature or ratification of the present Convention or accession thereto declare that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph I of this article. The other States Parties shall not be bound by that paragraph with respect to any State Party which has made such a reservation.

3. Any State Party which has made a reservation in accordance with paragraph 2 of this article may at any time withdraw that reservation by notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 30

The present Convention, the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorized, have signed the present Convention.

Appendix IX

Millennium Development Goals

1. Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger
2. Achieve universal primary education
3. Promote gender equality and empower women
4. Reduce child mortality
5. Improve maternal health
6. Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases
7. Ensure environmental sustainability
8. Develop a global partnership for development