

# *Machismo and Cultural Traditions*

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A case study of women's  
organisations addressing gender  
based violence in Buenos Aires

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*Machismo* and Cultural Traditions:  
A case study of women's  
organisations addressing gender  
based violence in Buenos Aires

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## **Abstract**

Despite noticeable progress Argentina continues to be plagued by a culture of *machismo*. Though not as openly aggressive or hyper-sexual as historically, men continue to impose a significant degree of superiority over women. Violence is commonplace within Argentine society, with violence against women socialised into the population and continuing at disturbingly high levels. At present a woman is murdered by her partner every thirty hours in Argentina (Casa de Encuentro, 2015b). Women face discrimination throughout all walks of their everyday life, no matter their wealth, class or social status. Through primary research conducted in Buenos Aires, Argentina during the summer of 2015 this dissertation uses online surveys, interviews with women's organisations and participant observation to hypothecate a cyclical model of *machismo* and violence. This model illustrates how *machismo's* normalisation of violence places an enormous strain upon women's organisations, and non-governmental organisations in particular. Ultimately, the Argentine State has failed in its responsibility as a duty bearer to respect, protect and fulfil the human rights of all its population. Society's frustration at this is becoming increasingly evident, culminating in the *Ni Una Menos* march in June 2015 which saw thousands take to streets across the country demanding an end to femicides. Yet, still it seems that it is only in the case of death that people are taking action. This dissertation proposes ways to change this and offers a more effective, sustainable path for the future to move forward to a society free from violence and gender discrimination, beginning with education.

## **Acknowledgements**

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## **Declaration Form**

The work I have submitted is my own effort. I certify that all the material in the Dissertation which is not my own work has been identified and acknowledged. No materials are included for which a degree has been previously conferred upon me.

**Signature:**

**Date:**

## Introduction

Violence against women is not only a clear violation of women's human rights in itself but it also leads to the limitation of other rights. Women in situations of violence frequently find their civil, political, social, cultural, economic and development rights restricted (United Nations, 2014) with their whole lives controlled, and fundamental personal freedoms removed. Such violence forces the merging of private and public spheres, making government involvement and intervention inherently complex with many states accustomed to acting only in the traditional public realm. More often than not this requires that non-governmental women's organisations (NGOs) intervene to fill the place of the State, putting themselves under serious strain. Couple this confusion with a culture actively working against gender equality and the pressure on such organisations becomes immense, as this dissertation examines.

Argentina is a country haunted by violence. 1976-1983 saw the nation in a state of terror as the Military Government brutally killed or disappeared anyone associated with the opposition; it is estimated that some 10,000 to 20,000 people 'vanished' during the 'dirty war' period (Skidmore et al, 2014). Now, in 2015, oppression continues in a more subtle form, behind closed doors. As a region, Latin America is historically famous for 'strong men', military leaders, *gauchos* and left wing rebels. Whilst modernisation has enabled some developments in gender equality (Soo Chon, 2011), the region's traditional *machista* culture<sup>1</sup> persists. Women continue to be objectified, discriminated against in the workplace and on the street, abused behind the closed doors of the home, and violence is hidden behind a veil of silence.

Men are not born violent, such oppression is not biological. In her 2011 annual report United Nations (UN) Special Rapporteur Rashida Manjoo posits two main perspectives as the cause of gender-based violence –

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<sup>1</sup> That is to say, culture of *machismo*

<sup>2</sup> See also Sternberg, 2000 and Nye, 2005, inter alia

feminist and societal (United Nations, 2011). This paper harnesses these perspectives, arguing that discrimination against women throughout all walks of everyday life acts to justify men's violence, a discrimination which is perpetuated by society's institutions such as the family and even the State (ibid). It is this culture that moves to restrict and hinder the work of women's organisations in Argentina. This paper seeks to analyse the previously underexplored barrier of *machista* culture to the success of such organisations' strategies, examining the presence of *machismo* in Argentina and suggesting alternative paths for the future.

The dissertation is comprised of a literature review, methodology, findings and analysis chapter, conclusions reached and an appendices section containing the consent statement, the two surveys and survey data, and sample interview questions, in addition to a glossary. The literature review gives an overview of the definitions and development of the concept of *machismo* over time, drawing upon pre-existing connections between *machista* culture and violence against women in current literature, and explaining how this can lead to a socialisation of violence within society. This chapter also presents the existing international framework regarding violence against women, and explains the current research gap. The methodology section introduces the primary research, namely two parallel online surveys, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, and presents the challenges faced during the research period.

The findings and analysis section collates the results of the research, both primary and secondary, initially by interpreting the current legal framework with regards to violence against women in Argentina. This section then presents a cyclical model of *machismo* and violence, examining how *machismo's* socialisation of violence in Argentine society ultimately leads to significant inaction from the duty bearer responsible, namely the State. The chapter examines the presence of *machismo* within Argentina today, using the primary research as its base, and presents the various definitions and descriptions of gender-based violence provided by both the Government and NGOs. It explains the naturalisation of violence through its public perception,



the silence surrounding the issue, the general lack of understanding of violence by both the State and society, and the failure of the State to sufficiently implement its policies. The analysis ultimately determines that the foremost issue continues to be persistently superficial action by the State. It concludes by presenting recommendations to break the cycle of *machismo* and violence. Finally the paper closes with the conclusion chapter, where the research and analysis are summarised and suggestions for future change are presented.

## I. Literature Review

### **Defining *machismo* in Latin America**

Gender identities are in constant flux, constructed by social institutions and behavioural codes. They are intrinsically influenced by the actions and norms of the society in which they are developed (Macías-González & Rubenstein, 2012). As such, the cultural concept of *machismo* has evolved throughout history in line with the ever-changing customs and patterns of society (Peña, 2006<sup>2</sup>). Most simplistically, *machismo* can be defined to be the presumption that the *macho* man is far superior to all women (Soo Chon, 2011<sup>3</sup>). Sternberg (2000: 91) describes the concept as:

*“a cult of the male; a heady mixture of paternalism, aggression, systematic subordination of women, fetishism of women's bodies, and idolisation of their reproductive and nurturing capacities, coupled with a rejection of homosexuality”*

This presumption of superiority implies a strong control over all aspects of female behaviour and sexuality, for fear that any misdemeanour by the woman may diminish the male's manliness (Asencio, 1999).

A more detailed analysis of *machismo* reveals the components of aggressiveness and hypersexuality (Ingoldsby, 1991). Again, both components demonstrate the superiority of *machos* over women. A *macho* must show no fear, nor weakness. Instead, he must be strong and physically powerful, conquering as many women as possible, sometimes just to prove that he can (*ibid*). *Machismo* is ultimately a manifestation of the roles traditionally ascribed to men, to be providers, protectors, strong, virile and courageous (Mirande, 1988). Within this, a Latino male may even consider it normal and essentially his right to conduct extramarital affairs as a display of his virility (Paternostro, 1998). The *macho* man is indeed a concept constructed on a double standard (Kinzer, 1973); were a woman to take the same approach there would be tumultuous consequences.

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<sup>2</sup> See also Sternberg, 2000 and Nye, 2005, *inter alia*

<sup>3</sup> See also Macías-González & Rubenstein, 2012, *inter alia*

The concept of *machismo* cannot be discussed without at the very least a passing reference to *marianismo*. Impacting primarily on women, *marianismo* describes the strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church on the actions and behaviour of women in Latino society. Most simplistically, *marianismo* has been defined to be idolisation of the Virgin Mary, or rather the Virgin Mother, an impossible ideal for women to aspire to. This brings the expectation that women must remain sexually naïve until marriage, after which they should be faithful, passive wives (Valencia-Garcia et al, 2008). Clearly, this is fundamentally linked with the impact of *machismo*. For if society anticipates that the husband will be sexually free and virile, whilst the wife remains silent and accepting (ibid), both concepts of *machismo* and *marianismo* will be pushed to the extreme.

The *machismo* ideal has been omnipresent for decades, passed down through generations and even withstanding complete changes in social agenda. Indeed, the prevalence of the *macho* man can be seen to be persisting through a line of historical figures, the conqueror, the *caudillo*, the revolutionary, the president and the militarist (Goldwert, 1980). Yet, during this time Latin America has experienced vast political and sociological restructuring, through wars, coups and revolutions. So it should perhaps not come as a surprise that such modernisation has dulled the region's *machismo* subculture in recent years (Soo Chon, 2011). Indeed, there is some argument that *machismo*, and its *marianismo* counterpart, are purely stereotypes which have become over-exaggerated. Kinzer (1973) posits that such stereotypes have been created by Protestant North American male researchers, who are too quick to judge in their search for a simple explanation. Instead, he argues that such researchers are so sure that *machismo* is present that they are blind to the facts before them, and contends that such stereotypes are actually nigh on extinct.

Nevertheless, stereotypes typically have some grounding on which to exist in the first place (Chant & Craske, 2003). As aforementioned, social concepts such as *machismo* evolve and change over time as influenced by the society in which they exist (Peña, 2006). Whilst the traditional stereotype

of the true *macho* man may now cease to be, as Peña (2006) posits, the concept of *machismo* varies daily. Instead it seems that a new, more balanced, modern viewpoint must be taken:

“...it is possible to be a *buen hombre* (good man) and still lapse into *machismo*”<sup>4</sup>

(Peña, 2006: 138).

### ***Machista* culture in Latin America and socialising violence**

As aforementioned, gender identities are in constant flux, influenced by the norms and behavioural codes of the society in which they exist (Macías-González & Rubenstein, 2012). People then go on to enact and express these identities through their interactions with others (ibid), thus we are a social construct of the society which we inhabit. Indeed, language is the primary act through which people articulate their identities (Valencia-Garcia et al, 2008). As such, the language and culture of society are both products and producers of human behaviour. In examining Argentina it quickly becomes evident that violence is an integral part of its culture, it is present in the press, television, cinema, music, radio and across society, with the image of the *gaucho* still the traditional representation of true Argentineness (Hortiguera & Favoretto, 2013). Clearly, if socialisation theory runs true, this culture will influence human actions, just as human actions influence it. Such a strong presence and subculture of violence mean that it is bound to become normalised within society.

Asencio’s (1999) gender and violence Puerto Rican study gives the example of young people justifying acts of violence on the basis of the socially constructed concepts of “*macho*” and “*sluts*”. Asencio explains the holistic nature of the problem, positing that for violence to be successfully and sustainably reduced, the relationship between gender, sexuality and violence needs to be acknowledged and henceforth included in preventative measures (ibid). Again, the emphasis is on the importance of examining the

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<sup>4</sup> Parentheses added by author

wider environment and social context. Hortiguera & Favoretto (2013) talk of a template of news coverage used for the reporting of the violent deaths of women in Argentina. They suggest that one could be reading about the same death repeatedly, with just a few minor detail alterations. The template implies that such incidences are normal, whilst its language suggests that a similar consequence will face any woman who attempts to break free from her partner's wishes (ibid).

*Machismo* can be seen in institutions across the Latin American region as its deep embedment in culture spreads to influence the action of both political and social institutions (Sternberg, 2000). History shows the existence of legal codes acting in men's favour, with difficulties such as prosecuting incidences of violence against women, as seen in cases of marital rape (Nye, 2005). Consequently, many men act with little or no fear of legal retribution (ibid). Yet, throughout these interrelationships between culture and action it is key to consistently bear in mind the dynamic nature of social environment and cultural consequences; as Sternberg (2000) emphasises, cultural values are continually being redefined. As such, it seems to be imperative that we update our research in line with this perpetual change.

### **An overview of violence against women in Latin America**

Latin America is thought to be one of the most violent regions in the world (Portes & Hoffman, 2003<sup>5</sup>), the impacts of which are felt across all aspects of everyday life. Whilst there is not space here to go into complete detail, scholars such as Soo Chon (2011), Heise et al (1994) and Howard et al (2007) have analysed the influence of violence on levels of development, seeing it as a threat to not just economic development but social and political as well.

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<sup>5</sup> See also Hume et al, 2007, inter alia

Perhaps a clearer connection would be the impact of domestic violence on health – both of the women directly involved and of their children. Research has shown the impact of violence against the mother on higher levels of child mortality, as well as a higher likelihood of violence against the children themselves, amongst many other psychological factors (Heaton & Forste, 2008). The effect on the health of the woman herself is clear, yet as Heise et al (1994) argue, gender-based violence is seldom considered to be a public health issue. A woman subject to such violence typically experiences significantly low levels of self-confidence and high amounts of anxiety (Heise et al, 1994) which can limit her participation in and contribution to society, impacting upon her country's development (ibid).

The region's high violence levels stem from a history of societies facing a near epidemic level of violence, meaning that violence has today become 'normal' (Hortiguera & Favoretto, 2013). Indeed, a 2005 opinion poll in El Salvador revealed that a staggering 56.4 percent of the Salvadoran population considered it to be normal for a man to strike a woman (Bird et al, 2007). Whilst obviously not true of everyone, rigid gender roles in Latino relationships have frequently led to negative patterns of interaction between couples, and in many cases, domestic violence (Heaton & Forste, 2008). Historically in Latin America the right of a man to murder his adulterous wife was recognised by many legal codes, as it was considered to be just that he be able to defend his 'honour' (Poole, 1993). Again we see the representation of cultural attitudes, objectification and ownership in incidences of violence (ibid).

One of the biggest barriers preventing the elimination of violence against women in Latin America is the severe lack of reporting of the issue. The problem continues to be masked behind a screen of silence, with victims across the region deterred from reporting their experiences to the authorities due to a variety of factors, from the belief that the issue should remain private, to a lack of knowledge of the support available to them, to distrust of institutions or simply economic dependency on the abuser (Poole, 1993). Such a silence can subsequently act as a severe hindrance to the

development of mechanisms to support survivors and prevent future incidences of violence (ibid), for if the statistics do not reflect the true number of violations sufficient support is unlikely to follow. Poole (1993) argues that if the State does not take action to prevent incidences of violence from occurring in the first place, it can and should be held responsible itself. Yet the issue of domestic violence brings with it a new level of complexity, it forces the private and public sphere to merge together with the State becoming an actor in an issue that typically occurs within the four walls of the home (ibid). Poole (1993) emphasises the importance of such state involvement in violence against woman, a public issue, citing Dr Sandra Dean-Patterson of The Bahamas who said:

*“that there can be no personal solutions to violence against women; [...] to accept a special burden of self-protection is to reinforce the concept that women must live and move about in fear and can never expect to achieve freedom, independence and self-assurance”*

(Poole, 1993: 50).

### **The international framework**

The UN set international norms across the human rights spectrum. Through the Special Rapporteur on violence against women, the Working Group on discrimination against women in law and practice, the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women and the Commission on the Status of Women, the UN has been able to establish standards for the international community to follow and the message across these UN bodies appears to be united and clear.

As with all human rights, the general expectation is that states have an obligation to fulfil the human rights of women both through their protection and by making a remedy available after a violation has occurred (United Nations 2015a<sup>6</sup>). The issue of state obligations with respect to the issue of violence against women has caused some conflict due to the very nature of

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<sup>6</sup> See also United Nations, 2013 and United Nations, 2002, inter alia

the violation. Traditionally states were considered to be responsible for human rights in the public sphere, whilst violence against women forces the merging of private and public worlds as states are required to take action on a typically 'private' matter, as aforementioned (United Nations, 2014). UN reports justify that viewing these two traditionally separate spheres as one is imperative to combat a form of violence that straddles both domestic and public life.

Globally one in three women are thought to be affected by violence in their lifetime, and the violation is considered to be one of the foremost causes of death and disability among women (United Nations, 2014). Not only are these women experiencing serious human rights violations directly through violence, they are also indirectly restricted in their access to other, universal, human rights. Such discrimination restricts women in their ability to fully participate in cultural life (United Nations, 2015), whilst Rico (1997) describes violence against women as a hindrance to the full attainment of peace, development and equality. Women experiencing violence are often unable to fully participate in their community, limiting their access to citizenship rights (United Nations, 2014), and patriarchal family structures habitually restrict the potential of women and young girls, subsequently limiting the potential of society itself (United Nations, 2015). The scope of violence against women with respect to its impact on women's human rights is quite evident.

Just as the impact of violence is broad, so are the forms<sup>7</sup>. Special Rapporteur Rashida Manjoo's 2011 annual report (United Nations, 2011) categorises violence against women as either interpersonal or institutional and structural. She defines interpersonal violence to include economic, physical, psychological, sexual and emotional abuses, arguably those most traditionally associated with violence against women. On the other hand, institutional and structural violence is considered to be that by a structure or institution which holds women at a subordinate position in comparison to

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<sup>7</sup> See United Nations, 2014 for a detailed list



other family or community members (ibid). An example given in such a situation is a husband abusing his wife because he considers it to be his marital right.

The same report also explores the various causes of such violence, positing psychological, feminist and societal perspectives (United Nations, 2011). The psychological perspective draws upon a range of individualistic and biological theories to argue that the male perpetrator is violent due to his higher levels of testosterone encouraging him to be so. A further argument is that he is likely to enjoy some form of individual gain from subduing the victim, or even that the tendency to oppress can be traced back to inter-familial competition for scarce resources (ibid). Whereas the feminist perspective hypothesises that the issue of violence against women is one of power and control, with men wishing to exert dominance over the women in their lives. This theory can be linked to that of structural discrimination, and subsequently the societal perspective. The societal perspective conjectures that societal institutions create economic, social and cultural advantages for men which consequently contribute to violence against women (ibid), arguably a more holistic view.

Culture itself, as aforementioned, is a constantly changing concept defined to include all forms of interaction and behaviour in society, including religion, language, law, government, sport, family and so forth (United Nations, 2015a). As such, culture is intrinsically linked with the daily patterns of human practices (United Nations, 2007). So gender is, in its own right, a culturally constructed concept with the term referring to society's interpretation of the differences between women and men. This interpretation is thus influenced by politics, economics, social institutions, religion and a host of other factors (United Nations, 2015b). Rico (1997) argues that violence against women can be linked to an unequal distribution of power throughout society, positing that a holistic view of the entire social context and, indeed, a full resocialisation of the community are necessary to prevent further violations. Indeed, it is quite clear throughout UN reports and instruments that cultural relativism is not, and never will be, a sufficient

argument for the failure to fulfil women's human rights (United Nations, 2002<sup>8</sup>), and the entire suggestion is fully dismissed.

Discrimination against women has persisted in many scenarios across Latin America, as seen in the historic case in Mexico where the judge concluded that marital rape could not be considered a crime (United Nations, 2002). Similar perspectives can be seen on a global perspective, such as in the restriction of female sexuality through the 'punishment' of women who have committed adultery and the connection between masculinity and violence leading to a form of social acceptance (ibid). UN analysis does, encouragingly, show that there has been some progress however. Rico (1997) gives the examples of Chile and Argentina as countries where judges have requested that violent perpetrators undergo courses of psychological therapy with the idea in the case of Argentina being that the perpetrator must be resocialised to move away from his pattern of violent behaviour. However, as Rico explains, these are personal initiatives by the judges themselves, and are thus not representative of wider reform. Further to this, in her 2014 annual report Rashida Manjoo (United Nations, 2014) warned of giving too much power to perpetrators in such programmes, so much so that the entire purpose of women's empowerment could be defeated with the perpetrators themselves becoming the leaders.

Culture brings with it gender stereotypes and thus a subsequent 'punishment' when women fail to conform to, or openly rebel against, the stereotype predominant in their community (United Nations, 2015b). Such sexist stereotypes stem from the media, radio, television, video games, the Internet and so forth, all to contribute to a normalisation of discrimination and violence against women (United Nations, 2015a). Stereotypes have been found to be commonplace in many countries recently visited on UN missions that historically have a similar culture to Argentina. In Spain the Working Group encountered a distinct lack of willingness from the media to report women's successes in sport, for example (United Nations, 2015c). Whilst in

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<sup>8</sup> See also United Nations, 2007

Peru similar issues were found with respect to a strongly *machista* television broadcast and publicity in general, with gender stereotypes being reinforced once again (United Nations, 2015d). The Peru mission report showed how men were associated with intelligence and sport, whereas women were represented as sexual objects and housewives (ibid). Indeed, media can have a positive impact on the women's rights movement when used appropriately but, with such negative images broadcast, its influence can backfire spectacularly (United Nations, 2002).

Though a UN women's human rights body is yet to undertake a country mission to Argentina, important patterns can be drawn from the recent country visits by the Working Group to Chile and Peru, two countries with a similar culture to that of Argentina within the Latin American context. As aforementioned, in Peru the Working Group encountered a strongly *machista* press (United Nations, 2015d) whilst 71.5% of women had experienced some form of violence from their partner or spouse. Although gender equality was found to have improved in recent years with respect to the legal mechanisms in Peru, these were insufficiently implemented thus creating a significant barrier to success (ibid). Instead it was found that conservative religion and *machismo* covered the issue of violence against women in a veil of silence and oppression, hindering any such developments (ibid). Meanwhile in Chile one in three women had experienced a form of violence from their partner or spouse (United Nations, 2015e). The Working Group found that violence against women formed a profound part of the country's patriarchal culture with impunity for such crimes seemingly commonplace (ibid).

A culture that is neither sympathetic to nor supportive of women in the manner discussed can severely hinder women's access to their universal human rights, particularly in situations of violence. As such, survivors of violence often find themselves becoming victims once again, through 'revictimisation' from police staff, judges and other officials (Rico, 1997). Lack of understanding of the sincerity of the problem, and the support necessary to recover, means that women are often misinterpreted or doubted, even sometimes blamed for their abuse with many officials continuing to believe

that domestic violence is a private familial matter and thus should remain closed (ibid). Such institutional failure means many victims opt to stay with abusive partners for fear over where they would go, or of social stigma, or that the authorities would be unable to support them in any legal procedures (ibid).

### **The research gap**

Poole (1993) analyses gender-based violence as a problem which permeates all sectors of society, whatever the class, status, or income bracket. She posits that the phenomenon is a consequence of inequality in relationships between men and women, an issue caused by societal traditions (ibid). Henceforth, a holistic approach is needed, for to purely provide support to female survivors is to attempt to stick a Band-Aid on a bleeding wound (Chant & Craske, 2003). Bird et al (2007) explore the campaign of Oxfam America in working with men throughout the wider context of civil society in order to prevent gender-based violence in El Salvador. They argue the need to work with the perpetrators of such violence, typically males, and to consider why a man becomes an aggressor in the first place. A man is not born violent, this is something learned from society through culturally dominant ideas (ibid), namely *machismo*. Instead they suggest the need for alternative patterns of male behaviour (ibid), suggesting a need for wider cultural reform, re-learning and education.

As shown earlier through the work of Hortiguera & Favoretto (2013) the culture in Argentina continues to be a culture of violence, inferring a need for a similar style of reform as posited by Bird et al (2007) in their Salvadoran study. It seems to be apparent that such culture, namely *machismo*, has a significant impact on the work and projects of organisations working to prevent and remedy incidences of violence against women in the country, yet little research has been conducted on this topic to date.

Encouragingly, laws in Argentina have improved in recent years to take a stronger stance to eradicate discrimination and violence against

women (Angélico et al, 2014). Law 26.791 was introduced in 2012 to take a firmer legal position against the homicides of women for reasons of their gender, namely femicides, whilst Law 26.522 seeks to promote an image of gender equality throughout the media (ibid)<sup>9</sup>. Such a move is remarkably positive and indeed necessary, given what Angélico et al (2014) argue to be a silencing of victims' voices by the press. Instead, the perpetrator and legal institutions are represented whilst the victim is presented as a mere list of facts (ibid). Typically, when information is reported about the victim it will be regarding her relationship with the attacker, the number of children they have and her age and origin. Rarely are details such as her social class or occupation given, she is simply portrayed as a mother or victim as opposed to a person in her own right (ibid). Such observations hint of a problem much deeper in its roots than action to date would imply. This requires further analysis, which this paper seeks to explore.

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<sup>9</sup> Argentine legal codes shall be explored in further detail in the analysis chapter

## **II. Methodology**

The primary research for this study was conducted through two online surveys, one each for women and men, with 22 and 8 respondents respectively, and 11 interviews conducted during July 2015 with staff members of organisations working on violence against women in Buenos Aires. The limitations of the online surveys shall be discussed later in this chapter. During this time participant observation was also conducted through workshops held at *Lugar de Mujer*, a service and research NGO based in Buenos Aires, and the attendance at selected gender talks around the city. This was all conducted in Spanish, the participants' first language. Additional data was also collected through further participant observation during a week long visit to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland in June 2015 during the 29<sup>th</sup> Session of the Human Rights Council, with the Annual Full Day of Discussion on the Human Rights of Women being of particular focus.

The survey questions were designed to examine the prevalence of *machismo* in Buenos Aires, assessing the challenges women face in conducting their everyday lives in the city and their awareness of *machismo* within this. The men questioned were encouraged to consider their opinions on family dynamics and the pressures they feel from society to behave in a specific manner, as well as their own awareness of *machismo*. The interview questions were constructed to explore the prevalence of violence against women in Buenos Aires, examining the strategies of the organisations in combating violence and the incorporation of *machismo* within said strategies.

Survey participants were sourced mainly by word of mouth, through contacts of contacts as well as being shared on specific Facebook pages considered to be relevant to young people. The criteria were that all participants be Argentine and aged 20-29. Whilst the Argentine nationality is a given, with this study exploring Argentine culture and subsequently Argentine experiences, the age range was selected as this subset is considered to be representative of the current and future cultural attitudes of

the Argentine population; in the event all but one respondent fell within this age category. The group are of a sufficient age to have inherited a certain degree of their parent's beliefs whilst young enough to create and develop their own attitudes. Furthermore, as Chant & Craske (2003) have acknowledged, there is a need for an enhanced understanding of the youth who are enjoying improved levels of education, providing them with the space and opportunity to transform gender issues previously ignored.

Interviewees were predominantly selected through personal contacts in Buenos Aires. These were expanded upon through networking at women's rights workshops held at *Lugar de Mujer* for professionals in this field. A range of organisations were selected to give a broad overview of the strategies of the city's NGO sector, with a number of government organisations and programmes also being interviewed. All interviews remained anonymous. Two psychologists were spoken with, both having direct experience of working with survivors of violence and often providing additional advocacy support through their work. One worked independently, delivering programmes for government and at other times NGOs (Author Interview 3). The other worked for a government project in Buenos Aires (Author Interview 5). Advocacy organisations made up a high proportion of the interviewees, with many of them also having other areas of focus be it research or, in the case of one project, education. Three of these were NGOs (Author Interviews 2, 7 & 11) and one a governmental programme (Author Interview 9). One independent researcher was interviewed, specialising in gender and development (Author Interview 4), whilst an interview was also conducted with a feminist economist working at a university (Author Interview 6) who was able to provide a different perspective on the barriers facing women with respect to finances and the marketplace. Two specialist research NGOs were also spoken with, one specialising in women's rights (Author Interview 10) and the other taking a broader perspective to include issues facing women within sustainable development (Author Interview 1). A government programme monitoring gender discrimination in the media television and radio media was also interviewed (Author Interview 8).

The surveys were conducted online, through the use of the platform SmartSurvey. The women's survey was made up of 20 questions, with the first five being preliminary demographic questions. These were followed by four questions examining the women's experience of gender-based discrimination, three questions regarding their opinions on the prevalence of violence against women in Argentina, three questions enquiring whom the women would tell were they to experience violence and four questions exploring the women's views on *machismo* within Argentine culture and society. There was also a final open-ended question giving space for any other comments to be made. The men's survey was comprised of 19 questions, again starting with five demographic questions. The remaining questions included five regarding the men's opinions on gender equality, five questions asking for their views on *machismo* within Argentine culture and society in a similar manner to the women's questionnaire, and three examining their opinions on the levels of violence against women in Argentina. Again, the final question was open-ended to give space for any further comments to be made. The questionnaires and their results can be found in the appendices section of this study. Full copies of all responses are on file with the author.

The interviews were conducted over a one month period. Each interview was recorded with the permission of the participant. Before the interview commenced, each interviewee was given a consent statement assuring them that they would remain anonymous throughout the study. A verbal confirmation was also requested before the start of each interview to ensure the interviewee had read the statement and was in agreement with its contents, as well as a reiteration that they were comfortable with the interview being recorded for ease of note taking. This consent statement can be found in the appendices section. It should be noted that all interviewees were in agreement.

The interviews followed a set of semi-structured questions covering the organisation's background and the participant's role within this. Participants were asked about their observations of violence against women through their



work and their opinions regarding best prevention methods, the action taken by women in situations of abuse, and barriers faced in receiving funding for their work. The cultural issue of *machismo* was included but care was taken not to ask any leading questions. Once again, these questions can be found in the appendices section. Provision was also made for further comments and additional impulsive questions depending on the flow of conversation. The questions were adjusted slightly for certain interviews depending on the respondent, for example with government programmes.

There were a number of challenges that arose whilst collecting the primary research data. Of most significance to note were issues regarding the dissemination of the online surveys. Due to having only a small Argentine contact network in this age category, and limited time resource available, it was difficult to promote the surveys and henceforth the respondent numbers were much lower than previously hoped. Clearly no statistically significant conclusions can be drawn from the responses due to the small sample size but nevertheless the data can be used as exploratory first-stage research, on which further investigation may be based in order to validate the conclusions. Interestingly, a much higher number of women than men responded to the survey, suggesting a stronger interest by this gender group perhaps due to the ability to being able to directly relate to female victims of violence. The interviews ran smoothly and there was a satisfactorily high interest in participation. It must be noted, however, that responses may be unavoidably skewed due to the self-nominating aspect of interviewees participation. That is to say, only those interested participated; it may be possible that those who did not want to contribute had different opinions, a similar issue to the nonresponse bias discussed by Ellsberg et al (2001). Though nearly all interviews directly requested did occur, those that did not were due to mainly logistical reasons, with just one potential interviewee cancelling due to personal reasons. Other than these few challenges the primary research was conducted without serious concern. It should also be noted that an interview with Special Rapporteur Rashida Manjoo was requested during a study visit to the United Nations in Geneva in June 2015 but this was unable to take place due to the Special Rapporteur's commitments scheduled for that week.

### III. Findings and Analysis

#### **Legal stipulations**

Argentina has enjoyed significant improvements regarding public policy and legislation, yet having the structures in place and actually implementing them are two very different concepts. Men have been slower to adjust to policy change than women, with some becoming so alienated by women's improvements in gender equality, particularly within the labour market, that they feel undermined (Chant & Craske, 2003). In some incidences the result has been a physical backlash in the form of violence both domestically and further afield (ibid).

Nevertheless there has certainly been legal progress. From an international perspective Argentina ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) in 1985 which calls for all States Parties to act to prevent all forms of discrimination against women by any actor (United Nations, 1979). 1994 saw the General Assembly adopt the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women (hereafter the Declaration). Whilst not a legally binding document, the Declaration emphasises a woman's right to be free from violence, reiterating that no custom, religion nor tradition can be invoked as an excuse for instances of violence (United Nations, 1993). In comparing the recommendations of documents such as the Declaration and the policies expressed by the Argentine State, the disparities do not initially appear to be significant.

Indeed, from a domestic standpoint, the *Ley de Proteccion Integral a las Mujeres*, also known as the Law 26.485, came into action in 2009. The law promises to uphold rights stipulated in CEDAW, as well as other Interamerican conventions (Ley 26.485, 2009). Article 4 defines violence against women to be:

*“all conduct, action or omission, that in a direct or indirect manner, as much in the public as in the private sphere, is based on an unequal relation*

*of power, affecting her life, freedom, dignity, physical, psychological, sexual, economic or patrimonial integrity, as well as her personal security”*

(ibid<sup>10</sup>).

The holistic nature of the law is encouraging; it takes a broad definition of violence, encompassing all possible forms and impacts. The State is definitely starting to speak in an appropriate manner; whether this follows through to concrete change however, remains to be seen, as this chapter shall further explore. Indeed, the Law 26.485 goes into impressive detail regarding the modes of violence, the state organs responsible for the law's implementation, including the *Plan Nacional* by the National Council of Women, and the individual obligations of the State which even include that of facilitating education campaigns to raise awareness of and ultimately prevent violence against women (Ley 26.485, 2009). Yet, six years on, such campaigns are still not sufficiently implemented.

A common theme throughout research interviews, as well as civil society itself, was the frustration at the lack of implementation of this law. There continues to be a distinct absence of official unified statistics for gender-based violence; the NGO *Casa del Encuentro* records all known incidences of extreme gender-based violence, providing the closest non-official alternative. Since 2009 *Casa del Encuentro* has recorded 1,600 femicides (Casa del Encuentro, 2015a) with actual figures anticipated to be even higher. Femicides are the most visible representation of the prevalence of violence across the region, with most instances of more 'minor' situations of violence against women going unreported and often unnoticed. As Mariana Iglesias recently wrote in the Argentine newspaper Clarin:

*“The law is [...] not applied, it does not have a budget, it is as if it is not there”*

(Iglesias, 2015<sup>11</sup>).

Such frustration is starting to bubble to the surface, manifested in the march *Ni Una Menos* to the *Casa Rosada*, the Office of the Argentine President Cristina Fernandez de Kirchner, on 3<sup>rd</sup> June 2015 when civil society drew

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<sup>10</sup> Quote translated by the author

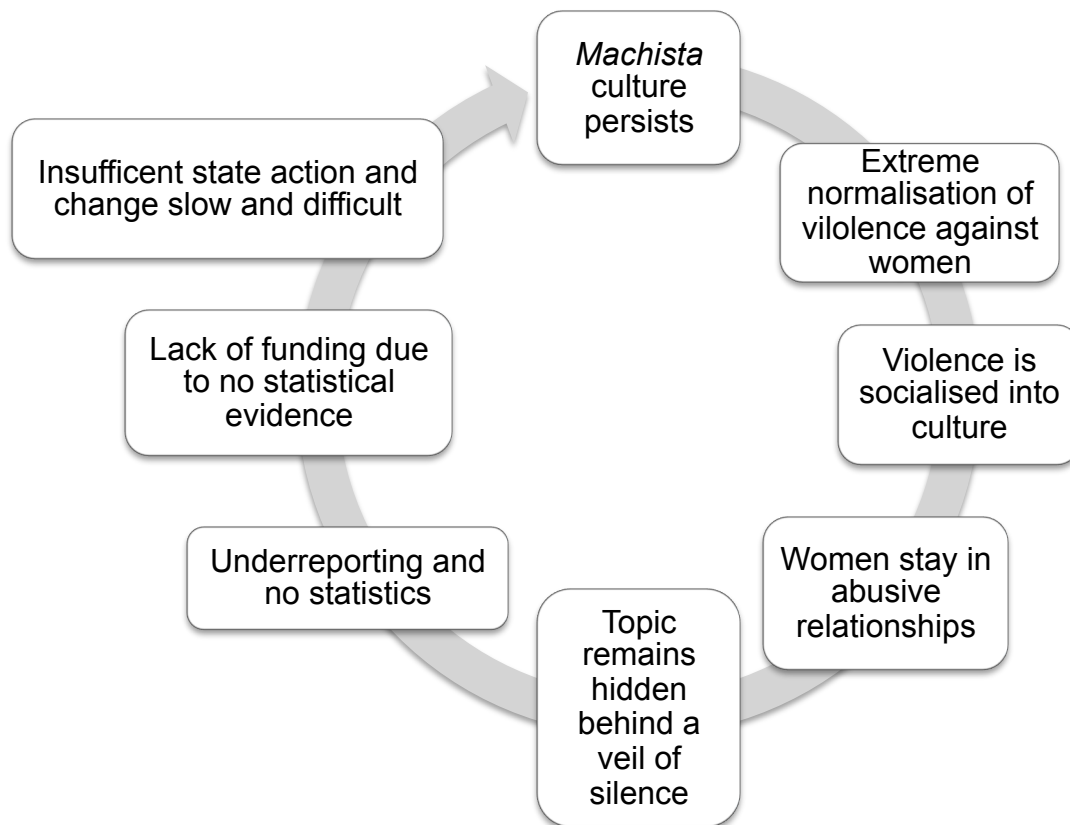
<sup>11</sup> Quote translated by the author

together to call for change. The movement was coordinated nationally, with protests taking place in plazas across the country, organised by journalists, artists, activists and others to demand an end to femicides (Ni Una Menos, 2015a). The march highlighted the failure of government to fulfil its obligations and the gaps that NGOs and civil society organisations have been obliged to fill as a result (Ni Una Menos, 2015b).

### **A cyclical model of *machismo* and violence**

The lack of full comprehension of violence against women by Argentine society, as shall be analysed further in this section, and subsequently the absence of sufficient government support leads to a cyclical effect with respect to the impact on women's organisations in the country. The extreme normalisation of violence against women, and indeed violence in society generally, through *machismo* culture and a socialised patriarchy leads women in situations of domestic violence to stay in abusive relationships and subsequently the issue is severely underreported. There are little to no statistics on the issue and the topic remains hidden behind a veil of silence, creating a consequent lack of funding, as it appears somewhat unnecessary. As a result, there is insufficient action and support from the Argentine State as duty bearer, and so the cycle continues. Change, if any, is slow and ineffective. This cyclical model of *machismo* and violence follows the theories of structural discrimination and a societal hierarchy running contrary to the rights of women, as discussed in the literature review chapter through Rashida Manjoo's 2011 annual UN report (United Nations, 2011).

Figure 1 – A cyclical model of machismo and violence



Clearly this is a relatively simplistic model, which shall be expanded upon as this chapter develops. Nevertheless, the primary research did indeed appear to confirm the deep embedment of *machismo* in Argentine culture, as explored earlier in the literature review chapter through the work of Sternberg (2000), Nye (2005) and others. Furthermore, it emerged that the subsequent lack of reporting of incidences of violence, as argued by Poole (1993) continues to be present, along with an apparent lack of understanding from authorities. As aforementioned, to merely provide support to female survivors of violence without taking an all encompassing holistic approach to the issue is quite simply unsustainable (Chant & Craske, 2003). This analysis section shall seek to expand upon these themes in line with the cyclical model of *machismo* using data gained from the primary research.

### **The prevalence of *machismo* in Buenos Aires today**

Though both the women's and men's surveys had a low number of respondents, as aforementioned, they do provide interesting building blocks for further analysis and deserve recognition nonetheless. 90.9%<sup>12</sup> of women surveyed were conscious of a presence of *machismo* in Argentine society and 81.8% felt negatively about the concept, whilst 90.9% of women reported that they felt more vulnerable walking in the street due to the fact that they are female (Appendix A). Such high percentages imply that awareness of the issue is rising amongst younger age groups. A topic of concern that could prompt further analysis is the 9.1% of female respondents who considered violence against women to be acceptable in some cases (ibid). Such an observation may well be a manifestation of the normalisation of violence and subordination of women in the country (Hortiguera & Favoretto, 2013), so much so that some women may deem violence to be 'earned'. Regarding female respondents' experiences of gender discrimination themselves, 68.2% had experienced discrimination in the street, the most common location (Appendix A). The public nature of such discrimination implies a severe socialisation into Argentine culture as it is enacted without shame or any attempt at subtlety.

Encouragingly, 87.5% of male respondents were aware of a presence of *machismo* within Argentine society, and 87.5% again felt negatively about the concept (Appendix B). Whilst this does show some positive progress in male perceptions of the matter there is still cause for concern in other areas. 100% of respondents considered the most traditional male habits to be sexist, such as thinking that men should earn more than women or considering that a woman should cook and clear for her partner, despite 25% and 12.5% of respondents respectively admitting to having had these beliefs. Gender identities are in constant flux, with society influencing their evolvment and vice versa (Macías-González & Rubenstein, 2012). Indeed, this evolvment of what is considered to be sexist is a clear manifestation of Soo Chon's (2011) proposal that modernisation has dulled *machismo*. Yet

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<sup>12</sup> All results are rounded to the nearest decimal point

when it came to less traditionally sexist examples, the men seemed to be far less concerned. Just 25% considered cat-calling or *piropos* to be sexist, whilst 12.5% thought that commenting on a woman's body was sexist (ibid). It is interesting to note that, despite so few considering cat-calling to be sexist, 75% imagined that a woman would feel uncomfortable and vulnerable when targeted in this manner (ibid) suggesting the presence of a double standard. Again, it must be reiterated that due to the small sample size no firm conclusions can be drawn from these results.

Three gender workshops were observed at the NGO *Lugar de Mujer* in Buenos Aires, on the themes of symbolic violence, gender and culture, and the theatre of the oppressed; in addition to the observation of UNESCO's gender and culture report launch, and an open 'Town Meeting' on gender at the *Museo Histórico Nacional del Cabildo y la Revolución de Mayo*. Throughout discussions at these events the presence of *machismo* within Argentine, and indeed Latin American, society was taken as a given. Indeed, the media is a highly influential actor of society, not only representing what it deems to be the population's opinions and interests but also influencing those interests through its ability to infiltrate all aspects of daily life. As such, through its actions the media is able to normalise *machismo* and violence into society through socialisation (United Nations, 2015a). The world of journalism was described in workshops as inherently patriarchal, with the interests of men representing what should be the interests of the entire nation (Hendel, 2015).

An issue repeated throughout participant observation, as well as in various interviews, was that of the very language of *castellano*<sup>13</sup>. The way in which Argentines speak is itself gendered (Hendel, 2015), with priority nearly always given to the masculine pronoun; a group of twenty girls and one boy would be labelled "*los chicos*" as opposed to "*las chicas y los chicos*" purely for the presence of one member of the male sex. One interviewee gave the example of the term "*un cualquier*" which, in its masculine form, translates to

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<sup>13</sup> See glossary, Appendix E

a man, or anyone. Yet take the term in its feminine form, “*una cualquiera*”, and one is talking about a prostitute (Author Interview 3). Gender identities are influenced by the very codes and traditions upon which society is composed (Macías-González & Rubenstein, 2012) and language is used to articulate these identities (Valencia-Garcia et al, 2008), both influencing and influenced by society. For *castellano* to be so inherently sexist is of serious concern. Not only is this an indicator of deep-rooted *machismo* across the population but it is acting as a barrier to future moves towards gender equality with society being re-socialised throughout everyday conversation. In football, Argentina’s most beloved sport, songs and chants are often used to bring down the opposition. Racist chants have been banned with the referee entitled to stop the game if any are used. Yet sexist chants continue to be accepted and include terrible insults against the players’ sisters, mothers and so forth (Author Interview 7); tolerance of sexism and male domination is rife through all sectors of society.

Such discrimination against women permeates through all levels of society, particularly in the work place. Whilst many companies will state that they have a 50:50 ratio of female to male staff members, the reality behind this paints a conspicuously different picture. The male staff members are predominantly the decision makers, whilst women typically continue to be employed in traditional female roles such as secretarial posts (Author Interview 1). This distinct lack of gender equality in the workplace acts as a significant barrier to women accessing employment and subsequently to their financial autonomy and can be a significant obstacle when it comes to breaking free from the cycle of *machismo* and violence, as shall be expanded on shortly. Indeed, economic dependency on the abuser is one of the key factors preventing many women from leaving situations of violence (Poole, 1993). One interviewee also suggested that the Argentine financial crisis of 2001 forced a significant number of women to enter the workplace out of pure economic necessity to provide for their families (Author Interview 7). Often this subsequently created a high degree of tension between partners as women were no longer fully controlled within the home, and led to further intra-couple violence as it broke the traditional controlling concept of



*machismo* (ibid). Subsequently, gender discrimination in such a manner can run two ways, from the home to the workplace and vice versa.

### **Defining violence in a *machista* culture**

Historically VAWG in Argentina was considered to include only the most obvious physical instances of violence (Author Interview 2). Today the definitions by women's organisations are far broader, with most including any act of superiority that leads to a resulting female submissiveness (Author Interview 1). Violence against women was determined to be an overbearing power, be it physical, psychological, economic, patrimonial or sexual. Nearly all interviewees mentioned the influence of either *machismo* or patriarchal culture within their definitions, with *machismo* representing the superiority and control that many men feel a need to exert over female partners (Asencio, 1999). Arguably, violence against women is a culmination of extreme inequality in relationships created as a consequence of societal traditions (Poole, 1993<sup>14</sup>). Research discussions typically centred around domestic violence but clearly this is not the only manifestation.

Interestingly, when discussing the types of violence most frequently encountered the connection was consistently made between the physical and psychological. The consensus being that when women came forward in a situation of physical violence, psychological violence was nearly always present too yet it was the physical act that had demonstrated to them that something was wrong and they should respond (Author Interview 9). Such a scenario shows the lack of knowledge and education in this area. The laws and the professionals take an open holistic view of VAWG yet the victims themselves are generally continuing with the more traditional perspective. It still takes a lot for a woman to step forward from a situation of violence with many instances going unreported (Poole, 1993).

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<sup>14</sup> See also Rico, 1997

Symbolic violence in the media was also of particular concern to a number of organisations. This covers the classification of women as a sexual object and stereotyping of the traditional roles of women; men talking about politics and women discussing shows, roles which consequently become further normalised within the population (Author Interview 8). Such violence may be in the press, radio, television and so forth, and consequently has an exponential effect on other forms of violence through the media's influence on the socialisation of attitudes.

### **The naturalisation of violence**

The frequent occurrence of such forms of violence can be explained by the socialisation and normalisation of violence within Argentine society; throughout the interview process the word "naturalised" was repeatedly used to describe the causes and origins of violence against women. The origins of this naturalisation can again be traced back to *machismo* and its consequent traditional male aggressiveness (Ingoldsby, 1991). What is important to emphasise here is that such violent tendencies are not biological but result from social influences, as earlier argued by Special Rapporteur Rashida Manjoo (United Nations, 2011) and further confirmed through the interview process (Author Interview 10<sup>15</sup>). Gender inequality has been a societal norm throughout Latin American history with the inferior place of women reinforced through suppression and violence (Author Interview 5), men continue to enact superiority and control (Ascencio, 1999) with some even believing this is part of a need to 'protect' 'good' women from other men (Stølen, 1991).

Through *machismo* violence has become normalised as a mode of communication (Author Interview 1), implying that the man has reason to be violent, be it stress, lack of work or other pressures (Author Interview 2). It is as though fear that the man may seem less *macho* is considered as a justification for his violent acts (Ingoldsby, 1991). Culture traditionally dictates that a woman will go directly from living with her parents to then with her

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<sup>15</sup> Also a common theme throughout other interviews

husband (Author Interview 3), habitually moving from one violent home to the next. Violence then becomes naturalised in the nuclear family (Author Interview 4), often meaning that even when a woman does escape a situation of violence she feels a social responsibility to return to her abusive partner and the cyclical pattern of violence continues accordingly. Violence and *machismo* have endured through centuries in Latin America, surpassing class structures and social spectrums (Goldwert, 1980). When an issue is so entrenched in culture it is incredibly hard to eliminate (Author Interview 9). Nevertheless, for women's organisations to be successful in their work, both in remedying cases of violence and preventing such occurrences in the first place, this naturalisation of violence needs to change.

### 1. Public perception of violence against women

The naturalisation of violence in Argentina has led members of the *machista* socialised public to be generally tolerant of violence. Many consider violence to be an issue of private concern, one that should remain behind the closed doors of the home (Author Interview 2<sup>16</sup>). It is this collision of private and public spheres that imposes such a significant constraint on progress in government action within the area of violence against women, as aforementioned in the literature review chapter with many state representatives continuing to believe that it is not their place to interfere in such familial matters (Rico, 1997).

Indeed, social responsibility can lead many women to return to abusive partners, or to not leave at all. When children are present, mothers are often fearful of taking them away from their fathers and depriving their loved ones of that part of their childhood. Yet, as one interviewee argued, the father continues to be the father regardless (Author Interview 2). Lifestyle change can also contribute to the action of middle class wealthy women when faced with a situation of violence. Accustomed to long haul holidays to Europe and expensive private schools for their children, these women are often asked by their families if they are really prepared to sacrifice such a lifestyle by leaving

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<sup>16</sup> See also Author Interview 5

their partners to instead start a new life, where they must work and provide for themselves without luxury or social status (Author Interview 7). So whilst VAWG is typically thought to regressively affect poorer women of lower class, those of a higher socioeconomic status do have their own issues. This ties in once again with the position of Poole (1993) who posits that gender based violence is an issue which permeates all sectors of society, irrespective of social status, due to its origins in unequal gender relationships as a consequence of societal traditions.

The poor public perception of violence means that the majority of women feel insecure in contacting women's organisations for support following experience of abuse. Often this is because the women feel at fault and ashamed, as though they are to blame for not behaving 'correctly' (Author Interview 2), they chose this person and so they feel responsible for what has happened (Author Interview 5). Typically the women have also suffered serious psychological abuse, with their partners demeaning and demoralising them on a regular basis. They are left feeling psychologically vulnerable, with little confidence to reach out for help (Author Interview 11). Such vulnerability impacts upon the health of the survivor, with women frequently drained of all energy and confidence, severely inhibiting their health and subsequent recovery (Heise et al, 1994). Society does not expect women to be single, alone and providing for themselves and it is this expectation that can lead to a lack of support from many survivors' friends and families (Author Interview 2<sup>17</sup>). This fear of reaching out is a serious barrier to the ability of women's organisations to provide the appropriate support and assistance to survivors. NGOs are ultimately only able to help survivors if they themselves come forward, for there is no way of knowing what is occurring within a relationship unless the woman feels confident to discuss matters openly.

## *2. A silence around violence against women*

Such shame around the subject of violence builds a shroud of silence, meaning women are often unaware that so many others are experiencing the

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<sup>17</sup> See also Author Interview 4; Author Interview 11

same abuses (Author Interview 7). Although this silence is less prevalent now than historically, with violence highlighted more frequently in the public agenda (Author Interview 10), its impact is still seriously detrimental to both women's escape and recovery from violence, and to the achievement of the aims and objectives of women's organisations.

Instead, the perpetrator works to cut the woman off from her social network. He will often restrict the woman's activities, even going so far as to ban her from seeing her own friends in attempt to fully control her life (Author Interview 7). Yet, socially he seems completely charming. It is not uncommon for the survivor's family to be infatuated with the perpetrator for this very reason, the same charisma that he returns to after each act of violence to keep the victim returning to him time and time again under the cycle of violence<sup>18</sup> (Author Interview 2<sup>19</sup>). The lack of social network removes an essential element of support for survivors of violence, both in the clarity they need to leave the relationship and the recovery process after the event. No matter how accessible women's organisations are, and how much specialised help they are able to provide, the relationship is not sufficiently personal and the woman is often inhibited from objectively recognising and discussing her difficulties. Many times it is the word of a friend or family member that will enable a woman to understand what has happened to her (Author Interview 1), which women's organisations can then build upon through professional support.

This lack of a personal support network places a high degree of additional pressure on women's organisations to stretch beyond the scope of more conventional professional support mechanisms. Not only is there little money to be made in such a profession, specialist lawyers and support workers frequently find themselves facing a 24-hour work schedule, with women calling at all hours of the day and night in panic and fear with no other place to turn to (Author Interview 3). There is much work with little remuneration

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<sup>18</sup> Different to the cyclical model proposed by this paper, see Women's Aid, 2007 for further analysis

<sup>19</sup> See also Author Interview 7

(ibid), and this could go some way in explaining the insufficiency of specialised professionals in this area.

### 3. Lack of understanding of violence against women

Argentina's poor public perception of violence and the ensuing silence are reflections of the lack of understanding by the general population of the complex issue that is violence against women. Whilst discussions have been growing louder in recent years, culminating in June's *Ni Una Menos* march, the public discourse regarding violence against women continues to be relatively quiet and it is typically specialist groups such as those in universities and feminist organisations that generate the most conversation (Author Interview 8). This poor understanding creates issues in a wide range of areas – from poor quality police forces, judges, and other mechanisms for remedy, to the women themselves struggling to identify violence, find the courage to leave or know where to go for help. These institutional issues shall be expanded upon in the coming section.

The vast majority of children do not receive education regarding the warning signs of violence, identifying unhealthy relationships nor knowing where to go and what to do when they, or a friend or family member, are in a situation of violence (Author Interview 2<sup>20</sup>). This is despite the great promises of education enshrined in Article 10 of Law 26.485 (Ley 26.485, 2009). Most women have little understanding of the law and how it can protect them (Author Interview 9). When discussing the action that they wished the Government would take, a high number of interviewees mentioned an improvement in, and a more holistic approach to, education in this regard (Author Interview 3<sup>21</sup>). Without this knowledge many women struggle to realise that they can and should leave violent relationships, for the most part due to the normalisation of violence from *machista* patriarchal culture. As such, without women making the first step to come forward, women's organisations are unable to deliver the support they have available. For

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<sup>20</sup> See also Author Interview 4; Author Interview 10

<sup>21</sup> See also Author Interview 1; Author Interview; 5; Author Interview 10

change to occur sustainably, the Government needs to take stronger action. Indeed, in examining culturally similar Latin American UN reports an issue continually highlighted is the lack of implementation of the law and failure to achieve a substantial cultural change as a significant barrier to building a nation free from violence (United Nations, 2015d).

#### 4. Surface level government action

One interviewee compared the Argentine Government's approach to violence against women to that of putting on make-up (Author Interview 3). She explained how the State talks about action but with no profound intention, instead they use their words to cover surface level imperfections when behind this there is nothing (ibid). Their talk is purely for appearances; there is neither the money nor will to follow through. The interviewee recounted how through her work with the City of Buenos Aires Government she would regularly pitch projects ideas to their team. They would always express their enthusiasm and request that further details be sent over, promising to call at a later date. Calls that she never received (ibid). Such a scenario is a profound example of the distinct lack of action beyond that which is sufficient to keep up appearances. Indeed, as another interviewee conveyed, there appears to be a strong perception within Argentina that to change the laws is sufficient (Author Interview 10). It is as though altering the laws to eliminate sexism and discriminatory talk and practice will, in itself, bring about change in society. Whilst this is a necessary condition for gender equality, it certainly is not sufficient (ibid).

Indeed, from an international political perspective the Argentine Government appears to be speaking and acting in the appropriate manner. During the Interactive Dialogue on Violence Against Women at the 29<sup>th</sup> Session of the Human Rights Council in Geneva, the Argentine representative referred to the creation of a register for femicides as part of the *Plan Nacional* and drew on the experiences of recent country visits to the region as potential learning spaces (Government of Argentina, 2015a). Whether this register is successful in rectifying the current lack of official statistics regarding violence against women remains to be seen. During their

statement the Government continued to speak of prevention, something which has been long intended, yet gender-based violence still persists. It seems to be that officials are repeating the same stance to little effect. Later that week, however, during the Panel Discussion on Eliminating and Preventing Domestic Violence the Argentine Government did become increasingly vocal. They acknowledged violence against women as a social and public problem, one that is related to its surrounding environment and for which the State is responsible (Government of Argentina, 2015b). Yet, again, the Government continued to refer back to the law, the Law 26.485 in particular, and failed to refer to any clear success and change in the past six years since this law was introduced.

This theme was common with all interviewees, particularly those with experience of working with or for government. When the State originally established the *Programa Nacional* the intention was that it be federalised to provide immediate emergency support to women in situations of violence, and the appropriate training to professionals such as the police force, across all 23 provinces of Argentina (Author Interview 9). Yet the main programme continues to exist only in Buenos Aires, with smaller scale replications in Chaco and Misiones (ibid). One of the main calls of the *Ni Una Menos* march, one that is reiterated by government and NGO workers interviewed alike, is for the immediate federalisation of the *Programa Nacional* to all provinces across Argentina as originally promised.

Each interviewee spoke of the beautiful laws created by the State to remedy and prevent violence against women. Yet, these laws are not enforced as they should be. The Law of Sexual Education would provide a valuable contribution to preventative efforts through education and respect in schools yet this is not implemented (Author Interview 5). When asked as to why this implementation gap exists the consensus was that perhaps teachers did not have sufficient incentive to do so (ibid); whether this is due to their own lack of ideology on the issue or a lack of government drive, or indeed both, remains open to debate. Again, the Law 26.485 was established to prevent and remedy situations of violence against women yet there is a



distinct lack of budget and resources for its realisation (Author Interview 7). There is no system in place to monitor this process and nobody seems to want to claim responsibility to do so (ibid). When one particular organisation interviewed grouped together with a collection of other NGOs to contact state ministries publicising the areas they are responsible for regarding to violence against women, nearly all denied having any obligation in this respect (ibid). Such a pattern reiterates the findings of UN regional missions to Peru and Chile whereby the States were criticised for their lack of legislative implementation (United Nations, 2015d<sup>22</sup>).

Even the most optimistic interviewee hinted at issues regarding government action. The *Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual* was established in 2012 to support the implementation of the Audiovisual Law, Law 26.552 (Angélico et al, 2014) and, as acknowledged during the interview, is still a relatively new organisation (Author Interview 8). Whilst continuing to praise the positive aspects of the work they do, the interviewee admitted that whilst Argentina has wonderful laws they are still relatively new (ibid). There was no direct admission of the lack of legal implementation, rather an acknowledgement of the small scale of the *Defensoría*. She explained that their work impacts thousands when there are in fact millions, 41.8 million to be precise (World Bank, 2014), of people in the country, yet they just do not have the infrastructure to expand beyond their current level (Author Interview 8). Others hint at stronger discontent, reiterating the failure to federalise the *Programa Nacional*, the lack of financial resources to backup policy promises, and the all round insufficient fulfilment of obligations as written in law (Author Interview 9).

An even-handed judiciary is essential in order to implement and enact the law as written, yet many interviewees spoke of judges failing to support and fully comprehend the complex issues faced by women in the courtroom. Judges were frequently described as strongly *machista* and patriarchal in

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<sup>22</sup> See also United Nations, 2015e

their approaches (Author Interview 5), with re-victimisation commonplace (Author Interview 7). One interviewee recounted witnessing situations of familial violence where the husband had been abusing both the wife and the children yet in the divorce ruling the judge would fail to recognise this situation (ibid). Judges have the political power in their hands to create change, yet due to the *machista* patriarchal culture engrained in their beings – both men and women – they choose not to enact it (Author Interview 9). Indeed, Sternberg (2000) speaks of *machismo* running from society through to institutions. This cultural tradition knows no bounds, even going so far as to limit recourse to justice.

Not only are the male parties frequently receiving favourable treatment from the judges but they also typically have access to a better quality of legal support. Indeed, one NGO reported that the husbands are often able to pay for a stronger lawyer than the wife (Author Interview 7) who will typically have a free public lawyer (Author Interview 9), a reflection of the economic and financial disparity between the sexes in Argentina with men generally having access to better paid more powerful professions, as previously discussed. It can sometimes even be a struggle for a woman to obtain her own lawyer free of charge with current stipulations requiring women owning their own houses to provide for their lawyers themselves (Author Interview 2). Property ownership does not necessarily signify an abundance of wealth. Furthermore, the accessibility of professional support does not assure that the personnel available have undergone specialist gender sensitive training. Women can face discrimination from their own legal teams with a number of lawyers failing to recognise certain forms of violence, other than the most traditional (Author Interview 2). One interviewee recounted the story of her client, a survivor of violence, struggling to get her lawyer to acknowledge her experience of financial violence, a situation not uncommon in a field hindered by traditional perceptions for so long (ibid).

Both governmental and non-governmental organisations interviewed highlighted how lack of sufficient understanding and knowledge of VAWG in the police force meant that many women are encouraged to return to their

violent partners when seeking help; the police, both *machista* women and men for *machismo* affects all parties, frequently minimise the situation (Author Interview 3). This is an issue examined at length by Poole (1993), determining that the public perception of the problem of domestic violence, combined with lack of faith in state institutions, amongst other issues, leads to serious underreporting of instances of violence against women. Indeed, such a failure to report leads to an absence of sufficient statistics, and henceforth there is little impetus for government action or change (ibid), in line with the cyclical model of *machismo* and violence as proposed by this paper. The *Programa Nacional*, the main government VAWG support programme, does collaborate with the police in training schemes regarding appropriate support in this area but report that they do experience a degree of resistance to their work in this manner (Author Interview 9). Here there is often a perception that the women “provoked” the man or that she “did X wrong” (ibid), and thus the violent consequences were to be expected and perhaps even excused. Furthermore, insufficient state budgets mean that this programme is relatively small and does not function as it could, or indeed should (ibid). Again this links back to Poole’s (1993) analysis of the silence facing women reporting their experiences, specialised support simply is not accessible. On occasion the woman will even have to notify her partner of his restraining order herself as the police do not have sufficient personnel to do so (Author Interview 3). In a country with such progressive laws the poor quality of police personnel and lack of legal implementation is transmitting a seriously mixed message to the public.

Even when specialised services do exist they are often inaccessible, particularly in the interior of the country. Argentina is one of the world’s largest countries, meaning many rural dwellers face considerable travel distances to access public services. For a woman in a situation of violence to have to travel 70 kilometres to access specialist support is simply unfeasible, yet it is a situation faced by many across the nation (Author Interview 4). One interviewee suggested the introduction of mobile specialist teams in the provinces as a solution to this issue (ibid) but the lack of political will in this area paints an unpromising picture for the future, and women’s organisations

do not have the funds to start such an initiative themselves. Indeed, the severe lack of resources in the country can be seen when looking at the shortage of refuge spaces for survivors of violence. One interviewee cited just three refuges in Capital Federal, and only one in the Province of Buenos Aires (Author Interview 3). When women are able to leave a situation of violence they need a safe space in which to recover, yet instead many are taken temporarily to hotels (Author Interview 7). When funds runs dry they have nowhere to go, and it is not uncommon for a survivor to return to the perpetrator as it appears a more attractive option (Author Interview 9).

It is clear that there is a distinct lack of incentive for the Argentine Government to take affirmative action to both prevent and remedy situations of violence against women, contradicting their obligations under international law. When asked why this may be the professionals interviewed gave the response that the political will simply is not there (Author Interview 6), acting on such a traditionally private issue will not win votes (Author Interview 5). Worryingly, one government worker cited recent budget cuts limiting the scope of the programme's work (Author Interview 9). Ultimately government action comes down to politics and acting according to the interests of the majority or the most powerful. At present, the public is not sufficiently interested in gender issues such as VAWG. Instead, the presence of *machismo* means that the majority of the population continues to regard VAWG as a private issue, one that should be rectified within the four walls of the home, not of public concern (Poole, 1993<sup>23</sup>).

*Machista* gender identities have been socialised into the population, enacted through the language and communication (Valencia-Garcia et al, 2008) with a patriarchal media further normalising such *machismo* and violence (United Nations, 2015a), even going so far as follow an apparent template of news coverage for cases of domestic violence, showing just how routine such violence has become (Hortiguera & Favoretto, 2013). It was suggested in interviews that in the extreme case of death, society mobilises

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<sup>23</sup> See also Author Interview 9

itself (Author Interview 4), as seen in the *Ni Una Menos* march. Otherwise, VAWG is not a societal priority; *machismo* continues to be present throughout institutions (Sternberg, 2000) and even the Government itself. One interviewee suggested that if the President were to put herself directly in front of the topic then progress would be made (Author Interview 7) but such change is slow.

Consequently, the Argentine Government is not allocating sufficient time, money nor resources to enable progress in this field. When asked of the biggest obstacles to their work nearly all interviewees responded citing economic factors, with one organisation forced to almost stop operating completely (Author Interview 10). Many NGOs receive funds from overseas; this is typically due to either the lack of funds within Argentina itself, or a desire to maintain independence from the State (Author Interview 7). Since the 2010 financial crisis it has been even harder for organisations to source funding (Author Interview 1), despite the perception by many on the international stage that Argentina is a relatively well-off country and not as in need of financial support when compared to other poorer nations (Author Interview 10).

All these factors place serious strain onto women's organisations. Firstly, the failure of the Argentine Government to fulfil its initial obligations means that NGOs must step in to fill this gap, whilst the government programmes that do exist are operating at over capacity. The *machista* society and patriarchal professionals encountered by women's NGOs through their work add a further dimension to their workload, as they must act to rectify the misdemeanours of government and untrained 'specialists'. Indeed, even when a women's organisation is able to support a survivor to get her case before the court, she typically faces further discrimination here in the form of *machista* judges and poorly trained lawyers. Thirdly, the distinct lack of resources and government budget in this field requires that women's organisations complete this additional work at little to no financial compensation. Change is slow, and the cyclical model of *machismo* and violence persists.

## The prospect of progress

Thus far this chapter has covered the issues currently faced in Argentina regarding the challenges placed upon the work of women's organisations by the country's patriarchal *machista* culture. Nevertheless, society has progressed significantly in recent years, particularly since the end of the military period. After the fall of the military dictatorship, a strong women's movement birthed a new breed of women's organisations (Author Interview 2), some of whom were interviewed for this research project, sparking a new era of women's human rights. Argentina now has laws specifically to protect the rights of women (ibid), laws which still cease to exist in many parts of the world. The country has one of the few female presidents worldwide, and the 1991 Quota Law stipulates that at least thirty percent of electoral candidates must be women (Quota Project, 2014); society is attempting to become more equal. Though government action, as discussed, is chronically superficial it does nevertheless exist.

The *Programa Nacional* works to combat VAWG and family violence in situations of emergency, also facilitating a number of training sessions within institutions to teach state professionals how to appropriately manage situations of violence (Author Interview 9). Though the programme is relatively small, restricted by limited funds and resources, and is still awaiting federalisation, the work that it is able to complete is valid and deserves recognition. The *Programa Nacional* works to train the police force to handle situations of violence in a more gender sensitive manner (ibid), an issue of concern from many of the professionals interviewed. The programme seeks to break the current *machista* preconceptions by much of the police force, and commands that police contact the *Programa Nacional* each time they encounter a woman in a situation of violence to ensure that guidelines are followed. Still, the interviewee admitted that progress is tremendously slow in this manner and such strong patriarchal beliefs are challenging to break.

The Government has also established a number of further specialist resources, beyond the *Programa Nacional*, for women to utilise when in a situation of violence; the telephone numbers 148, 136 and 911 are

advertised in between television shows (Author Interview 2). Again though, this is support after the event has occurred. There continues to be little work in violence prevention strategies and cultural change. There are specialised women's police stations available where women can go to denounce their situation of violence. Whilst these reportedly do not function how they could or should (Author Interview 2), they do exist. Sadly, these are another example of surface level government action. Many cities have such institutions but often there is only one and women frequently are not aware of its existence, or prefer to go somewhere closer to home even if it means encountering *machista* personnel who habitually send women back to abusive partners, as aforesaid (Author Interview 4<sup>24</sup>).

Regarding government action to prevent situations of VAWG through re-developing Argentina's *machista* culture, the most clear example would be that of the *Defensoría del Público de Servicios de Comunicación Audiovisual* who seek to promote gender equality in television and radio (Author Interview 8). It seems that the Government is finally acknowledging the impact of *machista* culture upon levels of violence and the potential power of a cultural shift (ibid). Nevertheless, its impact appears to be somewhat small. When asked during an interview as to the direct impact of the *Defensoría's* work on levels of VAWG, the response was somewhat indirect and illusory. It appears that real statistics cease to exist. Indeed, one of the key concerns in June's *Ni Una Menos* march was the continued sexism encountered in the media (Ni Una Menos, 2015b), which brings into question how impactful the *Defensoría* really is.

### **Breaking the cycle of *machismo* and violence**

It is clear that whilst significant progress has been made with respect to cultural norms and violence against women in Argentina, there is still a long road to be travelled. Throughout the primary research interviews one message was particularly clear, education is paramount for a sustainable

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<sup>24</sup> See also Author Interview 5; Author Interview 9

cultural shift. One of the main barriers faced by women leaving abusive relationships is fear of the unknown; they do not know what support is available to them nor how to access it. By enabling society to further understand this complex issue, women will learn what remedies they are able to access and how the law protects their rights, knowledge noticeable in its absence from the current education system. Furthermore, introducing healthy relationships education into school programmes, and indeed teaching from a more gender sensitive perspective, will work to break down current *machista* cultural norms and act to support the prevention of violence against women from the outset. It seems to be quite evident that strengthening education throughout the society will work as a two-pronged attack to finally eliminate violence against women.

The new millennium saw a wave of advertising campaigns attempting to change the perception of what it means to be a man in Latin America. Implemented across the region, the campaigns were both government sponsored and independently run (Cattan & Bodzin, 2011); the idea being to redefine what it is to be male. The techniques varied, from suggesting that women do not find *macho* men attractive, to recasting *maricòn*, the insulting word for a homosexual person, to a critique on *machismo* (ibid). A number of interviewees also referred to campaigns in Spain as a reference point for good practice and successful change. They cited these campaigns as a way to turn political will (Author Interview 3<sup>25</sup>) and gave examples of campaigns using the red card of football as a red card of violence (Author Interview 4). Such a symbol could be used to great success in Argentina, a nation completely enamoured with the sport.

In June 2015 the message of collective society was clear – violence must stop. Through the march *Ni Una Menos* 200,000 protestors called for the full application of the law and sufficient budgets to be allocated in order to enable the full and proper implementation of the *Plan Nacional* (Ni Una Menos, 2015b). In their speech they acknowledged the existence of

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<sup>25</sup> See also Author Interview 4; Author Interview 11



specialised centres and phone numbers for women in situations of violence to call, but demanded that these be strengthened and accompanied with integrated policies. There continues to be a distinct lack of official government statistics regarding the prevalence of violence against women and femicides across the country (ibid). The march cited examples of television repeating images of women in situations of inequality, discrimination and domination (ibid). Again, a clear example of cultural influence, one which requires immediate affirmative state action to prevent further socialisation. Such holistic approaches to remedy and prevention are reiterated in United Nations regional reports as with Peru (United Nations, 2015d) and Chile (United Nations, 2015e). Again, both reports place a strong emphasis on education at the very core of their recommendations, calling for an end to discrimination at all levels of society.

## IV. Conclusion

By drawing on the collective experiences of women's professionals in Argentina, this dissertation has sought to explore the influence of the country's *machista* culture upon the strategies of women's organisations working on violence against women. Primary research was conducted in Buenos Aires during July 2015, with eleven interviews with professionals from both governmental and non-governmental bodies. During the research period the author also observed a number of professional workshop and local meetings, as well as conducting two parallel online surveys with young Argentines to gauge their opinions and experiences of *machismo*. Additional research data was also gathered during a study visit to the United Nations in Geneva, Switzerland in June 2015.

*Machismo* is defined to be the hypersexuality and over-aggressiveness of males, a traditionally Latin American concept (Ingoldsby, 1991). Despite having dulled somewhat in recent years in line with modernisation, the assumption that the *macho* man is superior to all women persists (Soo Chon, 2011). Despite some acknowledged limitations the primary research surveys, coupled with the interview responses, confirmed the continued presence of *machismo* in Buenos Aires. The surveys also provide significant impetus for future research with a number of points for further analysis. *Machismo* has led to the socialisation and normalisation of violence into Argentine culture over time, with men seemingly immune to legal consequences and a shroud of silence covering the real issues. This culture places a significant additional strain upon women's organisations as they are having to work overtime. Organisations fight an uphill battle as they are essentially working against the culture of the country in which they are operating. The population's consequent lack of interest in the area of violence against women means that the Argentine Government has little incentive to create lasting change; such action will not win votes. Women's professionals regularly encounter *machista* patriarchal institutions and personnel lacking in specialist training. Instead they must act to not only

further their own work and goals but also to substitute and correct the inherent failings of the State. These patterns create a cyclical model of *machismo* and violence under which the normalisation of violence within society causes severe underreporting, with many women remaining in abusive relationships. The consequent lack of data and statistics leads to an absence of funding in this area, as there is no evidence of its necessity. Thus the State takes insufficient action and there is little change or improvement; the cycle persists.

To break this cycle and move towards sustainable change in women's human rights and gender-based violence it is imperative that the State steps forward to fulfil its obligations as a duty bearer. Whether the State's approach will change subsequent to the current Presidential elections remains to be seen. Throughout the primary research the call for a re-education of society and educational reform was loud and clear. Argentina must be resocialised to move towards a culture of gender equality. Women's professionals referred to successful campaigns in Spain in which popular culture was used as a means of connection; whilst June's *Ni Una Menos* march urged for a government crack-down on all gender discrimination. It is evident that a holistic approach is necessary, as recommended by UN country missions through Latin America, and education is the ideal starting point.

Failure by the Government to implement a coherent strategy for change will lead the cycle of *machismo* and violence to persist. Patriarchal culture will prevail, repeatedly passed down from generation to generation. Women will continue to face discrimination on a daily basis, in the workplace, the home, on the street. They will continue to fight a never-ending battle for financial autonomy and independence. They will continue to face a hidden oppression, silenced by stigmatisation and lack of objective conversation and public knowledge. They will continue to be the main caregivers to their children, and these children too will continue to suffer. Their civil, political, social, cultural, economic and development rights will continue to be restricted.

As Eleanor Roosevelt once said,

*“Where, after all, do universal human rights begin? In small places, close to home – so close and so small that they cannot be seen on any maps of the world. [...] Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere.”*

(Roosevelt, 1958).

**Word Count:** 15,019

## **Appendices**

### **Appendix A – Female *machismo* survey questions and results**

#### *Preguntas preliminares*

1. Sos una mujer argentina?(La encuesta es solamente para las mujeres de Argentina)

Sí: 100% (22)

No: 0% (0)

2. Tenes entre 20 y 29 de edad? (La encuesta es solamente para gente de esas edades)

Sí: 95.5% (21)

No: 4.6% (1)

3. Tenes pareja?

Sí: 72.7% (16)

No: 27.2% (6)

4. Vives juntos con tu pareja?

Sí: 40.9% (9)

No: 36.3% (8)

No lo tengo: 22.7% (5)

5. Tenes hijos?

Sí: 13.6% (3)

No: 86.3% (19)

### Sección Principal

6. Has experimentado discriminación por tu genero? Con esto quiero decir ser tratada menos por igual porque sos una mujer.

	Sí	No
En el trabajo	27.3% (6)	72.7% (16)
En la escuela	22.7% (5)	77.3% (17)
En la universidad	0% (0)	100% (22)
En el hogar	36.4% (8)	63.6% (14)
En la calle	68.2% (15)	31.8% (7)
Otro	31.8% (7)	68.2% (15)

7. Has sentido el riesgo de un ataque físico o sexual?

	Sí	No
En el trabajo	13.6% (3)	86.4% (19)
En la escuela	18.2% (4)	81.8% (18)
En la universidad	13.6% (3)	86.4% (19)
En el hogar	13.6% (3)	86.4% (19)
En la calle	59.1% (13)	40.9% (9)
Otro	13.6% (3)	86.4% (19)

8. Cuando estás caminando por la calle, te sientes más vulnerable porque sos una mujer?

Sí: 90.9% (20)

No: 9.1% (2)

9. ¿Sos conscientes de una presencia de machismo adentro de la sociedad argentina?

Sí: 90.9% (20)

No: 9.1% (2)

No sé: 0% (0)

10. ¿Qué piensas es sexista?

	Sexista	No sexista
Un hombre dando una mujer una calificación de cada diez	68.2% (15)	31.8% (7)
Un hombre comentando sobre el cuerpo de una mujer	45.5% (10)	54.5% (12)
Creendo que los hombres deberían ganar mas dinero de las mujeres	95.5% (21)	4.5% (1)
Un hombre comentando sobre la ropa de una mujer	31.8% (7)	68.2% (15)
Un hombre chiflandole a una mujer en público	81.8% (18)	18.2% (4)
Un hombre mirando a una mujer en público	22.7% (5)	77.3% (17)
Un hombre diciendo un piropo a una mujer	50% (11)	50% (11)
Un hombre tocándole bocina a una mujer	72.7% (16)	27.3% (6)
Una hombre pensando que la mujer debería cuidar a sus niños	86.4% (19)	13.6% (3)
Un hombre pensando que una mujer debería cocinar y limpiar para el	86.4% (19)	13.6% (3)

11. ¿Cuál es tu opinión sobre los piropos en la calle?

Es un cumplido: 4.6% (1)

No me afecta: 27.3% (6)

Trato de ignorarlo, me hace sentir incomoda: 36.4% (8)

Me molesta, me parece degradante: 31.8% (7)

12. Como piensas sobre el machismo?

Positivo: 0% (0)

Negativo: 81.8% (18)

Neutral: 18.2% (4)

No sé: 0% (0)

13. Piensas que es común la violencia contra la mujer en Argentina?

	Raro	Ocasional	No sé	Común	Muy frecuente
Física	0% (0)	13.6% (3)	4.5% (1)	31.8% (7)	50% (11)
Sexual	0% (0)	4.5% (1)	4.5% (1)	36.4% (8)	54.5% (12)
Emocional	0% (0)	4.5% (1)	9.1% (2)	27.3% (6)	59.1% (13)
Financiera (control de los recursos financieros de la mujer)	0% (0)	13.6% (3)	27.3% (6)	18.2% (4)	40.9% (9)

14. Piensas que el machismo tiene un impacto en la conducta de los hombres en Argentina?

Sí: 81.8% (18)

No: 18.2% (4)

15. Piensas que el machismo tiene un impacto en los niveles de violencia contra la mujer?

Sí: 86.4% (19)

No: 13.6% (3)



16. Piensas que el machismo tiene un impacto en la hora denunciar la situación de violencia?

Sí: 86.4% (19)

No: 13.6% (3)

17. Piensas que el machismo influye en la recuperación de las mujeres después de una experiencia de violencia?

Sí: 81.8% (18)

No: 18.2% (4)

18. Conoces algunas campañas en Argentina en contra de la violencia contra la mujer?

Sí: 72.7% (16)

No: 27.3% (6)

19. Es la violencia contra la mujer aceptable en cualquier caso?

Sí: 9.1% (2)

No: 90.9% (20)

20. Si has experimentado violencia, lo denunciarías a la policía?

Sí: 81.8% (18)

No: 18.2% (4)

21. Si has experimentado violencia, se lo dirías a tus amigos?

Sí: 90.9% (20)

No: 9.1% (2)

22. Si has experimentado violencia, se lo dirías a tu familia?

Sí: 86.4% (19)

No: 13.6% (3)

23. Te gustaría añadir algo más?

N/A

## Appendix B – Male *machismo* survey questions and results

### *Preguntas preliminares*

1. Sos un hombre argentino?(La encuesta es solamente para los hombres de Argentina)

Sí: 100% (8)

No: 0% (0)

2. Tenes entre 20 y 29 de edad?(La encuesta es solamente para gente de esas edades)

Sí: 100% (8)

No: 0% (0)

3. Tenes pareja?

Sí: 62.5% (5)

No: 37.5% (3)

4. Vives juntos con tu pareja?

Sí: 37.5% (3)

No: 25% (2)

No lo tengo: 37.5% (3)

5. Tenes hijos?

Sí: 0% (0)

No: 100% (8)

### Sección principal

6. Sos conscientes de una presencia de machismo adentro de la sociedad argentina?

Sí: 87.5% (7)

No: 12.5% (1)

7. Qué piensas es sexista?

	Sexista	No sexista
Un hombre dando una mujer una calificación de cada diez	25% (2)	75% (6)
Un hombre comentando sobre el cuerpo de una mujer	12.5% (1)	87.5% (7)
Creendo qué los hombres deberían ganar mas dinero de las mujeres	100% (8)	0% (0)
Un hombre comentando sobre la ropa de una mujer	12.5% (1)	87.5% (7)
Un hombre chiflandole a una mujer en público	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)
Un hombre mirando a una mujer en público	25% (2)	75% (6)
Un hombre diciendo un piropo a una mujer	29% (2)	71% (5)
Un hombre tocándole bocina a una mujer	75% (6)	25% (2)
Una hombre pensando que la mujer debería cuidar a sus niños	100% (8)	0% (0)
Un hombre pensando que una mujer debería cocinar y limpiar para el	100% (8)	0% (0)

8. Hiciste algunos de estos?

	Sí	No
Calificado a una mujer del uno al diez	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)
Comentado sobre el cuerpo de una mujer	100% (8)	0% (0)
Creendo que los hombre deberían ganar mas dinero de las mujeres	25% (2)	75% (6)
Comentado sobre la ropa de una mujer	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)
Chifarle a una mujer en público	12.5% (1)	87.5% (7)
Miró a una mujer en público	87.5% (7)	12.5% (1)
Dicho un piropo a una mujer	25% (2)	75% (6)
Tocado bocina a una mujer	0% (0)	100% (8)
Pensado que su pareja debería cuidar a tus niños	0% (0)	100% (8)
Pensado que una mujer debería cocinar y limpiar para vos	12.5% (1)	87.5% (7)

9. Como piensas que una mujer se siente cuando ella recibe un piropo en la calle?

Es un cumplido, ella lo disfruta: 25% (2)

Indiferente, ella lo ignora: 0% (0)

Incomodo, se siente vulnerable: 75% (6)

Se siente miedo: 0% (0)

10. Como piensas que te sentirías si ves a tu hermana/madre/amiga recibiendo un piropo en la calle?

Es un cumplido, estaría feliz por ella: 12.5% (1)

Indiferente: 37.5% (3)

Incomodo: 50% (4)

Furioso: 0% (0)

11. Como piensas sobre el machismo?

Positivo: 0% (0)

Negativo: 87.5% (7)

Neutral: 12.5% (1)

No sé: 0% (0)

12. Piensas que es común la violencia contra la mujer en Argentina?

	Raro	Ocasional	No sé	Común	Muy frecuente
Fisica	12.5% (1)	12.5% (1)	0% (0)	37.5% (3)	37.5% (3)
Sexual	0% (0)	37.5% (3)	0% (0)	50% (4)	12.5% (1)
Emocional	0% (0)	25% (2)	12.5% (1)	25% (2)	37.5% (3)
Financiera (control de los recursos financieros de la mujer)	25% (2)	0% (0)	25% (2)	25% (2)	25% (2)

13. Piensas que el machismo tiene un impacto en la conducta de los hombres en Argentina?

Sí: 87.5% (7)

No: 12.5% (1)

14. Piensas que el machismo tiene un impacto en los niveles de violencia contra la mujer?

Sí: 100% (8)

No: 0% (0)

15. Piensas que el machismo tiene un impacto en la hora denunciar la situación de violencia?

Sí: 75% (6)

No: 25% (2)

16. Piensas que el machismo influye en la recuperación de las mujeres después de una experiencia de violencia?

Sí: 75% (6)

No: 25% (2)

17. Conoces algunas campañas en Argentina en contra de la violencia contra la mujer?

Sí: 75% (6)

No: 25% (2)

18. Es la violencia contra la mujer aceptable en cualquier caso?

Sí: 12.5% (1)

No: 87.5% (7)

19. Te gustaría añadir algo más?

N/A

## Appendix C – Consent Statement

Mi nombre es Pip Christie, estoy un estudiante del *Institute of Commonwealth Studies, University of London*, Inglaterra.

Estoy haciendo una investigación para explorar la existencia de machismo en Buenos Aires y el rol de machismo en las estrategias de organizaciones trabajando en temas de violencia contra la mujer en la ciudad. Voy a escribir una tesis para mi master fundado en parte en la información que vos y otras me van a aporta en estas entrevistas y encuestas.

Si estas de acuerdo para hacer esta entrevista, vamos a hablar sobre eventos que han ocurrido y así como de actuaciones y estrategias que habéis empleado para resolver dichas situaciones. Cuando hablamos, voy a escribir notas para recordar las partes importantes cuando yo voy. Con tu permisión, es posible que voy a recordar nuestra conversación con un dictáfono.

Tu participación en la entrevista está totalmente voluntaria. Si pregunto algo que no quieres responder, no tenes que responder. Si, en un momento, quieres parar la entrevista, puedes deciemelo y vamos a parar. No hay un problema si elegís no hacer la entrevista o parar la en algún momento. Es totalmente tu decisión.

Voy a hacer todo que puedo para proteger tu privacidad todo el tiempo. No voy a usar tu nombre en nada que escriba para este estudio y no voy a decir a nadie que hemos hablado ni sobre que hablábamos.

Por favor certifica que has leído y entendido esta declaración y que das tu consentimiento para hacer la entrevista.

Firme

Fecha

Nombre impreso



## **Appendix D – Sample Semi-Structured Interview Questions**

### *Introducción*

1. Por favor puedes hablarme sobre el trabajo y los objetivos de tu organización y tu rol acá.
2. Qué es la definición de violencia contra la mujer de tu organización?

### *La prevalencia de violencia contra la mujer*

3. Qué tipo de situaciones de violencia contra la mujer encuentras más frecuentemente en tu trabajo?
4. Qué razones explican estas situaciones de violencia?
5. Como piensas que podría prevenir la violencia contra la mujer?
6. Que acción del gobierno o el estado existe para conseguir esto? Piensas que necesita cambiar o mejorar? De que manera?

### *Acción cuando la violencia contra la mujer ocurre*

7. Cuando las mujeres con quien trabajas experimentan violencia, que acción toman?
8. Que barreras encuentran las mujeres cuando quieren salir de una relación abusiva? Y cuando quieren denunciar la situación?
9. Encuentras que las mujeres saben que recursos pueden acceder para ayudar las cuando están en una situación de violencia?

### *El proceso de recuperación después de violencia contra la mujer*

10. Encuentras que mujeres quien han experimentado violencia pueden hablar de su abuso después con sus amigos, su familia, etc?

11. Hay un impacto de la cultura de Argentina en esta problema? En que manera?

*Los fondos del trabajo*

12. Donde recibe la mayoría de los fondos de tu organización?

13. Son los fondos difíciles de encontrar?

14. Hay un impacto de las percepciones sociales en esta capacidad? En que manera?

*Las estrategias del trabajo*

15. Que son los obstáculos mas grandes de tu trabajo?

## Appendix E – Glossary

<b>Acronym</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<b>Castellano</b>	Used to describe Argentina's version of the Spanish language
<b>CEDAW</b>	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
<b>Femicide</b>	The killing of a woman on the grounds that she is female
<b>NGO</b>	Non-governmental organisation
<b>Special Rapporteur</b>	Special Rapporteur on Violence Against Women, its Causes and Consequences
<b>UN</b>	United Nations
<b>VAWG</b>	Violence against women and girls
<b>Working Group</b>	Working Group on the issue of discrimination against women in law and practice

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