

GENDER, CULTURE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN LATIN AMERICA: A NORDIC PERSPECTIVE

Kristi Anne Stølen *

Introduction

My aim in this paper is to give a picture of research on gender relations in Latin America carried out by researchers working in Nordic institutions. It is impossible within this limited space to give a complete picture. Interesting research is being carried out which is not referred to in this text, because the results have not yet been published, but for practical reasons priority has been given to research which has resulted in written publications and the coverage is necessarily selective.¹ A main criterion for selection has been the importance of the contributions to the theoretical debate. As you will see from the following, this area of research is no longer "monopolised" by female researchers studying Latin American women. Gender relations are now the dominant focus of analysis, even though there is still a tendency to concentrate more strongly on either women or men, certainly more frequently the former than the latter. Recently, a few male researchers have contributed with a male perspective on gender, emphasizing different aspects of masculinity and masculine identity. I will start with a short general presentation of perspectives, themes and topics in Nordic research on Latin American gender relations. Then I will present some of the studies which I believe have contributed to a deeper understanding of these relations. They are grouped under two main headings: **1. Gender and social change** and **2. Gender identity, ideology and power**. This categorization indicates a certain emphasis rather than a clearcut distinction, since most studies deal with issues listed under both headings.

Theoretical perspectives

Nordic involvement in research on gender relations in Latin America started in the mid- 1970s in a context where a principle target of this type of

* Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo

research so far had been to make women visible. The critique of "male bias", and the documentation of neglect and/or distortion of women's activities in research and development policies and actions had motivated a number of studies focusing on women's productive and reproductive roles, and the interlinkages between the sexual division of labour and women's participation in social and political life. In Latin America this research effort, which initially had a strong "economistic" bias, detected a gross underestimation of women's work and vindicated once again the importance of this work for the economic welfare of families as well as for national economies. Based on research findings, it was argued that women were highly integrated in the economy and society, but that this integration was characterized by exploitation both in terms of class and gender, and, moreover, that it had taken place without major changes in the sexual division of labour in the home. Concepts like "la doble" (the double) or "la triple jornada" (the triple day) entered into the research vocabulary. These findings not only provoked a revision of the concept of labour, and the categorization of economic activity, but also gradually drew attention to internal processes in households and families, to marriage, sexuality and to ideas and ideologies which contribute to the maintenance of particular gender relations (León, 1982; Deere & León, 1987; Nash & Safa, 1980, 1986).

In Latin America, a materialist approach to the study of gender has been dominant, strongly influenced by structural marxism which - until recently - has been the principal theoretical perspective in social science. Moreover, research has been very closely linked to political movements. A major concern in gender studies carried out by Latin American colleagues has been to understand and eradicate capitalism by detecting the mechanisms whereby subordination and exploitation of women in rural areas - as well as in the big cities - favoured capitalism and imperialism and contributed to the reproduction of exploitative class relations. Poverty and lack of economic development were seen as the underlying causes of the underprivileged position of women. These were conditions that they shared with their husbands, it was argued. Thus, women's exploitation or subordination were to a large extent understood as derivations of class oppression, and class struggle was conceived as the means to overcome them (León, 1982).

The Nordic researchers, also influenced by Marxist thinking, but at the same time challenged by Western feminism and the contrasts between the Nordic and Latin-American societies, were less convinced than many of their Latin American colleagues that class struggle and the socialist revolution alone were adequate means to eradicate women's subordination. The main criticism of this type of approach was that the cultural valuation given to men and women in society arises from something more than their respective positions in the relations of production.

The studies on Latin American gender relations in the Nordic countries are coloured by the fact that the "pioneers" were social anthropologists, with previous research experience from Latin America. Most of them were critical of

the materialist approach as being too narrow. They have rather attempted to combine a culturalist and a materialist approach, recognizing that ideas about maleness and femaleness are neither wholly independent of nor directly derived from economic relations of production. A recurrent view has been that cultural ideas about gender do not directly reflect the social and economic positions of women and men, although they are constituted within the context of these conditions. At the same time, the power of gender ideas or stereotypes is not just in the minds. They have a material reality, which helps to reinforce the social and economic conditions within which they are developed and used. This perspective, which implies a constant interaction between doing and thinking, offers interesting insights for the study of processes of change. Most studies deal with processes of change, but the types of processes examined, the contexts within which these processes take place, as well as aspects emphasised, vary considerably. As we shall see in the following pages, some studies give priority to economic and social conditions, others to cultural or symbolic ones. There are also those who specifically aim at exploring the interaction between perceptions and material reality when studying gender. As a general tendency, cultural, moral and symbolic aspects are given more attention in the later studies than in the early ones.

Most Nordic contributions are based on micro-oriented case studies, focusing on social action and interaction in geographically limited areas; more frequently rural than urban, even though this is less the case today than it was a few years ago. The studies normally have been carried out through long-term field work, where the researchers have lived among their informants, trying to grasp their way of living and thinking. Data collection has often consisted of a combination of participant observation and more quantitative methods. However, the fact that the studies focus on micro-level processes does not imply a disregard for interlinkages to wider regional, national or international processes. In fact most scholars analyze the micro-dynamics of social life in a wider socio-economic and historical perspective. Some of them have carried out field work in the same area in different periods, and can draw conclusions based on observations over long time span.

Gender and social change

Consequences of rapid social change on gender relations have been and still are a dominant theme in Nordic research on gender relations in Latin America. Processes such as land reform, technological modernization in agriculture, national or international migration, urbanization and industrial expansion have been in the focus of attention. Even though there has been a tendency to analyze Latin American gender relations basically in terms of dominance and oppression, most of the empirical studies portray women and men as active shapers of their own lives. I think that this is because the studies are often car-

ried out within the frames of an actor-oriented approach which implies that variations in social relations and cultural patterns to a large extent are seen as the outcome of the different ways in which social actors organizationally and cognitively deal with changing circumstances and accommodate themselves to the interests and 'designs for living' of others (Long, 1989). Inherent in the very concept of social actor is the notion of the human being as an active subject with the capacity to process social experience and to invent ways of coping with life even under extreme forms of coercion. This holds good whether the particular actor is deemed "powerful" or "powerless". Within the limits of their socio-cultural context women and men attempt to solve problems, and learn how to intervene in the social events around them and monitor their own actions, as well as observing how others react to their behaviour. Gender studies carried out within such a framework depict women and men as creative social actors, whether they exploit new opportunities or resist them, or whether they succeed in their pursuits or not. It is important to emphasise that this view does not imply a disregard of the fact that the constraints on people's actions may be overwhelming and, for example, that women often are exploited by or subordinated to men.

In what follows I will present a selection of studies carried out during the last 15 years in different parts of the continent. A number of them deal with livelihoods in a variety of situations of socio-economic change where the existing division of labour and responsibility is altered and provokes formal and informal negotiations about what women and men may or may not do or be. Most of the processes of change referred to here can be characterized as social interface situations, social interface being defined as "a critical point of intersection or linkage between different social systems, fields or levels of social order, where structural discontinuities, based upon differences of normative values and social interest, are most likely to be found" (Long, 1989 p. 2). The interface concept implies some kind of face-to-face interaction where the parties involved represent different interests and are backed by different resources. In interface situations discrepancies of social interest, cultural interpretation, knowledge and power are mediated and perpetuated or transformed through interactions and negotiations between different social actors. Such discrepancies arise in all kinds of social contexts. They become particularly evident in situations of development interventions, where external "agents of change" are present locally. The kind of discontinuities created and negotiated in interface encounters are multifaceted and will - as demonstrated in the following examples - vary from one socio-cultural context to another. Since societies are gendered, the way local actors relate to innovations will be gender specific, even when the innovations as such are conceived as "gender neutral" in the sense that they are not directed particularly towards women or men. The cases presented below are particularly concerned with the production, processing and outcome of gender discontinuities in a variety of situations of social change throughout the continent.

Agrarian reform in the Andes

The consequences of the lack of recognition of gender roles in agrarian transformation has been a recurrent theme. This was a focus of attention in Sarah Lund Skar's study of the impact of the Peruvian agrarian reform among Quechua Indians in Highland Peru (1980). She shows how the reformers - striving to find a way between capitalism and communism - by constructing a reform model along the lines of an Incan system of dependency and corporateness, completely failed to include women in their revolution. While supposedly emulating Indian forms of social organization, particularly that of the *ayllu*, male/female relations within the Indian community were completely ignored as having any relevance for the creation of a just and workable land reform. The land reform law specified land ownership in terms of household units, yet it defined usufruct rights for heads of households which -like in the mestizo world - were assumed to be male. Thus, "with the mere stroke of a pen" - the reformers swept aside centuries of tradition in which Quechua women held individual rights to land. Through a total lack of consideration of women's role in agricultural production, ignorance of the native cognitive framework of gender, and neglect of those areas of Quechua social organization which were strongly influenced by women, land reform created a new situation which contained the potential for changing past all recognition of an area of Quechua social life, which -according to Skar- was perhaps most basic in their cultural identity. She here refers to the balanced equality and complementarity which characterized relations between men and women, particularly spouses. Skar demonstrates that while the status of men was improved as a consequence of the agrarian reform, the contrary was the case of women. The rights they held in the traditional society became increasingly irrelevant in the new context. Women were drawn into situations where they were confined to the household and service-oriented activities and increasingly excluded from the active political and economic life of the community. The agricultural innovations in this case were directed towards men, in a context where women traditionally played a crucial role in agriculture. This has to be understood in view of the gender notions held by those who planned, introduced and promoted the use of the innovations. They had been socialized in a world where farmers are - or should be - men. Skar's work was carried out in a typical interface situation, the outcome was quite unclear when she finished her field work. She indicates that negotiations were going on between villagers who were open to integration and those attempting to maintain social closure in order to protect what they conceived as their self-determinacy. What seemed clear, however, is that the agrarian reform created such a drastic alternation in social life that men and women alike would have to seek new and creative alternatives to their social situation in many areas of life (1981; 1987; 1991).

From subsistence to cash-cropping in Costa Rica and Mexico

In Haldis Valestrand's studies among peasants in Costa Rica, women also became mothers and housewives as a consequence of changes in the agricultural production system (1990, 1991). In her case peasants who until recently were mainly subsistence producers became producers of African palm, which is a profitable cash-crop. This change also came about through the implementation of national development policies. The new production system led to a considerable increase in the level of income in peasant households and a reorganization of farm work, whereby men became providers and women mothers and housewives. In this case as well as the one from highland Peru a kind of "housewifization process" is taking place. However, the economic and cultural significance of these processes are quite different. While in Lund Skar's study the changes led to a rupture with traditional values and practices, and thereby a weakening of women's social position, this was not to the same extent the case in Costa Rica, at least not seen from an emic point of view. In subsistence agriculture women did participate in agricultural work, in addition to their responsibilities in the home. This represented, however, a rupture with the dominant gender ideology, according to which men should be providers and women mothers and housewives and the "centres of home". According to Valestrand both men and women were satisfied with the "harmony" that the economic changes had brought about, whereby her informants could become "real" women and "real" men. The changes in the agricultural system created a new opportunity structure which permitted that the sexual division of labour became consistent with gender ideas and values.

The consequences of the transition from subsistence to cash-crop production was also a central topic in Kari Siverts' study from Chiapas, Mexico. In her case the process goes the other way around. She describes how in a context of galloping land shortage combined with population increase, Tzeltal-speaking peasant housewives become Spanish-speaking working women (Siverts, 1985; 1990; 1993). Siverts carried out field work in the same area four times between 1953 and 1988 which permits her to make over time comparisons. During this period the population increased from 600 to 1500 at the same time as the community has experienced cumulative soil degradation, where people no longer are able to harvest enough to maintain self-sufficiency. New circumstances have offered solutions which were unavailable or unattractive some years earlier. For example can maize now be purchased locally at subsidized prices in a cooperative store, new cash crops have been introduced and wage work is attainable for both sexes. Of special importance are the opportunities for education and vocational career offered to Indian youth. These and other factors contribute to household survival. However, in search for an acceptable identity in a changing world women bring old symbols of motherhood and marriage along, thereby partly reaching back to an established gender discourse.

These examples draw the attention to the fact that similar phenomena may have different and sometimes contradictory meanings. This is the reason why Valestrand in one of her articles rejects the utility of the concept of "housewifization" as a worldwide phenomenon, as suggested by Maria Mies (Valestrand, 1991, Mies, 1986). They also illustrate the importance of thorough knowledge of the socio-cultural context when studying the impact of innovation or change. There is no predictable relationship between the degree and type of market integration and women's role in the sexual division of labour. In Peru and Costa Rica increased market integration led to "housewifization", while the opposite was the case in Chiapas. These cases show how the division of roles are responsive to a number of conditions, such as the social characteristics of the household and local community, the position of women and men themselves with regard to class, ethnicity, family cycle, kinship position, age, religion and ideology.

Industrial expansion in rural Mexico

Fiona Wilson's research in western Mexico deals with women in the labour market (1990; 1991). Interested in the expansion of small "informal" garment workshops employing female labour, she explores the connections between gender divisions in the labour market and the social construction of gender. In order to understand the character of gendered production, Wilson looked at the recent history of the region. Through the life histories of three generations of women, she analyses the impact of the breakdown of the agrarian system which - during the 20th century - has been put under pressure, first by banditry and warfare during the first decades, then by capitalization of agriculture from the 1940s, which led to hardship and dispossession of poor peasants. Impoverishment, re-settlement and seasonal male out-migration deeply affected gender relations. Wilson registered an increase of family violence and increased control with young girls. Men and women's worlds became more separated and intra-household solidarity, especially between husband and wife were weakened. In the husband's absence the responsibility for his wife was handed over to his parents, and young wives virtually became prisoners in the house of her parents-in-law. They were often not allowed to go out, even to visit their own parents. Young women were forced to prolong a period of social childhood, far longer than in the traditional agrarian system. Under the authority of the catholic church of Michoacán, women's sexuality was being contained and neutralised in the image of the "suffering mother".

According to Wilson, this provoked a collision of meanings in the identities given to women as between the abandoned, potentially sexually active, closely defined "child brides" of absent migrants and the mature, but sexually unapproachable "suffering mother". Given the insecurity of remittances older women

took greater control over the labour of young women. Income was earned through e.g. embroidery, silk painting, tortilla-making, which could be done at home. A division of labour between female household members developed, some were housewives, others income earners. Wilson suggests that only with these fundamental changes in the patterns of household, social reproduction could an informal industry spread in her area of study. Thus, older women who installed officially "illegal", but locally appreciated small enterprises in their homes could approach the mothers of their generation for access to their daughters' labour in the workshops. In this way the workshops could be defined as belonging to a protected, domestic space. This was possible in a context where a specialization of work had already taken place at the household level. Workshops in this regions started as an extension of domestic production, but the domestic identification of the workshop cannot be preserved over time. The young women in Wilson's study have gained new spaces and a better negotiating position. However, this space is quite limited and used to gain individual victories - e.g. regarding own mobility, how to dress and how to relate to men - rather than to challenge the traditional authority structure. In the long run, however, women's consciousness - both with regard to their rights as workers and their rights to greater social respect as women - will develop, Wilson suggests. Although the pursuit of greater social respect might not directly challenge the dominant gender ideology, women can nevertheless start to work with the contradictory images given them as "child brides" and "suffering mothers" and redefine themselves in a way that affords them greater social presence and agency.

Rural-urban and transnational migration

Ninna Nyberg-Sørensen explores the impact of labour migration on Dominican gender relations. She has studied rural-urban migration in the Dominican Republic as well as Dominican migrants in New York City (1991, 1993). Different from what is reported from many other parts of the world, the majority of the migrants in her study are women and they often move independently of men. Is female migration a manifestation of feminization of poverty or is it a reminiscence of the legendary African matriarchy, asks Nyberg-Sørensen? She suggests that there is a connection between lack of access to land and migration, which affects women more than men. Due to a patri-linear inheritance system, women's access to land is only possible through "a man with access to land". Such men are increasingly rare. At the same time female migration is stimulated by the gender-specific demand of labour in the free trade zones. Nyberg-Sørensen, though recognizing the relevance of socio-economic structures in the explanation of the high female migration rates, prefers to focus on how women conceptualize opportunities and boundaries of space. The specific gender identity of Dominican women and their historical experience of being in a relatively strong position might explain their mobility.

Based on her studies of Dominican immigrants in New York City, Nyberg-Sørensen explores the relationship between ethnicity and gender in the migration process, by analysing how the "inheritance" of ethnic (and racial) identity relates to ideologies surrounding women as reproducers. Using examples from Dominican ethnic organizations in the Dominican Republic and in New York City, she shows that ethnicity is experienced and constructed differently by men and women and that changes in ethnic identity often -if not always -are communicated through gender identity. Moreover, she demonstrates how the multicultural Afro-Latin background of female migrants, is a valuable luggage when entering the transnational migration stream. As bearers of multicultural experiences with various ways of being women and various values placed upon women, they are able to create something new, "something that is more than the sum of the parts of the identities they bring together" (Torres, in Nyberg Sørensen, 1993 p.326).

Gender identity, ideology and power

From the above, we observe that dominance and subordination has been an underlying theme in Nordic gender research. If gender relations are power relations, what kind of power are we talking about? Power, like gender, is a relational concept, it does not exist outside relations and it is not something that a person has. Thus, within a gender perspective, the question is not whether women or men have or do not have power, but how power comes about in relations between them. For a long time, and specially in "women's studies", power has been considered as repressive only. Women were claimed to be victims of the exercise of power by men. Of course, and this should not be forgotten, power in gender relations may be repressive. However, the fact that women often agree with practices that subordinate them, that they resist the exercise of power, and that there often exist friendly relations between women and men, cannot be understood in terms of the exclusively repressive view on power. A view on power as simply repressive conceals the fact that it may also be constructive and enabling.

The concept of autonomy (and choice) is important for the understanding of gender and power. To use the vocabulary of power in social relations is to speak of human agents, separately or together, through action or inaction, significantly affecting the thought or actions of others (Lukes, 1974). Although agents operate within structurally determined limits, they none the less have certain relative autonomy and could have acted differently. This means that structures of domination are continuously reproduced in the interpersonal power relations, in this case between men and women. Following this line of thinking there can be no absolute control of women by men, regardless of how asymmetric the relationship between them may be. Women will always have some "room for manoeuvre" and choice. This does not necessarily mean that the existing gen-

der order is threatened, because women often have internalized the gender hierarchy, and make choices that are compatible with or even aim at its maintenance.

The studies referred to in the following pages depict how power is exercised in face-to-face interaction between men and women in different Latin American contexts. They show that dominance is related to the existing sexual division of labour in the household and in society at large and to men and women's differential access to crucial resources (material as well as organizational and ideological). Important in these contributions is the analysis of the power of gender ideology and gender imagery in the maintenance of gender difference and hierarchy. The fact that women often accept their role in the existing order of things, is not that they do not see or imagine alternatives (they are exposed to alternative role models), but because they see it as natural, as part of the "divine order", and sometimes also as beneficial. This draws the attention to what Lukes calls "the most supreme exercise of power" (1974), involving the ability to shape perceptions, cognitions and preferences, or to use Foucault's words "the ability to structure the possible field of action of others" (1987).

Gender and power in a Colombian City

One of the pioneers in the study of gender and power in Latin America in the Nordic countries was Kristina Bohman (1984). Together with a group of colleagues at the Social Anthropology Department at Stockholm University she started a comparative research programme: "Women and Social and Economic Change" based on field work from different parts of the world. Bohman's study was carried out in a *barrio* (neighbourhood) in Medellín, Colombia. The purpose of her project - as of the programme as a whole - was to describe and analyze aspects of social life related to women's possibilities of exercising influence and power, both with regard to their own lives and to those of others. She examined women's position in relation to economic resources (work and control over economic assets), the functioning of the kinship system with its specific positions of authority and institutionalized relationships of inequality between the sexes, and finally, ideological constructs which underpin notions of differentiation as well as of inequality between women and men.

Bohman found that the women of the *barrio* had very limited access to economic means, they could rarely support themselves and were highly dependent on men. This does not mean that they completely lacked influence over their own lives or the lives of others. Their means, however, were not economic, rather moral. One of the most important ones was women's insistence on the *obligación* (obligation) a husband has to support his legal wife and children. However, Bohman also observed more coercive methods whereby women tried to "tie" other people to themselves. Through the upbringing of children, women implanted deep feelings of gratitude and guilt, which ensured their material survival in old age. Their display of suffering in relation to their husbands was

also a means to gain influence. Thus, even though most men, even the poorest ones, held an economic power position with regard to women, they often feared women's means of controlling them in ways which they found difficult to control since they were hidden or disguised. Bohman noted that the degree to which individual women were successful in their exercise of hidden power mechanism varied greatly.

Bohman noticed that ideological constructs both emphasized differences between the sexes - women and men were seen as "naturally" of a very different kind - and proclaimed an overall inferiority of the female sex. Whereas men were seen as complete and independent, women were envisaged as incomplete and dependent. According to Bohman's informants, a woman's life had no real content unless she belonged to a man. A woman should depend on a man who could "give" her what she "needed" not only materially, but also sexually and in terms of social status. Independence in women was associated with prostitution. In this way women's subordinate position was sustained and legitimized through ideas about female inferiority and these ideas have become embodied in such important institutions like the family, the church and other religious institutions, and the legal and political systems.

According to Bohman, the impact of these notions of female inferiority as integral part of economic life was evident in the labour market. Women's salaries were low, since women neither needed nor had the right to support themselves. Moreover, they were considered to have fewer physical needs than men, e.g. regarding calory intake. Bohman argues that the economic situation among poor women cannot be fully understood only as a part of a general situation of exploitation shared equally between men and women, which was a dominant view in Latin America at the time when she carried out her research. Her study thoroughly documents how gender-specific conditions make it possible to exploit women even more than men. Bohman's study also shows that there is no absolute control of women by men, regardless of how asymmetric the relationship between them may be. Women will always have a "room of manoeuvre" where they can use their creativity and influence.

The power of gender ideology in rural Ecuador and Argentina

The fact that women often are represented as subordinate to men, may tell us little about prevailing male-female relations, since gender notions rarely accurately reflect the relations. In some of the cases presented here women are represented as more subordinate than observations may indicate. This is the case of the mestizo peasant women portrayed by Kristi Anne Stølen in her studies from Highland Ecuador (1987). Stølen analyses changes in the work and life situation of peasant women and men as a consequence of technological modernization and agrarian reforms. An important concern in her analyses is the relationship between changes in the social and sexual division of labour and the

cultural valuation of men and women in society. In her case, women hold a strong economic position. They inherit land, hold agricultural knowledge and skills, participate in most agricultural work and are in charge of marketing. Stølen shows how women, in spite of the crucial importance of their farm work and their participation in economic decision making - historically as well as today - are defined and define themselves as subordinate to their husbands. This is sustained by the dominant gender ideology transmitted through interaction in the family as well as in other institutions of civil society such as church, school and law and manifests itself through everyday rituals of female submission and terror implanted by wife beating (1991a).

Stølen suggests that gender relations in her area of study are characterized by ambiguity rather than by clearcut dominance and subordination. There are strong tensions between the cultural definition of masculinity - according to which men are expected to be strong and dominant in male-female relations - and male gender identity, i.e. how men feel about themselves. She observes that her male informants *are* strong and dominant, but at the same time they feel threatened by women, by their sexuality and by their sexual behaviour, which may have fatal consequences for their respectability in their own eyes and in the eyes of "society". Therefore, women are submitted to a regime of close control.

All women (except one's own mother, who is treated almost like a saint) are in principle potential whores, unless they are protected and controlled. Even if a man feels that he can trust his own wife, he cannot trust other men, (except his close kin and neighbours) whose prestige depend not on the chastity of his wife, but on the contrary, on their ability as conquerors. Extramarital affairs, which is quite common among males, are manifestations of virility, but at the same time they prove the "weakness of flesh", of one woman in particular, and of women in general, including the chaste and faithful wives. Such experiences foment virility, but it also creates insecurity and jealousy which in certain situations find violent expressions. The strong economic position of women may further contribute to the "insecurity of masculinity", in a context where men should be the providers. Women present themselves as subordinate to their husbands, whom they often call *mi patrón* (my master) and seem to believe that they are, even if observations from everyday life indicate the contrary. Stølen's study from Ecuador nicely illustrates the complex interplay between social interaction and perceptions with regard to gender.

This theme is further elaborated in her work on Argentina, where she has carried out studies over time among immigrant farmers of Italian origin in Santa Fe province (1991b; 1991c; 1992). Gender relations and gender perceptions are analyzed in light of the extensive processes of socio-economic change that has taken place in the area of study since the arrival of the immigrants in the late 1880s. Changes in sexual division of labour, in marriage, residence and inheritance patterns are examined with reference to the economic and social changes following the introduction of industrial crops in the 1930s, the mechanization of agriculture in the 1950s and the economic crisis of the 1980s. Stølen dis-

cusses how and to what extent changes in gender roles and relations are associated with changes in the cultural conceptualization of maleness and femaleness. She observes that certain ideas and practices are more resistant to change than others. One is the association between men and women and public and domestic domains respectively, illustrated by the following popular saying: "el hombre es de la calle, la mujer de la casa" (the man belongs to the street, the woman at home). More concretely this implies that a man should be the provider, be responsible for the economic and social welfare of his family members and represent them in the outside world. His wife should be his emotional counterpart in charge of household chores and child care and under his protection. The sphere of social activity associated with males encompasses the sphere predominantly associated with females and was, for that reason, accorded higher value, Stølen argues.

The high valuation of virginity, chastity and sexual control of women was another area which seemed to be particularly resistant to change. Stølen observed that sexuality and sexual legitimacy had a dominant place in the gender code. A woman's sexual behaviour determined to a large extent her social value, it was decisive for her attraction in the "marriage market" and determined her possibilities of becoming a respectable mother and housewife. Female premarital virginity and chastity within marriage, to a large extent, determined the social position of men, but only husbands. The fact that women must be controlled, while men need not, and indeed should not be, is also an indication of gender as hierarchically structured, Stølen suggests. She considers that an important reason why the notions of gender difference and hierarchy and the strong concern about sexuality, especially female sexuality tend to survive the economic transformations is that they are deeply rooted in Catholic gender ideology, symbolism and practice. Exploring this connection, she draws on the ethnography of the Mediterranean, particularly on the discussions of the "honour and shame complex" (Peristiany, 1965; Gilmore, 1987; Piña Cabral, 1989; Llobera, 1990). She also discusses her findings with reference to Catholic doctrines, and to the practice of these doctrine in the national and local churches as well as in other institutions of the Argentine civil society. She concludes that when gender ideologies are rooted in the highly institutionalised 'world' religions, which to a large extent 'live their own life' highly independent on changes the 'material base', whatever that base might be, they seem to be particularly resistant to change. Thus, as long as the very role of religion is not questioned, both men and women remain "caught" in a web of dominant gender ideology, which endows women a subordinate position in relation to men.

Migration, morality and gender in rural Mexico

The role of religion in the construction of gender is also a central theme in Marit Melhuus's study of social change among mestizo peasants in Central

Mexico (1992; 1993). Through the exploration of religious practice and symbolism she contributes to a deeper understanding of what she calls "the enigma of Latin American gender imagery": a male dominant society which places its highest value on the feminine and the problems the people, as well as the researcher, encounters in trying to reconcile the two. Her study, which initially was aimed at the exploration of migration, the composition of the domestic unit, the meaning of remittances and the agrarian structure, gradually became a study of morality, the cultural construction of meaning as expressed through values and represented in symbols. Her approach to social change became concentrated on the ways in which the economy is morally grounded and symbolically represented. This change was motivated by the discovery of a dominant moral code based on strong notions of honour and shame, and a religious universe where the virgin of Guadalupe was the key figure. This discovery came to guide her data collection as well as the analysis and interpretation of her data.

Melhuus describes how notions of honour and shame not only structure family relations, but also work relations. The sexual division of labour finds its justification in the moral ordering of gender and is expressed in family relations. She found that the moral code underpinning the sexual division of labour in her area of study was a particularistic one, which implies that rules of conduct apply unequally to men and women. They are based on gender notions, much in common with that which is described for the Mediterranean. Melhuus uncovers a gendered morality, which stands in contrast to a universal moral code which claims equality for all, irrespectively of race, gender, sex and age. The existence of codes of honour and shame does not mean that we are dealing with a pre-modern society, as some scholars would sustain, Melhuus argues. Since moral orders are culturally constructed, the possibility exists that conflicting meanings co-exist within a given society, or that there are different moral orders operating simultaneously. Conflicting notions of the person may co-exist within modern society and may also be intrinsic to modernity, she argues (1990).

In her reflections on morality, Melhuus draws the attention to "*marianismo*" and "*machismo*", concepts so often applied in the literature dealing with gender relations in Latin America (Stevens, 1974). Even though she maintains that the two concepts are not semantically equal terms, she suggests that the concepts are understood as expressions of certain gender ideology, and thus should be seen together. She portrays elements of gender complementarity, but also finds inherent contradictions. Masculinity as well as femininity are uncertain. Melhuus shows that the *macho* is both strong and fragile, while women, characterized by their suffering are at the same time seen as men's moral superiors. Melhuus explores the symbolic imagery of the virgin of Guadalupe, representing a collective frame of reference in Mexican culture. The virgin is the symbol of femininity. Melhuus explores the symbolism conveyed through the virgin to understand the meaning attributed to being a woman in the local context. She observes the ambiguity of this symbolism. It underscores the pure

state that women should aspire to, while at the same time it upholds motherhood as the quintessence of womanhood. Melhuus argues that the virgin above all is a symbol of maternity and suffering, where suffering is perceived as a female virtue attached to motherhood. The analysis does not explore the concrete manifestations of suffering, but operates at the level of symbolic meaning, linking the notions of suffering emanating from the Virgin to virtue and interpreting them in terms of female identity.

Virgin cult is also the focus of research of Gro Molstad who has studied the impact of the Virgin revelations experienced by a young upper class woman in a mountain forest outside the town of Cuenca in southern Ecuador in 1989-90. These events created a national mobilization, whereby thousands of pilgrims, primarily women, travelled to Cuenca to witness new, announced revelations. They also created a fervent discussion about the meaning of gender, about how women are and should be in a rapidly changing world. Molstad focused particularly on the significance of the virgin imagery among upper class women in Cuenca town. According to them the revelations embodied a call to resist the theology of liberation (represented by the local bishop) and women's liberation, which they considered the main cause of existing tendencies of disintegration of family and society. Rather than emphasizing attributes like chastity, meekness and subordination which is often central in virgin cults, they emphasize the importance of motherhood and the ability to intervene for those who need it, in the family and through the family, in society. In this case the virgin imagery is used to fight for the position of the traditional role of women as mothers, wives and housewives in a world where women are offered new opportunities and identities. Molstad's study reveals the intertwining of class and gender, which is a recurrent theme in Latin America, especially as far as poor women are concerned. By focusing on upper class women, she offers a perspective that is less documented and understood (Molstad, personal communication).

Male sexual ideology and morality in Argentine tango and football

Even though the studies referred to so far have analyzed gender in relational terms, most of them have a female bias. They depict gender relations mainly as seen through the eyes of women. A few have approached the analysis of gender from a male point of view. This is the case of Eduardo Archetti in his work on tango, cabaret and football in Argentina. His methodological emphasis has been on urban contexts and on the impact of modernization and change on gender ideologies and perceptions. The city of Buenos Aires during the first decades of the 20th century provides the setting for his research, which is carried out in a historical and comparative perspective. The comparisons with big American and European cities are possible due to the fact that tango and cabaret, the imagined and real space of central tango narratives, and football and leisure are global and typically urban phenomena.

Archetti's analysis of tango is centred around the male narratives of gender relations with the explicit aim of describing ideological and moral predicaments based on the classification of different kind of men and women (1991, 1994a). What is a good society? Who is a good person? Who is a good woman? How should a good woman act in private and in public? These are questions posed by the lyrics of tango. The main character in the tango text is the beloved *milonguita*, the public, independent and unreliable woman, who spend her time in the cabarets dancing tango. She is opposed to the *mother*, represented as domestic, pure and faithful. The man is vulnerable because he can never trust the *milonguita*. She is morally weak, but at the same time dangerous and potent because she is autonomous. Archetti shows that in the tango texts, there are also a variety of "men" with different voices and moral and psychological dilemmas. On the one hand, the lyrics elaborate on the brave man (*guapo*, *compadrito*, *malevo*) representing a discourse of honour and shame, who uses violence to defend his reputation. Opposed to this model of behaviour that is in crisis in modernizing Buenos Aires, stands a man representing a world of romantic love and personal dignity, who tells love stories. Archetti observes that in the history of tango, guilt and concomitantly forgiveness gradually replace the violence of duelling and killing. He sees the tango as a genuine product of a process of social and cultural change. It elaborates a series of paradoxical themes centred around the sentimental education of mature urban men. His analysis of tango texts is an important contribution to the understanding of the complexity of male/female relationships in contexts where new forms of conceptualizing love developed. The exploration of existing concepts of love is usually lacking in the massive Mediterranean ethnography dealing with the moral code of honour and shame, which also constitutes a comparative frame of reference in Archetti's analysis.

The meaning of masculinity is also revealed at the football stadiums in Buenos Aires today. This is a male world, characterized by encounters between competing groups of players and male supporters. The fans, through their constant activities, inventing nicknames, waving their banners and creating an endless series of chants, classify and evaluate objects and actions. This classification refers to a moral order - what one ought to be or to do - at the same time as it expresses a type of knowledge as to why things are as they are. Through his analysis of masculine moral idioms in Argentine football, Archetti attempts to grasp the complex relationship between "traditions", "male virtues", "class" and "nationhood" (1994b; 1994c).

The relevant other in the world of football are not women, but other men. It is a world where symbolic frontiers regarding important social relations appear clearly: father/son, adult/child and "real man"/homosexual. Being defined as a child, a boy or a homosexual implies loss of autonomy, dignity and self esteem. According to Archetti, the dramas at the stadiums have become increasingly focused on sexuality and its most authoritarian expressions during the last decades. The most dramatic consequences of this have been the many cases of

passage from verbal to physical violence leading to injuries and death of players, coaches and judges as well as supporters. Through the chants of football supporters, men stress their own masculinity by humiliating and insulting others for being "non-men". This is symbolically expressed by insinuations of sexual penetration. He suggests that it is not the homosexuality as such that is stigmatizing. It is the passive, penetrated "feminized" partner in a homosexual relationship who is considered a "sissy", not the one who is active, who may even be defined as a "*supermacho*". Archetti interprets the insinuations of homosexuality as an illustration of how Argentine men conceptualize power and dominance.

Transvestites and machos in Mexico City

The significance of penetration in the constitution of masculinity is also a central theme in Annick Prieurs research based on field work among homosexual transvestites and their sexual partners in a working class barrio in Mexico City (1994). In her case it is not primarily a question of symbolic penetration, it is also a question of sexual practice.

Prieur portrays how a group of men (the *machos*) shape their masculinity through social interaction with other men, women and homosexuals, and how the transvestites become feminine by adapting what they consider to be associated with womanhood. The feminine homosexuals are convinced that they are born both feminine and homosexual, and that the proof of their femininity is their homosexuality and vice versa. They transform their bodies to look more feminine and pretend to enjoy what they define as female activities such as house work. However, the ultimate proof of their femininity is that they like to be the penetrated part in sexual intercourse. The sexual partners of the transvestites conceive of themselves as ordinary men and are culturally conceived of as such, as long as they play the active part in the sexual game. In Mexico, sexual penetration is a root metaphor in the constitution of masculinity, Prieur suggests, what distinguishes a "real" man from a "disguised" one, and defines a man's place in the male hierarchy. Prieur draws the attention to the power aspect of this relationship, associating power with the ability to define categories and order them hierarchically.

Prieur adheres to a constructivist approach for the understanding of gender and she emphasises the role of the individual in the construction of femininity and masculinity. Nevertheless, she gives more importance to biology than what is common in constructivist analyses. She attempts to demonstrate that gender is both essence and signs. The fact that her informants are willing to manipulate their bodies at high health risks, indicates the importance of biology in the cultural definition of gender, she argues. Among transvestites, the construction of gender is particularly visible, because biology and signs are sepa-

rated. However, ordinary masculinity and femininity can also be decomposed in a similar way, Prieur argues.

Prieur describes how the homosexual transvestites modify their bodies - consuming hormones and injecting oil - invert their physical appearance - using prosthesis and dressing in women's clothes - and, change their behaviour and sexual practice. Her informants define these symbols and practices as expressions of inner, innate feelings and they strive to obtain certain consistency between them. They would e.g. never combine breasts and moustache. Gender is also a question of "style". The way of dressing and behaving in Prieur's *barrio* emphasises gender difference. Prieur sees the "style" as an expression of gender ideology, of what men and women are and should be: different and complementary. The transvestites to a certain extent adapt to this, but in their own way. They aspire to become feminine, but they *cannot* become mothers and they are *not willing* to live up to other female ideals. They are e.g. not willing to restrict their mobility in the public room and they are very ambivalent about their own subordination. In their love relations they are fascinated by the dominance of the masculine man, but at the same time reluctant to submit. Maybe this indicates that there exists an inner relationship between female subordination and motherhood, Prieur asks? However, she stresses that the complexity of dominance and subordination, masculinity per se does certainly not imply dominance. Different relations of power and dominance are intertwined, she concludes.

Concluding remarks

I believe that a major contribution by Nordic researchers has been the documentation of the variation and complexity of the processes of social change taking place in Latin America during the last two decades. This documentation has been possible thanks to the development of a perspective trying to integrate structural and cultural conditions in the analysis. Regarding gender and social change, this implies not only a focus on how economic and social conditions constrain male - female relations, but also the way in which ideas and values regarding how men and women are, and should be, influences people's behaviour and, thereby, the outcome of social and economic processes.

The studies referred to uncover the complexity of the very process of change; the fact that it often contains elements of both a striving for continuity - new ways of behaviour that preserve or at least are compatible with "old" gender values - as well as a striving to achieve new values, creating continuous tensions between conservation and innovation, between ideas and action.

Most studies deal with processes of capitalist expansion in different socio-cultural contexts. Those who are concerned with the impact of these processes on the position of women reveal a complex and multifaceted picture, thereby challenging more simplistic, but still quite widespread notions about women

and change. The studies clearly demonstrate that women are not "victims of circumstances", simply "responding" to innovations imposed by others. They also demonstrate that things were not necessarily better before, nor that capitalist influence always leads to a deterioration of women's lives. It may, under certain conditions - as some of the examples demonstrate - offer new opportunities for women, which they are able to use for the improvement of their life situation and even to challenge existing discriminatory gender relations and perceptions. The studies depict women (and men) as active shapers of their lives. They show how, in situations of rapid social change, the thinking and doing of gender are negotiated. Thus, women may resist, or agree on, and in some cases even actively strive to maintain, practices that subordinate them to men. Particularly interesting is the documentation of the variety of responses to similar processes of change, a variety that has to be attributed to socio-cultural pre-requisites that are historically and culturally specific.

However, the studies not only document variations and distinctions, they also reveal a great deal of similarity between regions and socio-cultural contexts, particularly in the field of gender ideology and imagery. This is not surprising considering the strong impact in many parts of Latin America of Spanish and Portuguese colonialism, of Catholicism and more recent immigration from Southern Europe on the formation of Latin American societies and cultures. Maybe the most innovating contribution by Nordic research has been the study of the moral-evaluative aspects of gender. In most cases, especially those dealing with mestizo or immigrant cultures and societies, the researchers have explored the Latin American - European connection. The comprehensive ethnography from the Mediterranean, especially the debate on the "honour and shame complex", have opened for interesting comparisons assessing the degree of socio-cultural uniformity and differentiations within specific historical and sociological frameworks. Studies from different parts of the continent demonstrate the prevalence of notions of honour and shame, but they also show that these notions are not invariant throughout the continent. Variations are found and they depend on conditions which may vary from one place to another and from one point in time to another. Particularly interesting in this connection are the comparisons between indigenous and mestizo gender notions and practices.

Nordic researchers have contributed to the deconstruction of the Latin American gender dichotomy comprising the image of the strong and dominant man controlling the meek and subordinate woman. According to the documentation referred to above, masculine and feminine images and identities are rather characterized by ambivalence and contradiction. Men are portrayed as strong and dominant, but also weak and fragile, and the same seems to be the case for women, although in a different way.

Finally I will emphasise the methodological strength of Nordic gender research. The studies referred to above are based on solid empirical work, including long term field work, living with informants, aiming to grasp their way of living and thinking.

NOTES

1. What follows is a list of researchers with ongoing projects dealing with gender in Latin America that I have been able to identify during the process of writing this text.
- Alicia Frete**, Ph.D. student, Dep. of Sociology, Lund University, has carried out research on women's movements in Costa Rica. Her thesis focuses on women's life histories in a Costa Rican "banana enclave".
- Anna Johanson**, Ph.D. student, Dep. of Sociology, Gothenburg University, works on gender and modernity. The title of her project is: "Femininity, Time and Space: the Construction of Identity among Nicaraguan Women".
- Cristian Krohn Hansen**, Ph.D. student, Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo, has carried out research on political culture in the Dominican Republic. As part of his exploration of the main sources of power in the Dominican political universe, Krohn Hansen examines male concepts among Dominicans and the power of these concepts in political life.
- Tina Lewis**, Ph.D. student, Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen, works on a project titled: The urban food supply system in transition - household coping strategies for meeting basic food requirements in Quito, Ecuador. She looks at the dilemmas faced by female heads of household who are both responsible for taking care of the household's reproductive needs and for generating incomes.
- Diana Mulinari**, Ph.D student, Dep. of Sociology, Lund University, is working on a thesis on "Motherhood in Latin America", where she explores the relationship between motherhood and politics, both feminist politics and the politics of everyday life. She also examines the discourses shaping and constraining women's political identities.
- Mari Møystad**, Institute and Museum for Anthropology, University of Oslo, has delivered a Master thesis based on field work in Tegucigalpa, Honduras. It deals with gender, poverty and organized activities in Villanueva neighbourhood, Tegucigalpa (1992).
- Maria Stern**, Ph.D student, Peace and Development Research Institute, Gothenburg University, explores the concept of security in a feminist perspective with reference to the situation of Maya women in Guatemala.
- Lene Sjørup**, Ph.D. student, Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen. The title of her project is: "Religion and Democracy: Poor Chilean Women Speak Out". Based on interviews with 300 women, the majority from the slums of Santiago, she critically explores the male dominant theology of liberation and current concepts of democracy.

Hanne Veber, Centre for Development Research, Copenhagen, has carried out research among the Ashéninka Indians in the tropical rain forest in Peru. Her main topic has been ethnicity and politics, but she has also been concerned with gender relations, especially the way in which the sexual division of labour constitutes the structural positions of men and women in society (Veber, 1991).

REFERENCES

- Archetti, E. P. (1991)**, Argentinian Tango. Male Sexual Ideology and Morality, in: R. Grønhaug et.al. (eds.), *The Ecology of Choice and Symbol. Essays in Honour of Fredrik Barth*, Alma Mater, Bergen.
- Archetti, E. P. (1994 a)**, Models of Masculinity in the Poetics of Argentinean Tango, in: E. P. Archetti (ed.), *The limits of Writing: The Anthropology of Written Identities*, Scandinavian University Press, Oslo.
- Archetti, E. P. (1994b)**, Masculinity and Football: The Formation of National Identity in Argentina, in: R. Giulianotti and J. Williams (eds.), *Football, Identity and Modernity: Fans and Players in the World Game*, Gower House, Aldershot, Hampshire (in press).
- Archetti, E. P. (1994c)**, Argentinean Football: Traditions and National Identity, in: J. Sugden and A. Tomlinson (eds.), *Hosts and Champions: Soccer Cultures, National Identities and the World Cup in the U.S.A.*, Gower House, Aldershot, Hampshire (in press).
- Bohman, K. (1984)**, Class and Gender in a Colombian City, *Stockholm Studies in Social Anthropology*, 13, Stockholm.
- Deere, C. D. & M. León (1987)**, Rural women and state policy: Feminist perspectives on Latin American agricultural development, Boulder and Westview Press, London.
- Foucault, M. (1987)**, The History of Sexuality, Vol. 1 & 2, Penguin, London.
- Gilmore, D. D. (ed.) (1987)**, Honor and Shame and the Unity of the Mediterranean, *American Anthropological Association*, no. 22, Washington.
- Jelin, E. (1991)**, Family, Household and Gender Relations in Latin America, Routledge / UNESCO, London/Paris.
- León, M. (1982)**, Debate sobre la mujer en América Latina y el Caribe, Vol. 1-3, ACEP, Bogotá.
- Long, N. (1989)**, Encounters at the Interface, *Wageningen Studies in Sociology* 27, Wageningen.

- Lukes, S. (1974)**, *Power: A Radical View*, MacMillan, London.
- Llobera, J. R. (1990)**, *La Identidad de la Antropología*, Editorial Anagrama, Barcelona.
- Melhuus, M. (1993)**, I want to buy me a baby! Some Reflections on Gender and Social Change in Modern Society, in: V. Brock Due et. al. (eds.), *Carved Flesh, Cast Selves. Gendered symbols and social practices*, Berg Publishers, Oxford.
- Melhuus, M. (1990)**, A Shame to Honour - A Shame to Suffer. *Ethnos*, 55:1-2, Stockholm, pp. 5-25.
- Melhuus, M. (1992)**, Todos Tenemos Madre. Dios También: Morality, Meaning and Change in a Mexican Context, (Dr. Philos Thesis), Department and Museum of Anthropology, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Mies, M. (1986)**, Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale. Women in the International Division of Labour, Zed Books, London.
- Møystad, M. (1992)**, "Felleskapets beste" og "personlige interesser": Kjønn, fattigdom og organisert virksomhet i bydelen Villanueva, Tegucigalpa, Honduras (Master Thesis), Institute and Museum of Anthropology, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Nash, J. & H. Safa (1980)**, *Sex and class in Latin America*, Bergin Publishers, New York.
- Nyberg-Sørensen, N. (1991)**, Crossing Boundaries - Migration and Gender relations in the Dominican Republic, in: K.A. Stølen : *Gender, Power and Culture in Developing Countries*, Occasional Papers from SUM, 4/91, ISSN: 0803-1223, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Nyberg-Sørensen, N. (1993)**, Ethnicity and Gender, in: H. Lindholm: *Ethnicity and Nationalism: Formation of Identity and Dynamics of Conflicts in the 1990s*, Nordnes, Gothenburg.
- Perestiany, J. G. (ed.) (1965)**, *Honor and Shame: The Values of Mediterranean Society*, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, London.
- Piña Cabral, J. de (1989)**, The Mediterranean as a Category of Regional Comparison: A Critical View , *Current Anthropology* Vol. 30, No 3, University of Chicago Press, Chicago.
- Prieur, A. (1994)**, Iscenesettelser av kjønn. Transvestitter og machomenn i Mexico by, Pax, Oslo.
- Siverts, K. (1985)**, Sowing and Shaping Men and Women. A discussion of Meaning and Identity in a Tzeltal Community in Highland Chiapas, in: *Folk Dansk Etnografisk Tidsskrift*, Vol, 27, Copenhagen, pp. 17-35.

- Siverts, K. (1990)**, Wives or Mistresses? Marriage and Morality in a Tzeltal-sepaking Community, Mexico, in: R. Grønhaug et. al. (eds.), *The ecology of choice and symbol. Essays in Honour of Fredrik Barth*, Alma Mater, Bergen.
- Siverts, K. (1993)**, I Did Not Marry Properly. The Meaning of Marriage Payments in Southern Mexico, in: V. Broch-Due et. al. (eds.), *Carved Flesh and Cast Selves: Gendered Symbols and Practices*, Berg Publishers, Oxford.
- Skar, S. L. (1980)**, Quechua Women and the Agrarian Reform in the Pincos Valley: A case from the Southern Highlands of Peru, (Unpublished MA thesis), Institute and Museum of Anthropology, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Skar, S. L. (1981)**, Andean women and the concept of space/time, in: S. Ardener (ed.), *Woman and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps*. Crom Helm, London, pp.35-49.
- Skar, S. L. (1987)**, Interhousehold Cooperation in Peru's Southern Andes: A Case of Multiple Sibling Group Marriages, in: N. Long (ed.), *Forms of Non-Wage Labour and Rural Development*, Travistock, London, pp. 83-98.
- Stevens, E. P. (1973)**, Marianismo: The other face of Machismo in Latin America, in: A. Pescatello (ed.), *Male and Female in Latin America*, University of Pittsburg Press, Pittsburg.
- Stølen, K. A. (1987)**, A Media Voz: Relaciones de Género en la Sierra Ecuatoriana, CEPLAES, Quito.
- Stølen, K. A. (1991a)**, Chastity, Sexuality and Gender Perceptions in Rural Argentina, in: K.A.Stølen and M. Vaa, (eds.), *Gender and Change in Developing countries*, Norwegian University Press, Oslo.
- Stølen, K. A. (1991b)**, Gender and Agricultural Change in North East Argentina, *The European Journal of Development Research*, London, vol. 3, no 1.
- Stølen, K. A. (1991c)**, Gender, Sexuality and Violence in Ecuador, *Ethnos*, 56:1-2, Stockholm, pp. 82-100.
- Stølen, K. A. (1992)**, Hegemonic Masculinity and Emphasized Femininity: Gender, Power and Social Change in Rural Argentina, Centre for Development and the Environment, University of Oslo, Oslo.
- Torres, L. (1991)**, The Construction of the Self in U.S. Latina Autobiographies, in: Mohatny, Russo & Torres (eds.), *Third World Women and the Politics of Feminism*, Indiana University Press, Bloomington and Indianapolis.
- Valestrand, H. (1991)**, Housewifization of Peasant Women in Costa Rica? in: K. A. Stølen and M. Vaa, *Gender and Change in Developing Countries*, Norwegian University Press, Oslo.

- Valestrand, H. (1990)**, Somos Humildes - pero Decentes: Peasant Women in Coto Sur, Costa Rica, Institute of Social Studies, University of Tromsø, Tromsø.
- Veber, H. (1991)**, Amazonindianske kvinder mellom kulturens centrum og periferi, *Samkvind Skriftserie nr.11*, Center for kvindeforskning og undervisning, Københavns Universitet, Copenhagen.
- Wilson, F. (1990)**, De la casa al taller: Mujeres trabajo y clase social en la industria textil y del vestido, Santiago Tangamanapio, El Colegio de Michoacan, Zamora.
- Wilson, F. (1991)**, Informalisation and Gender, in: K. A. Stølen (ed.), *Gender, Culture and Power in Developing Countries*, Occasional Papers from SUM No.4/ 91 ISSN: 0803-1223, University of Oslo, Oslo.