Normas sociales y dinámicas de poder en el hogar: movilidad y trabajo extra-doméstico de las mujeres en San Felipe del Progreso

Dynamic and social standards of home power: mobility and extra-domestic work of women in San Felipe de el Progreso

Normas sociais de poder e dinâmicas em casa: mobilidade e trabalho extra-doméstico das mulheres em San Felipe del Progreso

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Resumen

Muchas mujeres mexicanas no pueden elegir con libertad sus idas y venidas ni tampoco su trabajo, lo que repercute en su bienestar. El objetivo de este artículo es analizar las normas sociales que influyen en las dinámicas de poder en el hogar y que guardan relación con la movilidad y el trabajo extra-doméstico de las mujeres del poblado de San Felipe del Progreso. Asimismo, se estudiaron los mecanismos de poder utilizados por los miembros del hogar en estas situaciones. Con este fin se realizaron entrevistas a profundidad a grupos de mujeres en la región, donde se encontró que las normas sociales determinan las tareas que deben cumplir las mujeres en el hogar, el poder de autoridad de sus esposos y familiares políticos, los argumentos utilizados en la negociación y, por tanto, los mecanismos y la visibilidad de las estrategias para ostentar el poder y oponerse a él.

Palabras clave: normas sociales, poder en el hogar, empoderamiento mujeres, trabajo extra-doméstico, movilidad.

Abstract

Many Mexican women do not can choose freely their comings and goings or his work, with implications for their well-being. The aim of this article is to analyze the social norms that influence the dynamics of power at home that relate to the mobility and work extra - home of the women of the village of San Felipe de el Progreso. Also studied the mechanisms of power used by the members of the household in such situations. With this objective to women's groups in-depth interviews were carried out in the region, where it was found that social norms determine the tasks to be met by women in the home, the power of authority of their husbands and in-laws, the arguments used in the negotiation and, therefore, mechanisms and the visibility of strategies to hold power and oppose him.

Key Words: social norms, power at home, women empowerment, extra-domestic work, mobility.

Resumo

Muitas mulheres mexicanas não pode escolher livremente as suas idas e vindas, nem seu trabalho, o que afeta seu bem-estar. O objetivo deste trabalho é analisar as normas sociais que influenciam a dinâmica de poder em casa e que se relacionam com a mobilidade e extra-doméstico trabalho das mulheres na cidade de San Felipe del Progreso. Além disso, foram estudados os mecanismos de poder utilizados pelos membros do agregado familiar nessas situações. Para este fim entrevistas em profundidade com grupos de mulheres na região, onde verificou-se que as normas sociais determinar as tarefas a serem cumpridas pelas mulheres em casa, o poder de autoridade de seus maridos e sogros, os argumentos utilizados foram feitas mecanismos e estratégias de negociação e, portanto, de visibilidade para manter o poder e se opõem a ela.

Palavras-chave: normas sociais, de energia em casa, o empoderamento das mulheres, extra-domésticos,   obras   de   mobilidade.

Introduction

Freedom of movement and choice of an extra-domestic work are fundamental to the well-being of the people. They also are the way to get other achievements, such as the association with others outside the home, personal and skills development, health, and so on. However, many Mexican women, as well as others from many countries of the world, cannot decide freely regarding their own mobility and working outside the home in return for remuneration. García and Oliveira (1994, pp. 216-217) interviewed women from different localities of Mexico and they found that in the popular sectors only 44% of them was free to leave, to work, or to participate politically, but first had to ask permission from your spouse. They also found that the main sources of conflict in the home were due to infidelity, jealousy and the husband's prohibition to leave alone.

Taking measures and programmes that effectively to empower women in these areas of your life are essential to enhance their wellbeing and also to reduce inequality and poverty. To achieve this first is must understand the dynamics of power used in the home, and how negatively affect both welfare and the manipulation of women. There are various mechanisms that can be used to obtain and exercise power. Some of them are more violent than others, for example, physical violence is more harmful for a person that manipulation through arguments. In addition, power can manifest itself as a conflict of interest and, therefore, be visible, but it can also have obstacles that prevent conflicts of interest are externalized.

Decisions taken by men and women throughout their lives and the restrictions faced by to take them are related to their cultural and historical environment (Boserup, 1970). Social norms, in other words, rules that dictate social behavior right or wrong, determine choice of persons. In Mexico, as well as in the rest of the world, these rules set the hierarchical system in the home, where women often have less freedom of choice.

The objective of this article is to investigate the way in which social norms influence the dynamics of power in the home, which are related to the movement and extra-domestic work of the women united in San Felipe del Progreso, a municipality mazahua with high Levels of marginality and poverty in the northwest of the State of Mexico.

In a literary review of studies on empowerment and empowerment of women, Malhotra et al. (2005) find that few studies outside South Asia have focused on the freedom of movement of women. There is more research on the influence of extra-domestic work on the power of women in the household, and fewer on the negotiation of women to work in exchange for economic remuneration. Gates (2002) found on the northern border of Mexico that women negotiated with their husbands the possibility of working, offering instead to do more household chores or contribute financially to large expenditures such as building a house. On the other hand, Kabeer (2000) points out that in Bangladesh the welfare of children is a common strategy used by women when negotiating with their husbands their work in textile factories.

Social norms and power in the home [1]

The definition of social norms that we will use is proposed by Covarrubias (2016), based on the conceptualization of Rutherforth (1996). Social norms are moral and informal rules (which have to do with the principles of good or bad behavior) shown by a society and that influence their internalization among the members of a group according to their degree of approval. Violation of a rule can be punished with gossip, criticism and, in extreme cases, ostracism or violence. It can also create feelings of guilt or remorse in the transgressing individual.

Norms vary in their level of subjectivity, that is, the degree to which they are naturalized or internalized in society. Bourdieu (1977, p.164) called "doxa" to the moment when norms have been internalized in society, to such a degree that the established order is perceived as self-evident and natural, and not as a possibility. He distinguishes "doxa" from other beliefs

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[1] Este marco conceptual y teórico está basado en un artículo teórico enviado para su dictamen a una revista científica.

that imply awareness and recognition of possible antagonistic beliefs. This level of subjectivity determines the degree to which the norm is generalized in the community.

On the other hand, the meaning of the concept of power has been widely debated in the social sciences. According to Lukes (2005), this word is polysemic, that is, it has several meanings that are used differently depending on its context and application. It is sometimes used to communicate the power of things to exist and act, while in others it is used to signal the power of one person over another. In the first case, Scott (2001, p. 1) defines power as the intentional use of an agent to affect the behavior of others in social relationships. Feminists use the second conceptualization of power, but focused on the process of empowerment or empowerment of women. Kabeer (1999, pp. 436-437) defines the latter term as the ability of an individual or group of people to choose in a context where the choice has been disqualified. This term refers to strategic decisions of life, meaning that they are key for people to live the life they want. Freedom of movement and the ability to choose extra-domestic work are part of this type of decision. On the other hand, for an individual to be initially empowered he has to be disempowered, that is, the ability to make strategic decisions is limited (Kabeer, 1999).

Power relations operate at different levels in society: individual, family, community, national and international (Malhotra et al., 2005). The present article analyzes power relations in the home, focusing on how spouses or the political family of wives use (intentionally or not) their power to manipulate their behavior in their movement and extra-domestic work, and How they use the power to resist it.

Lukes (2005) defined three dimensions of power that depend on the visibility of decisions and conflict. His student Gaventa (2011) took up these three dimensions and conceptualized them as forms of power, which are described below.

Form of visible power: involves controversial decisions on which there is an explicit and observable conflict. Conflict is about preferences that are presumably made consciously and manifested by observable actions. If you observe who participates, what interests are at stake, what voices are present but have little influence, who loses and who wins, can be clarified who has the power. In this form of power, the actors are aware of their grievances and are able to articulate them, so they have the resources to negotiate.

Hidden power form: refers to the creation of barriers that prevent the participation in the making of elections. It involves mechanisms in which one person prevents another from bringing out a conflict. It also includes actions in which people resist domination and do so less publicly.

Invisible form of power: it involves ways in which knowledge of rights and interests are hidden through ideologies, forms of value, and behavior determined by cultural and social patterns, as well as by the politics of institutions. It has to do with the "internalization" of social norms, and affects people in their knowledge and awareness of potential issues and conflicts. Because culturally constructed behavior patterns are not established by household members, one can not speak explicitly of one's power over another, for example, from the husband to the wife; However, because the wife's freedom to choose well-being is being restricted, it can be said that power is exercised over her.

In the case of a couple there is visible power, especially when the two people enter into a process of deliberation in which they express their concerns and desires. He who has power is able to impose his interests. On the other hand, there is invisible power when one of the two does not explicitly express their interests and does not enter into a negotiation process. The invisible power is present when one of the two people or both, completely internalize a social norm. For example, women internalize to such a degree their roles as wife and mother, who do not question them.

Strategies to empower individuals depend on the visibility of forms of power. Ways to challenge invisible power include adult education, awareness programs, media use, and popular methods to challenge prevalent stereotypes and discourses. When there is hidden power, the individual does not have sufficient agency or the hope of achieving their interests using public and explicit mechanisms. Therefore, the methods that address this type of power focus on improving the voice of people and their ability to express and express their needs, that is, to strengthen their agency. Finally, when there is visible power, you have the agency and the space to express any concerns. In this case, the strategy involves direct negotiation and the provision of social, legal and economic resources (Gaventa, 2011). Due to the different implications of each of these forms of power in the

programs and policies that must be used to empower women, a differentiation will be made throughout the article.

It is also important to distinguish between mechanisms that can be used by individuals to maintain and exert power. The mechanisms used in visible and hidden power are coercion, manipulation, authority and influence. A power structure is coercion, which rests on the threat of the use of force or serious deprivation on the part of the principal, and on the subservient's belief that he has both the ability and willingness to use it (Scott, 2001).). Manipulation has to do with using deception and lying to maintain power. It is an aspect or sub concept of force, where conformity arises in the absence of recognition of the exact nature of the demand made by the one acting in conformity (Lukes, 2005). Authority is sustained by the idea that one has the right to give orders and the corresponding obligation to obey. It exists when one or more people tacitly or explicitly allow someone else to make decisions for them in certain actions. An individual is willing to conform because he feels committed to the legitimacy of the source of command and not because he makes an assessment of the action or situation involved. Power is accepted because it is considered correct, justified or valid in some form and its legitimacy flows from the internalization of cultural meanings (Scott, 2001). There is talk of influence when persuasion operates through cognitive symbols, ideas and representations that lead people to define situations in specific form, meaning in the form of meaning. In this case, individuals are attracted and influenced by the interpretive framework of the principal (Scott, 2001).

Some mechanisms of power are damaging, while others can be constructive. For example, physical violence has serious effects on the welfare of the recipient; However, influence, through valid and timely reasoning, can be of benefit to the relationship. Therefore, we will also distinguish between the mechanisms of power in the negotiations related to the mobility and work of women in San Felipe del Progreso.

Methodology

The field work was carried out in two stages. In the first interviews were conducted in depth to women of all ages and marital status in two areas of San Felipe del Progreso. In this article we consider only the information provided by women united, married[2] and separates[3]. Specifically, the interviews were carried out in San Lucas Ocotepec, El Carmen Ocotepec, Guadalupe Coté and San Juan Coté. The first two are localities that border each other, just like the last two. The first two communities are close and well connected to San Felipe del Progreso and Atlacomulco. The latter are far removed from urban centers and therefore have less access to higher and higher basic education services, health services and jobs outside the community. A total of 18 interviews were made in Guadalupe Coté and San Juan Coté and 22 in San Lucas Ocotepec and El Carmen Ocotepec.

In the second stage, focus groups were held on women throughout the area. A focus group was conducted on married women, one married to migrant women and one to separate women. In both the interviews and the focus groups, emphasis was placed on the dynamics of the relationship with their husbands or ex-husbands. It was found that women did not have complete freedom to choose their mobility, whether to go visit their moms, to go to the market and even to work. This had important consequences on the well-being of women, so that the decision-making about these aspects in the home was deepened.

Socio-economic characteristics of San Felipe del Progreso

San Felipe del Progreso is a municipality in the northwest of the State of Mexico, which has 104 locations. In 2010 it had a population of 121 396 people. Of these, 58 173 were men and 63 223 women. It is considered as an indigenous Mazahua municipality, although only 32% of the population of 5 years and older spoke an indigenous language in 2010 (INEGI 2010). According to the National Population Council (CONAPO, 2010), in 2010 there was a high level of marginalization and, according to the poverty measure of the National Assessment Council (CONEVAL 2015), 81 568 people (80.6% Of the total population) were in poverty. Of these, 37 611 (37.1%) had moderate poverty and 43 958 (43.4%) had extreme poverty. Therefore, this region is poor and has many shortcomings.

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[2] Para efectos prácticos del presente estudio se considera que las mujeres unidas (que no están casadas por el civil) están casadas, ya que las dinámicas dentro del hogar son las mismas.

[3] A las mujeres separadas se les hicieron preguntas sobre la relación con sus esposos cuando estaban unidas.

Due to the scarcity of employment opportunities in the municipality and the low profitability of agriculture (subsistence and self-consumption), a common economic strategy in households is the migration of single men and women to urban areas. According to Larralde (2011), the agricultural labor force has migrated to urban areas due to low incomes in the sector, declining agricultural prices, recurrent crises since 1982 and neoliberal restructuring. The studies carried out by this author in Emilio Portes Gil, locality of San Felipe del Progreso, coincide with the information obtained in the interviews of the present study. Much of the work activity is outside the local space, where people mainly work on their own, whether in agriculture, commerce or in the service area. Although a large part of the population that migrates has salaried employment, it is not in highly productive or technical branches, which is why it is precarious, low paid and with poor working conditions.

The single women who migrate are going mainly to Mexico City to work as domestic servants, although also they found women who migrated to Hermosillo and even to the United States. Once married, the women returned to the villages and lived with their in-laws. This was also an economic strategy, since once a family was formed, it was impossible to keep the home in the city. Once the husbands saved (which did not always happen) they could acquire a property and be independent of the political family.

The couples were distributed according to the prevailing social norms, that is, the women did the housework and the husbands provided financially. Housekeeping included cleaning the house, making food, serving household members, caring for children, the elderly and the sick, caring for animals and working the land. On the other hand, there were not many opportunities for extra-domestic work in the area for women, but others were found, such as washing others, working the land of others, aesthetics, tents and informal jobs, such as selling and Preparation of food and the sale of clothing. Women with higher education were nurses or teachers.

The men, single or married, migrated to Mexico City (in which case they returned to their villages every weekend) or to the United States. In these places it was common for them to work as laborers in the construction industry. Those who migrated to the United States had

greater status because they could send more money to their families. Other trades of the men were taxi driver, farmer and informal microentrepreneur, for example, in bread sales.

Dynamics of power in the home related to the mobility of wives

In San Felipe del Progreso many women are not free to leave their homes to go where they choose. A social norm prevailing in the municipality indicates that women who live as a couple have to ask their husbands and in-laws to go to distant places, such as the market, visit their family or go to work. By having to ask "permission" and be subject to it, women live under the authority of the political family, which has the power to decide on the lives of the wives.

When the wives wanted to leave their homes and their husbands refused to do so, it was mainly due to two reasons, both related to social norms. The first is linked to the husbands' concern that their wives may be unfaithful to them. For example, Paola points out to her husband: "He does not like it to go out, because he thinks there will be men. He thinks there are other people who can get my attention. He knows that they are pure women, but when there are men, he is jealous. " Control of the sexuality of women was then exercised through the restriction of their movements. The husbands did not want their wives to leave either because if they did, they would not fully comply with their housework tasks, that is, they would not have ready food on time or would not attend to them as they thought it was. For example, Carmen indicates that she has conflicts with her husband: "Then I would go to my mother's house all day and when he arrived he would tell me 'and now you, where are you? Why have not you prepared me to eat? '"Both motives are directly related to social norms.

When the husbands migrated they found cases in which they continued controlling the movements of their wives by telephone. In other cases they only controlled their mobility when they were present. However, when wives live with their political family, they not only have to ask permission from their husbands, but also their in-laws. Hence, the migration of the spouses does not mean complete freedom of movement for them; However, does mean that such wives, after having children and marrying them, could have power over the mobility decision of other women: their daughters-in-law.

Although the wife is not living with the political family, she can control and monitor her movements through gossip and criticism, which are directly related to the two norms mentioned, that is to say, with the fulfillment of the wives of her role as mistress Home and also with the control of their sexuality.

An example of the first case is that of Celia. Her husband is a worker who works weekends in Mexico City. He does not care that she leaves; However, his brother insists that Celia should stay in his house:

> Do not pretend that I did not like that I went out, that no one came to the house, I wanted all the time to be in the house, in the house, and because I just went there with my mom, , Newspaper, and that was what that gentleman did not like. He told me that if his brother came to bring me, it was to stay in the house and not to go from here to there and that house had to take care of it.

Example of the second case is that of Rocío, to whom her husband is a cell. He also works as a worker in Mexico City and his mother sows jealousy. Rocío said: "Her mother (of her husband) gives her ideas, tells her that I go out, that all the time I am outside, and then she becomes jealous. Since he's out, he's working out. "

When the husbands did not give permission for their wives to leave, sometimes they sought to negotiate openly with them to try to convince them, but this could cause them to strengthen their authority with violence, whether verbal or physical.

Celia, also stated:

> There are times when he does not give me permission. "I do not want you to go, period. If you do not want to have more problems, do not go; it's up to you". Sometimes I listen to him and I do not go, but sometimes I tell him that I am not his property. There are days that he does get very aggressive and as sometimes takes, is when he gets all his anger. She does not hit me anymore, but she freaks out with things, throws the frets and insults us very ugly (she and her children).

This is a case of visible power where the wife tries to resist her husband's authority explicitly and openly by telling her that she is not his property. The husband responded by trying to impose his authority with threats and violence.

Another mechanism of opposition of the wives is the hidden resistance, with which they decide where to go, despite not having the permission of the political family. It consists of covering up real actions to be able to do what they want. Lucia, for example, 52, who lives in Guadalupe Coté, indicated that her husband does not give her permission to see her mother. When asked what he does in those cases, he replied:

> Well I told him that I went to the store or something and I was going fast with my mom or, for example, on Sunday I would say, "Look, I'm going to Santa Ana" (town where the market is) and he Said: "It's okay." And since my mother-in-law lives close by, my mother lives higher and my mother-in-law lives downstairs, that's where I used to be, or when I went to school with the kids that there was a meeting there.

Guadalupe used to go out to other places to go see her mother, without her husband noticing. This mechanism, in addition to hiding the actual actions of women, implies that they had to wait for the right moment. They could not do it any time they wanted, so although there was a mechanism of hidden power, it was far from complete freedom of decision.

It's interesting to note that Lucia, who now lives with her son and daughter-in-law, complains that she says she's going somewhere else when she's actually going to see her mom.

> She who goes with her parents and then tells my husband that why I leave her, but I tell her who I am to ban him and in fact she told me that she married my son, not me and she fucked with me husband. In the morning she says "Suegra, I'm leaving", then sent me a message: "My sister-in-law is very sick." And it turns out that my husband arrived and asks me and I already tell him that he says that his sister-in-law became ill, and says: "Well, it's bad, he's already taken it every eight days to his house." I'm going to ask your dad what's up and say that the only one who came out was his mom, and the sister-in-law who, according to the patient, was walking around the hill, taking care of.

Lucia's daughter-in-law openly resisted the power her mother-in-law had over her movement, but she had to resort to concealing her true intention to go see her family, so she did not really have the full autonomy to go wherever she wanted .

From the examples shown so far, it becomes clear, as Gaventa (2011) has explained, that the forms and mechanisms of power related to the same decision are interrelated and vary in time. Lucia's daughter-in-law, for example, openly resists the authority of her mother-in-law sometimes, telling her that she married her son, not her, and also conceals her true movements. Spouses, in addition to the authority they exercise, sometimes use violence to reinforce their authority.

On the other hand, there were also several women who indicated that when they asked permission to leave and their husband did not give them, they complied with their decision without negotiating to change their opinion. That is, they gave up all power to their husband to choose about their mobility. They thus internalized the rule that husbands have authority over wives.

There were women who had even internalized the notion that women should stay at home. For example, Josefa said: "He (her husband) works in Mexico, I do not leave my house, I'm going to eat Mass. If I get out, I'll give you a call. " When these social norms are no longer questioned and begin to be perceived as a natural behavior to follow, we speak of an invisible power.

Finally, especially among the new generations, husbands invite their wives not to ask permission, that is, they give their wives the power to decide on their mobility. Fabiola, 32, for example, said: "I do not ask permission from my husband, he tells me: 'Just let me know, I do not need your permission, just let me know.' It's just telling you where I'm going."

Dynamics of power in the home related to the extra-domestic work of the wives

It has been reiterated throughout the article that social norms in the region indicate that married women are housewives, that is, they are responsible for cleaning the home; To care for its members, including cooking and serving food; Caring for children, old and sick; And to take care of the animals of the house. When marrying, many women live with their in-laws, so they perform these tasks under the authority of their mothers-in-law. Men, on the other hand, are home providers. The women in the separate women's group claim that: "The man has to go to work and the lady has to wash him." Therefore, social norms establish the tasks that women must perform.

In the absence of social norms, household members would negotiate for a division of labor according to their preferences. However, due to these standards each family member is engaged in tasks within and outside the home according to their roles.

Many women in San Felipe del Progreso want to work outside the home to have the means to acquire goods and economic independence, especially if they had migrated and worked when they were single. When marrying, the women returned to their town and assumed the role of housewife. Several interviewees who had migrated indicated that they missed having the autonomy to decide on their own income.

> I got used to having my things; If I wanted something I would buy it. Now it is very difficult for me, because if I want to buy things for my daughter or for myself and my husband does not give me, I keep wanting to buy things. That's why I would like to work.

For her part, Adriana also points out that it is strange to work, since "it made me feel independent and now I am dependent on someone, not just me." Even though women may not have worked as single women, working anyway is the way they can buy goods for them and save money.

In negotiating whether wives work or not, social norms also favor husbands to have authority over it. When wives negotiate with their husbands to be able to go to work (in mobility, men refuse because of jealousy and because they "neglect their duties as housewives"), emphasis is placed on childcare,

This was the case of Fabiola, 20, who said she had tried to convince her husband to give her permission to work: "Well, sometimes when I had two children, I wanted to go to work, but he did not want to And since I never convinced him and now with five, then less. " When asked why her husband had not wanted her to work, she replied "Well, what happens is that the children were already going to school and then there was no one to take care of them to go to school. Because".

Even those women who had to leave their children indicated that their husbands did not want them to work because they neglected their children. Gabriela worked for some time in Toluca and while she lived she lived with her sister, who took care of her only daughter.

> A little while ago I went to work in Toluca. I said, "I'm going to blow it away," but he did not leave me for my child anymore. I was where they sold juices, smoothies, cakes and all that. There were two shifts: he would come in from six in the morning at two-thirty in the afternoon, or he would come in from eight in the morning to six-thirty in the evening. Then I would arrive and my daughter was already sleeping, and that's why she did not leave me.

Husbands argue that they did not want their wives to work because it was their duty to care for their children. While this could be an authentic reason why husbands did not want their wives to work, also and because of the weight it has for wives and society as a whole to be a good mother, they could have used it to persuade them not to work.

For example, Martha has a year and a half girl. She said that her husband did not agree to her work.

> I have talked to him and put the child on the pretext. For him it is pretext. What will people say if the wife of such a person is working if he has just arrived from the United States? What will people say? He cares what people say.

Martha thinks that her husband does not want her to work because she is interested in his image as an economic provider, especially since she has just returned from the United States, where she was supposed to have made a lot of money, not so much her daughter's

care. This also highlights the influence of gossip and criticism (which always arise when a wife works) on the motivations and preferences of the people.

For example, Lorena said she had friction with her husband and also received criticism from her mother-in-law and family because she worked.

> Among the family, the one who absences you every day, from Monday to Friday, from such schedules to such schedules, is not well seen. They told me that I was not going to work... that I was a bad mother, that how I could leave my children, they used to say rude things to me, but I did not take into account the comments they made.

These gossip and criticisms were therefore based both on the idea that working women neglected their children and on the possibility that they were unfaithful to their husbands if they left the house.

There is also the belief that a man marries for his wife to cleanse him, cook him, take care of his children, and so on. Martha's in-laws, for example, told her husband, "So what did you get married for, so why do you want your wife if she's already out of her obligations to feed you, wash you or care for you?"

If women openly resisted the authority of their husbands, it could lead to the dissolution of marriage. This was the case with Claudia. With the financial support of her parents, she studied nursing and worked in a health center. While working, her mother cared for her three children, one of thirteen and two eight-year-old twins. When they were still married, her ex-wife, who had migrated to the United States, did not want her to work. Although he did not live in San Felipe, he became jealous of the hours when she arrived home.

> I had difficulties because "you did not arrive, I called, I dialed the house and you got there." It bothers you and eventually affects you. And I say nine years were good. I say it does not matter, it does not matter, well it does matter because you do not work at ease, you do not live at ease. Truth does matter.

As with the case of mobility, although the spouses had migrated, the women had to give them accounts over the telephone. In this case, eventually her husband had left her and had found another couple in the United States. Claudia felt guilty for having worked, she

thought: "Suddenly if you had not gone to work you would not be alone with these three children." Therefore, she related the abandonment of her husband with that she had not respected his authority, ignored the disapproval of his political family and made the decision to work.

Here too an invisible power was present, because because women had internalized social norms and believed that their obligation was to be housewives and not to work, they renounced negotiation with their husbands.

It is clear that a job requires absences from the home on a schedule for several days a week. This made the issue of mobility different from that of work in two respects. Caring for children was more important than domestic chores. However, although women had helpers to care for their children (almost always a close relative), they had the perception that they were neglected if they worked. In addition, unlike mobility, a hidden form of power was not found as it is much more difficult to conceal work than visits outside the home.

Discussion

As has been corroborated so far, there are several channels by which social norms influence the power of women. First, social norms establish what activities and behavior are appropriate for men and women. Women should stay at home, be faithful, engage in household chores and care for family members. On the other hand, men must be providers. There are couples who internalize these social norms to the degree that they do not question them. In this case, there is an invisible power that limits women in their freedom of movement and choice to work and, therefore, to have well-being. Some women internalized these rules to such an extent that they even mentioned that they did not leave their homes, that is, they did not even dare to ask permission from their husbands to leave.

Social norms also give spouses and political families authority over their noncompliance in the mobility and extra-domestic work of women. In that sense, women are not considered as adults and critical, with the right to decide on their own mobility.

When wives visibly negotiate with their husbands to let them leave their homes or go to work, and do not agree, it is mainly due to two reasons, both related to social norms. First, in the municipality there is a strong control of the sexuality of the women, a great suspicion

and distrust related to the fidelity to their husbands. Whether wives leave or work raises suspicions that they may meet men with whom they will be unfaithful.

Secondly, housewife wives have to take care of family members and perform housework, such as cooking and serving food. It is even considered that these tasks are the very purpose of women in marriage. Therefore, if women go away or work they can not fully comply with those obligations. Also, working women need to be away for longer, which is why they are thought to neglect childcare.

In addition, social norms influence the motivations and preferences of both spouses and wives through the gossip and criticism of the political family and society in general. That way they limit women's freedom of movement and their work away from home.

In the negotiation process, childcare is also used to prevent wives from working, even if this is not the real reason. So social norms are also used as arguments in the negotiation process.

Social norms influence the arguments used. Awareness campaigns are recommended to counteract them.

The husbands of those women who visibly violated their authority resorted to violence, whether verbal or physical, to intimidate. This demonstrates the theory of inconsistency of status, which indicates that husbands are more likely to use violence if their authority is threatened or can not fulfill their role as providers (Casique 2008). In developing programs and policies to empower women, the pernicious effects that can be generated, such as increased husband violence, must be considered. It is critical to consider programs that address men about the effects of their loss of identity in relation to their authority and hierarchy in the home.

On the other hand, women can use a mechanism of resistance or hidden power, with which they manage to go where they want, but masking their actions. If they say that they go to other places or hide the true reason for their departure from home, they achieve the power to go where they want. However, this mechanism of resistance to being hidden is far from being a true freedom. Thus, the importance of improving the capacity of women to express themselves and express their needs assertively is evident.

Although the social norms in San Felipe give spouses authority to make decisions related to the mobility and work of their wives, there are some who invite them to decide for themselves on the matter. This happens especially in the new generations. It is recommended to identify clearly the factors, such as education, women's participation in salaried jobs, etc., which influence the internalization of social norms between men and women, in order to achieve more equitable power relations.

On the other hand, even if husbands give their wives freedom, the political family can limit it through gossip and criticism, so programs must be created to erode social norms throughout the community and not just to try to influence in isolation A handful of women.

Although the influence of social norms on women's power in relationships has been studied in this article, it would be interesting to do so with the influence of social norms on the power of women at community level and their interactions with women. Institutions. It is worth repeating the study in other regions to identify the similarities and differences between the mechanisms and visibility of women's power at the relational level. A quantitative study could even be considered to know the scope of social norms and their forms of power in relationships.

Conclusion

From the study presented here two issues become evident: the importance of deepening the dynamics of power in the home, and the need to examine in depth the channels through which women empower themselves. Only in this way can programs and policies be developed to increase the well-being of women.

Differentiating the mechanisms of visibility in negotiation at home is essential. For example, husbands seek to impose their authority with violence. This implies that in order to empower women, it is necessary to find ways to improve their agency and resources, but also to educate men so that they are aware of the self-determination of their wives.

It is also necessary to investigate the norms that limit the power of women in the home. The authority of husbands over their wives, control of women's sexuality, and the roles of housewife and economic provider, are social norms that prevent the freedom of wives in their movement and extra-domestic work. Therefore, these social norms must be combated with awareness programs, workshops, and so on.

Finally, social norms through internalization and gossip and criticism. A woman who defies the rules that limit her freedom will find obstacles and pressures from her husband, her political family and the people in her locality. Thus, social norms must be eradicated from localities.

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