

WOMEN'S LIFE:

day to day and the imaginary sphere

MARINA MASSI

“To those who became women unraveling life”

MASSI / 92

Note: As part of the final revision of the English version for this book, the quotations from books or papers published originally in English may still suffer alterations in order to keep the original text.

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FOREWORD

Marina Massi's proposal of researching and "portraying the imaginary sphere in the daily life of middle class women from Sao Paulo" comes at the right time. This type of information is not usually available and it is fundamental for studying what influences the construction of this imagery, the forces that make it spread, the relevance it has on rational decisions, and specially in the history of women's submission.

Over the last three decades, the feminist movement went through two different phases and is now at a third moment, which is called by many post-feminist. The first moment was characterized by the fight for equal rights, which abroad, in the sixties, led to a confrontation with the man as an enemy. In Brazil, in the seventies, that struggle did not go beyond inspiring some issues of the tabloid "O Pasquim" (an acclaimed and influential newspaper in Rio de Janeiro, very popular during the years of dictatorship), where the feminists were referred to

as "unloved women" and "dikes", reflecting the pejorative tone associated with feminism in Brazil for many years. Another angle, less remembered and pointed out by the anthropologist Ruth Cardoso was that the "paraphernalia" created by "O Pasquim" disconnected the feminist movement from its political link with the concurrent social movements going on in the country. The specific features of the Brazilian feminist movement, its close relationship with the political activity, mainly with popular movements, was therefore lost. However, if on the one hand, to be feminist became a burden, the feminists did not suffer the military repression aimed at other left wing movements.

This first moment of feminism, probably fruit of the introjected patriarchal ideology and of an identification with the oppressor, tried to prove that women could be equal to men, discarded the feminine, seen as devalued, and experienced the masculine as the superiority to be aimed at and copied.

The second moment, in the late seventies and early eighties, already focusing on the conquest of the specificity of the feminine, generated a great amount of research and a protest against the ideology of what it is to be a man or a woman. While the first feminists searched for their emancipation by burning their bras, confusing the universal with the masculine, the next phase was a search for the "feminine" rather than its devaluation. This attempt even involved reconstructing the history of women like Camille Claudel and others. Women did not want, nor needed to be equal to men, and saw this difference as enriching to society. According to Rosiska Darcy de Oliveira (1991), "in adopting this posture of affirming new values, the feminist movement starts to develop the role of what Serge Moscovici would call active minority. Active minorities are groups that challenge the common sense, with the capacity to provoke transformation of norms and social relationships, through firmness and viability of their positions.

Through the feminist movement women could draw new lines in the social scene. The deviation from the norms is not a partial and temporary disfunction that needs to be corrected, but represents a fundamental process within societies. Indeed, transformation of norms and attitudes can only occur with the clear refusal of the dominant codes, expressed by those who deviate. The first achievement of the women's movement as an active minority consisted precisely in breaking the ideological consensus involving the definition of masculine and feminine.

From the moment when the feminine identity was not defined any more by the masculine discourse, tasks and responsibilities that had been naturally considered as inherent to

the feminine condition started to be questioned and the patriarchal ideology showed its gaps.

Becoming more aware of their condition, women started to claim for better salaries and equal opportunities regarding jobs and education, as well as for sharing housework with men, and for the right to be mothers without exhausting themselves by being responsible for everything.

This phase led to the perception that women had to undertake a double work load. However, many women denied this awareness assimilating the new proposal from the patriarchy, perfectly represented by the decoy of the Wonder Woman. This bionic woman manages everything: from being a perfect housewife to developing a highly competent professional life, with recognition for her sexual performance. Some women noticed that, in practice, it was impossible to undertake the feminine duties and sustain a professional development which enabled them to actually compete in the labor market. These women, unlike the Wonder Women, started to protest and to wonder what was wrong, without taking the failures as personal and without accepting the notion that "there is nothing wrong, the problem is that you should be more organized and more efficient".

Among American feminists, in 1981 the pioneer Betty Friedan published the book "The Second Phase", questioning the loss that professional women were having to face regarding emotional and family life. R. D. Oliveira, in 1991, observes that: "Women enter the men's world, but this movement takes place without any reciprocity. Although society accepts and even sometimes demands women to assert themselves as men, the reciprocal does not occur." Oliveira disagrees with Elizabeth Badinter, who believes that women and men are increasingly more alike, moving towards androgyny. To Oliveira, social institutions have been taking charge of aspects of family life, which had been previously women's responsibility. Private life and emotional relationships, priceless, are not for sale but can be shared. However, according to this author, the basis of human relations have been at risk. Rather than consider sharing this private sphere, men intend to institutionalize it, with many consequences arising from this loss. "In this review of fundamental concepts generating new proposals of social organization, it is essential not to reduce the feminine universe to house work. The heritage of a distorted Marxism and the search for theoretical respect at a time when Marxism still dominated the social sciences led some branches of the feminist movement to a disastrous reductionism." Feminine values and behaviors, like the importance given to interpersonal

relationship, to romantic and emotional aspects of life, are very precious goods that can not be rejected in benefit of a competition with masculine efficacy.

We see, therefore, women clamoring for a differentiated treatment, for a society with space for mothering. On the other hand, this Brazilian feminist warns us about the possibility of women losing feminine territory, not in sharing it with men, which would be very interesting and would keep men in the private sphere, but in delegating it to public institutions. The boundaries between the private and public spheres could be blurred, with the consequent loss of values which have been preserved by women as part of the private domain.

For some years, however, it has become evident that the feminine difficulty in changing this situation of submission, has a subjective dimension, that goes beyond political, cultural and social explanations.

According to Elizabeth de Souza Lobo (1991), the studies of the origins of domination could be divided in two groups, both victims of the same trap : some, having the theory of patriarchy as their axis, reduced the problem to the need to control feminine sexuality, while others, adopting a Marxist view, reduced the feminine issue to the exploration of women's labor force aiming at the accumulation of capital.

According to Lobo, the difficulties faced by these approaches widened the interest in Anthropology and Psychoanalysis, leading to a theorization of the notion of gender, in an attempt to understand the social meaning of masculinity and femininity. The issue of gender, which goes beyond the "biological sex", tries to offer a comprehension through daily living experiences. Michele Rosaldo, quoted by Lobo, states that "women's position in society is not a direct product of what they do, but of the meaning that their activities acquire through concrete social interaction." According to Lobo, "the dichotomies production/reproduction, public/private domains get diluted, since gender relations permeate all the spheres. Demarcations here are fluid, historically situated and culturally differentiated." The study of gender issues, and its widening to the psychoanalytic field, reflect the third and current moment of feminism. Possible obstacles of psychic nature acting on an unconscious level are investigated and the development of a feminine subjectivity is studied. Something, which has been kept at bay so far, occurs on this level, preventing women from overcoming certain barriers and leading them to be identified with the oppressor. Marina Massi's study represents a search for these answers.

However, Lobo warns us that "men's and women's routes can not be reduced to simple mechanic effects of a permanent identity, crystallized for ever, otherwise history would not exist."

Every human being has the first experience with a mother, in total fusion with her. This narcissistic period will be interrupted by the paternal function, resulting in the resolution of the Oedipus complex and in the formation of the personality. However, before birth, the infant is already involved in a patriarchal order in which its parents are ideologically situated. Expectations are therefore created in relation to the infant, and its place of Man or Woman in the society will be determined within this context. This place will be transmitted on a conscious level by paternal and maternal communications, together with an unconscious process of identification with the masculine or feminine figure. The patriarchal discourse permeates all this learning process, making any change extremely difficult.

The oedipal experience, the interdiction of the incest and the castration, lived in a specific and universal form by each sex, but also in an absolutely individual way by each person, symbolize the sexual differences between being a Man or a Woman. Freud proposed the theory of infantile sexuality after observing the children's negation of differences between sexes. This negation of the lack of penis in the girls, generated by the boy's fear of losing his own penis, or by the girl's difficulty in acknowledging a lack or difference, leads to the phallic phase, placing the phallus as the symbol of value and power.

This phallic meaning of the masculine organ starts to permeate the imaginary sphere and the behavior of both sexes.

And what is the result of this?

Gilou Garcia Reinoso, an Argentinean psychoanalyst, in a paper presented at the I International Congress on Women, in 1990, says that "feminine sexuality is enfolded by the imagery inherent to the masculine position: if women do not have the phallus, they will aim at obtaining it, since that is where power comes from. Power and phallus are the same within the imaginary order and power seduces, like the father representative of the phallus, in order to prevent this structure changing; he offers himself to be loved, to serve as an object of identification." Gilou notices that "in societies where gender differences are organized as differences in privileges, phallocentrism becomes 'phallocratism'".

When a child is born, it is submitted to a process of primary and secondary socialization by people that have the patriarchal world as their external and internal reality. In the symbolic universe of the people who will love and educate this

child, men and women perform determined roles, in which the phallus is the symbol of power. The child, through identification, will unconsciously internalize this symbolic universe. Besides seeing itself with a determined individual status and function, the child will also internalize what the society to which it belongs is and how it functions. What is outside, i.e. the external world, and what is inside, internalized, must have a harmonious relation, otherwise the individual will live outside the patterns of his society.

The woman often feels intensely confused, guilty and inadequate. Nicolaci da Costa's concept of "discontinuance" and Servulo Figueira's notion of "unmapping", quoted by Massi, show how the discontinuance in the symbolic internalization (if the primary process is in conflict with what is internalized in the secondary process), results in the internalization by the subject of conflicting symbolic systems.

These concepts may be very useful in understanding women's position today, as shown by Marina Massi in her study. When is a conflict, the part which is not accepted in this conflict is repressed in the unconscious, but continues existing and appearing. This happens because what was internalized through identification remains for ever, and what is internalized more recently is present, and is reinforced in the person's daily life and in the society in which we live.

I find it very interesting when the research points to the existence of two markedly different groups: the women that "have a job", without many aspirations and objectives, and the ones who have a professional project and ambition.

Massi touches on a real problem that women have to face today: what shall we do with the modern ideology that demands women to have a job out of the house, and the internalized patterns of a less advanced society, in which women belong to the home. Among women who have a job, a great number of those interviewed in this study do not have a concern for production, nor work only for money. They look for what they call personal fulfillment. They seem to develop an interesting activity, occupying their time creatively, since they consider reproduction to be their social contribution. I also notice this type of posture in many women: the vital contribution is the family well-being, the rest is irrelevant, losing any meaning when there are problems in the family or the husband leaves home. This is also evident when the women interviewed, as the researcher shows, "consider themselves as unprepared for the labor market competition and poorly paid, but even then believe that their personal development will come through their work."

What we observe is a kind of competent professional woman, who is also a mother, but who does not value herself professionally. Children and husband are her most important value and concerns. If something goes wrong in the family and she needs to depend on her work, there is a great fear of not being as efficient as her husband, even if reality shows the opposite. The idea of incompetence in the work out of the home still permeates the imaginary sphere. Everything is still very confused: the woman will find fulfillment outside the house, but her greatest strength is in the reproduction; when she has the opportunity to show competence, the sensation that she is not good enough prevails. For the woman who wants to develop professionally, the attempt to be Wonder Woman may appear, with enormous difficulties in reflecting about home and about her huge self-demands. Many women even overload themselves with work so that they do not have to think about private issues.

It becomes evident, in Massi's work, that society needs to be reorganized, but also that a change in the social sphere is only possible if there is a reorganization of the internal, symbolic universe, of what it is to be a Man or a Woman.

Massi's work points to the importance of deepening the study of the imaginary sphere as sustaining women's oppression. The patriarchal ideological oppression prevents women regarding home care and maternity as social issues.

To think about this aspect disorganizes what is "settled" because, actually, no real change has yet occurred. We are just touching the layers that cover the changes that, I believe, will take place in the man-woman relationship (and therefore in the family structure) in the beginning of the new century. Society is quick to forget its history. I was surprised by Massi's discovery that middle class women are unaware of what feminism has done for them. This is also what I observe in my experience. As Massi says: "feminism has lost its links in the memory of the generations". I wonder if it has ever been registered. Ideology has been treating the conflicts between work and home of these last decades as natural, as resulting from "modernity". There is no space for reflection. Most women try to be the idealized Wonder Woman, blaming themselves and feeling incapable if they do not manage to perform the tasks that their mothers or grandmothers used to undertake so well.

However, as the problems have to be faced in the daily life, some women eventually notice that something is wrong. They feel assaulted and rebel against it, but they lack knowledge for a deeper questioning. The imaginary sphere, ideologically determined by the patriarchy, prevents any attempt of change:

most women, when acknowledging the frustration, do not go beyond feeling disappointed and tired. And the media, as shown in the excellent book of Susan Faladi, *Backlash* (1992), sabotages women all the time. One of the most interesting points confirmed by Massi's study is the frustration of the middle class Wonder Woman, and her lack of perception that it is not she herself, or her incapacity to fill all the roles that are wrong, but the social and internal demands she makes on herself, having introjected the cultural imagery of the woman who manages to do everything, who lives happily and emotionally fulfilled.

Another interesting discovery is that some women can not stand housework after all nobody is born with a tendency to wash dishes and so overload themselves in their jobs to get rid of the boredom of domestic daily living and distresses of private life, as many men do. As Massi says "there is much to be transformed within family and home life".

The study shows the persistence of the idea of achieving complete fulfillment in the search for what we know is impossible. Exhaustion is usually denied, being only admitted in connection with frustration. The absurdity of the proposal is not acknowledged. There is frustration for not being able to have this performance exhorted by the media which is part of the imagery of the ideal behavior. The cheating involved in what is proposed to women is not noticed because there is a total identification with the phallus and its values. Surprise at the situation and embarrassment with the possibility of failure are noticed. Attempts are made to appease the discomfort with further work and more money. The deeper issues are not touched, prevented by an imaginary assumption of house work and mothering as natural tasks.

However, for some of the middle class women, there are contradictions in internalizing this model together with the feminist ideology. Society has always seen mothering as naturally feminine, since the woman is the one who gives birth and breast feeds. However, studies like Nancy Chodorow's propose a whole reconsideration of the theme, showing other possibilities and emphasizing that if there are no changes in "mothering", nothing will change symbolically and therefore everything will remain the same. It is in the private sphere that we will find the ties of subordination and it is in that field that the major changes should occur.

Chodorow says in her book "The Reproduction of Mothering", also quoted by Marina, that the situation is also difficult for men since in their search for masculine identity they have to deny the feminine identity: "The same negative

repression of emotions and bonding, rejection of women's universe and femininity, acquisition of the men's world and identification with the father, that create a psychology of masculine superiority, also shape men to participate in the capitalist labor world".

If we agree in principle that the man finds masculine identity by developing a series of rejections to certain ways of being, acquiring values and attitudes that make him an easy prey to capitalism, we notice that we will only live in a less exploiting society when gender relations are transformed. One of the psychoanalytical contributions is the comprehension of a need for a change in the pre-oedipal experiences. As Chodorow proposes, this will only happen if the father shares the care of their child with the mother. The boy could therefore identify with a person of the same gender and would not form his primary identity fighting against his first object of love. Without having to fight the mother to become a man, boys could have many of the so called feminine qualities in relating and taking care of others. Ballbus (1991) states that "the conjoint care of children by mother and father is the key that could open the possibility for a society in which the support and basic needs that have been restricted to the family arena provide meaning to all fields of human interaction". I am both astonished and amazed to think about the different paths we may follow. It pleases me to visualize a world in which fathers and mothers will perform the mothering role in a similar way, in which the home organization will be different from what is conceivable in our days. It would be like Leonardo da Vinci describing flying machines in the XVI Century, or like, in 1800, explaining to an American from the south that slavery would no longer exist in a century.

Fiction, when intending to extrapolate, portrays creatures from other planets as astounded with human beings who get together as a couple for reproduction of the species. Wouldn't it be even more fantastic to predict a society in which the equality issue between man and woman is so out of date that the absurd would be the mother performing the maternal role on her own or being discriminated by society?

Apart from fiction, it is not possible to visualize what will happen in future relationships between man and woman, but I believe that 50 years ahead, family and emotional bonds as they are structured today will be seen as surprising as looking at the lives of our great grandmothers who could not show an ankle or work as liberal professionals.

The world is changing. To consider possibilities and utopia is the first great step in a transformation process. To facilitate

awareness, as this present work does, to think about strategies and to dare to go beyond what looks reasonably possible or "natural" will allow the construction of a world with more justice and with place for other realities.

Marta Suplicy

PREFACE

This book is the result of my Master's Thesis for the Institute of Psychology University of Sao Paulo, which was proposed and written with the expectation of reaching many readers beyond the academic sphere.

The core idea is the direct dialogue with whoever could make use of this reflection in their everyday life, connecting scientific production of knowledge with potentially interested readers.

The book is an invitation for men and women to take part in the reflection in which you (reader) with your experience and personal history, give new meanings to the text, and I (author)

through observations and ideas, can produce some critical and creative questioning.

The proposal is to reflect upon the relationship between the ideology which is internalized by middle class women and its influence in their daily experiences within the private and public spheres.

It is not my intention to portray women's life in all its dimensions - an impossible task - but to touch on some aspects which I consider important. It must be said that this work was only possible taking into account the knowledge that has been gathered by women researching in Brazil and abroad, as well as the actual existence of the feminist movement. For, despite all its possible equivocal, feminism has shown that the discourse of inequality and lack of respect for women in our society is evident in ideology, science and politics.

I am aware that this theme is a current polemic concern, being very exposed to political and scientific discourses; however, I hope that this work can provide some instruments for ordinary women to think about their own life. Not as an unavoidable fate, but as a possibility for wise, creative, fulfilling and pleasurable experiences.

PART I

WOMEN'S LIFE

"We know some people, some things, some fragments of landscapes, streets, some books. We are present in some events, but we are not present in most of the events about which we talk. We rely, however on people who experienced these events and who were there when they happened. The daily thinking and daily discourse are based on this social trust".

Eclea Bosi

I

EVERYDAY LIFE AND THE IMAGINARY SPHERE

Much has been written about women over the last 50 years, certainly due to their increased participation in the production process after the Second World War. Since then, urban middle class women started to work outside of the home and obtained their insertion in the public sphere (citizenship, participation in political and cultural decisions of society).

In entering the public domain, women were invested of scientific interest and conferred status of object of study in the United States and in some countries in Europe. However, only from 1970 onwards, women scientists have systematically studied and written about women and about the feminine universe in Brazil(1). These studies about women have obtained space in universities since 1970, having the theme "work" as a predominant concern and working class women as the main subject matter.

The eighties were marked by the attempt to widen the themes and the theoretical structure followed up till then. The focus shifted from relations between man and woman as different sexes to gender relations (sociological sex: feminine gender and masculine gender)(2). It was necessary to "debiologize" the notion of sex and integrate it into social issues. There are still many questions to be faced regarding research on women. Costa, Barroso e Sarti, state some of them: "How to solve the several problems arising from the fact that the explanatory schemes available from the Social Sciences field

were not enough to analyze women's experiences within the family, at work, in politics and in their everyday life? Instead of creating new concepts and refining tools, theoretical difficulties were dismissed and denied (...) Other factors also contributed to the theoretical deepening. The first is the inherent difficulty of the task. Assimilation of preconceived theories or gathering data requires much less creativity and discipline than the inventive device of original ideas. Studies on women postulate the need for inter-relation and requests the breaking of disciplinary barriers as an essential condition of its deepening" (1985: 14,15) .

There are perspectives of interweaving several studies on women in Anthropology, Sociology and Psychology, considering the simultaneous occurrence of several areas of investigation; some studies approach women from the perspective of family structure, some look at the material conditions of women's social determination, others take the private space as political, investigating the dominance and power relations, and others attend to the representational sphere of the affects and emotions.

All these areas are crosslinked and despite the difficulties, the dice seem to have been thrown: a synthesis of these contributions is searched in an attempt to approach what seems to be relevant to women's life and to the concept of "Feminine". However, Moraes warns us as to what would be the real problems - "those which torment us daily and which are not only 'theoretical' . Finally, it (the feminine science) is now formulating its own discourse, originated on real experience, on reflection and on theories about the feminine" (1981: 50).

Life is a huge field, this is why the approach chosen is one of the everyday living - the organization of work, of private, emotional and social life.

As Agnes Heller says, the everyday life, in its spontaneity and apparent simplicity, brings important revelations. It is not detached from history, but in the center of historical events: it is the true essence of the social substance... something that assimilates the daily life of a certain time, assimilates also the past of mankind, although such assimilation may not be conscious, it may simply "be". (Heller:20) Everyday life, continues Heller , is the individual's life. "The individual is always, simultaneously, a particular and generic being" (ibid.). Generic, here, has the meaning of being present in every individual, although there may be particular motivations. We can say that as a generic being, the individual is a product and representative of his social relations.

The social and ideological reproduction is originated in the particular individual's reproduction. The minute interweaving of everyday life reveals the social web. Thus to study the daily life is to dive into history.

However, it is not possible to talk about the woman's universal everyday life, but instead, of several different living experiences; a plurality which contains the differences related to one's social class: ideological, cultural and social differences. Within a certain age range and social class, each particular daily life experience composes the necessary configuration to allow some theorizing about what is closely common in their lives.

Several contemporary authors have turned to the investigation of private life, making us think that women have started to be considered as subjects, even though still being in a secondary position in the structuring of social history.

In the introduction of the recent edition of his "History of Private Life", George Duby says: "We have set off from the evidence that, always and everywhere, the words express the contrast, clearly detected by the common sense, that opposes the private and the public (which is open to the people's community and submitted to the authority of its magistrates). There's evidence that there is a particular, clearly delineated area, attributed to this part of the existence which in every culture is called "private", a space of immunity devoted to retreat, where all of us can give up the weapons and defenses we appropriately need when we risk being in the public space; where we can relax and feel at ease, free from the carapace of ostentation which assures external protection. This is the space of the familiarity. A domestic, intimate space. In the private sphere, we find what is most precious to us, that which belongs just to us, which does not involve anybody else, which can not be made known, exposed, because it is very different from the appearances that have to be honored in public. Naturally inscribed inside the home, secluded by locks, between walls, private life seems, therefore, locked up" (1990:10).

It is interesting to note that within this notion of private life, the domestic space, the familiarity is seen as a zone of non-conflict, of protection, of giving up defenses, of not considering the other (the social sphere) - it is the space of the secretive.

However, observations make us believe that it is in this space, which has been kept secret or has perhaps been hidden by "official history", that many battles have been and still are being fought. Perhaps we should consider the private sphere as women's great battle field. A strictly feminine conflict zone where, even secretly, the battle proceeds.

As Le Goff says, "ten years ago, a group of young Italian historians launched the concept of a new history, seen through magnifying glasses, close to anthropology" (1990:24). This new history is more specifically interested in "the themes of the private, personal and living spheres, those which the feminist movement so strongly emphasizes". This is, of course, not a coincidence, since women are, undoubtedly, the group that paid the heavier price for the development of men's history" (1979: 181, 190).

Nowadays, however, women have gone beyond the frontiers of the private sphere and have moved towards the public space, hence creating a crisis in the representation of Feminine and Masculine.

The women's political movements point to feminine claims of change regarding gender relations, management of the private sphere and women's insertion in the public sphere.

Madel T. Luz (1987:78) states that "on a larger or smaller scale this movement discusses and denounces the patriarchy as a power structure which cuts across classes and different modes of social production (pre and post-capitalism societies). In my view, this movement is clearly revealing of the crisis in the representation of Masculine Feminine, and in the current paternalistic pact. However, the crisis does not spring from this revelation, it is a structural phenomenon, with roots in the transformation of society along these last 40 years.

The study of women's life expresses these conflicts, anxieties, illusions, the desires and struggles for the structural transformation of place and social role of women in the contemporary world.

In Brazil, in particular, the existing studies about women's social role refer mainly to the changes in the public sphere and to the poor and deprived women.

The private sphere, the home and family life, specially regarding the middle classes, still remain barely explored and known. As pointed out by Ardaillon, "with the exception of demographic studies, which suggest, broadly speaking, a change in the reproduction patterns and, possibly, in the exercise of feminine sexuality, almost nothing has been investigated" (1989:4).

However, it is evident that over the last 30 years, the middle class has been going through deep transformations with the "Brazilian modernization". It constitutes an important internal market for goods, culture, leisure and even ideologies. After all, the middle class is the preferred target aimed at by advertising.

Although not deeply studied, urban middle class women can be, undoubtedly, thought as important transformation agents regarding gender relations, within the private sphere and in its inter-relations with the public sphere. In undertaking work out of the house as a personal professional project, she starts living the conflict of management of public and private issues within her own experience.

We can observe, then, the way through which these women create their subjectivity, filtering the private and the public ideological worlds. They articulate explanations following a certain logic and risk a rationality regarding their life stories, their everyday living and the universe of their feminine concerns.

The analysis of the internalized ideology reveals the importance of the imaginary sphere within the discourse and within the daily "actions" of these women, that is, the imaginary sphere is constitutive of an explanatory discourse regarding life, but has the power of organizing or modifying this very own daily living.

This imaginary domain is continuously built up by desires, illusions and essential representations (3), according to personal and collective history. It is necessary, therefore to apprehend the meanings of a social group in their representational system and in the place that this system occupies within the social structures (Le Goff).

This is the perspective through which women are researched in this work, taking them simultaneously as a representative product of their social relations (a social being), and specially as a group that has been for a long time, contributing from the private domain to the building up of the social sphere, even claiming, more recently, for widening their social functions and demanding space and recognition within the public domain.

II

WHO IS THIS WOMAN?

For some years, the issues related to the feminine and to women have been occupying an important space in my own life. Often I have asked myself what it is to be a woman, what would

characterize our differences with men and whether we could actually talk about a feminine universe.

It was through my own experience as a woman, of living different roles (some taken as feminine and others not so much so), that questions arose as to how other women, with similar realities, would face their everyday life. How would these women's lives be? I noticed that in thinking about this, what followed was: the house, the children, the husband, the food, the pregnancy... That is, the daily life of women almost entirely overlaps within the private sphere. The first outline of the project, therefore, consisted in investigating women's everyday life.

I decided then to interview 20 women, between 30 and 40 years old, belonging to the middle class in the city of Sao Paulo, with experience of marriage and motherhood, who have or have had activities out of the private sphere.

Many difficulties and ideas appeared then: where would I find women keen to describe their lives and intimacies to an inquisitive stranger? This contact could be experienced as a persecutory invasion, but it could also be felt as a possible encounter, even being an asymmetrical relationship between interviewer and interviewee. How to allow the women's narratives to delineate my work, without losing the capacity to personally reflect upon them.

Despite all the difficulties concerning the methodology of interviewing and analyzing the material (see appendix on how the research was done), I believe that the experience of meeting these women was extremely rich, and I hope to be able to communicate along the book what they have offered to me.

In contrast with the analytical situation in which we are with the patient and his anxieties, but have the support of the analytical setting, in the interviews, I felt very close and sometimes intensely identified with my own object of study - other women (not really "other" since many times I recognized myself in them). Perhaps the difference between us at that moment was that my role there was one of investigation to gather ideas about our everyday life.

On the other hand, the closeness during the interviews allowed me to be in touch with their lives, perplexities and certainties. This closeness was acknowledged by many of the interviewees who could benefit from that as well. The interview was an opportunity for them to reflect upon their lives while talking to me. As one of them said: "This is not an interview, this is a testimony, it is my life testimony".

When I explained in the first contact what I wanted from them, my interest and queries seemed somehow evident, as if

already expected. It was almost an unconscious pact - it is good to know each other, it is necessary to know what it is to be a woman!

Thus, one after the other, the women answered that they had enjoyed being interviewed, and that it had been a productive moment of reflection, despite it having made them feel stirred up. My availability to listen often generated comments that they had got a free session of therapy, even with the proposal not having a therapeutic aim. Thus, both of us, some of the interviewees and I, noticed that there were two important moments that took place during the interviews. They started by introducing themselves in a certain way, and soon afterwards a need to re-introduce themselves arose, as if something had been hidden initially, not just from me, but from themselves as well. Some interviews functioned as an instrument to reveal contents that had so far been hidden.

After this observation, I realized the relevance of analyzing this type of event and why it occurred.

Their narrative acquired another meaning within the research itself: while telling their concrete daily life, the women also tell what they believe their lives are (the imaginary domain).

But after all, who is this woman?

"This woman" or "these women" will take shape along the book. I can tell you in advance that They are like us. They are different from the working class woman, from the domestic servant, from the plantation worker, to whom, even being women, we feel distant due to social class issues, sometimes even not really recognizing them as the same as us. The women in this study are close enough for us to identify with, to see them in our neighbors, friends, relatives, colleagues and professionals we consult.

This woman is the one who works, takes care of the house, has children to bring up, a husband and a wider family to attend to, has to choose what to consume, what political party to vote for, that is, performs several roles together. It is also the woman who creates the public opinion about many aspects of social life.

It is worthwhile, therefore, to try drawing a profile (see Biographical Profile in the Appendix), and to attempt a deeper comprehension of this woman. She is the one who has been fighting for a space in the public world, and, at the same time, has been facing several problems to conciliate the private and the public sphere of her life.

"This woman" usually has completed higher education, lives in areas of Sao Paulo considered middle class/ high middle class

areas such as: Jardins, Lapa, Perdizes, Vila Madalena, Itaim Bibi, Pompeia, Sumare, Pinheiros, Santana.

Most of them are Catholic (50%), and the others say they have no religion, while one of them follows an oriental sect.

They are officially married, only three of them are separated.

Half of them has had some type of psychotherapy and consider it important. Furthermore, they take care of their health, either through healthy eating habits or physical exercises; they also fear aging.

Most of them say they prefer to work outside the house, at what they enjoy. But they advocate the need for "a time" for themselves, devoted to themselves, to do exclusively what they want. Hence, their wish to have their "own money", to use it freely, without having to justify themselves to anybody.

However, they were not chosen for the study for their income, since, usually, they are badly paid in their jobs. Thus, the criteria of choice were: life style, cultural habits, education, living area, and family income. As you can see, here we are already touching on one of the serious problems these women face, which is the low payment for their work. Before we start analyzing them, however, let us see what they say about their lives and what they think about their condition and about women's issues.

III

WHEN THEY TALK OF ...

Work

During the interviews I noticed that the choice of women who already worked or who are working outside of the home as a basic requirement is not enough to limit a group with more homogeneous experiences.

In spite of the middle-class women being submitted to, and influenced by, the ideological representation of "modern working woman" they experience it in different ways. As Rachel observes: *"It is already a social condition, I think, that in the middle classes the woman herself is demanding that women work. The woman who does not work is already dying of shame. Not yet in the outskirts, but I think that in the intellectual middle class it is already so"*.

According to Morais, at the moment when the "break occurs in unity between family and production, with the emergence of mercantile production and the progressive industrialization of production, the dissolution between the 'private' and 'public' spheres takes place. Furthermore, there is a redefining, objectively and subjectively, that is, as much on the level of economic laws as on the level of social representation, of the very issue of 'labor' " (1981:47). In capitalism, labor or non-labor is determined by its remuneration. Consequently, continues Morais, the "transfer of the productive unit of the home (family) to business resulted therefore in a progressive transformation of the character of the family in industrial societies. At the same time it determined a change in the relationship of women towards the activities" (*ibid.*), mainly those activities which remained as "domestic production" went losing their economic character, being regarded as "biological" feminine functions.

In the middle classes, women appear to be ideologically imbued with the idea that it is necessary to work outside, for, whatever the remuneration, it symbolizes some sort of work, and therefore, productive work. This gives the sense of exercising citizenship, of participating in the world. The remuneration suggests to the woman an insertion into the public space, being conducted by the same social rules to which the man must submit himself.

In this sense, this study corroborates the thesis of the dichotomy between "private" and "public" spheres in relation to production, noting the movement of the woman to "sideline" her domestic chores and to also go out to public day-to-day experiences. The division between these two spheres is so significant that the woman herself only considers it work when the activity takes place outside the physical space of the home.

Only one of the interviewees said that she preferred to remain at home. In this case the desire to remain at home is also linked to the experience of recent maternity. *"Well, I never really stopped working, I was much more a free-lancer than an employee, so that when I became pregnant I had no leave, I continued working up to 15 days before my daughter was born, otherwise I would not be paid. Afterwards, when she was still a baby, I worked at home, prepared the subject matter and sent it in ... I discovered this year that I enjoy looking after the house. So I made an agreement (with my husband) that I would look after the house, would not have a servant, and would stay on working at home."* (Suzana).

It is interesting how Suzana's narrative reveals the existence of a negotiation with her husband so as to do without a servant; she stays at home doing the domestic chores and her work as a freelancer, because she wants to "*I am going to be 33 years old and I discovered that I like looking after the house (laughter), all this time struggling with myself, forcing myself to be much more professional, much more of a woman who works outside of the home than I really wanted to be. I believe that at some stage I will find a balance, at present I am too domestic*". The laughter came up because we knew that she was speaking of something outside of the norm, something that was even funny. The majority say they want to work outside of the home, they say they cannot bear being in the house, and Suzana discovers that she likes exactly the opposite. However, the concern for a balance between the public and the private spheres does take place, and the internal struggle shows us that the standard of "having to work out" is strong, therefore it is necessary to find ways of reconciling the ideological demands with internal demands. Suzana also brought out that she did not like the work of the "*journalistic burden*" nor the editorial work. And that she really went to do "*journalism because a writer in Brazil dies of hunger, but then a journalist does too, so I have now discovered (laughter), I think he even dies ahead*". (Suzana). It is clear that working as a free-lancer at home (in her image) is more like the work of a writer. It is a way of joining several simultaneous demands. Working at home as a free-lancer appears to be a good solution, because it approaches the desire to be a writer to the ideological demand that a woman must work, besides being a housewife because it is what she likes at the moment.

However, Suzana, as was said earlier, is an exception as an interviewee, because she has a professional project and at the same time tries to stay within the private sphere, unlike the others who make up the same group -- those who have a professional project.

In this way I have noticed two groups: those who work outside the home and those who have a professional project.

The group of women who work outside the home organizes its narrative within three fundamental justifications: 1. working outside the home allows the woman to develop, keep up to date, get to know other people, in short, to leave the confinement of the private world; 2. working at what one likes, which gives pleasure; 3. making money to be independent and to have what one likes.

What stands out in this statement is that the really productive aspect of the work is seen as secondary, in the same way that making money only appears when there is a real need to complement the family income, otherwise the priority is personal fulfillment.

This fact made me admit that the women of this group (working outside the home) experience their reproductive work as something "productive". It is in this sphere that they feel really creators and "socially productive", for it is in maternity and care of the child that their greatest social contribution

occurs. Work outside the home is considered more as a complement to personal development. When family work (at home) is criticized and socially devalued, it generates enormous anguish of a crisis of representation.

After all, going out to work still is a project of participation in the world, of independence and personal fulfillment, and not of socially productive work which also generates riches, money. *"I started to catch on that I worked the whole of last year thinking I was autonomous, independent, and I was not, I was not gaining either in terms of cash or in terms of fulfillment. Therefore I chose to fulfill myself, I am having to stop to be able to study, and see if this thing of music is what I really want. I feel that he (my husband) is backing me, is able to back me, I hope to God that one day I will be right in my profession and be able to back him"*. (Sandra)

The man is educated to work and make money to support his family; liking what he does or getting pleasure from his profession is often secondary. A woman, on the other hand, is educated to bear children, be a good mother and housewife. This would be her social role, even if seen by society as non-productive. It was only recently that the question of personal fulfillment by way of working outside the home came up, which gives pleasure, above any concern about making money to support oneself, or really sharing this task with the man.

"I am at a phase where I do not miss professional fulfillment at all. I think I am at my reproductive phase. What I have to do now is look after these children because this is good for me also, and not only for them. In a while they (the children) themselves will call me to account for this, for not living my own life, and this because I and the majority of the women were not formed, our generation was not educated to stay at home, looking after children and the house". (Sandra)

However, it would appear that this generation has not yet been educated to participate in the labor market. Moraes, in his article "Family and Feminism", tells us about a commemorative edition of the opening of the courses for women at the Liceu de Artes e Ofícios in 1881, in which he justifies the education of women: "so that a daughter will be obedient, a loyal wife, a model woman, she should develop her intelligence through learning and form her spirit in education". (Polyanthea, 1881,p.19). What I could note was a certain variation in this type of "feminine education", with focus on development and personal fulfillment, of a humanistic and cultural aspect, remaining however outside the industrialization process or society's economic development.

The contradiction between the ideological speech pervaded the necessity to work and the actual work experience of women is evidenced by the fact that, while they consider themselves unprepared to compete in the market and badly paid, they believe that their personal development will be achieved by working. Thus they end up reinforcing the "unproductive" character of domestic work for not being ruled by work relationships.

"But I am developing a little bit, I am participating, I am exchanging ideas. I think this is important for a woman. And as a human being I believe that everyone has to produce something, you cannot stand still". (Luiza). Stand still here means domestic work. Staying at home is perceived as something completely unproductive. It is not difficult to understand the basis for this representation. After all, it is difficult to fix a "socially determined average time" of production for domestic work and this hinders the fixing of an "average value". If this difficulty were more easily solved we could quantify the "average value" and even the men could do so in a remunerative way. Thus domestic service would not automatically be identified as a female occupation or biologically attributed to women. From this perspective, the domestic servants would have their domestic work more valued since they would be seen as productive generators of wealth and not as an almost natural extension of the great colonial family with its slaves.

These are the facts which allow one to affirm the existence of crises in fulfillment in which conflicts and contradictions between what is desired, the content of narratives, and real life experiences, are perceived.

However, there are women who manage to justify the relevance of reproduction and motherhood, considering them more important than working to make money -- *" at least I am caring for a life, which is my daughter's. I think this is priceless, I am caring for a human life, better than spending the day making profit for a bank."* (Candida)

Others reveal the whole extent of the crisis of representation: the changes of values and perspectives as well as the difficulties: *" I'm already fed up, I discovered that in the beginning I wanted to be a housewife, keep everything pretty, embroidered tablecloths, everything wonderful, I then found out it wasn't this at all. Today I'm completely sure that this is not at all what I wanted. I want to make sure my household runs well, but not with me in it. I enjoy cooking, but not the daily beans and rice. I enjoy shopping, but not supermarket. I enjoy looking after the house, but not the day-by-day grind. Therefore I am organizing everything so I can get out, but where to, that is the big question now"*. (Beatriz)

Or, as this woman says: *" I have no vocation to be a teacher. Look, it's difficult. I'm facing a crisis. And what's more, with what I earn (very little, she is separated), I can't stop working. I cannot seem to find a way out. I just hang on"*. (Rachel)

Or the experience of 39 year-old Lurdes, whose socialization is geared to family and home issues, and who manages an alternative reconciling of her personal imagery about the role of a woman, with her activities. So Lurdes worked for many years in education, then had children and stopped working, subsequently returning to work in a field parallel to education, which dealt with extra-curricular formation of youngsters. She worked practically as a volunteer, since the institution to which she belonged is non-profit, and must raise

its funds. However, it is outside work with flexible hours which meets her desire for personal fulfillment. *"I think it's a hard struggle. In the first place because remuneration was very low, since it is a poorly paid job, but on the other hand I think one gains a lot in terms of education. The work which one does directly with the youngsters makes one think, take another look at situations and see things from a different point of view. So, I think I gained a lot, it helped in educating my children, it helped me in terms of personal growth... The other day I was looking at my savings account statement, I said 'God in heaven, I worked all these years (20 years) and have a zero savings balance'. Never mind, a zero savings balance is fine, there's nothing to be done about it... I knew I'd never get more pay, but on the other hand I really did find satisfaction in my work... At times I got upset at not being able to contribute financially to our growth... I don't think either of us would benefit, in terms of living or education, if I were to become an executive with an 8-hour working day, and the kids running wild... So much so that in 84 one of the reasons I quit work was exactly that. He said enough was enough, I was neglecting the family. That was the last straw in a situation which had been bothering me for some time. And now we are able to enlarge on this: we manage to talk to each other... This year I even took a break, to look around and do my own thing. I took up drawing again, which I love. Sometimes one say 'Oh, my God, I'm unemployed, I need to find a job without waiting a little. I rush around here and there so much looking after the children, I think that work for a woman means an accumulation, one more thing to be done, not a division of labor".* (Lurdes). This testimony is very meaningful and perhaps an example of the group. It is the sharpest because the contradictions are expressed by her. That is, it is important to have an outside job for personal growth and development, principally if it aids education of the children, however, only if the job has flexible hours to allow time for them. It is not necessary that the job be well paid since the satisfaction of doing something one likes is a form of remuneration. Working encourages freer dialogue with one's husband. He has to negotiate some of the space, in spite of still retaining power of decision. This type of work can be dropped and taken up later with no fear of being left out of the labor market because in a way it is not classified as "productive labor". This way, for the time being, she can take a break without fear of being left jobless, giving her time to dedicate to the family and domestic requirements as needed.

One of the serious problems for the working woman is the issue of time spent on domestic and family affairs. As Lurdes observes, one does not divide the labor, one accumulates it.

In an effort to illustrate the situation, Betty M. Lafer asks: "what would happen if men and women divided all the tasks equally, each dedicating half the day to home and children and the other half to a paid job? Obviously all society would have to be reorganized for this to be possible; at present very few jobs allow people to limit their working hours. And for men to be able

to shorten their outside working day, women would have to be better prepared to take over the same jobs, should receive a better education and conditions for self-development".(1974:59). No doubt, the author manages to synthesize the problem by showing that it is a matter of reorganizing society itself and I believe: even more than this, the change also depends on an internal reorganization of the images of men and women, without which it is impossible to deal on a social level.

The group of the women with professional projects has a number of characteristics which diverge from the above in relation to work, and therefore the narrative follows other aspects, such as: 1. it is important to work and be well paid; 2. they enjoy working at their chosen profession; 3. it is necessary to harmonize their jobs with home and children but it is the husband's duty to help; 4. there is a search for success and professional recognition with an idea of promotion; 5. they must be efficient at what they chose to do.

"Sometimes I was pressured to work less hours, spend more time with the children, be able to do more things at home, have more time for myself". (Eduarda)

It is interesting how pressure suggests a negotiation -- you spend more time at home, however you have more time for yourself. Because, on the whole, anyone with a professional career rarely manages to work less than eight hours a day.

"I tried working 6 consecutive hours and having the rest of the time off. I didn't manage this at the firm, it ended up being impossible, but between not working at all and working eight hours, I work eight hours". (Eduarda)

The justification, however, is necessary, one must be a good housewife and mother as well. She says: *" I think I'm a better mother being a woman who spends the whole day working, than I would be if I spent the whole day at home. The feminine role is better fulfilled when I am professionally satisfied than if I had stayed at home. To stop working, for instance, or to slow down my rhythm to take care of my child, I have the impression would give me a tremendous frustration and I would be just awful". (Eduarda)*

Of course, the feminine role should not necessarily be linked to housework, but that is the way it is seen even by the women who work with a professional project. The way out becomes to reconcile everything internally, almost as though it made no difference for the woman to work out. There is an illusion that she carries out her feminine role with the same standard as a woman who stays at home. What seems to be difficult is to re-think the model of organization of the house and of the values which permeate the concept of Home (see House versus home), considering that the woman has a professional project just as much as the man. *" It seems that the man's work is more valued. So there is an aura surrounding masculine work and in their lives this has to come first. For the woman it is not like this, first it is to be a mother, then to be a wife, and then to be a professional. If you have to give up*

something, it has to be the profession, the rest is more important in their view. Now, I don't know, I get very divided. Sometimes I give more importance to the things of work even to escape from the problems of the home, the family, and worries with the children. It is where I let go, I get through more easily." (Eduarda)

Here Eduarda shows that a woman who carries out a professional career, finds in her work, a refuge from the difficulties of the private sphere; it is not only the man who cannot stand some concerns from this sphere, which leads us to evaluate that there is much to be transformed in the functioning of the family and homelife.

Another view is represented by Silvia, who seeks to reconcile but ends up by curtailing her work activity. *"I think that I found a way to more-or-less reconcile domestic life and work, I don't work in the morning, I go in at one o'clock and leave at eight. But because of this, I do strictly what I have to do, that is, I do not try to do more and make efforts to accomplish the things which I don't have to; it is an option, I have the capacity to go further, I have gone ahead many times, I have already been an excellent professional in my area, I think that I am an excellent professional in my area. But I limit myself, I make a point of limiting myself, so that I can have time to dedicate myself principally to the children. The house, I don't care about, it doesn't bother me, the important thing is the children and X, of course. So, I close the doors to the future by having this kind of attitude. But I think that there is a conflict there, it is complicated for you to choose or to want to reconcile. You have a whole heritage of motherhood, that you have to dedicate yourself to your child, and no matter what, it is a cultural heritage that you bear. I also have a certain guilt complex about not being at home full time, sometimes I think of giving up for a time until they grow up a little, but if I take a break in my profession, I'm left out. I cannot stay two, three years, away from the market. Even maternity leave keeps me out of the market too long, and that is dangerous"*. (Silvia). An important fact to be considered to understand Silvia's narrative is that she has four children, the eldest is ten years old and the youngest is eight months old.

Another unanimous point in the narratives is that, when there is a family or household problem, the woman is the one who naturally must miss work to solve it.

"So in his head it is much easier for me to miss work than for him. I think it should be like this -- today, for whom is it easier? Today who can miss work? But the thing is, that kind of conversation does not exist, it does not exist because in his head I already demand too much, get it?" (Clara)

There is also the complaint that when the husband does his part, it is as though he were doing it as a special favor or in deference to her request. *" I think it's very funny because it's always given as a favor. It is not a real division when actually he shows up as a good little husband who does a favor for his wife"*. (Eduarda).

We also find the awareness that it is not only externally (family and husband) that much is being demanded, but that many times it is the internal model which imposes itself: *"I like to cook, I like things right, I like to stay with my son, but I have to watch myself and this gives me a lot of work. It's like a whiplash; if I don't have a whip, I'm watching the seven o'clock soap opera, I'm cooking, I'm talking nonsense, sewing household cushions, always busy, the problem is me. This anguishes me deeply because how much time has gone by without my publishing anything?"* (Melanie)

In this narrative we can see that Melanie admits that it is up to her to set priorities and decide how she will use her time. She gets away from the projective and reprimanding attitude that her husband (men) is the one who prevents and hinders her development. This projective mechanism was more evident in the first group, taking away this reprimanding attitude, that is, it appeared in a more veiled manner and not as a confrontation.

The curious thing is that the expectations are transposed to the public sphere, which is also different to the previous group in which the husbands have their expectations predominantly geared to the private sphere. Here the woman feels herself also professionally accountable to the family.

"I think I ended up getting into a requirement stronger than I wanted, this makes me very anguished. I ended up becoming professional and there it is easy to generate expectations which anguish me all around, my family comes up with one expectation, my husband also. Suddenly there is too much and I am not keeping up, because I am not so creative, actually I think I'm good, I manage to pick up new things, but I don't have the creativity to meet the expectations generated by my professional side". (Melanie) It does not seem to me that it is a question of depreciation, but of anguish because of the accumulation of requirements, now including also those of the public sphere.

Another type of requisition that comes up is competence at work. This requisition only appeared in the second group, where the work is not only personal fulfillment or doing what one likes. It penetrates work relationships, signifying responsibility and requiring results.

"In the beginning I leapt farther than I was able to, jumping ahead, the chances kept coming up and I'd go taking them on. And this cost me quite a lot later on, because when I had a meeting with a client, and he would ask me for a solution which I didn't know how to give, and I didn't have the assurance to say: 'look, I'll think it over and give it to you later', I'd come up with any nonsense, and I knew that I was talking rot, or else I would suffer very much because I could not handle something which was my function. And this went on linking me to work of great responsibility, always having to justify what I was earning. I was always like this, more of a professional than anything else, and I went on incorporating this into the other side of my life, my personal side, and today I can't separate them very well". (Estela)

To be part of a work relationship, to have a contact with a division of tasks and hierarchies, gives the woman the experience of different roles and tasks in the home. The woman tends to share more, not to centralize things around herself, learning also to require answerability from others. *"Things which I had difficulty in handling with subordinates, with suppliers, to collect payments, money, I say: 'well, I am charging something which I have to charge', because my work depends on the efficiency of these people and I have to make them accountable. And so I feel that I make demands on my son, on my companion or at work, and these are things that I want for the good".* (Estela)

The goal of social climbing through work is something which characterizes this group: these women want to be in the market and to be remunerated according to these criteria, not passively accepting to be poorly paid because they are women; *"It's no use having more college degrees, what matters is for you to have more knowledge, but for me, in my case, I was already in the market, so what made a difference was my own struggle. I want to grow more, I don't want to stand still; I want to grow even more. So that my advancement was this, what I learnt, I learnt through my own hard work, with the help of other people, but more due to my own efforts, and I think I still have a lot to learn".* (Celina)

Celina believes that one of the problems of investing in work is related to *:"success; it is something which I sense very much when I talk to the women, and that sometimes success is lacking, and if there were a little more, the doubts would be smaller. And this is not because they are too taken up with other things, other values, sometimes they are just moments of life, and I find this complicated. In the United States, when the women have small children, they have time, it is easy to get out of the market and go back to it, and I think this does not come up among us, if we leave, we're out for good. This makes it problematic".* (Sueli)

Another issue raised by Sueli is to be able to think about the home and children in a different way: *"If you had the chance to consider the home, to see it as a job, you could also have a chance of improving things... I think it's a bit our own fault, but a bit because it is something which is little valued... it is difficult to handle... you end up being so alone, if not you get into a woman's game, like that thing that everyone is so busy and can't open up any space to talk over home affairs".* (Sueli)

As we can see, this group represents some alternatives which we can find in the lifestyles of middle class women who have a professional project. Since the aim of the topic *work* is to explore the universe of concerns, representations and life experiences of the women interviewed, in relation to work outside the home, the difference showed up between the first group presented and the second, in the actual narrative expressions. No doubt, the concerns, the perspectives and the solutions are different. In my opinion, these differences

contained in the testimonies are related to different socialization and to individual traits. (see Part II).

From the Private to the Public Sphere?

The question of women's concern with the labor market began in the 19th Century, but only women factory workers worked outside the home.

With the coming of the World Wars (1914-1918 and 1939-1945) the women began not to return to the home, that is, women of all social classes entered the "public" sphere, which before was reserved strictly for men.

Incursion from private to public domains had, and has, political repercussions, on the private (home) and public (state) spheres. Prior to that time the man ruled the home because he was the provider, but when the woman began working out, the domestic equation of power altered, the woman now also wants to rule and, little by little, she acquires this position although the situation has never been of total confrontation. To all effects, it is the man who still rules the home and the family.

At the end of the 19th Century and the beginning of the 20th Century, women began to truly claim their rights of citizenship, of equality at work, they struggled to set up day-care centers, schools, etc.

The conquests stemming from feminine efforts were turned into forms of State support for children, but did not yet signify a change of customs, because the home, marriage, maternity and the relationship between genders remained the same. The changes only occurred in a visible manner after World War II, when all this structure was badly shaken up. With the instability generated by war, marriages broke loose. With the widowhood of many young women, the presence of orphans and abandoned youngsters, the old rigid relationships were relaxed. The women benefited from this, obtaining a freedom never experienced up till then.

These last changes raised the questioning of marriage, maternity, abortion. Contraceptives, divorce and the university contributed to a greater independence of urban middle class women.

Madel T. Luz, when analyzing some reasons for this new situation, sustains that: " if on the level of capitalist production, the family was important only as a unit of consumption, in terms of the consumer market it gradually began to lose importance for individual consumption, by age bracket and by gender, with publicity increasingly aiming at more specialized sections of the social strata (divided by gender and age)... Losing its real economic and political function, the home, family, marriage and maternity began to take on more ideological functions, of

'imagery' of the man and woman, and of their relationships, which no longer receive their support on the level of social structures. The relationships between the man and the woman enter into crisis".(1982:20)

In Brazil, however, the situation was different, the effects of this change reached the country slowly. In a general sense, we could say that our change is called "modernization of Brazilian society", the post-64 society, which brings on an accelerated urbanization, a new social segment based on state bureaucracies, the large multinationals, the expansion of TV channels and the media, that is, a set of factors which brought about the appearance of a new middle class. (Faria:1983)

It is with the women coming out of the middle class that a project of "modernization" of the private sphere and a greater presence in the public sphere, arises; it is useful to note that the women factory workers, in spite of also working out, have a different viewpoint to the middle class woman.

The middle class women who work outside need to do so for the sake of survival, but they carry with them an aspiration - their professional project.

Perhaps this is the special key to understanding the *tendency* of behavior of the middle class woman -- the *ideal*, or the *utopia of personal fulfillment* beyond maternity.

One of the problems of this change is, as Ardaillon says, that " it was not possible to solve in a satisfactory manner the conflict which opposes individual liberty of the woman to maternity and family, or even the conflict between individuality, reproduction and the family group, particularly when it concerns women who have a professional project". (1989:5)

The need to reconcile the private with the public sphere is the most formidable task facing this woman.

In the private sphere, she has to cope with the house and the home, almost the same way as her mother had done, in half the available time, and go out to work. On coming back, unlike her mother, she must appear attractive to her husband (because, moreover, there is no longer the certainty of marriage stability as a long time ago).

In the public sphere she must be well informed, have an all-round culture, have a diploma, show that she is capable, be organized and efficient and want to be well remunerated, even if this does not actually happen. It is not a question of being competitive like a man, but of doing "that which she likes and which gives her pleasure".

All this to be reconciled is a good image of what is the so-called "double duty" of the middle class woman, one private and one public work load.

In this way, this identity of mother and of professional brings in its wake the emotional ambiguity (internal experience) and the structural ambiguity (concrete experience) for there is always an attempt to integrate the two worlds that "appear" fused, and two different social roles, which nowadays, show up as "apparently" fused and opposed in the one person. The quotes here refer to the ideology and the imaginary sphere. The

expression of this, by means of images and appearance, bears two vertices: the veiling (it is so) and the knowing (today it is so, but it could be different, but for this to happen one must be aware).

Through socialization, the images of woman and man build up and become internalized culturally, with this mark of *this is the way it is*, always was and always will be. Ideology without history, eternal...(Althusser). Generally, what is domestic is feminine, and what is public is masculine, however, such distinctions imprint internally, on the subject, the representation of what is feminine and masculine.

Thus, concludes De Romani, "men fundamentally define themselves in terms of their successes or failures within social institutions of an external, public nature, while the point of reference for women evades the formal articulation of the social order and basically lies in the stage of her life cycle and the domestic functions stemming from it. Her ties of sexuality or of relationship to a man are also important defining elements of her identity, to the extent that they are what fulfill her linking between the external social order and the private space". (1982:66)

The ideology of setting boundaries for sexual territories can be concretely observed in children's toys, the dolls have homes and tasks to carry out, or, at least, oblige their owners (little girls) to care for them as though they were their daughters. Boys have dolls that don't have children because they are super-heroes, they care for many, and not only one, from a distance, or such dolls do not have to be taken care of, for they are strong, have power and were born for adventures in the world. In this way our future citizens are learning their identifying social roles through game-playing. The force of ideology is concrete, always present, no matter what its content. In this case it also involves sexualized concepts of the divisions between the private and public spheres, which carry other divisions and valuations, in either sphere. Thus, tasks which require patience, attention, routine, discipline or subservience (render services), for example, are attributed to the woman, and are poorly paid. It is up to the man to decide, plan, create, do, construct, in the long run it is up to him to take action, risk and assume the responsibility to command and decide.

As we can observe, the trajectory from the private to the public sphere, which the middle class woman is following, is fairly tortuous and ambiguous. However, it seems to shape a *tendency*. They will increasingly move from the private to the public sphere and one does not know the outcome -- conciliation or rupture of the private and public paradigms?

Work versus Professional Work -- from the Private to the Public Sphere?

While analyzing the topic *work* among the 20 researched women, I was able to draw out three types of work: domestic, out-of-the-home, and professional.

However, domestic work in the woman's life shows up as a regulating factor, that is, it is from there that the woman organizes her world, above all married women and those who have children.

The very idea of working "out" shows that there is an "in" work (domestic); half-time work also indicates another half-time, in this case, spent on domestic chores. Taking into account what we mentioned before, that these chores were given new meanings and that nowadays the main one is the socialization of the children. Therefore, domestic chores are not restricted only to material problems, directly linked to survival, but also to the ideological maintenance and reproduction of the social field.

It is the domestic factor which organizes work outside the home, the important thing for the women is to reconcile it so as to allow them to work out. In this sense, domestic work is still "woman's thing", and not "man's thing" or "couple's thing".

Except that, nowadays, the "woman's things" have begun to get in the way. The house and the children interfere in "work (inside and outside the home), in her professional career, in the appearance of her body, in the competition with other women. It is not that middle class women do not love their children. But they *want more*... they do not want to bear the family burden alone (affective and material burden)". (Luz,1987:82)

Sometimes, this *want more* becomes a problem. They want to share the domestic tasks with the spouse, without, however, managing to restructure them into other patterns, or rather, into "couple's things" or even "public things", ultimately, into something tenable with the new requirements. Here one must caution, *women and men still have the old internalized models of what domestic life should be like*. Except that the social context has changed, and the old domestic life no longer corresponds to current needs of the woman who works out. From there comes the crisis of representations of what is "woman's thing" or "man's thing" or "couple's thing".

It is important to consider that the woman always lived in the private sphere, accepting domestic work as something fundamental for her life. The reason for this confinement, says Betty Mindlin Lafer, is still a mystery. (1975:58)

Perhaps it is the mystery of femininity, yet to be revealed, but it can also be the mystery of violence, as Arendt warns: "nobody engaged in thinking history and politics can be unaware of the significant role which violence has always played in human affairs".(1973:97) And she complements this statement with the following: "only pure violence is mute, and for this reason, violence, alone, can never have grandeur". (1987:35). It seems

that part of woman's confinement to the private sphere is connected to violence, to seclusion, which, due to a language disguise, is seen as a feminine privilege.

With the quashing of the woman's word over time, part of the feminine memory, referring to differences and freedom of choice, remained unvoiced.

It is true that maternity occupies a woman totally during some time, preventing her from working, or, at least, hampering her concentration and production at work, since her main concern is the baby, which inevitably depends on her care and attention to survive.

However, states Betty M. Lafer, "she is capable of fulfilling the same as a man, so much so that in many societies (perhaps even our own) she is the one who bears the heavier work load. However, culture always kept her away from action, power, political achievements, war. Thus, it was hard for the modern woman to acquire a global comprehension of the world, to understand the functioning of society. For many, even cultured persons, this is still a remote reality, which has very little to do with their own reality". (1975:58)

Through this research I was able to confirm what Gilberto Velho had already brought out previously in his studies of the middle class, in the South Zone of Rio de Janeiro, in which the participation of the woman in public life " is greatly valued from the standpoint of the weight and significance of the domestic aspect, with its contingent negative consequences for more all-round development *as an individual*. That is, at this level there is a clear opposition between the public and the private spheres. If participation beyond the domestic world perhaps stands out as a sign of freedom for the woman, it can, however, appear to be a privileged strategy of the reconstruction of an individual whose total fulfillment takes place on the level of a life of intimacy, affection, sex and love. It seems to me, that from this point of view, the discontinuance between the two domains continues to be striking, with an implicit devaluation of the public aspect". (1985:172)

Without doubt, we can observe that the woman downgrades public life. Perhaps we could suggest, as an hypothesis, that she downgrades it as a means of defending herself against the great exclusion to which she has always been submitted.

I observed that many women work outside of the home as a way of getting rid of, or of negotiating with their husbands, the burden of the dull part of the domestic chores. And even those who could not avoid working (survival), they also make use of this same maneuver, only not all of them are aware of this subterfuge. In this way, public life serves private life, for, in the hierarchy, domestic life is retained on the first level of importance and of reference.

Thus, for the woman who considers herself modern, work shows up in her narrative as a "necessity", even for those who are not working at present. And it is a "necessity" stemming from different motivations or causes: some work because they

specifically need the money to survive, others must work to help complement the husband's salary, or they work to keep themselves busy, they work to enrich themselves as persons, they work to carry out a professional project, in short, there are many possible combinations for the reason why they work.

Nevertheless, there appears to be a common point: the need to work as a form of sensing one is a subject, of being someone, of having a social identity. What is more, the fulfillment of this "need" aims at guaranteeing psychic and social survival, "If I don't do something (work), I'll go crazy, I'll end up nuts". (Clara)

In Celso Lafer's preface to *The Human Condition*, by Hannah Arendt, he says: "For Hannah Arendt, the word, in the process of power generation, has not only the dimension of communication, but also -- and here she makes use of the Greek experience -- of revelation. The revelation of the loss of public space by the censure of the word -- this is what happens in the limit situation of totalitarianism."

If the woman remains confined to the private sphere, with her word quashed, she "goes mad or ends up nuts", which is common among poorer women where the private space is weakened, without basic conditions for psychic survival, causing all sorts of symptoms to appear -- physical or mental.

Thus, work outside the home, in contrast to domestic work, is seen by them and by part of society, as a valued occupation, it is considered a personal enrichment and a way of keeping up to date with the men. Solely to stay at home seems to resemble a confinement from the world, or a reclusion, to which Lafer referred, something a modern woman no longer desires. She wants to move out of the private sphere, and negotiate a new way of managing the domestic side. She wants to share the heavy day-to-day load.

However, the situation is a little more complex, for, while there is a bid for changes, very frequently the internalized models or representations are still retained internally, often incompatible with the very change desired; she wants to divide the domestic tasks, however she wants to continue organizing them in a so-called feminine way, not permitting a sharing of domestic decisions with the man. (See Home versus House)

There is, as Figueira observes, the joining within a subject, on different levels, of two or more sets of values (or maps) internalized throughout his biography, except that these internalized values can interact or conflict. In this case they seem to be more conflictive than interactive.(1981)

For the middle class woman, to work out signifies a gain in relation to the private sphere. In his master's thesis on middle class women in the city of São Paulo, Ardaillon concludes that, even when poorly remunerated in terms of salary, "it always represents a boosting of the identity of a woman who feels more capable of entering negotiations with her husband, or with other members of the domestic group, not only when it is a question of the allocation of reciprocal responsibilities, but also to make her individuality respected." (1989:78)

Nevertheless, in the public sphere, their work is generally not valued as much as the man's, they are poorly remunerated, discriminated against in the division of work, ultimately, what is valued in one domain is devalued in another. And, again, the woman finds herself confused with the question of her identity as a social subject. One also sees discontinuance between the two domains, as Velho mentioned.

As for the third type of work -- professional -- proportionately few women work follow a career (or profession) they chose and feel well remunerated and successful.

The great majority of the interviewees has higher education. However, they feel unprepared for a profession or are out of the work market, they are engaged in other activities to respond to the "need to work out", but in fact, the work aims at being a form of intervening in the private sphere and not of really getting into the productive process of the public sphere.

To have a college degree is a gain in personal terms, but it still means little in the conquest of a space in the work market, and "*a place in the sun alongside the men*", in the word of one of the interviewees.

Nevertheless, some do reach this social standing of professional recognition of competence and good salaries. In this case they are women who want more than just to work out, they have the desire to be successful in their career, they look for a way to follow, an aim to be attained.

What I want to say is, that for this small group of women, personal fulfillment goes beyond maternity or the personal level, more than this is aspired, they aim for a professional fulfillment. On the whole, they have a more pronounced life project. (See Life Project)

The role of the private sphere in this life project is also notable. Total personal fulfillment is defined by these women as the perfect marriage between the personal and professional levels, that is, the conciliation of the private and the public spheres.

For the time being, we will hold back the following question: is conciliation really possible or is it just an illusion? What would necessarily have to change in order to conciliate these two domains? Further on I will attempt to probe these issues.

It is important to note that when a woman attempts to "decentralize" the day-to-day life from the private sphere, she is also trying to recover the meaning of her word, of her narrative and her wisdom.

Home versus House

This topic is felt by the women to be the most defining of their feminine condition. For them domestic life only exists because of maternity. The child is a dividing line between the space of the couple and that of the family. Many couples begin to experience their crises when their children are born and the maternal and paternal roles must be assumed. At this time the women complain of loneliness, they feel abandoned by their husbands, who seem unprepared to take on the role of father as well as companion in the responsibilities of the daily household tasks.

If, on the one hand, the experience of maternity is rewarding, on the other, it brings a certain distancing between the spouses. The presence of the baby in their midst shows up in the women's complaint of solitude and the accusation that the husband dedicates himself intensely to his work, avoiding family closeness. However, it seems to be a phase, because women with older children (school age) report good relationships between the children and their father.

The phase in which small children need special care is described by them as "maddening". They feel completely involved with the children, and disconcerted with domestic life, that is, with the routine of attending to children and domestic chores.

In spite of this, all admit undergoing a qualitative leap after the experience of maternity, and feel they matured during the process. This fact causes conflicts with the husband, who, in their understanding, does not live through such a significant change with the birth of the children, be it internally or externally. The husbands' change is only seen in terms of the responsibility to provide more money, this they admit, but they complain about their absence, finding their working hours outside home exaggerated or excuses for their lack of affection in the home.

"It's an obligation, because you see that your everyday life has all changed and his has not. Maybe it's even about the economic part, because I make less, much less, than he. So this is how it is, he is privileged, I don't know if he is privileged because he gives himself entirely to his work. And he doesn't share with his wife, child and the house. In the man's life nothing much changed. If he participated in the baby's life, I think he could continue doing eight hours a day. I had to re-think my life, he didn't. I think he really has a greater responsibility to his work, he wants to bring more money home, to make things better. But I think that if we shared things better, it would be a re-thinking of the couple's life, not only the woman's life." (Candida)

This need to re-structure one's life is a surprise to the women. One notes that fantasy was quite different before the concrete experience. The fantasy also reveals the expectation created by woman's socialization which idealizes the relationship between the couple, and also with the family, too much, creating illusions as to the difficulties to be faced in the future. *"I didn't think the change would be so great. I didn't think I would re-*

structure my whole life to be a mother. I thought it was going to be easier, that a child would come and that we would arrange our lives as best we could, but it's not like that. My salary is a crisis in my relationship, I give that a lot of importance. There were no such problems in the fantasy. It was wonderful, such peace, the two of us loving each other 24 hours a day, and it's not quite like that. So that was a shock". (Luiza)

There is a side of personal and narcissistic fulfillment in the experience of maternity, but which also comes accompanied by depression and regression, in which a woman feels dependent on the man for her economic support. She feels imprisoned in her new routine, in another bodily time, in which the schedules are determined by the baby's needs. Her independence and autonomy are drastically curtailed in this situation. As she looks at her husband's life, she realizes that little has changed, that he still has free access to the world, as before.

I could notice that a feeling of jealousy of the man's freedom arises, something the woman feels she has lost irretrievably. After the birth of the child, it will never be the same, the mind will always have something to busy itself with.

Another important factor is the amount of responsibility the woman has to bear concerning everything that happens with the children and also with the house. This responsibility is not really shared with the spouse; on the contrary, husbands demand from their wives that the children be well looked after, and this expectation is felt as something very burdensome for them.

"One lives in such a crazy world, so many things you see happening. Your responsibility with two children is so great. You don't have any control over things. Then you think like this, with one child, with two children, and alone, it was very difficult for me, very wearying. I aged a lot and become worn out. It's on one's face, reflected there. One's hair. I have never been a person to take much care of my skin and hair. Suddenly, I'm seeing that it's better to take care, otherwise everything will wrinkle up, and go white". (Maria)

The experience of pregnancy was described, in the interviews, as something good. However, the phase after the birth is conflicting or depressing. The birth makes the changes become concrete, but in a drastic and rapid way, without previous preparation. Sometimes the difficulties begin at the birth itself. The idealization of a normal birth is the synonym of a good mother, of good child-bearer brings its frustrating marks, and impels the young mother to the reality of the risks and difficulties.

"I had a fantastic pregnancy, it was the happiest time of my life and at the last moment I had a Cesarean. I don't know up to what point it was a medical error, but she was born fine. I was the one who then got crushed. He took me to my mother's house to see if I would get better, but I didn't want to go. I preferred to stay home. He used to arrive home and I was depressed. I don't even know how it was for him to suddenly have a fat and cranky woman in the house, afterwards I went

through therapy and got better quickly." (Suzana) in this passage we can see that Suzana condenses various anxious feelings at the same time. It was the birth that was not normal, her body that did not go back to what it was before, her mood changed, she feels depressed and her husband who can no longer stand the situation. The example illustrates what I affirmed above, regarding the experience of dependency and regression. Suzana became a mother, however, instead of taking care, she herself needed to be cared for by her mother.

One fact which drew my attention and I believe contributes to the women's complaints of solitude just after birth of the children, is that the majority of the women interviewed said that their children were not planned for together. On the whole, the women wanted to have a baby and the spouse thought that it was not the right time for him. The reason almost always given was that there still was not professional and financial stability on the part of the husbands, even so, the women got pregnant. What I could detect is that the women's personal fulfillment is intimately linked to maternity and there is an enormous urgency to make it happen. I think that in this way, the husbands feel somewhat betrayed, and excluded from this decision, and leave the heavier incumbency to the women.

The single mother who was interviewed, reveals, in her radicalism, this issue: *"I was concerned, I told him, and his reaction was what I expected, he didn't want the child. Very young, I felt sorry for him because I gave him no choice. I imposed something on him. It was my responsibility, I wanted this child and that was that. Actually, he never assumed it, I don't think he was ever ready for it. It was tough, not the pregnancy. I enjoyed it, I loved my tummy and it was an incredible thing"*. (Celina)

Rachel's affirmations also back up the same point of view: *"some two or three years ago we began thinking of having a baby, but this was an insistence on my part, I wanted it because I was 27 years old, going on for 30. When I became pregnant, I don't know if I gave him any space to decide, I don't think I gave him much at all!"* (Rachel)

Any way, it seems they manage to create "the accomplished fact"; the total control by the woman, who exercises it according to her need of acquiring a feminine identity glimpsed at in the possibility of maternity.

However, through this type of pregnancy, a differentiation of attributions and responsibilities is already instituted. The man feels a little released from responsibility by this process. After all, he was not a participant in the project, and neither was his part in the conception respected.

The women do not seem to be aware of the maneuvers they make and present various reasons for what happened, denying they excluded their companions. The most common excuse is that they were already thinking of having a baby anyway, and it was only a question of time. And there goes the other one's time, the man's, maternity and children become a feminine issue. And the solitude they complain about seems to

be related to this exclusion of the man, who begins to be physically absent: be it because he was excluded from the decision or because he was excluded from the process.

"I was at my mother's, and she and my aunt helped take care of the baby, he never even changed a diaper. Afterwards, when we went home, I didn't get up a single night, he used to get up to give the night bottles. But he had become excluded from the process and couldn't break in. So then he began to go out every night (he was on holiday), he used to go to the movies... And I had the little one. Then the day came when he went out and came back at two in the morning, went out with a friend of ours. Then I said, listen, hold it, I'm here with a small baby and the other little one, alone, at someone else's house, I mean, my mother has to help me, my father, too, and my husband, who is the father, because I didn't have a baby alone, doesn't help!" (Patricia) Undoubtedly this fact changes the dynamics of the couple and of the family itself.

Marriage, then, begins to be lived out as a synonym for having children and building a family; thus any delay is cause for anxiety and insecurity in relation to the woman's identity.

The second moment is linked to the birth of the first child, with the structuring of daily life. This is when other problems begin.

Maternity completely changes the time and rhythm of a woman's day, partly because of the biological aspect in itself, due to the changes of the body and emotions, and partly because of the "ideology of mothering". (4)

Culturally, the model of the exercise of maternity --a total dedication of mother to her baby or children -- has resisted change. The women interviewed manifested their guilt and anxieties in relation to being a mother; there is an ideal model which generates in her insecurity as to her adequacy to attain the intended ideal.

What frightens these women about maternity is the model of a superwoman and supermother. This model pursues them, making them anxious as to the role to be carried out.

"The hard thing is to have to be there always with the child, getting everything right, giving the maximum of attention possible, then running out to work, coming back tired and having to be beautiful and great when your husband comes back so that he doesn't get interested in someone nicer and pleasanter than you. So children are nice but there is a side to it that's a pain in the neck! It's too tiring and demanding. But to tell the truth, I don't know who demands more, if it's the baby, it it's my husband or if it is I myself". (Clara)

Or: *"I believe even today that the responsibility is mine, and I think that children limit you very much; they give you a lot of happiness but also bring you a great limitation".* (Candida)

Motherhood, initially idealized and affording a feminine identity, turns into the limitation of another identity -- that of the professional woman, the independent woman with more freedom. The ambiguity is present in its aspects: the woman's fulfillment (having children) and the professional frustration

(restrained by children). Conciliation seems to be sought by them, that is, have children and manage to work out. Even if working out means having a time away from the house and a space for individuality. Better still, perhaps to try and counterbalance this excessive "mothering ideology", it is necessary for the woman to work out, to relieve this load of total dedication and enormous responsibility. However, even in her absence, she is broadly accountable for what happens to the children.

"My eight months'-old daughter had an ear infection, but not one of those terrible ones. He told me I was to blame. He told me literally that it was my fault, my God! But in five minutes I gathered my things together and said 'now you stay with her'... I'd already told him that if any day I left no way would I go with any kids! Because they don't keep the children. I fixed my things and went to a hotel, stayed there and no one could find me. Scoundrel, you'll straighten up! Do you think that as a mother I would want my daughter to get sick?"

And why is it that I was always the one to have to miss work? He had a much more flexible work schedule than mine. I think something like this is absurd. So now the scoundrel will have to miss work to take care of her! (laughter) Do you know? It gave him a fright, because he never imagined me capable of doing this. But do you know what he thinks of it today? He says: 'you were not well during that time'. He never thinks that it was a moment of great lucidity when I said, 'you are going to learn to value me'!

Do you know what it's like when you want some space for yourself? This is something that I complain about constantly. You just arrive home from work (works six hours a day) and everyone asks for something, asking, asking... You sit at the table and the two of them are asking, both of them. One asks for water and the other one also, and then they want to know how much money you have." (Candida)

This testimony is extremely significant of women's life experiences. The enormous demands, claims and pressures from spouse and children. Sometimes a woman feels that her own husband is a child, who also is arbitrarily demanding, and it goes on endlessly. It seems she becomes the mother of all of them at home and the responsibility becomes unbearable, as Maria remarked before, one begins to get all "shriveled up".

However, the problem is more complex, with various nuances. Candida, while claiming a space in which to denounce her husband's pressures with outrageous demands, tells us of her own inner demands, which correspond to the internalized model of the ideology she learned in her socialization. In this section (see below) we can appraise the weight and the conflict that these contradictory representations cause.

The concept of *discontinuance* of Nicolaci-da-Costa and of "unmapping" of Figueira explain the contradictions and conflicts between the internalized symbolic systems in the process of primary socialization and secondary socialization. (5) (See Part II)

To exemplify, let us return to Candida's narrative where she tells us of her perfectionism and exigencies towards her house and her dedication to her child. Soon after, the inevitable -- the end of year exhaustion. In this sense, it is not only the husband who makes demands, but, perversely, the internalized model which also pursues her. When her husband represents this part of her, Candida even manages vehemently to contest him, however, the internal part is more difficult to be perceived in its scope and in the determining of her behavior.

"We have great difficulty in dealing with servants because I am very demanding, even a perfectionist. I pay a good salary but demand a lot and the person can't stand it. So, I have now learned a little. I let her go and go over all that she did. Of course this makes me very tired, which is not good for me. I am well aware of this, on a theoretical level, but when I go to put it into practice it's hard. You know, everything has to be in perfect order in the house... I am quick and extremely organized, therefore at night I already leave everything ready that I am going to use the next day, and leave quickly. When I leave for work I already leave feeling tired... they say it is the man who rules, but it is not really so. We are the ones who set the goals for the house. If on Monday, on Tuesday and on Wednesday I get out of rhythm, then the whole week crashes... I learned to be less intense, before, if you could have seen, the drawers were impeccable. Now, not that I don't want it so, I cannot cope, you know... I am never free, never have time, time for myself. I never leave feeling calm... there is no room to cry in this house, because if you cry your husband is going to ask why and your daughter is going to want to know. I think that for us women, it is a very great intrusion on the part of the husband and child... and so at the end of the year I had a fatigue which I did not know how to get home. It was such a draining that I would not own up to the fatigue, and to this day I am sort of half ashamed of having had this fatigue." (Candida)

While she complains of lack of time for herself and of too much work, it is clear that she is immersed in the traditional model. It is interesting to note that she demands from her servant the same as she does from herself, and admits that the other cannot really put up with it. She herself informs us that, deep down, she cannot stand it, she has fatigue and has to pay a price that is too high so that everything can be under her control and in a perfect manner.

In order to have an idea of the different levels of discussion and conflict that go on within the same person, we shall continue with Candida, and add another factor. The modernization of the house versus the home.

There is a tendency for change, for modernization in the concept of home and in the use of the word house as a dwelling place and not as a guardian of affection, considering the very passage of the different models of home and house, which still intermingle. There is not a definite change, on the contrary, one is living through a period of transition.

"I used to go to bed at one or two in the morning because I had to wash clothes, iron clothes, prepare the lunch. Just see how absurd, and in fact, I got smart, my husband didn't want anything frozen, he didn't think we needed a dishwasher, and try as I might, he would not see it. Until one day I dropped everything and began to leave the dirty dishes. After two months he bought a freezer and then a dishwasher, but that was the only way to make him see that I could not cope, not because I didn't want to, it was impossible". (Candida)

As Machado and Britto (1982) state, sometimes the limit is one of exhaustion. The nature of the limit shows that there is no internal reformulation, but that the various plans continue to be conflictive there, and only stop at the limit of total exhaustion, of breakdown.

We can perceive that, from maternity, we go through the building of a family and get into the problems of organizing domestic life and everyday living. And it indicates how the woman is the center of this everyday living. She takes it on, and concomitantly is charged with getting it done, with handling it, and with being responsible for what happens in the private order.

But, what happens when this woman works out?

Two ways are open to her: the first is to work out as a way of trying to ease this responsibility, of relieving the domestic burden a little. To seek more freedom and recognition as a person inside and outside the family. The burden, however, is not eliminated but modified because the woman, even when away from the house, continues to control it from a distance, and, by telephone, gives orders to the servant, the children and the house. The other way arises when the woman has a professional project and desires to invest in her career. This refers to the woman who belongs to the productive sector of society, and in this sense, the difficulty in reconciling private and public spheres is much greater. For these women work is not a means of alleviating domestic chores, it is rather how to make daily living compatible with the professional aspirations. For these women domestic help is the pillar which holds up the house when she is not present.

"I have always depended entirely on servants. For me a servant is most important, I could not rely on my mother, or mother-in-law or other relatives for help. Because after you have had a child, it is essential to be able to work. Because it is the same old story, you have a good husband who divides all the responsibilities with you. This in theory, because at the crunch, when you have to miss work because the servant did not show up, it is always up to the woman. Your spouse disappears, he goes to work. It's no use, I mean, in practice it never happens. So I used to become very distressed, so for me it was imperative to have a live-in servant ... I arrive home from work (she works an eight-hour day) and I'm not about to warm up the dinner, clean up the kitchen, even if only to put everything into the dishwasher. There are always tasks. I arrive home, there is food, I don't even know what I'm going to eat, I sit at the table and

get up. I cannot complain. In this respect I am well served."(Eduarda)

Eduarda is a woman who has a professional project, works eight hours a day and is paid the current market price for her job. What I have noticed is that there is a certain tendency for women with professional aims to reconsider domestic work and the model of the home. As can be seen from Eduarda's case, it is not that the domestic duties have come to be shared by the couple: it happens that her remuneration is rather good, allowing her to have a servant to relieve her from the domestic work. We must point out that Eduarda herself no longer follows the traditional model of having to personally control everything at home, that is delegated to the servant, without much inconvenience to her. This does not always happen with women who work out, who still wish to maintain the role of good housewife, delegating to the servant the carrying out and retaining the managing of the home; they complain of the inefficiency and irrationality of the servants' work, demanding from them availability of time, professionalism and paying them badly.

There is a transfer of the devaluing of domestic work on to the person of the servant, which the employer herself experiences socially. The mistress depreciates the servant in the same way that she feels depreciated when carrying out this task. *"This work is so easy, you only have to know the minimum, and not even this do they do. They are not interested in anything, they spend the whole day goofing off and then when one gets home everything is upside down."* (Clara)

Eduarda, on the other hand, assumes another posture, she transfers to the servant her experience of work relationship. *"I try not to exploit her in any way, that is, I'm always careful to treat her as professionally as possible, and try to pay her properly. I respect her time off, her hours, you know, everything I wish to be respected for, that is, treat her as a professional"*. (Eduarda)

All in all, the structure of the private sphere is built around the figure of the woman. Be it mother or servant, there is hardly any experience of a house functioning without these relationships of subordination. It is either the man who rules the wife or the mistress who does the same to the servant. It is a current reality of the middle class. One can affirm that a solidary or symmetrical relationship between spouses regarding the organization of daily domestic life is practically nonexistent.

Latin American women have obtained more space and won more victories in the public domain rather than in private life. It would seem that the debate over division and organization of domestic work is still incipient and remains practically untouched in the feminine domains. And this, to a certain extent, is also reflected in a woman's professional life because society is basically directed towards masculine labor, not respecting schedules or creating conditions for the domestic work to be symmetrical and solidary.

"Look, I spent four years in the United States, but over there life is very different, there things are organized and there is time, here in Brazil there is not enough time, no schedules. People set a meeting for five thirty in the afternoon, as if nobody had any children, no need to get up to fetch them from school. If I don't have a servant to do a whole bunch of things, time disappears." (Melanie)

The help given by a spouse is always casual, never regular, as a favor. The real domestic responsibility is the woman's. The more modern ones do a little more for the children, they bathe, feed and play with the children. But it is rare for a man to do domestic work. However, some tasks are seen as joint, such as going to the bank, supermarket shopping, purchasing medicines, etc. Ultimately, even cooking, when the man likes concocting new dishes, but never the daily fare nor washing up and tidying the kitchen.

As Cardoso points out, there is a difference between our reality of the working woman, in Latin American countries and European or North American, for "the professional women were always among the 'privileged ones' who had no need to choose between a career and children because they could rely on the help of relatives and servants(...) I don't defend the doing away with servants in a country with no alternative job market for this kind of manual work, but I believe that thinking over the issue, we could create more humane working conditions for these workers (guarantee them schedules, free time, vacation etc.) and we will see more clearly the implications of Latin American singularities on the feminine discourse (...) Why is it easier to get the men to participate in the gestation and birth than to be willing to share daily in the task of washing dishes? (...) I do not have the answer to this question but believe that the way to answer it lies in an observation of the relationship between ideology and everyday life" (1983:4 and 5).

In our society behavioral changes in the spouses seem to have occurred more significantly in the relationships with their children, retaining a firm resistance in reference to domestic work.

Modern pedagogy instruct parents to maintain good communication with their children and to follow the criterion of quality over quantity. In this way many working women count on these orientations and feel less guilty about their limited available time. The father is called upon to be more present, to attend school meetings, help with homework and take the children on outings. Without doubt, in these sectors, the social project is passed on to the children, they will be the heirs of whatever was able to be amassed and will continue the upward mobility, seeking to attain some social prestige.

These families, clarifies Bruschini, " are attached to their socializing role: children are highly valued, considerable time and energy are taken up with their education and schoolwork. The family not only fulfills this role of socializing agent, but also is constantly called upon by the school to complement and deepen information which this institution is not capable of transmitting

alone. The school itself, in this case, takes for granted a model of conjugal family and of middle class, in that it can count on the availability of the mother for this activity, as well as her capacity and technical competence to deal with the task." (1986:385)

This expectation of the school laid on the middle class woman presupposes as well a woman who does not work out or one who has a half-day job, which she puts into second place in her life.

Of all the women interviewed, only one had her children at an all-day school. All the others believe it is harmful for the child to stay so long in school, and have the image that an all-day school is for children "half neglected by their parents" and, hence, they become schools for "children with emotional problems".

Once again it is possible to become aware of the importance of ideology and the force of its representations in people's lifestyles and behavior patterns. Ideology promotes the forming of an imaginary sphere which determines practices and regulates daily living.

It is essential that we should be able to understand, discuss and open up new perspectives for these issues, avoiding women calling upon themselves certain guilt feelings, which, in reality, are merely representations of social imagery.

Cardoso is right when he indicates the way to observe the relationship between ideology and everyday life. There, in my opinion, lies one of the essential points of investigation regarding the feminine condition.

Home versus House -- A New Image?

What differentiates a home from a house? This question ran through the 20 interviews.

In the first place I looked up the etymological meaning of the words. In *Dicionário Aurélio* we find several meanings for the words "Home" and "House". Thus, Home can be: 1. the part of the kitchen where the fire is lit; 2. fireplace, fig. for the house as dwelling; 4. fig. the family; 5. fig. the homeland" (1975:820). And for House we have the following: "1. a building of one or more floors, usually destined for dwelling; 2. each of the divisions of a dwelling; 3. home, family; 4. collection of domestic goods and/or affairs; 7. establishment, firm, company, commercial establishment, bank; 8. government office; the mint" (1975:290).

It is intriguing to see that if we expand the meaning of home we come up against the idea of Homeland. Whereas, if we extend the word house, we will have a government office, public institutions in general.

The association seemed to inevitable -- home deals with the private sector, the warm side "where one lights the fire", where people eat -- the kitchen. The family in its collective state can become a Homeland. It gives the idea of ties, that which bids welcome to individuals with the warmth of the fireside. The house is a building with divisions, which seems to deal with "domestic goods and/or affairs", it is a word which contains repartitions, a sharing, a division, an organization which becomes public. It is commerce, hints of bartering.

In literature the idea of home is linked to the image of a woman and, potentially, even though it may not be so, of a family.

Home dispenses with the image of woman, it can be the house of anything, including parlor houses -- a commerce of women.

The word home, subjectively, comes loaded with feeling; whereas house refers to the more objective needs of dwelling and habitation.

The interviewees, on the other hand, spoke of their concerns and worries in relation to the home, which, while directly linked to the primary needs of living, on the other hand draws together family ties.

Because of this subjectivity (ties and feelings) domestic work apparently loses its "rationality", or its more objective organization as a productive unit. However, through it, subtly, the drawing together, the linking, the family closeness and ties, come about.

The work that the woman/mother does to unite the children, to gather together the wider family, to tell the family story, is a work of living memory. Through countless and small daily gestures she tries, even in the absence of the man, to maintain her family cohesive and united.

I have noted that even the modern woman who goes out to work, bears within herself this idea of home, her gestures and actions aim at guaranteeing its existence.

Formerly home was understood to be a place with the mother a constant presence, always available to be with the children, to receive her husband, to be occupied with domestic chores, to provide good things to eat, ultimately, a familiar and welcoming place where one was always awaited. Nowadays, daily living reality has changed. The mother, generally, has little spare time for children and husband. The domestic chores tend to be looked at rationally, with an aim to use the least time possible -- machines, frozen food, etc.

The woman has not become rid of her domestic tasks, but has modified them because of her greater insertion in the job market. It is essential to be able to do domestic work in a reasonable time so that the same woman can also work outside the house.

Therefore, changes, yes, but not so much. As one knows, says Tosi, "the administration of the family establishment usually impedes the women from taking on a full-time job, and moreover, from carrying out an absorbing profession (...) this

domestic structure while creating a welcoming environment, while freeing the men from all worries regarding the running of the home or the raising of the children, is particularly favorable for the channeling of their mental faculties towards more transcendent objectives". (1979:70)

And so what does one call home, today?

For young mothers the work of sewing, of gathering the family, still remains. It is more valued than before because they now no longer have time to show their affection through food, clean clothes and goodies.

There is also a difference in what is being valued. As Ardaillon concludes, "the valuing of her presence, the attention given to the children, causes the intensity of the role of mother which she carries out to be much less in the baking of a chocolate cake all by herself than in keeping watch over the proportion of vitamins and minerals engorged by the children. Signs have changed, symbolism remains, redesigning the role of the mother with medicinal aspects: food now is nutrition, ruled by more 'scientific' norms imposed by health professionals". (1989:160)

The presence must also be more direct. To be together signifies to be directly present, it is an affective presence. Young mothers, instead of spending time making goodies, dedicate themselves to playing and going on outings with their children.

Frequently during the interviews one heard that before going to work, or upon getting home from work, they spent "time with the children", playing and talking, it is a "time just for them". If time is short in quantity, then they seek quality. It is another change, defended by mental health and educational professionals, which coincides with the requirements of the mother who works out. It helps alleviate the sense of guilt for not being available.

Returning to the Home versus House issue, it is as though currently the affection in the home were a little less bound to the material aspect of the house and its objects, and more to the members of the family.

This new concept of home causes much anguish and guilt in the women interviewed, for the old model of home (from grandmothers and mothers) is still active internally, generating conflicts with the new concept of home which is emerging. So, they blame themselves for not being good housewives, for not taking good care of the *house*, for "there is not enough time to leave the *house* all tidy", as their mothers used to do. And, then the question comes up: am I a good housewife or not? Am I a good mother?

It is a historical fact that the woman, without being paid, became responsible for the tasks of the reproduction of the labor force and the reproduction of the ideology of the social order in the private sphere. While the man took on the responsibility for the productive work in the public sphere, and began to be remunerated for it. Bruschini argues that "ideology undertook the rest, transforming this rigid sexual division of

labor into a 'natural' division, fitting to the biology of each gender. The mythicizing of the role of the wife and mother became more easily ingrained when *house* and *family* started to take on the same meaning, in spite of not really being so".(1986:44)

It is evident that rationally women "know" they work out (the majority work part-time) and that, therefore, they have less available time, but, even so, inwardly they still blame themselves for not coping with the situation the way they feel they should. Many attribute the fact to their personal lack of organization, which hinders the house from being tidy, revealing a condition different to the one that belonged to the foremothers.

The strength of the maternal identifications is evident in these women, who, by annulling the differences, divide up the world into good and bad housekeepers. Ignoring the difference of time period and the very "contradiction between domestic life and family life, can, in the case of these women, legitimize the commonplace of domestic work as though it were work for the family and not work in the house, and therefore work which is already social" (Chauí; Folhetim, 1981)

In 1973 the famous economist Galbraith calculated the annual value of an American housewife's work to be 13,000 dollars. In spite of this possible quantification, I could observe from the narratives that the women have a "natural time" lived during the domestic chores which is different to the "rational time" of the productive work linked to the rules of productivity. This "natural time" could be thought of as time of free association. The woman chooses to tidy up the house moved more by her internal and emotional aspects than by a law outside of her, that is, of an organizational nature. Of course, some limits are respected, such as, school schedules, meals, bed time, etc... But the pace is very often set by the body, by weariness, by need for affection and by internal models of identification.

Domestic work "cuts into life, invading all other temporal spaces, principally leisure and rest; some tasks are centralized, pressing, and others cannot be delegated" (Machado e Britto, 1982:3). This way of life is specially noticeable upon the birth of the first child, when the woman feels the change of time and when lack of time really cuts into her life. Time is given to the baby's needs and nothing else matters, not even her own needs, which take on secondary importance.

Maybe, due to the characteristics of domestic work "cutting into life" as Machado e Britto says, it contradictorily becomes invisible to society. This social invisibility of domestic work is costly to the woman who sees her heaviest work load devalued.

What is more, this invisibility ends up occupying a large part of the woman's life, which can be noticed when, listening to them, they repeat insistently their need to set aside and defend their own *space*, and a *time* just for them.

This is a way in which they remind themselves of their individuality and give themselves something for their own Self,

which is daily merged with children and husband, becoming infantile with the children and subservient with the husband. A certain distortion of the Self can occur, if there is not this time and space to recover oneself.

The daily work of family mothering, of taking care of the other, can lead one to a sensation of depersonalization. It is common for middle aged women to complain about an identity crisis -- the children have become adults and their own subjects, the husband is socially recognized, and what is she? Many do not really know what they are and get sick. They become invisible to themselves, almost like the work they have been doing daily for years. If it loses its meaning, they also feel empty, without identity and without meaning. Therefore they waver between an experience of "death": diluting themselves, merging into the clan, the family, and that of "life": creating, caring, helping, showing the world to those who are born and do not yet know it.

The work of life and Eros, of day after day weaving past, present and future, together, the Thanatos seems to appear into the "quantum" of senselessness, of the repetition of daily life. The house clock is biological and also symbolic.

That is why the narrative of the young woman and mother already brings a presumed antidote to this tragic situation, which is "do something besides taking care of the house". To do something so that she can be socially recognized. This seems to be the answer which they have come up with. *"I think that when a woman works she becomes up to date, and she gets into contact with a series of other problems which she would never dream of at home. This apartment of mine is 97 square meters, if I stay here for four hours I go crazy".* (Candida)

Marriage and Sexual Life

Even though we have been dealing with the private sphere, up to now we have not touched on the part which, besides being private, is intimate, is secret.

The respect for privacy, in dealing with marriage and sexual life, is indispensable among the middle classes. Considering this need and the initial contract made with the interviewees, of not being identified, we will present in this part sections of the statements under fictitious names. Therefore we are referring to this Woman which has a little of each one of us. This measure is to make the possibility of identification difficult, even though it is remote, and to preserve the confidence that was deposited in me.

It is important to stress that the proposal in this topic is not to consider marriage and sexual life as a general theme. On the contrary, the objective is limited to the issues brought up by the interviewees themselves: pregnancy and marriage, the

woman as more mature than the man, lack of conversation in the marriage and the gradual cessation of eroticism in the woman during the day-to-day marriage experience.

The interviews revealed that the representations about marriage and sexual life of these women went through more pronounced changes than those referring to domestic and family life. I am not affirming that the experience of marriage and sexual life is a result of a change in behavior, but that the representations contain new elements in relation to the traditional model. Therefore we can say that changes are occurring, even though sometimes slow and hardly visible.

If many marriages still occur by the force of internalized values, few remain so, for the same reason. One of these values is that, if a woman is unmarried by the age of 25, she should begin to worry, because it is healthier to have a first baby before the age of 30, as it is also more difficult to find a husband after this age.

These ideas end up by bringing on situations of difficult decisions. It is the example one of the interviewees tells us: *"marriage was a formal anxiety which I was supposed to fulfill and which I did fulfill. My marriage process happened within five months: time to get to know, date, get pregnant and have a wedding. It is something that nowadays I realize could not possibly have worked out, but, at the time I also didn't think it could work. However, I felt I had to do it anyway. And the sensation I had was that I was heading towards an abyss and there was no one to stop me. In the first place because of that was formal inside my head, because I was pregnant, and I had wanted to be a mother since the age of 18 ... And, as in my head there was only one way to have a child, which was by being married, it was automatic, we were going to get married, and he wanted to also"*.

This narrative helps us to identify how changes come about and confuse the former values. She tells us that, if on one hand there was some awareness that to get married pregnant wouldn't work, on the other hand there was also the expectation of fulfilling her desire to be a mother, which she would only permit herself through marriage. *"My family used to come to me and say: wait a bit, what's this, we can't let you do it, think well. And for me all that was nonsense, because I wanted to do it."*

At first glance, we could think of a transgression of social values, because to own up to getting married pregnant could mean a great freedom of individual decision; however, as we investigate more closely, we perceive that this apparent freedom signified a shackling to internalized values. What was decided and should be carried out was her internal rule which said: it is necessary to have a child and for that one must get married.

"I had a completely crazy first year, I got married to have a husband and didn't have one. He used to stay out the whole time. returning in the early hours of the morning every day. And also it seems that it had to happen, he did not have to comply

with his role as husband, because I did not have to comply with my role as wife, because that marriage should not have happened. But I insisted and wanted to comply with my role as wife even though he wouldn't comply with his as husband. Therefore I used to stay in the kitchen in my apron, something I won't do today, even if you kill me. I can see that I won't do it, it's not me, I'm not going to do it and I haven't the least problem with this. But I used to stay by the stove cooking and he was on the other side not complying with anything of our agreement. Until the time arrived, in rather a peculiar manner, when I decided to break away from that agreement which we had to be married, and I separated. And at that time I had my eight month-old child. I was never sorry that I had the child, I knew that I wanted it and I had it, I just didn't know how to make this happen in a nice, easy, tranquil way".

The concept of "socializing discontinuance" of Nicolaci da Costa (5) and (See Part II p.162) helps us to understand that the interviewee lived a conflict resulting from the shock between internalized values of primary socialization and those acquired in secondary socialization. Thus it was necessary to fulfill the internalized values in the primary socialization. In the narrative one notices the strength which, in a certain way, they determine the subject. And later, through the frustration brought on by reality, the interviewee changed radically, in an "odd" manner, which leads us to consider that the secondary socialization took precedence over the primary.

"I believed that I could avail myself of everything I had as a woman in the name of the family, which is exactly what my mother always was".

However, the child remains the conducting wire of the process, for, even though recognizing that a marriage agreed on with these values and representations could never work out, she does not admit that she is sorry for having had the child -- even under these circumstances -- since her desire was always to have a child. As she said, "ever since the age of 18".

"I had a string of anxieties, things that I had to fulfill in my head. Having a baby is still something very present because I haven't given up on it, I think I'm not going to give up for the rest of my life (...) I don't even know if my lifestyle fits in with having more children, but I want it, I always think that I want it. My life tells me everything to the contrary but internally I like and want it, I would like to have a large family".

This example is very rich, it shows up the relationship of ideology to fantasy and the inner functioning of this imagery.

The interviewee tells us that the frustration of marriage questions the values and representations internalized by primary and secondary socialization, making reformulations necessary. However, in spite of reality showing (through real impediments) that it is impossible to fulfill all her desires, she is not willing to give them up -- "internally I like and want it, I would like to have a large family". Here we observe the presence, on different levels, of two or more inner sets of internalized values, as Figueira says.

She no longer accepts the traditional figure of the woman who stays by the stove, she is capable of separating from her husband and raising her child, and of having a professional project.

"I always had within me this wanting to have a child because I had my own money. Because I think it is suicidal, these women who stay under their husband's thumb, not even being able to separate because they have no money to separate, or who separate and live in penury because they decided no longer to live with that fellow they dislike, but have no money for it."

The change is evident, this is a woman who is independent, concretely from her ex-husband, she does not carry on like an abandoned or incapable or unprepared victim. On the contrary, she feels capable, including of fulfilling the wish -- to have a child and get married -- because she has her own money.

Money brings independence in the relationship with the man, but does not free her from the captivity of her more primitive internalizations, which must be acted out in reality for then to be perceived, understood and "questioned".

The desire to have a child, for example, remained "unquestioned", that is, the fantasy to have a large family is internally strong and intensely moving, even though reality should tell her the opposite. In the same way that in her marriage, the "principle of reality" told her that "it won't work", but her internal representation impelled her, *"thus I was heading towards an abyss and had no one to stop me (...) but it was all something I was living and had no control over it"*.

The above example was selected for also being the most significant of the close and immediate relationship between marriage and maternity and of how much this internalized binomial acts on the decisions of women as to when to get married and have children. What I have observed is that the women control and decide when the children should be born; maternity is still felt by them as a "woman's thing" and not as something which concerns the couple, and therefore, to be decided upon together.

In spite of the men participating more (taking courses, being present during delivery, changing diapers, etc.) it is still clear that the baby arrives too soon for the men, and this causes ambivalence for the father. While he is pleased about the birth, he gets tense because he does not feel professionally secure and will have to work harder. This, without taking into account the emotional aspects which certainly the birth of a child brings about in both spouses.

It is necessary to emphasize that the time to conceive a child is fundamentally decided on by the woman's need to have a child, seeking to guarantee her identity of mother. We could perhaps raise the hypothesis that the distance which the women allege their husbands bear towards their children could be linked to this exclusion coming from the having of children. The desire for it is always the woman's, the man does not seem to get to feel the desire to have children, he always has the child before he wants it.

The women in this research are mainly university graduates and have all the means to plan and control their conception. If this does not happen, it is not due to lack of information, but due to the inner demands resulting from primary socialization, and from the social imagery.

"When I became pregnant, he made it quite clear he preferred me to have an abortion, but no way did he want to lose me, for he loved me very much, so would do anything, he would accept any decision of mine so long as I didn't quarrel with him. And that's the way it ended up happening, he pressured a bit, but I didn't have the courage and he said: " OK, then let's get married'. So then we got married, it was a difficult time because when I found I was pregnant I had just left my job. So things were tough during that phase, I was without a job and he was earning very little."

The decision to have the baby without talking into consideration the man's wishes seems to contribute to the solitude of the mother with the baby, which was often mentioned in the interviews.

"Besides which it had been a complicated decision. The fact of our getting married was somewhat of a concession on his part, so he felt his freedom rather curtailed. I closed myself in with the child, it was a bit of a complicated phase, this beginning of our marriage"

Or, "Then it was a very difficult time in my life, it was awful, because I was not yet married legally. He was not yet divorced and I felt he was goofing off (...) I panicked, I wanted security, I wanted the marriage certificate there, right away. Then towards the end of the pregnancy I thought that this marriage wouldn't come off, not that I kept bugging him, I didn't say anything, that is, just waited for him to take a stand, and so it didn't happen. We had a crisis towards the end of my pregnancy, and the result was that I ended up entering the maternity in the same state, without being married, nothing (...) so I went to the maternity single, he registered the baby, I stayed there a few days (..) because now never again, marriage is something that is dead, it was a question of pride for me, marriage between us nevermore."

The experience of the arrival of the child upsetting the couple's life does not occur only in cases in which the woman becomes pregnant and then wants to get married. There are couples which have a good experience of companionship, but which "the arrival of the child ruins".

"We got married , were super-happy, I became pregnant and the whole thing fell through"

The issue is that the child arrives all involved in the problems of the spouses, but ends up being the representative of these problems to the couple, mainly for the man, who seems to lose more than he gains, at least in the beginning of the experience. Later on perhaps the situation will take on another form.

Women feel more mature than men. This idea permeated all the interviews. However, I noted that, invariably, it would come

up in situations arose in which the women were placing husbands and children on the same plane.

"I think that to manage to stay married is something of maturity, but principally maturity of the woman. Men are made infantile by their mothers, who cater to their every whim, then when they get married they are helpless and look for their mummies in their wives. So one has to have patience and try to change the situation, but lots of quarrels happen because of this."

At the beginning of her marriage when she no children, the woman looks after her husband as if he were her child; when she gets pregnant, she has other expectations. She wants to be looked after, protected, because she feels fragile and looks to her husband as someone to share. However, she is surprised to realize that she cannot count on his help with day-to-day life, and with the emotional support she expected. At times like this, the persons the woman falls back on are her mother, aunt, older sister, in short, another woman who can take on the daily chores and provide the necessary emotional comfort.

"I feel that I am also very much to blame. I know I am wrong, because I am a bit of a matriarch. I feel sorry you see! In the long run, who ends up taking it on, really taking it on, is always the woman. She is always the one who has to make the extra effort, at least to hold the marriage together, to reconcile things."

Or, as another interviewee tells us: *"I have the impression that I have three children, and not two. I feel more mature than him. So sometimes he makes some remark, something that I even find quite infantile. In this sense I feel alone."*

Or like this one: *"Dash it! once again I am going to have to give in, once again I have to be the mature person, who is going to understand, who is going to be I don't know what else"*.

It is very common to hear that the woman matures earlier than the man, an idea transmitted by our mothers, when we began our pre-adolescence. In fact, there is a rapid physical development in women. However, it is necessary to analyze to which maturation we are referring, as physical is different to emotional. The women, when they talk about their immature husbands, are referring to the men's inability to be able to manage the day-to-day life, to get organized within the private sphere. On the whole, they depend on some woman to do things for them: the mother, the wife or the servant. However, we may consider that the majority of women also need some man to manage their lives in the public sphere, that is, a father, a husband or brother who would support them in financial terms to survive. Thus, we can imagine that the dichotomy between public and private that has been historically prevalent, has restricted both the man and the woman in their carrying out of social roles, also dichotomized.

It does not appear to me that a man is, essentially or naturally, more immature than a woman, for if so we would have to agree that the woman would also essentially be more dependent than the man.

What we should examine is to what extent assimilated roles end up limiting the potential of both. The man is socialized to be dependent in the private sphere and independent in the public one, whereas for the woman it is exactly the opposite. Lucia Tosi, in an interesting article on "Women's Scientific Creativity", argues that, until school age, the women manage to be equal to men, after which they stop competing with them, in the work market. The reasons given by the author are that, with marriage, they would give up all other interests apart from husband and children, or would accept jobs below their qualifications.

Tosi says that: "The boy 'learns' his masculinity, while the girl arrives at puberty carrying within herself 'feminine' attributes, that is, dependency, without any learning effort, this, then, becoming one of her 'natural' attributes. As a result, she starts much later to develop her autonomy or to search for her identity (...) Femininity implies passivity, lack of aggressiveness, lack of competitive spirit, dedication, sensitivity, intuition, and receptivity".(1975:45)

We can surmise that this maturing, of which the interviewees speak, is related to the "feminine" attributes to which Tosi refers, that is, passivity, tolerance, flexibility, sensitivity and receptivity. Thus, the woman takes with her into marriage, and carries out, when dealing with her spouse, the role of conciliator, and of caring for the other. The woman accepts to be more pressured by the man than she does demand from him a real cooperation in their affective relationship and in family and domestic life. It is a fact that these three aspects are fairly burdensome and become more so when they are not shared by the couple, leaving up to the woman the task of conciliating and guaranteeing the continuity of the union and of the family.

The position of conciliator ascribes to the woman an inferior position: she has to control and make sure everything runs smoothly besides always giving in so that the relationship may be long lasting.

Another point which arose in the interviews is the lack of conversation and dialogue between spouses.

"You are having breakfast, but you can talk while having breakfast, you can listen while having breakfast. I'm a human being, I want him to respect me, I'm a woman. So, then I realized that everything I had bottled up in me and did not talk over rationally ended up exploding. So now I speak of everything, the he listens: ' OK, we'll see about that later'. So really to sit down and talk over the day, no way."

On the other hand there is the woman who always tries to start talking about the relationship and who tries to understand what is going on: *"I always tried to discuss the problems. I would say, 'Why are we like this?' He would just listen. Always just listen. So nothing everything went on the same way"*.

The complaints are not restricted to the men who do not dialogue. Those who do talk do not seem to be aware of some of the feelings the women have and are trying to express or share with them, with little success.

"We talk and I think there are times when he understands, there are other times when he doesn't, so there are things which are very much only for us women. Because it's difficult for them to see this our side of being woman, I think he is not the only one, it's the same for any one. It is very hard for them to perceive, for example, why you are crying. Do I have to tell him why I'm crying? But then I started learning that I don't have to tell him, there are things which are mine and which I don't have to share with him, you know (...) Other times I think that I am even afraid to come forth, afraid in the sense that I'm going to be in for a licking."

Even to talk to the husband the women think they "have to go easy", if not a quarrel could come up. This caution seems to reproduce the situation of the child who has to tell his snappish father something annoying and does not even know how to begin or what words to use not to irritate his father even more and not to end up being punished or getting a scolding. This deference, this indirect special treatment, to avoid aggression, reveals much of the asymmetry of the relationship. There is an apparent equality or intimacy, because the husband feels in his right not to share and to choose which matters he is not going to talk about in any way.

"There are things he doesn't like to talk about, certain things he doesn't like, this kind of blab, specially now that we're going through a hard time, that I'm getting out of his dealings with his mother, things which refer to his change, these things he doesn't like to talk about. Then I feel I'm doing a little something alongside, doing something to give him a boost, it's not easy at all. He has a lot of hang ups, lots of them ..."

Comparing the narratives I could verify that the women have the expectation that their husbands will understand them on a non-verbal level, that is, that there are things which do not have to be spoken and which they should have already perceived. There is an enormous frustration when they realize that they are not understood on this level, either.

Because the woman, due to her socialization directed to emotivity and a more refined observation of the other, can develop a richer sensing and expression of psychic and emotional phenomena. This capacity will become more pronounced with the experience of maternity when she will have a very intense non-verbal communication with her baby.

The men, on the other hand, were socialized to not express their affections and sentiments, and, on the contrary, but to operate more easily on the logical and rational level.

Azambuja, in his article "Feminism and femininity: source of conflict", affirms that "in mental life there is no sex"(1979:10), and without a doubt, there is none. However, we may presume that there are internalized images and contents which are sexed. Thus, interference in the mental life is not caused by feminine or masculine psychic mechanisms. This would make no sense. However, Azambuja's affirmation does not explain the cause behind the emotional differences and the different attributes which are described by men and women. The theory of primary

and secondary socialization added to the concepts of Nicolaci-da-Costa and Figueira, gives plenty of ground for speculation by allowing us to analyze the difference among feminine and masculine attributes, not as something biological or natural, but as something cultural which becomes the subject itself.

Sexual life is an important part of a couple's life, which provokes ups and downs. It interests us to know how a woman lives and explains her representations regarding sexual life.

Remaining within the proposal of not entering the domain of the Unconscious -- in spite of recognizing its influence on the sexual and affective life of the individuals -- I intend to probe the representations that were recalled by the women interviewed, and their significance in the daily life of a couple.

"He tells me I should have married a tape recorder because if he always gets close to me at night when I lie in bed, I say: 'heck! why did this happen? What made you so upset today?' He says: 'Oh, I don't know, I couldn't care less, that's not the problem, I'm wanting to hold you and you don't want anything to do with me'."

The representation that men are more turned on to sex, demand more sexual intercourse than women, came up in the various interviews. This runs through the narratives. However, it seems that the woman needs some pre-conditions for the sexual act and the man does not. She must be assured that the emotional atmosphere between them is good, that there is dialogue, and principally that domestic problems or problems of affective relationship are not "apparently" resolved in the sexual sphere. For the woman, this is a way men use to avoid talking and facing differences of opinion. It is a displacement to the sexual field of matters pertaining to other fields.

"I think his language is much more sexual than mine. So I feel this clearly when we are in a bad phase of not getting along, an odd phase, like this because he keeps trying to bring back this thing of sex much more than I do. And because I think manages to express himself like that, sexually much more than I do. I like to talk, that thing of resolving everything first and then make love. Sometimes I think 'I wonder if he can only manage to talk like this, making love and all'(...) but he is incredible, it seems that he is always ready to have sex, all the time, I think it's magical, I don't understand something like that. It's completely different for me. So I think that if it weren't for him we would maybe have sex a little less often."

What must be discerned is that the "modern" woman, who feels more sexually liberated and assumes her sexual desire, believes that there is a difference between the genders in relation to intensity of sexual desire. But, at the same time, she raises a suspicion that it may not be regarding desire but difficulty in relating through other means of communication. The woman feels she possesses (due to socialization) more inner resources than the man to express her sensitivity and affection. It is not that the woman has less desire than the man, but that she does not deposit all her affections and anxieties in sex. It is

a common notion that the man unloads his tension in sex, and not really in sexual desire.

"Sometimes we run into a bit of friction. and it bothers me a little bit, not really a nuisance, it's a question of having to cope with it. When I'm tired I'm really not turned on, then it bothers me, we run into friction and so on (...) I get on edge when I see he is very tense, then I really get on edge, then something is getting in the way of our well-being. Now, normally, no, I look at it like something of biological clocks at work."

Another explanation of the difference is that the man gets much more visually stimulated , and this way, frequently has a greater interest.

"What I think is that sex for me is one thing and for him another thing. I think the man has two levels of sex, there is one sex which he can indulge in by going out, meeting the girl on the street corner and doing it, and what he does at home as well. Then, it's this thing that all of a sudden you put on a cute nightie and he sees something interesting and gets turned on. It's simply material, something like when you change your clothes in front of him and suddenly stir up some interest; which could be for me, for the neighbor, for this one or that one. I feel this way and, sometimes, even accept this type of relationship. But sometimes I don't, if I'm feeling down I don't accept it, because sex for me is something else, it is the outcome of a date, of affection, of understanding, it is a final touch. And for him I think there is also this level, only it has something extra, for me there is not this something extra. Sometimes he's into jogging, going to the club to workout three times a week and still wants sex every night, then it gets so mechanical that I lose interest."

The men's sexual urgency can bother the women not only by the insistence in have relations when the woman is tired or not interested. It also becomes clear, through these and the reports of the 20 women interviewed, that they feel it is an interest to a certain extent disconnected from them as persons. That is, "it could be with me, with the neighbor, with this one or that one"(...). It is an episode which stirs up an uncomfortable feeling, an uneasiness, a feeling of being used as an object, and not of being a desired woman. As Piera Aulagnier says, "She can assume that she is somewhat the subject of the fault (and not object, an unacceptable position outside of a perversion of meaning and of feelings), that she can find her place of desired woman".(1967:75)

The feminine disinterest seems to be inversely proportionate to the masculine interest. However, some women treat sex in a way more similar to the masculine point of view and even criticize the other women: *"It's totally separate, I think that I managed to find sexual satisfaction from the moment I managed to separate things. The men see sex as pleasure; the woman has a more romantic view. If you look at it all from a distance, it's easier to find pleasure. I criticize the woman, she is too emotional, she is romantic and the man isn't"*.

Or another point of view which, besides pleasure, includes the question of fantasy: "(...) *I continue thinking that sex with love is much better. We can't give up on a certain amount of fantasy in our lives, or else everything gets very difficult. Regardless of how rational one may want to be, I think one can't give up on fantasy, not to live for fantasy, one must live facing reality, but one has to hang on to some fantasies. Now, I think that the man is the one to cause all the confusions, because he has that idea of a woman to be used, I can't really define this clearly, but the man is a victim and the woman is also a victim of these confusions.*"

It is interesting to note that in the previous item, the conflict revolved around the tendency of society to attribute to the woman the domestic responsibility and to take for granted that it is a feminine trait. On the other hand we note here that there is a tendency to take for granted that the man's sexual desire should be somewhat more intense than the woman's. One talks of "different biological clocks", "different language", etc.. However, one notices that the women believe that there is a different approach to sex for each gender. The man is more down-to-earth in his quest for pleasure while the woman is more fanciful.

"I was once very full of fantasies, also wanted to have less fantasies to see what it was like. So it became one more thing to get down to reality, let's see how this really is. And I stopped fantasizing for a while. It was as though I had a great anxiety imagining that I was going to have some great wonder, and actually you don't really get to see things as they are. What's more, I think the physical pleasure improved a lot. It was more of a body feeling, that's why it was nicer. It gives one more concrete satisfaction and that way, the orgasm, which used to be much more put on, now is something which became easy for me (...) It's because of repression, guilt, that Catholic thing we have in our heads, I went to a nun's school. All this was really my formation."

The socialization of women leaves bodily scars, many of them, but those which appear in this group of women, were the scars of sexual repression and stimulus to maternity. A well cared for body dedicated to the child. In this sense we can understand the valuing of bodily work. Bodily work has signified for them the recovery of knowledge of the erotic body. Women's erotic fantasies are closely watched over, first by the primary socialization, then by the men themselves, who seek to keep a split between the objects of sexual desire, and the object of affection and love. Currently, we can notice that this is beginning to change, which indicates a deeper sexual understanding within marriage; however, we still quite frequently find middle class women between the ages of 30 and 40 who say they feel sexually unfulfilled in marriage and who would like to have a more open relationship, one that is freer and with more conversation.

"I went to take a dance class to let myself go more, it was fantastic, I got to know my body, to be more at ease in bed, to

be able to have sex, and nowadays I say something like 'today it's not for me'. Some days I do not even allow anyone to touch me, some days I feel good about it, we get off on a high. So I feel that in a certain way I set the tone, in the sense of providing the roundabout, but I feel that he rides along."

In the last narrative we could identify the key connection, the woman does not know her body and was socialized to use it for others, for the man (sexually), for the children (through maternity) and for domestic life (in the weariness of endless work).

However, there is an attempt of the part of the woman to bring about changes, not in a radical way, but gradually introducing her own needs. Sometimes this slowness seems to reveal war tactics -- when the opponent is stronger one has to use resistance confrontations. And in this way, the women seem to carry forward their transformations: *"all with a lot of skill not to provoke the giant's anger"*.

"If I let myself go too much the opposite can happen, he can pull back suddenly, not even be able to go through with intercourse, because he gets scared. It's really the macho way, if I make myself more passive, the act will be much better for him, so I ended up making myself more passive, for the intercourse to be much better, you see, I kind of adapted (...) outside marriage the inhibitions are smaller. So deep down it's that very traditional view of marriage; it's more difficult to have sex with your wife than with someone else."

The last aspect to be looked at is the diminishing eroticism of the woman in everyday home life. This role of the woman who looks after, controls, is "half-mother" to her husband, who is domestic, seems to diminish the erotic image of the woman in the presence of her spouse. Besides which she is the one who always wants to talk about daily problems, the one who remembers the commitments to be fulfilled, the bills to be paid, that is, the one who makes demands the whole time. Just like a mother when she brings up her children.

"When I got married my doctor asked me 'how many times a week do you have intercourse?' I replied, 'an average of three and a half. Three and a half, four, you know.' Then he said, 'when you have been married for a year you'll be down to one', I told him no way, he was crazy, and now it's hard to see that it's true. Because when you have children it really gets difficult. You know, that thing of close the door, lock it, and you're dead tired."

Or, *"When they were smaller we'd put them to bed and that was that, now that won't work any more. It's no use, put them to bed and they don't go to sleep, they get up, turn on the light, come back and ask, 'mum, are you awake?' This means that our sexual life is being highly invaded by them."*

In the home the feminine figure is always that of the mother, the woman is smothered by domestic tasks, by the care of children, by the "ideology of motherhood" which distorts the sexual aspect of the woman, takes away her libido, wearing her out with undervalued and underpaid work. The woman ages soon

because she loses her eroticism more prematurely, the home maintains the characteristic of clan, the space where children and mother commingle. It is not by chance that these women long for their space, their own money, in the long run, their individuality. She tries not to be effaced by the children, but to continue her own life, as a person and a woman.

The disagreements in marriage and in sexual life, among other things, occur due to the structuring of daily life in the private system. The narratives show us that the division of roles, and attributes and representations has an enormous influence on the lifestyle of the couple. Furthermore, they reveal how difficult it is to reconcile the different values internalized through socialization. Thus marriage becomes a battleground for confronting the various values. At other times, the spouses look outside marriage for "the zone of immunity offered for retirement"(G. Duby, op.cit.). We have not touched on the extra-marital cases, but it is important to remember that they are seen as an alternative to everyday confinement.

Bion said in a supervision that "There is such a rivalry between the Man and the Woman, that we can be surprised when a marriage does not end in divorce". (Quoted by Azambuja;1979,5)

If there is no actual divorce, there is a separation within the marriage itself: a distance, a sense of solitude, of absence of dialogue. Ultimately, this abyss between the woman and the man, an abyss that could also have been caused by the socializing formation of what it is to be a man and to be a woman. The models diverge, even when living side by side.

Feminism -- The Image that Stood Out

What I intend here is to verify the image remaining from the process of the struggles carried out by the feminist movement and, above all, its influence on the daily lives of these women. That is, to seek answers to this question: which are the changes in the feminine daily life that are attributed, by them, to the feminist movement?

At first, it was a question of detecting the place of feminism in the of these women through their narratives. However, as the work progressed, it was possible to notice that this varied due to several factors, such as: political formation, cultural level, experience of militancy, and mainly, the age group.

The age factor substantially modifies the remaining image and their own evaluation of the influence of feminism in their lives. As Nizza da Silva says: "what is missing in the History of the Woman in Brazil are studies which take into consideration age variation, or at least, use adequately the concept of generations. Up to now we have been more concerned in finding

out if we are dealing with married or single women, with white, black, ... with rich or poor, with erudite or illiterate, with working or inactive women, forgetting that many behaviors and roles are strongly linked to certain age groups" (1987;90).

The definition of an age group may not, of itself, be sufficient to research specific social behaviors, however, on this theme it was a great help to situate the narratives within two different age groups, due to the influences and lifestyles of the time and to differing social contexts.

Group 1 is made up of women between 21 and 25 years of age in 1975, year of the celebration of International Women's Year. Group 2 is made up of women aged 15 to 20 in 1975.

The first ones, of Group 1, were adolescents when they witnessed the repercussions of May 68, the demonstrations against the dictatorship in Brazil and its violent repression, as well as the North American movement of liberation for women (*Women's Liberation Movement*). Those of Group 2 lived through the years of the Brazilian miracle, 1970 to 1979, with the process of instituting "political decontrol", the Cost of Living Movement, the First São Paulo Women's Congress and the Amnesty Decree.

One can note the presence of two different types of narratives: of the women between 30 and 35 and of the ones between 36 and 40. The first ones do not recognize the influence of feminism on their lives and have a bad impression of this movement (Group 2). However, the others, aged 36 to 40, at least recognize the social importance of feminism, even though disagreeing with some of its assumptions (Group 1).

My hypothesis is that the socialization, which took place at different moments of History (Group 1, pre- and Group 2, post-Brazilian miracle), is loaded with diverse contents, which are reflected in their narratives.

Of the total number of interviewees, 30% belong to Group 1 and 70% to Group 2.

"I had two contacts with the feminist movement, first when there was a women's meeting, I took a small part in it, a very small part because I was much more involved with the PMDB. After that, in 1980, I campaigned for a woman of the PT whose slogan was BRAZIL WOMAN, and we used to discuss things and have meetings..." (Melanie - Group 1)

The Group 1 women view feminism as just one more among many social movements of the time, mainly, the movement to reorganize the parties and later on, the one to form the PT. Their narratives are grounded on political and social reality, besides their own more personal experiences.

"Yes, my mother was always a person very much into politics ... I remember my brother being taken to jail in 64, my brother was a student leader, and my mother right there with him. But we ran into problems because of this, he spent a long time in hiding, almost had to leave Brazil, we didn't know if he was alive or dead, that means, I was part of this scene and the attitude at home was always critical of the dictatorship, a golden time, I remember, there was that excitement all round.

So I did have some sort of political formation ... Then I ended up marrying a guy with a political ideology which matches mine, and this was fundamental for us". (Silvia -- Group 1)

Nevertheless, the same woman who has a political formation and acknowledges the influence of the feminist movement on her life, is critical of it and holds a bad impression.

"What was going on, let's say, in sexual terms, with the people of that time who were of the left, was an excessive freedom, they had sex with everybody, I was never like that (...) I always found the organized feminist movements very exaggerated. I think it must have had an influence, obviously, because I still got a more difficult phase of women's liberation, harder than it is today, much harder. But the involvement in these kinds of movements that I had then was much more personal, individual, I never took part in any organized movement and I was always very critical of them. It was very much that position of men against women which they had at the time, and I used to think it ridiculous. I never went for that kind of thing." (Silvia -- Group 1)

For others, feminism became associated with the movements in defense of human rights and of citizenship in general.

"I'm really not a feminist, rather a person who is indignant with the inequalities, with the injustices, be they against the elderly, women, blacks, poor, ignorant, I am someone who, ever since I can remember myself as me, has been trying to overcome the prejudices around me, or at least to recognize them so that I can handle them better. I think that pretending men and women are equal just doesn't work... But the victories don't come from the bustle of the feminist movement, they come from the women who quietly keep on and on and on... The woman suffers discrimination and to pretend that it doesn't exist doesn't resolve anything. Now, the way it has been carried out, I think is even a step backwards. But I hardly ever get worried about it, because I think a woman's conscience is irreversible. But I also see the feminist movement as an organization like the defense of human rights." (Rachel -- Group 1)

Or, as another one of them says: *"These things used to bother me and have made me back off somewhat. I don't know, I can't get turned on by the feminist struggle. What I consider super important is this thing of work, of equal rights, the claims for better salaries, this part there is no doubt about, It would never dawn on me not to be in tune with this. But the so-called feminine assumptions don't interest me. I have no desire to participate. Some women I listened to gave me a very bad impression. I always got the feeling of an inversion of roles ... a victory of the masculine role and not an independence and of the two trying to get along and build life, get on with things, without either one getting injured." (Beatriz -- Group 1)*

In this way, these women of Group 1 mentioned above, are the ones who possess a professional ambition, and probably, it is not a coincidence that they also possess a broader political formation that allows them to be more critical in relation to

feminists' premises, recognizing, however, that there is a social struggle against the inequalities which should take in its wake the discrimination of women. In a certain way, there is a watering down of specific women's struggles, in these narratives, and a high regard for the general struggles for the improvement of life in society as a whole. It is as though it would thereby be possible to improve the conditions of the woman in society.

The devaluation of the feminine issues by the women who faced the harsher period of military dictatorship seems to show that the struggle for a more just and equal society was opposed to the idea that the differences between the genders can be the structural causes of the differences between individuals.

The fact that the feminist movement had moments of radicalization in its postures, to the point of causing a bad impression, as if it were necessary to battle with the men, or as if the ideal thing were to be an inversion of roles, strengthened the view that a structural change in society would consequently bring about a change in the feminine condition.

Still in Group 1 we find women who have no professional project (even though they may have worked out) who share another point of view:

"I have taken part in political meetings and in a few courses, well, just for women to become aware. But I feel that feminism, on the one hand, has changed people's heads, even in terms of women having their space, being valued, and being a person who is there, like the 'baggage' in Pantanal (reference to the Pantanal soap opera of Manchete Television Network). But to be a person who is competent, who is a person having some part in all this accomplishment. I think this work relationship has changed, I still feel that we Brazilians have less opportunity ... feminism in this aspect was something which made us rethink, reflect on, and search for other solutions to it all. I feel that my generation took a beating in this, because the woman was kind of a target of mockery: 'ah! you are going to wave your banners, throw off your bras in the square'. We were really trailblazing, mainly for the ones coming up now ... sometimes I wonder if we had another way of doing things, of making ourselves hear... I feel that some people jumped the gun... in this thing of marriage, of relationship, where feminism was something which helped a woman in her freedom, but at the same time this freedom kind of muddled the woman's head. It was something tough because it took away the point of reference, that is, I don't think the indicator of being submissive, loyal and gentle is a good indicator, but at the same time I think that while there was the submissive, faithful and gentle woman you had the strong women." (Lurdes -- Group 1)

This narrative brings up a new point which is the valuing of the woman, even of the one who does not participate in the public sphere through a professional project. They also gained their own space, recognition as person, and more freedom. Feminism here brought about a revolution in customs and in the family ties. The role of the *submissive, loyal and gentle* woman

changed. However, there is the complaint that the *strong women* lost some power through this. Maybe, behind all this submission, these women had an enormous control in the private life, as the so-called "Queen of the Home", who, with the wavering of the references of marriage and family relations, lost this indisputable power over the children's upbringing, the family organization, and the house itself as a family space.

"Daddy always safeguarded our space inside the house, we had none of this only the boys speaking at the table, he would ask the opinion of the girls and the boys. So, I think he had a much more feminist stand than my mother." (Lurdes -- Group 1)

We can deduce that it was not very common at that time for girls to voice an opinion, and that the mothers took it upon themselves to back up the *status quo* and the order of the customs, they made sure socializing took place within the current norms. And maybe it was because of this revolution that feminism seems to have brought about, that the girls and women were able to have an opinion and be heard.

"This is what I think true feminism is, to discover that femininity exists and that it is not any different to masculinity, except the sex itself; the feminist movement, I'm not sure about, I think I misunderstood it or it was publicized in a wrong way. But since adolescence I had the feeling that it was something against the men, let's fight them because they want to get rid of us. What I am talking about is much more from life than from books, because, to tell the truth, I have never read anything on this, not even in magazines, but right from the start I felt an aversion, I didn't feel at all comfortable. But this idea was put into our heads, stayed there, was never much examined, so in a way I think it muddled up my life a lot, because something remained in the background, you know, something of being against, they want to get me." (Beatriz -- Group 1)

Another side to the issue is demonstrated by this excerpt of the narrative; a woman who has worked outside the home for some years, even having no political formation or more overall awareness, sees feminism as a movement to advocate war between the genders. For her, the idea of equality means sweeping away the differences, that is, reducing them to biological differences.

In a certain way Beatriz actually leaves an opening for possible misunderstanding of what feminism was advocating. But, anyway, it is interesting to note that she says *"something much more from life than from books"... because something remained in the background, you know, something of being against, they want to get me"*. In the area of coherent and rational non-comprehension, there remained an unconscious awareness of feminism, which ended up interfering in her life, it remained *"in a way that I think it muddled up my life a lot"*.

This statement exemplifies the way in which ideology can be internalized, and, in this case, she herself is already aware that something unconscious remained, a latent content, something residual, which interfered in her life. One refers to adolescence as the period when this "was made fast"; secondary

socialization happened this way, and today, at the age of 37, as she takes stock of her life, it comes out as something conflictive.

The tendency of Group 2 is slightly different, including different expectations in relation to the emancipation of the woman.

"For me, feminism means the woman's participation in everything all over, understand? It's participating more in everything, without this side that is sort of radical... it's also the question of the woman's morality... people are prejudiced against the woman getting into the struggle... but I think that there are few women who have this level of awareness and of relationship that I have. I find it hard because even my friends, to talk about... participation? No way are you going to query your husband about whether or not he has a lover, or whether you do or do not have an extramarital affair, understand? I think we should have." (Luiza)

The influence of feminism appears to be linked to the greater participation of the woman, however, this brings on the criticism of radicalism. It is interesting to note the emphasis, within the couple's relationship, on the need to dialogue about the woman's freedom to question the structure of the lifestyle and values of marriage, indicating an equality for both in the choice of partners outside of marriage, as the man, on the whole, can do.

"Let's say that I got involved in theory but didn't carry it out in practice. I used to say, 'no, of course not, I'll never stop working... I was very radical on this point... a radicalism which now I see as immaturity. In the end, when the time came to put it into practice, I stopped. Because I didn't have the courage, I don't know, because I felt sorry. Maybe the formation which I had was stronger than I thought." (Fatima)

The lack of social alternatives within maternity and child care seems to impede the middle class women from continuing to work, without major interruptions. Society imposes on the woman the requirement to be with her child until she or he goes to pre-school. This is the formation which ends up prevailing. The very idea of continuing to work, without any interruption other than maternity leave, becomes radicalism and immaturity.

There is a concept of "normalization" dictated by feminism, affirming that the woman should not stop working, and this is viewed with immaturity and radicalism.

Thus for a specific segment of women who must, in fact, work, having a baby can signify a project to be fulfilled only if the husband has the financial conditions to support this phase alone, or else, if the situation is restructured by means of alternatives, such as servants, day-care centers and relatives.

"This discourse of feminism didn't influence me. I think I use the jargon... more to influence other people... those who are not seeing the things... Because all this was always very clear to me... Maybe I can't remember this instance (she cannot remember when she first started to think this way) but all my life I've been working to get this space and, when I open up this

space for a group of women or for one woman, it's her space to get into and look around to see that she has the right to her space, a free space to be conquered." (Cristina)

Here, the ideology is internalized and is not even perceived as such. Cristina uses the feminist discourse for other women and can no longer recognize the influence it has on her. This is a certain "abundance by" the ideology, as if it had always been this way. A personal trait, or a sparking, something which suddenly happened and she has no idea when or how it came about.

The only explanatory reference is to her relationship with her brother, with whom she often quarreled to have the same rights, and even claimed this from her parents.

Nevertheless, this double facet draws our attention: on one side, someone who works with women in the area of health, that is, an ideological agent; at the same time she ignores or denies the influence of feminism in her life.

One of the hypotheses that we can raise is that, for these generations, feminism has come to have a very besmeared image, in which its identification is denied, even in those who have a more generalized political conscience, who participate in social action.

"I see feminism as a struggle for equality, for conscious contraception, not subjecting women to surgery, something really more social.

I was a bit of a rebel. My father was an oppressor, moralist and I was one of those unbearable adolescents, given to hysterics... but wanting to be a man. See, I liked to walk into a bar and order a brandy, would feel so macho, different, like this, see, I can too! This was feminism for me, this is why I see it as something which didn't mark my personal life... it was something like having power, if they can screw around I want to do the same." (Suzana)

There seem to be two vertices of intent to feminism: the one which has a social aspect, a struggle for liberation and equality, and the other one happens on the level of customs, morality, sexual practices. Maybe the first one has been identified by the present generation as related to the needy woman, the poor woman from the outskirts, one who is operated (ligature). And in the middle class, it refers to power relationships within the family and between genders. Even so, the argument is still sustained that feminism did not change personal life.

In the following narrative feminism is important so long as it struggles for more generalized rights, but in specific issues of the woman, it is still indistinct.

"I think that feminism takes a woman far away from her condition of being woman, but I think it's important insofar as it values the woman as a human being". (Tania)

This idea is confirmed from another angle:

"I don't think it influenced me at all, it was all of my own self, the important thing important is for you to have an aim and do as you wish. But there are underdeveloped women who

need this to give them a boost because they are very dependent." (Celina)

This last testimony is very important since Celina is an unwed mother who decided to have her baby anyway as an "independent production". The difference is that the father knows of the child's existence even never having seen him. Thus this experience of choosing to be a socially "declared" middle class unwed mother is no doubt a result of feminism. In past times the mother was abandoned and her child rejected, a bastard. However, something has been lost over time. Feminism as a movement of struggle and conquests weakened, losing its link in the memory of the generations. It seems like an ignored maternity, the children do not recognize the mother.

Two other points of view bear thinking about. The first is:

"I think feminism had an importance, because, for example, one of the books I read was by Carmen Silva, there was that one with the Cinderella Complex, and I read a lot of Reich... the feminist movement brought up much questioning with much anxiety, because it did not provide answers to the things. So, it raised an expectation and did not bring feedback... it even showed us as being the enemy of the man and not as companion on equal terms with whom you want to share.

It directed woman to the work market but it was not a good thing, there was no return, it was not fulfilling. It took away from marriage and also did not bring fulfillment, all that was negated did not bring fulfillment.

One had to compete with the man and suddenly you see that you don't get anywhere, on the contrary, it brings greater disappointment. When I pick up my pay check I say, 'look, this is my compensation here, it is money'. But this is not really what we want." (Claudia)

This first point of view is turned to the past, through the disappointments, the losses and the anxieties. It is also the expression of the crisis of representations, when the old no longer suffices and the new has not yet been shaped. However, the old is familiar and reassuring whereas what is unknown is unstable and unsettling.

In any case, there are certain "lights" to the narrative which were obtained through books, an indication that there were gains: a liberalization of customs and a greater sexual freedom.

The woman went out to work (and she also "had" to work) but she is discriminated against, poorly paid, and even the money doesn't seem to mean little to her. Maybe her expectations were for greater social recognition, which, according to this narrative, did not occur.

Women gave up marriage, fought with the men, and it seems that the winnings were no greater than the losses. It left a feeling of seeming to be a decoy, that which was made out to be a victory turned out to be deceiving. In this regard, it would be good to ask ourselves if, for the majority of middle class

men, gains in a capitalistic society like ours are not also somewhat deceiving.

What is more, for Candida, the feminist movement falls behind the expectations of the women who believed in its ideas, since it did not indicate any concrete alternative for the crisis it brought on. It questioned, disturbed deeply, but did not open up any viable and compensatory horizons.

The other point of view does not require accountability from feminism, but from the women themselves.

"I am not unaware that there was all this process of social change, that the woman today is given more importance; but I find it odd that women go on treating themselves as women. Because the time has come when we are persons, this old story is over.

I find this feminism deal boring. I have no use for anything in life which is more radical, even striving for success. 'Oh, how the woman suffers. Oh, I don't know what else!' That's quite enough. I think the time has come for the woman to understand that she is a person, and stop all this nonsense, because that's when the women get all messed up, they want to do things they can't, in the long run the ones who need to are doing it. When you really need that job, that cash, that kind of fulfillment, you go after it, being a secretary, working one or ten hours a day. So, I feel there is a tremendous distance between those who people just talk and the ones who decide to face the world.

So, all these fields which get into being a man or a woman is something a little beyond me. My tendency is to think that the person is wasting time, that she should see herself much more as a person than a woman... and that is related to her life project." (Estela)

It is interesting to note that Estela is the best paid interviewee among the 20 women. She is separated and has a child. A profile similar to Celina, who is also well paid, is a single mother and has one child. Both support their homes alone with no financial help from the family.

In her narratives, there is an identification with the masculine language geared to success, to set a goal and reach it, a criticism that the woman is too fussy, is underdeveloped and very dependent.

There is also the tendency to minimize the differences, treating all as persons, in an unsexed manner, which in the name of the right to equality and citizenship seems to conceal the social and historical differences between men and women.

One can point out the presence of an individualism, in which to do well and be successful, really depend on their own desire and effort. The collective perspective is very much weakened by this ideological discourse of "I want, I will do", very similar to the popular saying "you are only poor if you want to be", as if social opportunities in fact were the same for all.

The difference between Groups 1 and 2 is related, in my opinion, to the internalized models of mother and of woman in socialization (primary and secondary), besides the personal formation which each one developed over the years.

Thus Group 1 recognizes the importance of feminism, even though being critical of it, because there was an internal confrontation: between what was lived and internalized in childhood and what was experienced in adolescence. There seems to have been a greater confrontation, which permitted them to see more clearly the differences between the life of their mothers and what feminism proposed. Therefore they recognize the help of the movement, at least in the aspect of the social struggle for the emancipation of women.

In Group 2 there seems to have been less oppression of the woman in the primary socialization, without a noticeable confrontation between the primary and secondary.

Almost all of them spoke of the excessive feminist radicalism, as if the discourse at the time of the strong oppression were still the same, when the reality was already changing.

On the other hand, there remains an unanswered question regarding the feminist movement, that is, what happened to make the middle class women look upon feminist proposals as radical and stereotyped, a battle between men and women?

And could it possibly be that the linking of the feminist movement to the leftist political parties in Brazil has really disassociated feminism from the different realities of women, giving prominence to the needy woman and losing contact with the middle class woman?

If these 20 women may be regarded as representative of a cross section of the middle class in the city of São Paulo -- they were not chosen because they were militants, intellectuals, or vanguard leaders -- these issues, can, as such, be raised. The content brought out can reveal the images of feminism which remained.

Feminism had no repercussion in this generation (Group 1) in spite of the fact that many of these women today have lifestyles that are the fruit of the feminist struggles.

There seems to be a gap in the dialogue between the generations, as if part of history had become lost, glossed over, untold. The women of today do not always know what they have in common with the previous generation.

It is precisely in this area that ideology shows its strength, when life stories are not made into history. Dialogue between the past and the tradition of struggle is lost. The link is broken off.

Life Projects -- A Question of Desire?

"A personal life project" resulted from the following question: what do the women want?

To ask about the future is, in a way, to give daily life a temporal dimension. This is what I perceived when the women

talked about what had not been achieved in the past and what was still wanted. Or what had been partially achieved and still desired in its totality in the future.

At a first stage, the interview, the task was to investigate the perspective for the future -- the personal life project of these women. During the analysis, however, another element appeared: their own desires.

The aim of asking questions about their own personal life projects was to find out how they concretely made plans for the future, however, what came forth in the majority of the interviews was the *desired future*.

In this theme, two different levels were observed: a *possible future* and a *desired future*, which is illusive. The possible future is related to the expectation based on the "principle of reality", whereas the desired future, or the future in the realm of desire, is based on illusion. It is a product of fantasy, and, thus, the organizer of its subject, even if never attained in all its fullness.

For Freud, one part of thought is turned towards reality and seeks satisfaction by the non-hallucinatory way of desire, while the other part is ruled by the "principle of pleasure", in which the proof of reality has no validity whatsoever, because it concerns the world of fantasy, of illusion which can provide pleasure.

Working through Freud's texts epistemologically, Rouanet says: "*realistic* thinking results in the production of ideas which may or may not be true; *imaginary* thinking results in the production of fantasies (...) these fantasies have an ambiguous relationship to the truth. They contribute as products and agents of defense, to keep the perceptive and intellectual processes away from reality (...) at the same time, as it (the imagery) preserves, in some way, the memory of the frustration that originated it, it can constitute a means for the recuperation of the past". (1985:199)

Thus, according to Rouanet, imagery can be of service to concealment or to knowledge. It can hide, if kept apart from reality, and supported by "perceptions and reminiscences", not to organize them in view of the knowledge of reality, but in view of the structuring of unreal scenes: it is what Freud calls *phantasierendes Denken -- imaginary thought*" (1985:199), which has the function to compensate the individual for the renunciations and privations imposed by reality; or it can permit the recalling of the past and the liberation of the virtual future, besides the understanding of the present.

In the article, "The Future of an Illusion", Freud, while reflecting on the future of human civilization, comments that the less man knows the past and present, the more uncertain will be his judgment of the future. And he maintains that "in general, human beings experience their present naively, without being able to evaluate its contents".(1979:5) Although Freud was referring to issues of civilization, we may trace an analogy with the individual issues which seem to respond in a similar manner.

The less the woman knows of her past and present, the more difficult it will be to gauge a possibility of a future for herself. If the personal and collective past is hidden or highly deformed, the present will be ruled in this perspective, as will the future. To place one's own life into history, therefore, signifies a greater knowledge of the past, of the present and a more realistic gauging of the future.

With these preliminary considerations, let us return to the interview material.

As questions were asked about the past, present and future, the interviewees made an attempt to organize a chronology of their lives. However, this can be seen, in some cases, more as a communication resource than as an actual internal construction. That is, a chronological sketch without the elements necessary to construct a personal history.

So, be it as chronology, or be it as construction, they did speak of their past, present and future. And it is good to remember that we are dealing with women of 30 to 40 years of age. When they have already experienced many important things, and, on the other hand, still have much more to experience and live: the future.

The dream of maternity permeated all the interviews, without exception, as was unanimous the experience of childbirth.

The past and the present were described using the time of *maternity* as the landmark.

Through the narratives it was possible to detect that the life project for the majority of these women was built around motherhood as the most important and structuring element of their lives, and they referred to the structuring of the family and home as something they sought.

"My life project, I think, is to be with the family and to accompany that which they will build in five or six years. And I hope to go back to drawing again, go back to painting, this type of thing, which gives me a lot of pleasure..." (Lurdes)

This seeking seems to take place from infancy to maturity, through socialization, based on the idea of motherhood and the formation of a family as a woman's personal fulfillment.

The first years of marriage are almost inevitably marked by the predetermined dream which is nurtured within them many years. It is necessary to have a child.

In this sense, marriage is not always desired for itself, but as an appropriate and socially convenient means to fulfill maternity; I observed that when it was not possible to reconcile marriage and maternity, the women opted for the latter, becoming single mothers.

"My plans were reduced to this: to have a lifestyle in which to bring up my child, and alongside, have my leisure, to go out with friends, and, eventually, have one or other boy friend." (Rachel)

Marriage seems to show up more as an ideal place for the fulfillment of motherhood and family than for the fulfillment of

the man-woman relationship, of love, of sexuality. On the contrary, it seems to be the exemplary space for maternity and the family.

In women of 30 to 32 years of age, one sees this stage of maternity and consolidation of the family still present. But for those women whose children were born and have reached school age, the issue of a future looms up again.

This raises the second question: what do women want besides maternity? What do they want from themselves?

What draws our attention is that at this age level (30 to 40) when the majority have fulfilled, or are fulfilling, their dream of motherhood, any other personal project gets attenuated in the family day-to-day, not being duly recognized by them.

"What I feel today is that, for 10 or 12 years, my life, just went the way it wanted to, it was a ship without a course. But this was because it was full of holes, so, either I chose to steer it, or to fill up the holes; I couldn't steer something full of holes because it would sink. I am aware that I filled up holes and it was very important, today those holes are well filled up and now I can set out on a course. I feel completely confident for this, I think anything I face up to will work out. Sometimes the age problem crops up..." (Beatriz)

When I say that another project cannot be clearly recognized, it is because the care dedicated to the family and to the problems of household organization makes everything else seem secondary. For example, many women have to work to complement the family income, however, this work is seen as secondary. One works only because it is necessary, never including it in any professional fulfillment.

In this sense, we should differentiate the women who have a professional project and who were already exercising it before marriage or motherhood. They choose motherhood as priority during pregnancy and during the first few years of the child's life, subsequently returning to their professional project, somehow reconciling it with domestic and family life.

"My idea is that, for a year and a half or two years, I could go on setting up this business very gradually, and that this would be very good because when the time came for this other baby to be a little older, I would already have it on the way. For him (the husband) it's no use doing something for four hours, getting all divided, not coping with either the housework or the outside work. And my position is a little different: it's better to be neither here nor there but be in touch. And I am going to maintain this tendency, also because otherwise I will inevitably fall into that thing of anxiety again..." (Sueli)

In the research, this phase seems to end when the children go to school, which releases the woman a half day for activities outside the home.

Of the total of 20 interviews carried out, 35% of the women appeared to have a personal project already sketched and partially attained. Maybe it is not a coincidence that they stand out from the sub-group of the women with a professional

project. The rest of the women (65%) varied between a possible future, which may or may not happen, and a desired future, illusory.

The question is: why do only 35% of the women in this age group have a delineated project beyond motherhood and family?

I can raise some ideas based on observation and analysis of the interviews.

The first is that the socialization of women is still mainly based on the setting up of a family, on motherhood and home care.

The second is that, in the family, girls are more mirrored to become good mothers and wives than citizens and good professionals.

The third is that schools and educational methods do not present an adequate concern for the preparation of a woman in choosing a vocation, which can also be a profession and which could permit an entry into society's job market.

"Look, I think the crisis I should have gone through at 30 didn't happen because I was too involved in maternity... real existential crisis, like saying, 'God, I have to take a vocational test. What can I do, because I still don't know what I can do well'. I think the essence of a man's life is this: do something he believes in and do it well. If he is a bricklayer, may people look him up because he is a good bricklayer. It is having responsibility and self-dignity, not having to be the best, the outstanding, the famous, but being able to do it right, to be confident and competent. I think I should take a vocational test like a 17 year-old." (Rachel)

Or, as another one tells us --"*it's as if I really had a great desire, which I think is no longer possible, to be a journalist, I told you I didn't go to college, I dropped out very early, but I've got the impression it's also not journalism; do you understand? This is what makes me anxious. I want it, but at the same time I don't know*". (Rosa)

And the fourth because domestic space is organized in such a way as to make it difficult and wearying for a woman to remain professionally updated and in the job market.

"*I'm seeking success as long as it doesn't cost me more than I want to or can pay, which is my life, my family, and taking good care of my son.*" (Estela)

However, many women also having done college do not exercise a profession because they studied in the so-called typically feminine courses which lead to jobs that are poorly paid, making it impossible to survive economically. These courses are generally taken in order to acquire some general culture or for personal development and not to obtain access to professional work and to guarantee a means of economic independence.

"*I don't know if it would be history, no, think something more related to education, I'd go on studying. I'm 30 years old, it's my life, higher studies would interest me, as a person, do you understand? I like studying, I read a lot, I like it, it's*

something I like a lot. I'm fascinated by archaeology, but it has nothing to do with what I am doing, does it?" (Tania)

Higher studies, for the middle class woman, are a moderating factor for social class and cultural level. Therefore it becomes indispensable to study and many of them do. However, it is more because of a perspective of social class which underlies the talk about the importance of personal fulfillment, than, actually, because of fulfilling a well chosen vocation and profession.

Of course there are other possible explanations for this whole situation. However, the above mentioned elements seem to be sufficient to understand the fact that even amongst the middle class segments, the woman is unprepared to face the public sphere.

Only 35% of these women have a professional project and are reasonable well remunerated, that is, receive what would really be the market price for both genders. And their concern with this difference can be noted in their narratives.

"So, the project is to always keep growing, to have a normal life with my son, to acquire more material things as time goes by; so, the project is to not get disturbed and at the same time go attaining some things like professional security, for example, to be able to talk out at meetings, someone contesting me and I managing to explain what I think and the person understanding and making it valid. So no longer to be guided and told what to do, but to have my own way of doing things, my own mode of working. And get things done because today I am aware that I can... The projects are to continue to develop myself in the area, to go seeking information which does not exist here, to leave the country and return, to grow and always invest in more knowledge, and then handle my profession in a way more suitable for myself, to try to climb without compromising the other things of my life, but to climb, I love it when I happen to know I'm doing well, that I'm achieving things." (Estela)

Through this last statement, we can notice that the women who have really managed to become professionals and who are engaged in the job market, while demonstrating a certain concern with their project performance because they are women, express a future project more grounded on reality, and therefore also more possible.

On the other hand, the women whose past was marked by a lack of opportunity to seek their personal aims beyond motherhood, find themselves unprepared and apart from reality. They believe that in spite of being out of the job market for years, and some still with no profession, they can do whatever they want and it will turn out right. Ultimately, the *desired future* seems to give them strength to support the frustration related to a personal project, but it also produces illusions regarding the *possible future*.

This is what comes through the narrative of Beatriz, for whom, during 10 or 12 years, life seemed to go on like a "ship without a course", with no project, just filling up the holes. nevertheless, after all these years out of the work market, and without a profession, she believes and feels "completely sure" that "anything she faces will work out right". The only eventual problem raised by her is her age.

However, reality turns out to be much harsher -- competitiveness, specialization, length of experience -- it is not so easy for women over 30 to get a good position in the job market.

In this case, for example, there is a concealing of the difficulties and limitations of the situation: the fantasy that anything she does will work out has illusory characteristics. Although the fantasy is the driving force that urges her on to try, even so part of reality continues to be suppressed, not being taken into account because of its load of adversity. One can say that, on the whole, there is confrontation with reality, but only partial, for there is the need to alienate parts of it.

On the other hand, in Rachel's narrative one does note the presence of frustration: "My plans were reduced to this" The sensation of being unprepared and behind times -- *I think I should take a vocational test like a 17 year-old adolescent* seems to justify this frustration.

There is still the state of confusion when one does not know for sure what one wants to do professionally: *"The feeling right now is that this is the time, this is something that we talk about among friends of the same age and the time is really coming. The emotional and familiar are all matured, worked through, and now comes the career... this is what causes me anxiety... what worries me most... although I'm not going to fight with any man, give up anything because of position if the guy is up there... let go of my house? No way!... I want to but at the same time I don't know"*. (Tania)

For those whose project is the home, the conflict occurs within the domestic order and the solutions seem to take place outside, in the public order; *"my house, which for 12 years I have been dreaming of setting up, is not important, but it's not important for him; for me it is. And then, I even cried when I began to find out that for him my house meant nothing, my dream. But also I had never spoken of this need, I used to hide it under the carpet, that thing that even goes draining one's life. Then a light popped up in front of me, my house the way I dreamed, it takes money, lots of money, so, you get out of the house and go and earn the money. So, I think my project for a house depends on my life project, my professional one, too."* (Beatriz)

On the other hand, women who have a professional project also show their anxieties, as Estela says: *"the project is to not get disturbed and at the same time to go achieving some things, like professional security, that is, not everything is resolved. Another important element that she contributes is to seek her own "work mode", to have greater autonomy, to be able to feel*

less dependent and childish, even if she is afraid to participate in meetings where she has to defend her own ideas.

Career women also struggle with the question of marriage, *"which is the foremost thing, I have talked about this, but I still don't know whether I want to get married or not. And which is the ideal situation for this, it's something that kind of takes time, and I've already done a lot of stupid things in my life... So in this area I don't what it will be like, but it's an area which I value a lot and I want it to be always OK. Professionally, all projects are to go ahead."* (Estela)

Another point of view is that of the separated woman who must work, feels alone, with no one to share her daily problems, having to get along without great future projects, that is, improving of her conditions of life becomes the big project: *"But I'm, like this, I confess, I feel the weight now of not having a companion, I'd like to have a companion, I don't know, maybe living here together, but, then, I mean, that's a fantasy, isn't it?... I feel I haven't done a darned thing, that I made no money, that I'm sick of all the talk, I want to have money and get a decent house, a decent car and be able to take a trip once a year, bring up my son properly, without luxuries, but in a good school. These are my projects, they have been reduced to this. Despite all my complaints, I am aware that I'm still a privileged person in this horrible country we live in"*. (Rachel)

Disillusion and awareness seem to go together in the above statement. The burden of both private and public spheres, borne alone, make her try to place herself as a citizen, re-evaluating her dreams and the future, within the reality of her country.

In any way, it is clear what there is in common amongst all of them: success or lack of success in a profession should not impede the original project of motherhood, on the contrary, it should be united to this primary desire either by means of socialization or even through an instinctive component. It seems to be unanimous that there is need to conciliate each one's motherhood with life.

The incorrect stereotype of the middle class woman who is content to remain at home, who does not work out and who has no anxieties, falls short.

On the contrary, the anxieties are enormous, and sometimes also their lack of preparation to deal with them. It would seem that the principal issue is: after motherhood -- then what?

Which other *possible futures* can a woman have, beyond the biological project of maternity already given her by her very nature?

Undoubtedly the modern methods of contraception help the shift between the biological function of reproduction and the desire to have children, but this is not enough. They must be prepared to desire personal, professional and social projects.

It is not by chance that 65% of the women interviewed feel insecure in relation to the future project. We cannot simply make them individually responsible for this, as it seems evident

that this is a problem of a cultural and social nature that calls for more careful study.

PART II

EVERYDAY LIFE, IDEOLOGY AND THE IMAGINARY SPHERE

"The ideological discourse, even when forcibly modified periodically, does not dissolve itself as ideology. It would be an illusion to suppose that the contradiction, because it is a contradiction, would defeat the ideological imagery, since we know this is not what actually happens".

Chaui

I

THE WOMAN AS THE CENTER OF DAILY LIFE

Everyday Life as the Locus of the Ideological Reproduction of the Social Sphere

In the current middle class' discourse, it is common to use the adjective "ideological" (This is ideological!), as being sufficient to explain actions, gestures, thoughts and values.

In the common meaning, ideology is something that permeates, influences and determines our lives. However, it is not clear how and when this happens, and this sensation does not occur by chance; the "ideology has no history because the ideological operation par excellence consists of remaining in the region of what is always identical. While crystallizing contents, ideology exorcises what would prevent its own arising: the actual history, that is the comprehension that social and political spheres are continuously being reestablished". (Chaui; 1980:29) The ideology resembles the air we breathe, it is inherent to life; however, it remains invisible to the naked eye, hidden from our conscience.

The ideological field, according to Chaui, is the set of representations and norms through which the social and political subjects will represent themselves and collective life, and in which the subjects explain the origin of society, of political power, the social and economical relations. As Chaui states: "through ideology, an imaginary sphere and a logic of social identification are set up, with the precise function of disguising the conflict, dissimulating and concealing the presence of particularities, giving them a universal appearance" (1980:21).(6) However it is not possible yet to apprehend how this process of "ideologizing" the individual occurs. What we can

say is that ideology belongs to the imaginary code, as a coherent and systematic set of images and representations supposed to be capable of explaining and justifying concrete reality (op. cit,19).

It is important to add that, besides images and representations, there are also fantasies; not as a distortion or misrepresentation of reality, but as an illusion, sometimes necessary to tolerate the difficulties which come, at the same time, from the individual and social realities (7). Fantasies are something that interpose themselves between individual and social spheres to compensate frustrations caused by concrete reality. As Rouanet shows: "These collective illusions are equally functional to most of the "non-producers" (8), unable to symbolize their fantasies, but capable of mobilizing cultural illusions to compensate, in a non-neurotic way, the real frustrations, since the culturally established fantasies find a correspondence in their own fantasies (1985:240). A good example are the love stories in the movies, which invariably portray situations which are unlikely to happen, though not impossible, like the fantasy of the poor attendant who manages to marry an important rich banker. The rich banker may represent, for many poor girls, an illusion that moves them away from their social condition of poverty, but may also be, and it usually is, an individual fantasy to be fulfilled, linked with the singular history of "each" girl. The individual fantasy and the cultural illusions are therefore combined, working simultaneously and in a close relationship.

Everyday life, thus, is one of the main starting points for the comprehension of ideology and its reproduction within the social sphere. The ideological elements may be found, originally, in the private sphere: the home, the family habits, the bringing up of children, the traditions, etc. That is, they are present in the organization of our daily life.

In her study about the daily life structure, Agnes Heller defines it as "the life of every man (...) the life of the man as a whole; that is, a man takes part in his everyday life with every aspect of his individuality, of his personality. In his daily life, all his senses, intellectual capacities, abilities, feelings, passions, ideas, ideologies, are in 'action'" (1972a:17).

The fragmented aspect of daily life makes it feel like being detached from historical events, mainly due to its 'monotony' and repetition. However, on the contrary, "daily life is in the 'core' of the historical process: it is the true 'essence' of the social substance". (Heller, 1972:20) It is within everyday life that the great historical events are generated, they spring from it and then return to it with its effects.

To Heller, "what assimilates the daily life of a certain time, also assimilates the past of mankind, although this assimilation may not be conscious, it may simply 'be' ".

The structure of daily life has as its essential parts the organization of work, of private life, of leisure and of cultural exchanges, with meanings and contents that are heterogeneous and also hierarchical (Heller). This hierarchy is not unchangeable, on the contrary, it modifies itself according to the different underlying economic and social structures.

Therefore, the analysis of everyday life must strictly respect the social determinations of class, since it is through daily life that the "assimilation of the manipulation of things as synonym of assimilation of social relations" is evidenced (Heller 1972a:19).

Using this approach we can suppose that the studies that totally separate the private from the public sphere fall into some deformities or mistakes, for considering them as opposite, instead of looking for their overlapping similarities and particularities. The notion of private and public has for us, then, a didactic function, which aims at facilitating understanding, with some necessary reservations.

This objection, made by Gramsci, is that the distinction between the public and the private spheres occurs only where the bourgeois rights are practiced (9). That is, the State of the ruling class is not public nor private, on the contrary, it is the condition of every distinction between them.

Althusser also warns us about such distinction, since "it is not so important whether the institutions are public or private. What matters is their functioning. Private institutions may perfectly 'function' as Ideological Apparatuses of the State" (some examples may be: the church, schools, family, political parties, trade unions, the press).

Althusser says that the main distinction between the Repressive Instruments of the State and the Ideological Apparatuses of the State is that the former works mostly for repression, while the latter works massively for ideology, defined by the same author as "a representation of the individuals' imaginary relationship with their real conditions of existence" (1970:77). He adds: "practice is only possible through ideology and under ideological conditions; and ideology is only communicated by individuals towards individuals (p.51). To reproduce society, it is necessary that the individuals develop their practice for themselves and for society.

Therefore, man is born within the daily life sphere of his social group, and his development comes from the process of constitution of his internal world, of his object relations, of the

acquisition of abilities, practices, rituals, and internalization of Culture (10). Finally, it is in group life that the assimilation of social relations which are necessary to everyday life, takes place.

Therefore, individual development means the internalization of family and social norms, consequently, the capturing of social relations.

The internalization and assimilation of social relations are based mainly on observation, imitation, introjection of behaviors, gestures, values, beliefs, etc., which depend on the social locus where the individual belongs (the social group). Thus, in daily life, ideology is internalized through continuous repetition of values and actions related to one or more social groups, which strongly influence the individual's behavior and experience.

The invisible power and overdetermination of the daily life reside in the several actions we do not consider relevant but which somehow shape our personality and individuality: our gestures, tastes, what we eat and dress, our vocabulary and feelings. "The process of socialization implied in everyday life, contains, generates and reproduces, also at an ideological level, the contradictions within the system" (Calvo:14). It is in the analysis of ideology through this approach of the daily life that we find the origin and development, the level of alienation and type of fundamental ideas which originate elaborations out of the daily life sphere. This represents its richness and also its restraints" (Ibid., free translation).

It is necessary to clarify, however, that people do not acquire their ideology, norms and values only through an internalization of the external world, but, as Both says, "they conceptualize them in a new shape and project them back to the external situation" (1976:217).

With such narrow relations between ideology and everyday living, it is possible to think of our daily life as the locus where society reproduces its own ideological assumptions.

The Woman as Maintaining the Domestic- Family - Social Daily Living

Studies about women's living conditions have shown the relevant role of women in the structuring of daily life.

It is interesting to notice that, at the same time as Anthropology, History (for example, with the studies from the

School of Annales and Mentalities) and Sociology (with Henry Lefebvre, Agnes Heller and others) started to value the investigation about the everyday life, the feminists also noticed the need to investigate further the family and the domestic daily life.

Studies about women's everyday life gained relevance, because it is the woman who structures, organizes and runs family daily life. Furthermore, she is the one who makes the link between the private and the social spheres, that is, with the wider family, friends, school etc.

Certainly, for the reasons above, the woman's influence would be already enormous. However, what seems really fundamental is that she is the one who facilitates and conducts the internalization of social rules: norms, habits and even the sexuality of family members.

Most often, however, the woman is not aware of her power. On the contrary, what I observed is that she feels relegated to the family sphere by the husband and society, with a socially devalued, monotonous, deprived and meaningless daily life. It is obvious that we have to exclude from these qualifications the experience of maternity, which is almost always a reason for satisfaction and fulfillment for the woman, even when it involves difficulties and restrictions in her life. This experience, however, has a limited time, which, for the middle class woman, usually starts with the pregnancy and goes until the beginning of school, when the mother can devote less time to child care. Thus, maternity in itself is not experienced by the woman as something eternal, monotonous, tiresome and devalued. On the contrary, through this experience, she has her feminine identity reinforced, what gives her a space she feels as social - the one of being a mother.

One of the important aspects of the daily life, as stressed by Heller, is its diversity. There are several different activities following a hierarchy, which is determined by the current ideological and cultural system, but which is guaranteed exclusively by the woman's daily work. She is the one who takes responsibility for this hierarchy, so that it is respected and followed by all the family members, including, somehow, even the husband. She represents the link between the public and the private sphere.

However, as pointed out by Calvo " the individual, private, personal, domestic and family life sphere are relegated to women and seen as devalued and somehow detached from the social sphere. As previously mentioned, the hierarchy and qualification of activities, feelings and ordinary capacities are

ensured, since the process of learning them takes into account their relative position in the system (Calvo:15, free translation).

As we can see, the woman performs the role of a transmitting agent for the ideology of her social class (which is already a depuration of the dominant ideology, with the specific element of the social group she belongs to, plus her personal characteristics). However, she does not acknowledge the social function of this task. She is so unaware of this function that, in the daily transmission of ideology and sexuality, she ends up perpetuating her own oppression and devaluation. We can simply observe the way women bring their sons up, and remember that they will be the future men/husbands, which will, on their turn, devalue their women, and perhaps oppress them, in the same way that their mothers were oppressed.

The family, therefore, serves the purpose of stressing male domination, since the sharing of housework is clearly organized to leave sons and husbands aside from maintaining tasks, like preparing food, cleaning, arranging objects in the house. Everything is done around men's needs, that is, what must be done in his absence or because he is around. Once this is organized, it is the woman who efficiently puts it into daily practice, since everything must be done to allow the necessary stability so that the man can develop his job within the public sphere. Even women's work must suit men's needs, and this is how women's adaptability is taken as natural, becoming the main basis for the disqualification of domestic and professional labor.

It is evident that women are not aware of their strength as ideology transmitting agent, and do not know how to use it in their favor, mainly towards social transformation stemming from daily life, which, as Heller says, "is not 'out' of history, but in the 'core' of historical events, it is the true 'essence' of social substance" (1972:20).

Within the families, women always have to assume what should be shared among all members. Men's refusal in taking part of this sharing fosters the formation of an "abstract" feminine society, which opposes the "concrete" masculine society of the public institutions. It is as if family needs of basic maintenance were not something social, and should remain under women's responsibility, therefore as a non-public, private sphere. When the issue is seen through this perspective, the State's responsibility of structuring conditions to respond to social concerns is withdrawn. Women are then overloaded with a social demand that should be shared by society as a whole.

As Salem says, "factors like urbanization, schooling development, women in the labor market, which could perhaps lead to a modernization or meaningful change of this pattern,

have been reinforcing women's domestic responsibility. A more equal distribution of domestic tasks between sexes has not evolved and on the contrary, there has been an expansion of feminine activities towards certain sphere of male competence like clearing obligations (paying bills) and supplying the house (shopping). Women on paid jobs, therefore, undertake 'double duty' (1985:31).

Although this is not mentioned in most of the studies on women, in my view, it seems important to stress that the relevance of women's daily work, regarding the maintenance of the private sphere, the ideological reproduction of the social universe, the human biological reproduction, even with certain ideologically conservative characteristics, is responsible for the "conservation" of the very existence of civilization and societies, since it is upon this daily work that human survival is based.

I do not intend to be apologetic about domestic work or maternal care as something feminine. Instead, I think that we could review its social and historical importance, pointing to other possibilities which allow today's women to perform maternity without becoming imprisoned by house work, as if maternity inevitably lead women to imprisonment in the private sphere.

Many times, however, due to lack of consciousness, women do not realize the relevance of their social function, and of their enormous power, not managing to reverse their devalued place, or even to show men the "need" and "dependence" they have of feminine work.

In a different way, regarding children, the woman does not acknowledge their relevance either, not only concerning the children welfare, but mainly concerning her project and "desire" towards them.

Within this context, the ideological reproduction has a determinant role since everything comes invested with feelings and emotions; the mother, because she loves much, also hopes and expects much. This "desire" is certainly charged with ideological elements, many times transmitted to children without criticism or reflection. These elements will form the "conception or world view" of family heirs. Thus, a successive repetition which seems eternal goes on.

Let us remember Althusser, who referring to the Freudian theory, comments: "if eternal does not mean transcendent to history (atemporal) but omnipresent, trans-historical, therefore unchangeable in its shape along history, I will take, word by word, Freud's expression to say: 'ideology is eternal like the unconscious'. And I will add that this analogy seems to me

theoretically justified by the fact that the eternity of the unconscious bears a certain link with the eternity of ideology in general" (1974:75).

Perhaps at this moment, both the role of daily life as the locus for ideological reproduction of social, and the central role of the woman as maintaining at the same time the social dimension and the ruling ideology, become clearer. We have then to analyze how she performs such role and through which mechanisms.

To conclude, it is useful to quote Lefebvre: "upon women the weight of daily life gravitates. It is likely that they take advantage of this. Their tactics: to invert the situation. Nevertheless, they are not free from having to bear its weight" (1972:95, free translation).

**Childhood: Daily Mothering and
Socialization in the Private Sphere**

inheritance

From the maternal grandmother:
a towel (of baptism)

Poem from Orides Fontele, page 194, Sao Paulo: Duas Cidades, 1988. Colecao Claro Enigma.

From the father:
a hammer
a pair of pincers
a flute
From the mother :
a pestle
a big pot
a handkerchief

Childhood gained relevance in the scientific field mainly due to Freud's studies about the infantile sexuality. Freud's approach opened the possibility to look at the influence of the family in structuring the personality of the child, and consequently of the adult.

Freud initiated this new view of infantile sexuality and Klein continued it, observing and theorizing about the first years of life.

Several modern and contemporary authors have shown the relevance of the process of moving from birth towards childhood. Man's biological characteristics lead him to an unavoidable dependence from the adult to ensure survival.

The immediate lack of preparation for life imposes to the human being certain care procedures to protect this initial fragility. However, what is being decided is not only physical survival, the paths for the development of the adult personality are also being formed within these first months of life.

Nevertheless, as Mitchell says, the advances "in scientific comprehension of childhood have been widely used as an argument to reinforce the essential maternal function of women, at a time in which the traditional family seemed increasingly corroded (...) the emphasis of family ideology moved from a cult of the biological sense of maternity (...) to a celebration of maternal care as a social act (...). This ideology corresponds in a displaced way to a real change in family patterns. As the family was reduced, each child acquired greater importance, the reproduction act gradually occupies less time and the socialization and nourishment process increase their meaning significantly (...) and the ultimate responsibility for these needs is with the mother (...), thus, the 'maternal' role of the mother has receded, while her socializing role has increased" (1957:28,29).

Analyzing Mitchell's observations, we can conclude that there has been a claim for the socializing role of women. Even acknowledging this claim as ideological, we must not misjudge it as merely false or as distorting the reality. We could perhaps

suppose that the major socializing claim corresponds to a change in the woman's "place" within the private sphere. That means that the woman is not only considered for attending biological and emotional needs, but also as the socializing agent who (even without being aware of that) becomes the link between the family and the social world. In the past, she did not even have the power connected to her role - she took care of the children, but it was the father who was responsible for their education.

Habermas says: "Freud discovered the mechanism of internalization of paternal authority; his followers associated such mechanism, in socio-psychological terms, to the structure of the nuclear patriarchal family. To the wife and children's dependence from the father, anyhow, corresponded the autonomy of the entrepreneur in the market and in his own company, this type of private autonomy is transformed here in authority, being the supposed individual's free-will just an illusion" (1976:230).

Melanie Klein substantially modified Freud's psychoanalytical conception when she stressed the maternal figure as the primary relationship, through which the baby relates to the wider world. She could theorize about the relevance of the mother-infant relationship and undoubtedly, her view concerning the mother's role in the child's development goes beyond the biological maternal care. Klein points out to a woman/mother who, as psychical subject requires discrimination of reality, integration and good object relations. We know this is quite a lot. However, it is not enough, since Klein shows how the mother projects parts of herself on her child, and how the child introjects the "mother", continuously setting up this interplay that will constitute the internal world of the child. To Klein, it is the mother who mediates the relation with the external world, at the same time, filtering and structuring the emotionality in relation to the culture.

If, to the psychoanalysis operating within the imaginary sphere, the mother's unconscious desire is fundamental, in the Kleinian imagery, the mother is not a mediation of the paternal power and his desire. The mother's body represents the reality. Within this universe, in a representational level, infinite atomized parts are contained.

Klein was accused of having distorted the oedipal dimension of the mental setting built by Freud around the phallus, and of having, on the opposite, attributed major importance to the breast and to the mother as primary objects which are fundamental to unconscious life.

As Micela says, "the Kleinian imagery describes the process of construction of the internal reality, either as a symbolical creation or as an emotional structure, since the projected and introjected objects perform upon the subject an organized action around the elements of the primary emotionality". For this author, Klein "would have indicated not only the way through which the subject represents his objects, but also the way through which these objects shape the subject's activities. And this would be in opposition to all the principles of the psychoanalytic theory" (1984: 133, 125).

It is precisely within this interplay which constitutes the Kleinian subject that the role of woman/mother places itself as fundamental.

Mitchell debates the possible natural character present in this Kleinian thesis, saying that "there is no inherent reason for the biological and social mother to coincide. The socialization process is in a Kleinian approach, invariable - but the socializing agent can be represented by different people" (1967:29).

Hypothetically this could be so, but clinical experience shows that this idea must be carefully considered, since institutional experiences (day care children's home, boarding schools, child minding) suggest that the difficulties are bigger in reality than in theory. The exceptions perhaps are grandmothers or older aunts that, sometimes, perform well enough this "mothering" needed for the development of the child.

However, even then, we can notice that Kleinian theory reinforces the idea of maternal care as necessary and "natural". Even without being necessarily the biological mother, the essential presence of a woman is implicit. We must register here the significant absence of the father in the early development of the child.

So, this is the issue: is the paternal absence part of a natural process, or is it a consequence of the family structuring in our culture? When psychoanalysts describe the process of human development, are they describing what is socially observed nowadays, or do they intend it to be a universal and natural description of the human species? Furthermore, what would the children's development be like if the man/father was more present and also responsible for the early care of babies? What would the changes be?

Mothering the Differences

In women's life, mothering is of vital relevance, due to the great feminine involvement in the private sphere, and as we have seen previously, to the responsibility they undertake for physical and emotional survival of babies and children, beyond socialization until almost adulthood. This task undertaken individually by modern women has given rise to crisis and anxiety, with marital and individual conflicts; women feel the need to rethink this social responsibility accepted along centuries which, finally, is currently being reviewed.

Through studies about the separation between the private and public sphere - so predominant in western societies - the woman is placed in the position of the main person in charge of the structuring of the nuclear family, within domestic life, within reproduction and infant/child care. Thus, in the sexual division of labor, women, within the private sphere, are almost inevitably, always mothering.

Several recent studies refer to personality development and gender identity, a topic which is fundamental to the comprehension of roles, of modalities, of identity development and of psychological structures in men and women.

Some authors like Alice Balint, Carol Gilligan, Nancy Chodorow, Michelle Z. Rosaldo, Chasseguet-Smirgel, Jane Collier, W.R.D. Fairbairn, Karen Horney, Robert Stoller, Elmice Dio Blechmar, among others, have notably contributed to the theorizing of gender differences and their vicissitudes at an individual and social level.

Chodorow (1978) refers to issues of personality and gender development and the reproduction of mothering. She says that "mothering is one of the few universal and lasting elements of the sexual division of labor" She analyses the way through which mothering is reproduced along generations, the way in which mothering is currently performed and how we could transform this situation.

Since Freud, with his theory on sexuality and Oedipus Complex, we have seen the human development through the eyes of male understanding - the boy's. Of course Freud tries to adjust the feminine and masculine differences within his theory when initially he perceives the women as envious of the penis they lacked, and afterwards, he attributes this difference in women's development (that is, this "failure") to pre-oedipal relations and to the attachment to their mothers.

Freud believed that women did not reach a complete oedipal resolution, so women's superego would never be so fair as men's. In a pernicious description of the psychical and social nature of women, he says: "...to women, the level of what is ethically normal is different from the way it is for men", women

"are more often influenced in their judgments by feelings of affection or hostility" (1952). However, many years and mainly many contributions from women and feminists were necessary, so that this thesis could be properly confronted, and furthermore, so that we could propose another form of comprehension of women's development.

Psychoanalysis has been along many years discussing the issue of how the acquisition of sexual identity occurs in boys and girls. It is clear that the very term of sexual identity in itself demonstrates the weight that the anatomical conception has for many psychoanalysts, that is, the Freudian inheritance remains strongly alive. However, we know that the movement from the body to the symbolic world occurs, given the importance, within psychic reality, of the power of phantasy, of symbolic representation, of social beliefs, of cultural structure and of internalized ideology. Finally, these factors lead us to substitute within psychoanalysis the term sexual identity for the concept of gender identity (in its origin independent from the sex).

Several studies about transsexualism (hermaphroditism and other sexual and reproductive disfunctions) demonstrated that in the gender identity of a transsexual, being it masculine or feminine, what happens is that the transsexual has his/her sexual desire codified according to the patterns offered by the culture he/she belongs.

What the traditional psychoanalysts thought does not occur. It is not the anatomic sex that determines the sexual desire, nor it is the sexual desire that originates sexual behavior. It is up to the gender identity, when acquired, to determine sexual desire. We have therefore, a certain revolution within psychoanalysis, since we have to admit that masculinity and femininity are not essentially determined by anatomical or biological differences.

Carol Gilligan's studies on rights, duties, choice and decisions, published under the title "A Different Voice - the psychology of difference between men and women from childhood to adulthood (1982)" shows that it is possible to track the sexism within psychological theories, which legitimize the notion of development, illness or health according to sexist differences between men and women. The writer shows that psychological theories provide an excellent illustration of the sexist conception, arising from the anatomic, biological and sexual view of the differences between men and women, which influence the theories about human development. Thus, separation is seen as connected to development, while attachment is seen as anti-growth. "Although the truth of separation is mostly recognized in the literature on

development, the reality of the continuous connection (attachment) is lost or relegated to the background where women are present". Gilligan says that, according to the different dynamic of separation and attachment within the formation of gender identity through the divergence of identity and intimacy, "masculine and feminine voices typically express the relevance of different truths, the first being the role of separation as defining and strengthening of the self, and the other being the process of bounding which creates and maintains human community"

According to this author, in the core of women's moral concerns is the ethics of responsibility and care in the context of human relationships. Thus, morality is seen as evolving from the bonding experience rather than being a weak morality arising from a loose superego. "Different perspectives are reflected in different moral ideologies, since separation is justified by the ethics of rights, while bonding is supported by the ethics of care"

As you can see, this universal attribute of the initial care (mothering) brings to women several theoretical, psychological, moral, ethical, ideological, economic, and social consequences.

Therefore, with this chapter, I would like to introduce the importance of women's role in the reproduction of cultural models of masculinity and femininity which constitute gender identity. Furthermore, I would like to stress that men's absence in this phase of the child development is so determinant as women's omnipresence.

Let us attempt to describe how this gender identity develops, and its implications to women. I will use the explanatory model of Nancy Chodorow, which seems to me the most advanced and thoughtful produced about the theme. In a commemorative article for Women's Day entitled "Reflections of the Post-Feminist Phase", Marta Suplicy states that "the psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow, in a book that is already a classic of feminism, 'The Reproduction of Mothering', has insisted on the idea that the exclusive performing of mothering by women is the factor which is greatly responsible for the current situation. The conquest of gender identity, says Suplicy, costs to men the price of reducing his capacity for emotional involvement, for taking care of others, and deepening personal relationships". (O Estado de Sao Paulo, March 8th, 1992).

Chodorow, considers that the fact that children are mostly cared by women until the age of 3 years, when the gender identity is being established, reveals that this specific condition of mothering attributed to women in our culture determines the patterns ruling femininity and masculinity since very early days.

Mothering produces differences in the relational experience of girls and boys, and this could explain a significant part of personality differences regarding femininity and masculinity.

Chodorow believes that the exclusive mothering of boys and girls by women/mothers provides a different structure for the desires and sexual phantasies within the oedipal triangle, originating needs and sexual desires which are also differently constructed.

She attributes personality differences and masculine and feminine roles not to anatomic sexual differences, but rather to the "fact that women are, universally largely responsible for the initial care of their children". The social environment is different and is differently experienced by children of both sexes, originating variations in their personality development

The formation of gender identity stems from the experience of children of masculine and feminine gender with their mothers. According to Chodorow, "mothers tend to see their daughters as more alike themselves, and therefore inseparable". Boys are taught to be masculine in a more conscious way than girls, who are more unconsciously identified with this mother. Girls feel, then, as feminine as their mothers, merging their experience of attachment with the formation of their identity.

With boys, the opposite occurs, with mothers seeing their sons as men. Thus, defining themselves as men, boys separate themselves from their mothers, reducing their primary love and their sense of bonding. To boys, differently from girls, identification is more connected with the sexual sphere.

To Chodorow, girls emerge from this identification period with a bigger capacity for empathy and personal relationships, while this does not happen with the boys. Chodorow criticizes Freud's feminine psychology, substituting it by a new approach in which girls "grow with a stronger basis to feel the needs or feelings of others as their own (or to think that somebody is feeling other people's needs and feelings). Furthermore, girls do not define themselves in terms of negation of pre-oedipal relational modes, as it happens to boys. Therefore, regression towards these modes tends not to be perceived as a threat to the ego (1990: 210).

The issue of being capable of experiencing regression without feeling it as a threat to the ego can also be found in Winnicott's article "Primary Maternal Preoccupation", from 1956, in which he puts forward the idea that there is a psychic state ("a normal illness") experienced by mothers in the initial period of care of their babies in which only mothers who have a

sensitivity and possibility of feeling as if they were in "their babies" place can respond properly to the baby's needs.

To Winnicott, women with a strong masculine identification hardly manage to reach this state of primary maternal preoccupation, they "produce a child, but, for not having managed to follow the normal process in its initial stage, face the task of having to compensate what has been lost. They go through a long period in which they have to adapt closely to the increasing needs of their child, and it is not guaranteed that they will manage to mend the initial distortion" (1988: 494).

That means that to reach this stage mentioned by Winnicott, the woman needs to identify deeply with other people's needs, without however feeling that this regressive identification, in this case with the baby, is a threat to her ego.

In her book, Chodorow theorizes psychoanalytically why this happens in the context of the child development; she says that all children identify first with the mother.

Girls, since very early, for having been cared by a person of the same gender (the mother who has already internalized meanings related to gender, such as phantasies and unconscious images of femininity), feel "less undifferentiated than boys, more linked and related to the world of external objects, and also differently oriented towards their internal world. (...) the girl does not turn from the mother to the father, but includes the father in her world of primary objects" (1990: 210:211).

Therefore, the girl's identification is continuous with the mother, while the boy gives up his pre-oedipal and oedipal attachment, and his primary identification with the mother. Masculinity (not the human development process) is defined by separation, while femininity is defined by attachment. The masculine gender identity is threatened by intimacy and by emotional and personal relationships, while the feminine gender identity is threatened by the separation of the emotional bonds.

Thus, for a boy to feel sufficiently masculine, he should differentiate himself from the others, and should think of himself as somebody in particular. He should, also, according to Chodorow, define his masculinity by opposition, based on what is not feminine or is not related to women.

I believe that now we can deepen our understanding of why in our society this central role in the family everyday life is assigned to the woman, after all, she undertakes the hard task of ensuring family bonds, of containing the tendency to separation movements arising from men within the family; it is usually the woman who gathers the family members - the babies, the children, the elderly, the ones who are ill - that is, she is the one who keeps the family together. I believe this is one of the

aspects that transcend the social class division, since we will find working class women who struggle to keep their children together, as well as middle or upper class women who do the same.

The girl finds the feminine identity in the gradual internalization of the family mode of being and of the mother's role in the everyday life, she learns what it is to be a woman in the context of the secondary identification with other feminine models (friends, teachers, friends' mothers, elder sisters, etc.).

To Chodorow, this means that there is greater complexity in the feminine internal world than in the masculine. "From the Oedipus complex and its solution, women's intrapsychic world becomes a more complex relational constellation than men's. Women sustain a concern with relational matters (pre-oedipal mother-child problems and oedipal triangles) in a way that does not happen with men. Men's intrapsychic world tends to be more fixed and simple, the oedipal complex legacy is that relational problems tend to be more repressed. The masculine personality, thus, becomes defined in terms of negation of relatedness and bonding (and negation of femininity), while the feminine personality involves a fundamental definition of the self within a relationship. Hence, this kind of concern is extended within women's development and reduced within men's. Boys' and girls' desires and sexual phantasies are constructed differently and therefore are experienced differently. Boys are more prepared to participate in non-relational areas while girls show greater potential to take part in relational spheres. Furthermore, interpersonal needs and fears are different for men and women."

Regarding relationships, women's emotional life is observed to be richer than men's. Women show greater availability to develop bonds and empathy with other people's needs. This stresses Gilligan's findings that women are guided mainly by the ethics of care.

Feminine identification is predominantly parental. According to Chodorow, the identification processes for the boy "are not so involved with an actual emotional relationship with the father, nor are mediated by it."

On the one hand, a mother and a wife increasingly undertake emotional and psychological tasks - women's work is an "emotional work". On the other hand, men's occupational roles, and the occupational world as a whole, have increasingly less space for feelings and personal commitments.

Child care is a great responsibility of women/mothers within this initial phase of formation of gender identity. It is, therefore, within this context of mothering of differences that

children of both sexes construct their notions of gender, as well as their identity.

We notice that gender distinctions remain, even when socialization is similar to girls and boys (the same schools, work places, etc.). Therefore, I believe that the differential element is actually in the mother as responsible for the early child care, and in the still enormous absence of fathers in this task, which is still seen as "naturally feminine" in our culture.

The social demands towards women are very contradictory, since according to their socialization process, they should be passive and dependent with men, but active, responsible and independent regarding children's care and education.

Thus, while the woman's identity continue being constructed fundamentally as wife and mother, there will always be a stronger continuity between mother and daughter than between father and son.

As we have discussed before, women carry internal model based on their mothers, to which they dialogue and compare themselves all the time. Even when their lives are different from their mothers', they still keep the maternal model as an important unconscious reference.

Women nowadays, even when they work and when "home" does not mean the same as it meant for their mothers, still sustain the expectation of finding a primary identity in the family. In contrast, men search for this within the public sphere.

Thus, the family organization and internalization of ideology through unconscious mechanisms produce gender differences which affect the development and socialization of masculine and feminine personality.

These considerations by the American psychoanalyst Nancy Chodorow, coincide with the findings suggested through this study. Differences in expectations according to gender are evident in the origin of internalization of ideology, socialization and of oedipal identification processes.

In women's accounts we could notice how they still are the main presence within the family regarding primary child care. The mother's constant presence and the relative absence of the father within the nuclear family home delegates child care almost exclusively to the mother. This exclusive mothering seems to cause a psychological and ideological complex of valuing men and considering women unequal to them. Men search for and fear exclusiveness.

Along their development, men continuously repress their emotional and relational needs, developing formal and functional relationships, mainly with other men. They experience difficulty in satisfying women's emotional needs, preferring to keep

distance from this feminine universe marked by subjectivity, intimacy and attachment.

According to Chodorow, "the relational basis for mothering is widened for women and inhibited for men, who feel more detached and differentiated from others". This happens even when these "others" are their children, which is not easily understood by women, who can not conceive of a distanced relationship between her husband and children, due to the projection of emotional bonds onto maternal care. In the interviewees' account there is a common complaint that the husbands are relatively absent fathers. The complaint comes accompanied by resentment, by a feeling that they have been abandoned together with the children. However, this mothering pattern could also be questioned, since it subtly excludes an actual possibility of "fathering". Would the need to keep distance and detachment come just from men? Do women really know how to share with men this old and "powerful task" of mothering?

Nowadays, the father-children relationship seems to be showing some signs of change, with women entering the public sphere, and with men experiencing alienation and suffocation within the professional sphere. Several men regret not having a greater contact with their children, due to the overload of work outside the home. Women, on the other hand, feel anxious deciding how they will deal with the children as to combine house work, mothering care and work outside the home.

Who takes care of the children? This seems to be the fundamental question, which is also revealing of how much the social structuring of child care produces not only different roles but also inequalities between sexes, as correctly pointed out by Chodorow.

After Early Mothering, the Socialization

The concepts of primary and secondary socialization of Berger and Luckmann, are also important aspects to be considered within this theme.

Primary socialization takes places in childhood. It is the process through which the subject becomes a member of the society - unavoidable fact since the individual does not have the possibility of choosing his socialising agents. Thus, the subject receives from the agents a filtered version which is part of the agents' symbolic system. Internalization occurs, therefore,

through affective bonds and identification processes involving socialising agents and subject.

We can correlate the concepts of primary and secondary socialization with Freud's formulations of primary and secondary processes (11). We could say that the primary socialization takes place within the domains of the unconscious, while the secondary socialization occurs within the pre-conscious spheres. Through thinking processes, the individual starts "choosing" his social insertions (a conscious function, even when based on the unconscious strata of primary socialization). As it happens with dreams, when the individual "does not dream, but is dreamt", in primary socialization, the child is "chosen" rather than being the one who chooses. In the secondary socialization, the adolescent or adult "chooses" what to be connected with.

Obviously, this similarity makes sense from the topographic point of view and not from the economic approach within Freudian theory about the primary and secondary processes.

Another possible link with psychoanalytic thinking, specifically with the Kleinian approach, is that the process of internalisation of social reality as described by Berger and Luckmann, when analyzed in terms of psychic functioning, present similarities with Klein's mechanisms of "projection and introjection". The difference between these three authors is also found within psychoanalysis itself (i.e., between Freud and Klein). Freud, still influenced by the empiricist view of his time, searched for an objective reality, for the truth, while Klein believed there was always a certain distortion of the external reality by the subject's view. It is evident that there are different degrees of reality distortion, what can be seen when we think of psychopathology.

Berger and Luckmann also search for a social approach of the objective reality. The difference lies in the fact that the discovery of the unconscious confers "subjectivity" to the individual, who also constructs the society. It is not only his activity or action that has a subjective meaning. To Psychoanalysis it is important to investigate the individual's inner subjectivity through "ordinary" mental mechanisms which have been studied by Psychoanalysis itself and which represent common mental functioning.

To Berger and Luckmann (1978), the process of internalization "in this broad sense, constitutes the primary basis for comprehension of others, and for the apprehension of the world as a social reality endowed with meaning". Primary socialization is the first "socialization that the individual experiences in childhood, and through which he/she becomes a member of society. The secondary socialization represents any

subsequent process which introduces the individual who has already been socialised to new sectors of the objective world of society (...), it is the internalization of 'underground institutional worlds' or of institutionally based spheres" (op cit.) related to labor division, to the social distribution of knowledge and to the class versions to which the individual is submitted.

To Berger and Luckmann, primary socialization is not limited to a purely cognitive learning process, it is loaded with affects: internalization is only possible when there is identification. The child, for instance, absorbs roles and attitudes through meaningful identification, internalizing them and making them his/her own.

"The dialectics which is present in each moment when the individual identifies with significant others, can be considered the particularization within individual life of the general dialectics of society" (op. cit., p 177).

Another important aspect to be considered is the issue of the "generalized other". Berger and Luckmann state that: "the formation, within consciousness, of the generalized other, marks a decisive phase in socialization". It involves the internalization of society and of objective reality, and simultaneously, the subjective set up of a coherent and continuous subjective identity (...) what is real "outside" corresponds to what is real "inside". The objective reality can be easily "translated" to subjective reality and vice-versa" (op. cit.).

Widening this perspective, Nicolaci da Costa adds his concept of "discontinuance" to Berger and Luckmann's work, with the intention of explaining the possible conflicts between the symbolic systems internalized in the process of primary socialization and the ones internalized through secondary socialization. Secondary symbolic systems may superpose the ones primarily internalized, generating incoherence between the internalized contents. This incoherence, denominated by this author "discontinuance", requires from the subject the capacity to "integrate contents from primary and secondary internalization or eradicate the contents of another series of internalization" (1985).

Therefore, the socialising discontinuance is the "subject's internalization of conflicting symbolic systems according to different moments in one's biography". "The conflict, on the subject's level, is between primitive representations of insertion in the adult world", whose roots are found in the symbolic system internalized during the process of primary socialization, and more recent and concrete representations of actual participation within the construction of the social order,

originated from symbolic systems internalized through secondary socialization" (op. cit.).

It is possible to notice that Costa uses the concepts of Berger and Luckmann, linking them to another model which includes the "socializing discontinuance" and Figueira's concept of "unmapping" which is meant to be the coexistence of two or more series of values (or maps) in different levels in the same subject. These values would have been acquired in specific moments of life.

The "unmapping" process, according to Costa, does not indicate, as the metaphor could suggest, a lack of order, shape or structure, but is the presence of contradictory orders, shapes and maps. The family visible structure which is constructed at a determined moment, as a potential or open conflict since it has arisen from a process of rapid change, coexists with former family structures, which have been abandoned during the process of social change, but which remain alive even being "invisible within the subject", since they have been previously internalized (1981).

Therefore, to Costa, the "unmapping" process would be the result of the socializing discontinuance. The maps internalized through primary socialization which are not accepted by the subject, when confronted with other more recent maps (secondary socialization) are not integrated to them, but are displaced to an unconscious level. Different levels coexist then within the subject.

Thus, both series of maps are resistant to eradication: "the ones acquired through primary socialization, because they have been internalized through identification with the socializing agents, and the ones acquired through secondary socialization because they are recent, close to everyday life, and (it is important to stress), are present in the society" (Costa, 1985).

The concepts of primary and secondary socialization help us to understand how socialization is set in motion since early care during childhood and then continues as secondary socialization as far as adulthood, perhaps only ending with death, since the person is always interacting with the social world.

The women interviewed, and perhaps this could be generalized for women in our culture, are primarily socialized (through their mother's mothering) and secondarily (through their mothers and the social environment) by patriarchal ideology. Within patriarchy, the man's place is with the power, work, freedom sexuality, etc., while women, even in developed countries, occupy a secondary social category, with the fate of reproduction and mothering by herself.

It is true that under a certain appearance of modernity, Western middle class women had an improvement in their quality of life. However, we notice that many of the issues raised by the feminism are, even in modified versions, still currently relevant.

To enlarge our comprehension of gender relations it is fundamental to investigate further and reflect upon "how" and "why" such inequalities between men and women occur.

Let us proceed analyzing, in the next part of this book, the process of internalization of ideology which contributes to the creation of this feminine imaginary sphere.

II

PSYCHOANALYSIS AND IDEOLOGY: UNCONSCIOUS MECHANISMS OF INTERNALIZATION

The first part of this book referred to the issue of everyday life, considering the private and public domains. The relevance of these domains in the interviewees' lives lay in their attempt of conciliating these spheres to their needs and to contemporary life in a harmonious and reasonable way.

So far, it has been possible to describe relevant aspects of feminine everyday life and to notice how much ideology is connected with the daily organization of women's private and public life. However, the questioning of how ideology can influence our lives so strongly still remains.

The process of internalization is another psychological factor that can contribute towards the reflection about everyday life experiences.

I would like to ask the readers to be patient with my attempt of formalizing some concepts which I find relevant to the understanding of the dynamics of internalization of ideology. Given the complexity of the theme, my intention is not to produce answers, but to include this topic within the reflection about the everyday life and the imaginary sphere in women's experience.

To reflect upon the influence of ideology is, somehow, to collaborate towards feminine emancipation. Sometimes, it is necessary to leave aside the position of denouncing masculine and social oppression, so, that we can reduce the trapping we are submitted and sometimes do not notice.

Therefore, in this chapter, I will make use of a theoretical construction (explanatory models) in order to investigate further the dynamics of internalization of ideology. We will not be describing phenomena, but attempting to apprehend and approach a field.

This observation is important, because I want to be sufficiently free to deal with ideas and concepts without distorting existing theories.

Since Freud's discovery of the unconscious, we have gained access (through the creation of theoretical models - internal agencies and several psychical mechanisms) to areas of mental functioning which had been so far obscure or ignored, despite their strong impact upon our conscience.

The development of the psychoanalytical theory allowed the advance of several debates such as the ones led by Freudian-Marxists and by the Frankfurt School theorists, in the twenties and thirties, about the efficacy of ideology and its alienating power concerning consciousness within social groups. "At that time, two historical events - the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 and Hitler's domination in 1933 - required analysis and critical reflections about social theories currently applied. How to explain the facts that the socialist revolution was possible exactly in a country with precarious economical development and with a reduced amount of workers, while in Germany, a highly industrialized country, with a relatively large and organized proletariat, going through a deep economic crises, Hitler was allowed to reach power? Objective explanations offered by the Marxism were not enough, it was necessary to consider the subjective fact in history. It is exactly at this moment that psychoanalysis comes into the fore, offering instruments for a subjective analysis. Would the affective aspects and unconscious mechanisms that permeated and strengthened ideology represent an obstacle to consciousness and rationality? Could psychoanalysis, through its explanatory categories respond to this kind of enigma?" (Massi, 1986). Gramsci and Althusser also focused on these question, but nevertheless, the interaction between individual and society still remains a muddy ground.

Arakcy Rodrigues (1978) refers to this issue when she says: "I am aware of the risk represented nowadays by 'digging up' the link between individual and society, which through a

tacit agreement has been for the last decades left aside by the social scientists". Her research about the working class woman's behavior regarding work, discusses the issue of "how the individual processes social determinism" (op. cit.).

The explanations of how the individual internalizes ideology are exposed to the same risks as those suggested by Rodrigues. If emphasis is placed in the intrapsychical organization, there is the risk of overestimating explanations of an individual order. If on the contrary, emphasis is given to the social sphere, the result is "culturalism", where everything is determined from the outside to the inside. Therefore, according to Rodrigues, "to interfere upon the individuals' behavior, such determinism necessarily has to generate a determined type of organization, which includes from the immediate perception of the external world until the explanations for all the events that take place in life". (ibid.)

Thus, besides structural determinism, such as environment (objective conditions of living), social class or socio-economic-cultural factors - already theorized by several schools of thought, specially the Marxism - it becomes essential for this type of study to verify how the process of internalization of social determinism occurs and how it gets transformed.

The reflection about this intrapsychical correlation requires an analysis of the functioning of this internalization. We need to ask ourselves what this intrapsychical correlate of the social determinism would be. Alternatively, using another approach, we would not search for an intrapsychical correlate, but for a comprehension of the process through which the individual internally metabolizes the social world.

About Ideology

In his book "The ideological apparatus of the state" (1974), Althusser has a chapter entitled: "Ideology has no history" . In that chapter Althusser discusses a project of a broad theory of ideology rather than a theory of several particular ideologies. To him, a broad theory is viable since it offers a base upon which the understanding of particular ideologies depend. This allows the author to say that ideologies have their own history (although this history is determined

ultimately by the class struggle); and, on the other hand, that "ideology , as a wide concept, has no history". It does not have a particular history, it has the "history of histories".

Althusser's formulation is very interesting, since it releases us from the classic Marxist imprisonment that we can only consider an absolutely determined field, so determined that sometimes we lose sight of the broad theory (which could be called Metatheory). Psychoanalysis, incidentally, suffers from a similar problem in its discussions about the status of the theory and the status of the theory of clinical practice within its field of knowledge.

As an example of his conception of ideology, Althusser proposes the equivalence of Freud's broad theory of the unconscious (the unconscious is eternal, that is, has no history) to the notion of ideology in broad terms, saying that "ideology is as eternal as the unconscious" (1974).

Therefore, when Althusser defines ideology as a "representation of the individuals' imaginary relations with their actual conditions of existence" (1974), it is understood that the term ideology is referring to ideology in broad terms.

In the common sense, ideology is understood as something that rather than corresponding to reality, represents explanations or beliefs about the reality (world conceptions). Although these are understood as illusion, Althusser also notes that "it is admitted that they refer to reality, and that we just need to interpret them to find, underneath the imaginary representation of the world, this very reality of this world (ideology = illusion/allusion) " (1974).

Ideology, for its imaginary characteristics can be seen as an illusion. However, this illusion is also an allusion to reality. This imaginary relationship is structured with the support of the concrete reality, despite the individual's apprehension of this reality being subjectively transformed or distorted.

When ideology is seen as an imaginary relationship which transforms or conceals reality, a substantial change in the understanding of the concept of ideology arises. We can say that the individual apprehends the reality around him through the subjective matrix of internalization, and this is already, in itself, a transformation of reality.

The concept of ideology which is widely applied in connection to the notion of alienation (of the working class, of the oppressed people or of the mass society) seems entrapped into a politic-moralist judgement which, as in a collage, assembles "ideologies" with the structural functioning of ideology. This concept also contains a "disguise" or concealing of reality. However, it seems important to question whether we

manage to live without a certain amount of concealing, that is, of transformation, and subjective mediation of reality.

Undoubtedly, at certain moments in history, these mechanisms have been used to serve political aims or revolting moral values which have led us to Nazism, Fascism, wars, authoritarianism in the East, or even to the fundamentalist sects in the Far East. However, democracy is also a content or a body of moral and political values serving an ideology.

Therefore, even within the European or American democracies we can observe a reality-concealing fantasy, which undoubtedly, constructs part of the experienced social reality. What I wish to emphasize is the persistence of ideology, as a way of relating to reality, independently of the values transmitted at a certain historical moment in a certain society.

The hypothesis is that ideology is always operating. Politically, human kind is responsible for verifying when ideology is fair and promotes people's well-being, and when it is oppressive, promoting unjustifiable inequalities.

However, for the purpose of this study, let us consider ideology as having a structuring function for the individual and for society, even though its content changes through out history.

Ideology : Representations and Day's Residues

When an individual dreams and because of this dream "lives" certain feelings and reacts to it, could we say that in that moment the dream would have, in its psychical reality some concrete quality or materiality ? Having asked this question, let us leave it aside for a while until we can answer it.

Freud dealt with representations exactly when he was elaborating the theory of dreams (1900); for him the only recognizable internal object is the super-ego, the others are representations in perception and memory. He believed that the representations did not mix up with a real external object, "the representation would be what of the object comes to be inscribed in the *mnesic systems*." (Laplanche e Pontalis:583).

To Klein, on the other hand, owing to the omnipotence of primitive phantasies, one experiments a sensation of having the real object, physically, inside oneself. With the development of the inner world, the internal objects keep this concrete or physical quality, but developing also a mental quality that can

be recognized as a "representation" and constructing a "representational world".

If we admit that both conceptions refer to internal experiences, we might be able to put it this way: the representations in the Freudian sense do not possess the concrete quality by which Klein internal objects are characterized. However, it is certain that the mind deals with these representations which function as symbols (they represent the thing, but do not get mixed up with it). Thus, mental life is formed by both : internal objects and representations.

It's Hisnshelwood who enlightens us by saying that "probably no representation exists without an internal object and no mental manipulation of representation exists without a corresponding unconscious phantasy of relationships which involve internal objects. (1992-389)

What matters to us at the moment, however, is emphasizing the importance of representations and internal objects in the formation of the individual's internal world. "The experience of the internal object is deeply dependent on the experience which one has of the external object and the internal objects are, so to speak, mirrors of reality. They also contribute significantly, through projection, to the way the external objects are "perceived and experienced." (1992:82)

So we can observe that the relation between the external and the internal happens through introjection and projection of objects and through the capacity of internal representation of the external reality, as a substitute, without mixing up with it.

All that helps us to think about how the ideologies, as representations of the social sphere, through the material existence of its practice and concrete qualities, can be internalized by the person.

Referring back to Freud, we could establish an analogy between the model formulated to explain the phenomena of dreams and the explanatory model for the ideological formations in the individuals. We know that the representations (ideology) offered to the individual are apprehended by him/her *similarly to the dynamic of the day's residues in relation to the dreams*, i.e., external stimulus which are introjected, already selected unconsciously and that, differently from the dream process in this case, do not result in a dream, but in an individual fantasy. Here we are not talking about the original or primitive phantasy of the mind, but in this specific sense, about the internal expression of the group of images and representations that circulate in a society, but which are already transformed by the individual. Just as the day's residues are considered to be the

constructive elements of dreams, fantasies (internalized ideology) would be formed from representations or images/stimuli.

The day's residues are the support for the materialization of the dream in the mind; the representations (coming from social and family practices) which circulate in society would be the support for the internalization of ideology.

However, Freud demonstrated in "*Interpretation of Dreams*" that the external stimulus only may not be sufficient for the materialization of a dream. Similarly we can infer the same in relation to ideology. Something else would be necessary for it to be internalized.

Freud says that "the dream would not materialize if the pre-conscious desire was not successful in finding reinforcement somewhere else; in the unconscious, of course. It is my supposition that a conscious desire can only become the instigator of a dream when it succeeds in awakening an unconscious desire of the same kind and from it obtaining reinforcement. (1967:505)

The conscious desire is that to which the individual has access in the conscience, which desires something. The pre-conscious desire is that which has already been conscious, but which, having been rejected, was suppressed and the person does not deal with it consciously. The unconscious is the one which one expects to have access to in an analysis and that, according to Freud, is of a primitive and repressed nature.

Conscious desires (considered functionally as day's residues) and pre-conscious desires would form a space or territory where ideology would transit in the form of fantasy (not primitive nor original).(12)

Thus, we could say that the psychical corespondent, to what we sociologically call ideologies, can be thought as fantasies formed through the internalization of representations and internal objects, which, at the level of this work, could be called "*ideo-fantasies*" (ideological representations which, through unconscious psychical mechanisms, are internalized, reaching the quality of intrapsychical fantasies in the individual's mental world). The "*ideo-fantasies*" have the function of constituting the imaginary world of the individual as a social being.

To my understanding, it wouldn't be wrong to say that this space, dominated by fantasy, can also be called the imaginary sphere (13). At the same time it conceals reality (the concealment is the imaginary relationship with reality), it is a record of reminiscences, which, even distorted, are a possible memory of reality. (Rouanet)

Through this explanatory model, the ideology in the intrapsychical space would have at least two angles : firstly, the accomplishment of needs and desires and secondly, the fantasy which transforms, distorts and conceals reality.

When Althusser declares that "ideology represents the imaginary relationship between the individuals and their real life existence" (op.cit.,77), we can infer that the imaginary character is related to something that cannot be perceived as such, but as transformation, distortion and concealment of its parts.

Kehl warns us that "from the point of view of the ordinary way in which we live and express our condition of being desiring-people, the place of the objects of desire is reality, in other words, the field of representations of reality and of the objects called real (...). The reality mentioned here is human reality, resulting from the constant negotiation between the creations of psychical reality and the impositions of external reality (...) every fantasy is based on some fact of the real experience" (1990:363). Kehl also tries to reflect about the relationship between external and internal, demonstrating that fantasy is, in the end, based in the real world, with its social predicaments, representations and images; i.e., elements that form ideology.

Till now, what is at stake, is the concept of internalization. In this case, internalization of ideology and its marked effects in the individual's behavior.

Unconscious Mechanisms of Internalization

Internalization is a frequently employed term in psychoanalysis and, according to Laplanche and Pontalis, it has two meanings : either the synonym of introjection or the "process through which certain inter-subjective relations are transformed into intra-subjective relations" (1970:318). The first meaning, more used by the Kleinian school, refers to the introjection of a "good" or "bad", total or partial object into the individual. The second meaning, on the other hand, refers to the internalization of relationships.

Either way, both meanings are related to the internalization of ideology, because if in the second meaning of the term the sense of correlation is more evident, the Kleinian sense is also very important. The term internalization is very often used in the psychoanalytical clinical practice and, for this reason, I am giving more emphasis to the term internalization, in order to

differentiate it from this clinical usage - which implies other things, outside my main area of concern at the moment.

However, I will approach the process of ideology internalization in broad terms, including from the unconscious mechanisms of introjection, identification and idealization, to the dynamics of the ideal agencies of ego and super-ego.

So, emotional life is formed through the history of object relationships and the internalization of ideology.

The socialization of a child depends on the personality and behavior of those who take care of it. It depends also on the child's innate characteristics and on the internal transformations/changes (unconscious processes) lived by the child and which gradually form its psychical and emotional life.

Internalization, according to Chodorow, "does not mean direct transmission of what is objectively in the child's social world to the unconscious experience of the "self-in-representation". The social experiences assume several psychological meanings, depending on the feelings of comfort, abandonment, dependence, dominant love, conflict and fear that the child might have. The internalization implies in distortions, defenses and transformations." (1990:74)

Identification, on the other hand, can be understood as an expression originated from the affective bond with the object, that is the emotional bond lived in relation to the parental figure. So, "the individual assimilates an aspect or an attribute of the other and transforms him/herself, total or partially, according to the model provided by this person. Personality is formed and differentiated through a series of identifications." (Laplanche e Pontalis:295)

The processes of introjection and internalization have a very important role in the normal constitution and development of the human psyche.

In "About Identification", Melanie Klein says that it is through these two mechanisms that the whole inner world, the primary objects and external reality get gradually structured in the individual.

It is from this complex game of identifications that the relationships are organized in the individual with the several agencies of the psychical apparatus : Id, Ego, Superego, Ego Ideal and Ideal Ego.

Summing up, in order for you reader to follow better, we can say that the Id is the agency of instincts and its contents are the psychical expressions of the unconscious. The Ego appears as a linking factor of the psychical processes and external reality, mobilizing defense mechanisms which are necessary for the individual to transform his/her desires in reality.

The Superego is the internalization of the parents' interdictions and exigencies. To Freud, this agency functioned as moral consciousness, self-observation and formative of ideals.

Freud, in 1932, made a distinction between Superego and Ego Ideal by saying that : " there is no doubt that the ideal of the ego is the one precipitated from the primitive idea (of the child) about the parents, an expression of admiration that the child felt for the perfection which at that time it attributed to them." (1976:88). The Ego Ideal is also the agency of the collective ideals and is a model which the individual tries to reach.

The Ideal Ego, on the other hand, is conceived as a narcissistic and omnipotent ideal. It is the source of the Ego's imaginary matrix. The Ideal Ego, says Jurandir Freire, "is the idealized image of the constituent traces of the ego form." (1988:159)

It is evident how the psychical agencies, in different ways, are responsible - either through parental internalization, or through the internalization of the collective ideals or even through culture itself and its ideological practices - for the social internalization.

Let's now move on to the last mechanism, the idealization.

The idealization is the process through which the individual assigns to the object qualities and values that make it perfect. Thus, the identification with the idealized object helps in the formation of the ideal agencies, the Ego Ideal and the Ideal Ego.

To Klein, however, idealization is a direct consequence of persecutory anxiety, the process of the splitting of the ego and of the objects created by it. This means that idealization is thought as a defense mechanism, but not only as such, because it allows it to be an evolutionary process that is responsible for the capacity or incapacity of creating values or denigrating them in detriment of the exaltation of the other. As Baranger says : " in more developed levels, failure in this process gives place to cynicism, hypocrisy, malice, and in the philosophical sphere, to sophism."(1981:144)

In anyway, what is important for us here is the fact that idealization is a possible form of the individual to relate with external objects or with images which have already been internalized.

According to the psychoanalyst Samuel Titan, "when the individual turns his/her eyes to the outside world he/she sees what is available to him/her as reality. Otherwise, we would have to admit that there is a perfect discrimination in idealization, such as in the case of someone idealizing an object and , at the same time, knowing that the object is not what was idealized.

This would fit in the idea that, according to the idealization, the object is like it is being seen. Idealization is not then purely a process of exalting the object to the eyes of the individual. It determines to the subject what the object is." (1990:1,2)

This contribution from the psychoanalyst Samuel Titan meets the Kleinian view that the relevant reality for the subject is the one he/she is capable of apprehending. Therefore, the important reality is the internal one. On one side this statement is quite true and operational in a psychoanalytical practice, however, it contains in itself a problem, which is to know what constitutes the reality which is admitted or conceived as the true one by the subject. Of what matter is it composed of ?

Once more it is fundamental to note that the reminiscences and what was lived, even transformed or distorted by the subject contains something of the reality that surrounds us, even if it works as a mere support for its internal contents. For this reason, even in idealization there is something of the reality of the object which offers itself for perception and conception of the internal reality which is, then, going to be conceived as true.

I am insisting on this point because when we think analytically based on clinical practice, we try to get rid of the idea of the social reality or even the notion of the external reality. It is part of the specific psychoanalytical listening to cling to the unconscious contents and , therefore, to the individual internal reality accepted as true in the analytical setting.

However, I consider that the internalization of ideology happens through the same mechanisms of mental functioning described in the psychoanalytical clinic. In other words, instead of thinking about special or specific mechanisms for the internalization of ideology, I believe that the explanatory model of the psychical functioning offered by psychoanalysis helps us to understand the process through which the subject relates with the external reality and with the objects.

A problem that must be faced up to and, in my understanding, discussed about is the role of the innate element in the constitution of the individual, because to Klein this role is different from the one I am proposing here. She attributed a second role to reality in the construction of the inner world. Petot approaches pertinently this question : " the ideology of the innate character functions in the Kleinian thinking as a real epistemological obstacle. It is rare for Melanie Klein to mention the role of an external factor, whichever it may be, without multiplying reservations and limiting notes." (1972:172)

It is exactly in contraposition to this excessive importance given to the innate and internal aspects without support in the external reality, that D. W. Winnicott theorizes the importance of the external object as a structural factor (the good enough mother , the importance of the transitional object, etc....) and advocates in favor of the minimization on the innate aspect, warning about the necessity of a sufficiently good and favorable environment for the development of the individual.

It is convenient, therefore, in my understanding, to make a reservation in relation to the Kleinian thinking, in reference to considering the external factor (environmental, social-economic and cultural) present in all mental operations, even in the delirious ones, since the element of those are still the reminiscences coming from the individual history. Of course Klein never affirmed this and, as observed by Petot, to touch this point is to shake the Kleinian structure. However, we should admit that several of Klein's observations are absolutely brilliant and sophisticated in themselves, which does not always correspond to her theoretical formulations or explanations to problems found in her clinical practice. In this case, let us keep to the useful contributions that can help in this reflection, which are the mechanisms of introjection, projection, identification and idealization, even if we disagree with the over value given to the innate aspect and internal reality almost as an independent space, disconnected from the social aspect.

In approaching this complex interaction of unconscious mechanisms and functions of the agencies it is revealed to us an intense movement of exchange between the inside and outside, between the I, between the 'not-I' and the internal and external worlds. Excluding the serious pathologies, but thinking in terms of the individuals considered "normal" we can say that there is a close relationship between the social aspect and the formation of the subject.

Therefore, the processes of internalization through unconscious mechanisms involving projection, identification, idealization are important in the structuring of the ideology, which is not, as we would believe, imposed from the outside to the inside of the individual, like an indoctrination or kind of subliminal persuasion, or even a cognitive learning process, but a process through which the individual in his or her own way, internalizes, incorporate and elaborates unconsciously inside him/herself.

Elizabeth Both in her book "Family and Social Network" demonstrates that there is an internal work that people make which does not consist of a mechanistic model between the inside/outside, internal/external reality. She says that " people

do not acquire their ideology, their rules and values only through an act of internalizing the external world. They also re-elaborate the patterns they internalize. They give them a new concept and project them back to the external situation." (1976:217). Pierre Bourdieu is another author who believes that the individuals internalize their external and objective conditions and that through behavior, this internalized elements are externalized again.

It is the capacity to externalize itself and, at the same time, to obtain an internal concrete meaning that makes ideology a mighty power in human societies. It interferes in individuals internal world more acutely than we can perceive at first.

In order to exemplify the statements above, it is worth reminding that, in the interviews, the image of the house always neat, clean and organized is passed on to women through their mothers and grandmothers; also through women's magazines, husbands' expectations and through the social idea that this task belongs to women.

Even having a common organizing image of the "house always neat and clean", each woman uses it in a very different way. Some of them find themselves compelled to meet the expectations at any cost and so they do it. Others, in spite of not doing it, feel guilty for it. There are also the ones who hate the housekeeping work, so they get a job to earn enough money to pay someone else to do it. Finally, there are the ones who rebel against the idea of having their houses always sparkling clean and decide to leave it in a kind of mess, giving more priority to the children's playing areas. However there is always that *"voice inside saying that it shouldn't be like that, this is not right. It's nice to have a neat and clean house."* (Clara)

Apparently this example may sound ordinary, too trivial. But it is exactly in triviality that the invisibility of ideology is effective.

We can develop the idea that the internalization of representations, in order to have some influence on the individual's behavior, would not necessarily need an intrapsychical correlate, such as the superego and the ideals of ego, which are the agencies taken as responsible for the process of internalization of rules, social values and cultural ideals of a given society, inside the individual. The structure of the mental apparatus, described by psychoanalysis, enables us to elaborate an explanatory model to help us understand the mechanism of internalization of ideology, without having the agencies as the only social possibility in psychical life.

It is not by chance that I chose this example of the clean and neat house. As we could see, the conflict of women is based

on this game of introjections and primary identifications (with the mother) which clash with the "modern" discourse of the women's liberation. The new socializing discourse carries an image of woman and mother different from our mothers' and grandmothers'. However, our internal role models or objects with which we identify with carry a different content from the new discourse. Therefore, something "ancient" still remains within us at present.

CONCLUSION

"Maybe the future revolutions will be at a personal level, pointing not to the cult of reason, but to the cult of intimacy."

Susan Sontag.

WHAT CAN THIS WOMAN BE TODAY ?

Conclusion is not the correct term for the end this book, since the initial aim wasn't that of concluding, but that of widening, exploring and providing the reader with some reflection.

In this last part I would like to interlace the several points raised

throughout this work and make an analysis of what has remained , in the everyday life, of the models internalized during socialization and what has changed with the broader participation of women in the public scenario.

Before that, though, it is necessary to point out that this work is the result of a personal process of formulating the questions here raised. The prime motivation came more from a personal necessity of questioning, than from a mere theoretical interest for the theme. As Boaventura de S. Santos has said : "...today we can affirm that the object is a continuation of the subject through different means. For this reason, every scientific knowledge is self-knowledge."

(1988:67). As a consequence of this quality, this work has got the broad character of trying to raise ideas and reflections and doesn't aim at being an exhaustive study on the theme.

Studies about women developed in the Brazilian academic scenario only from the 70's on and are, consequently, rather recent in its history. Because of that and because the first and main studies carried out were based on women of the low classes, few are the existing studies focused on the middle-class-woman.

The bibliography on the subject is very little and these studies deal with middle class sub-groups, such as : feminist women, militants, executives, intellectuals and trend-setters. These are differentiated women who are supposedly more capable of questioning about the situation of women. and who also have a significant participation in the public spheres. The risk of emphasizing these groups is that we can imprison the ordinary middle-class-woman in an image that does not correspond to her life experiences, concerns and contradictions.

Some studies about women, according to Sarti, create the image of an ideal woman, "the one that identifies herself with the public world and does not accept the hierarchy of the private domain - a woman myth."(1985). Many are the myths and idealizations which refrain us from formulating questions related to the different realities to which woman are put through.

I am aware that investigating a little explored field is risking into the unknown. And perhaps the only merit of this work lies exactly on the fact that it is exploratory and aims at widening these discussions into beyond the intellectualized and academic milieu.

Through this study we can infer that, in spite of modernization, the private daily life is still based on the traditional patterns of patriarchal family. So, middle-class-women's lives are permeated with contradictions between practices from the past and prospective projects.

In their testimonies the presence of ambivalence is clear, resulting from values and representations related to primary and secondary socialization that live together in contradiction.

We can say that having a job has been the main modifying factor and, because of this, the changes in women's lives at

the public level are more evident than at the private level. In spite of all the discrimination that women have suffered at work level, this is still the one sphere where opportunities for symmetrical relationships are more often found.

The public sphere is where changes happen more quickly. It is easy to understand why research on this matter has focused on the public and working levels. However it is on the secrecy of private daily family life where we find the ancient ties of women towards male and social overpower.

The central contradiction in the "modernization of women" is that if, on the one hand, work is enriching and adds to the family income, helping on the negotiations with the partner, on the other hand it is also true that domestic life plays an important part on women's lives and on their fulfillment. However it is not possible anymore to consider the daily domestic life in the same traditional patterns from the past, with their unequal hierarchy and attributions, which hinder women's potential as a social subject.

The lack of awareness of the state of imprisonment can be verified on the fact that most women don't question their situation, i.e., the numerous roles which are forced upon them and which they try to accomplish, in the belief that social appraisal will come from being able to perform them all, at the same time and efficiently. On the contrary, what happens is the growth of burden on women which, similarly to the myth or ideal, adds to another aspect to its assembly: become on top of everything a competent professional. We can observe through the testimonies that practically nothing was shared by the society. The movement is opposite : social demands have women as the target .

The cultural role-model, built by social imagery and internalized by the middle class woman is of the woman who works, who is fulfilled as a person, pleased with her sexual life and who tries to do what she wants, in a pleasant way. As usually happens to every role-model, this one also directs experiences and behavior, idealizing a type of woman who, in real life, does not exist. Women then get frustrated and distressed when perceiving that reality shows the opposite of the idealized.

The concealing function of ideology at the personal level, provides women with a faulty description of reality, as can be observed in Clara's speech : "*I earn a certain amount in order to feel well, even if I am not really independent with it.*"

The experience of freedom given by a space of their own and time spent outside the house, has been changing gradually the couple's configuration, the family and the

relationship of women with the household. However not always work ensures women the negotiation of her space with her partner. The lack of a personal professional plan and low income prevents husbands from taking their wives' job seriously : "... *that insignificant job that allows you to have some money to buy clothes, walk around and pay for your therapy.*"

The issue of payment has got a symbolical rather than a real aspect. In the case of women it is added by an other image that moves them forward : professional choice must be made in a way such as to avoid the demands of many hours of work or the jobs that require a more continuous development.

The professional aspect needs to be treated more specifically, in an attempt to determine the representations involved in the choices of careers known as feminine or masculine. We need to investigate more deeply the roots of the reason why women feel "lacking a career", even when they have a University degree. It is important to verify the real and imaginary reasons that make women feel unprepared for the job market, considering that men and women attend good schools alike. So, the supposition is that socialization has some influence in this feeling of not being prepared. But these are queries still to be investigated.

The interviewees' mothers, in their great majority, encouraged their daughters to study, but that does not mean necessarily working or developing a professional project. This is where is found, in my opinion, one of the greatest deficiencies in which the ideological discourse shows its power. It is through the primary socialization that the traditional model is passed on. It is not through what mothers say, but through what they do. The professional choice brings in itself another plan - the plan of life - which is formed by motherhood, family and the domestic housework.

Of course ideology changes, but in essence the ideology of motherhood has remained the same , resisting other significant structural changes.

Mothers have socialized their daughters so that they fulfill themselves through motherhood and study (access to culture) , aiming at personal fulfillment. Working out and having a career is seen only as a way a to secure the future in case of divorce, widowhood or having to survive without the husband's help.

As a consequence the traditional role-model passes on from mother to daughter through an "invisible" life experience, which is not spoken, but experienced and transmitted. There lies the importance of women as ideology

disseminators. At the same time they change and maintain the traditional patterns of behavior and of gender identity.

Therefore, what is envisaged is not real individuality and independence, but only what is enough to obtain some prerogatives in the marital relationship, without taking on the disadvantages brought by professional work full of responsibilities, longer working hours and real prospects of supporting oneself economically, nor even the possible advantage of fulfillment in having a significant professional plan.

It is true, however, that the greatest difficulty found by women in fighting for a fairer housekeeping task division and children care, still comes from the resistance made by their partners. On the other hand, if women do not think of themselves as a citizen and as people who can earn their living, they will not be able to revert this situation. The allegations are usually that the amount they earn is not enough to support the costs of the family and the household. Therefore, the husband has to work more hours. So, it is the wife who has to provide what, in his absence, must be done.

Women are today greatly responsible for everything that happens in the private world, just as men are for everything in the public world and social ideology keeps them so. When women try to have a job they are faced with the internal image of the good-mother - the one always available - and they feel distressed for not being able to correspond to this ideology.

The ideological discourse does not allow women to realize that the lack of social structure to help motherhood and the absence of housekeeping task sharing between partners should actually be considered as social problems and not exclusively women's tasks.

Women who have a job and make use of day-care services are seen by other women as inadequate mothers. Others who try to have the help of their partners are seen as demanding and those who chose staying at home, taking care of their children and choose the financial security given by their husbands are seen as "bimbos" who avoid contact with reality. To sum up, there is no individual way out, no matter what they do, the situation is the same.

Primary and Secondary grade schools, for example, are apparently not ready to really share the social role with mothers. On the contrary, modern educational methodologies demand from mothers the kind of co-operation that only part-time working mothers can offer. The prevailing role model is that of the available mother. Therefore, schools which offer

full-time courses, in order to give mothers a better opportunity to have a more active professional life, are still very few.

Psychology and Psychoanalysis overload women assigning her exclusively the responsibility for children's care, personality formation and gender identity. We often hear from psychologists, educational advisors and teachers that mothers are the ones to blame for their children's problems. As a matter of fact, this exclusive charge on mothers generates a lot of emotional distress for them.

Reproduction and socialization are fundamental tasks in the society, although they are not properly recognized nor valued as social tasks. They are seen ideologically as women's "natural obligation" and, for that reason, they remain confined in the private and individual spheres - almost never in the social sphere. Society tends to blame mothers individually for their mistakes in the upbringing of their children, without even recognizing the social element present in the education of a future citizen, excusing itself - through an ideological discourse - from providing some care during the periods of reproduction and primary socialization of children.

Psychological and psychoanalytical theories, even not making use of the biological and innate character argument anymore, still suggest that the healthy development of babies should still be attributed essentially to their mothers.

However, we have to ask ourselves up to what level these theories are not being used, in place of the old "biological role" argument, in order to keep women at home looking after their children and avoiding the anguish and guilt of feeling they are inadequate mothers.

Many studies point out that babies and children do not depend exclusively on their mothers' care, but on some people - men and women - who are capable of that function and who are constant in the relationship with the child.

However the "mothering ideology" has been strong enough in order to keep this inexorable configuration. Children, even when looked after by other people, are almost exclusively looked after by women. Men have managed to escape the responsibility of sharing primary care. It is not enough to take the children to play or serve as the identity matrix for them. The important thing is to genuinely share the task of caring for them, which implies in reforming the whole sex task division. There lies the real change.

According to Chodorow (1990), "... any strategy of change, whose aims include freedom from the restrictions of an unequal gender social organization, should take into account

the need for a crucial renovation of the children's care task, in such a way that it could be shared by men and women alike the organization of children's care task is political and socially important. No matter how universal, directly rooted in biology and inexorable the existing arrangement seems to be, it can be changed."

All the exceeding family and domestic demands on women interfere directly in the marriage and in the sexual life, where the feminine role model of self-giving, availability, conceding and compromising are also present. However, at this turning point, nothing fulfills women themselves who, unhappy with the situation, claim for changes they can't even name properly at this stage.

So, the obtrusive silence of the partner - who abstains from dialogue in order to avoid having to share problems and decisions of everyday life - is irritating and hurtful. It is the kind of silence of whom does not need to present any justification and in this way imposes his power and contempt for all related to the feminine, or to women's opinion. The lack of conversation, even though explained psychologically by the fact that men can not express their feelings easily and thus are not able to talk about certain problems, does not explain the whole of the situation. These are facts that can only be seen from a perspective of power, since it is not caused by an impediment of speech, but is the type of silence of one who does not need to care about speaking. It is an aggressive silence.

Either by abnegation contained in the "mothering ideology", or by the "hierarchy of roles", we can observe that women are always compromising, trying to secure the family's order, welfare and union, at emotional and personal costs often very dear for them - such as a future project for beyond motherhood and the husband.

Middle-aged women show preoccupation with the course of their lives, specially with marital relationship. The dependency caused by socialization and ideology of care (mothering and "spousing"), result in feelings of inadequacy and incompetence for the competition in the job market and life without men's support.

Once more we face differentiated life experiences between men and women. In general, middle-aged men find themselves in a promising professional situation, since it is often at this age that they experience the first rewards after the long years of investment in the profession. Women, on the other hand, are experiencing motherhood and desperately trying,

when they have a professional project, not to get away irreversibly from the job market.

Therefore the preoccupation with possible separations and with new connections make them perceive, understand and formulate the social reality from a different angle than men.

According to Gilligan, these differences are based on distinct experiences of connection and separation. Besides that " the sense of integrity in women seems to be connected with the ethics of care, in such a way that seeing themselves as women is seeing themselves in a connecting relationship. The main changes in women's lives seemed to be involved with changes in the caring activities.

Since Freud we have "scientifically" doubted of women's moral weakness and dubious ethic. However, Gilligan's studies bring us another view, which is that women are capable of putting themselves in the position of others and understand their needs. That is exactly what they do with babies. This empathy towards the others makes the attitude of non-violence - so difficult to be found at the public sphere - possible. At the public sphere, competition derives from the notion of equality - from one being equal to protect and defend oneself from the other. The capitalist culture uses the notion of equality in order to promote free and fierce competition.

For Gilligan, while the ethic of justice comes from the principle of equality - that everyone must be treated in the same way - the ethic of care lies on the principle of non-violence - that no-one must be harmed."

The ethic of care, mentioned by Gilligan and even Chodorow, show that it is essential for us to understand how ideology emerge in science in the form of some categorical truth and can dominate for years on what is thought, or produced, and interfere even being false knowledge.

Another important aspect is the role that the feminist movement played in the fight for women's individual and social freedom. However, the private everyday life and family issues were not confronted hard enough. On the contrary, it favored the image of the working woman forgetting that this same woman keeps working at home and hasn't yet solved the problems of organization of the domestic routine. For the middle-class women, feminism has not contributed with answers to their worries and anguish. It has been more a movement of fight for general and social problems. In this sense, for these women the fight is still at an individual level. They have not yet realized it is something collective,

since they do not feel represented by feminism, which they think is far from their actual lives.

In the arguing of this essay at the University of São Paulo, the psychoanalyst Fabio Herrmann evoked cunningly the metaphoric image of the "confused woman" as a pertinent picture of the interior of women who nowadays, according to him, feel very confused, when, in reality they are the symptomatic expression of the general situation.

There is a political vacuum, which the feminist discourse has not managed to fulfill. But, in spite of all that, it does not seem to me that feminism is over, because with all the feminine types of imprisonment, the inevitable has already happened, and women start to understand their importance in the world and why they came for, at last.

As Rosiska D. Oliveira (1992) says, "gaining voice was, for women, the great historical victory with which they made their mark on the 20th. century."

What is this woman of today capable of, then? She is capable of everything that has been achieved by all women till today. She can go as far as feminism has managed to think women's emancipation. But, unfortunately, this is still not enough.

Therefore we can say that so far it has not been possible to find an adequate form to run women's everyday life, taking into account family and motherhood on one side, and the professional and public side on the other, including in this management the share of husbands and society.

The going of women to the public realm and the coming of men to the private realm can, according to Muraro, have two possible consequences: "...either we assume collectively the masculine values of competitiveness, or else we bring into the public realm the values which we carry so deeply" i.e., the values of non-violence, the ethic of care, solidarity and sensitivity towards relationships and feelings.

To sum up, any attempt to understand the changes that have been taking place or of that which insists on remaining, must go through the analysis of the everyday life and ideology, in the social and individual angle, trying to understand the different realities lived by women in order to identify where imprisonment can be found, because there isn't "the woman", but women.

Structural changes can only be achieved if it includes the changes in mentality at an individual level. Today we know that the real change goes through the daily and private life. It is impossible to speak about equality and democracy at a public level and accept authoritarianism., the ideology of

male superiority to women and men's freedom of choice and women's obedience. In conclusion, such big a gap in the political discourse between the two domains cannot be tolerated anymore.

It is in the private domain, as we could see, that future citizens are brought up, therefore, the practice of equality, non-violence, solidarity and real democracy starts at home, in the everyday life and the imaginary sphere of private life.

PART III

APPENDIX

In the future, the issue will not be so much of surviving, but of knowing how to live. For this, one needs another form of knowing, a comprehensive and intimate knowledge that, rather than separating, will join us personally to what we study".

de S. Santos

Boaventura

RESEARCH FORMAT AND DIFFICULTIES

Seeking A Research Method

With the evolution of studies and discussions about the conditions of women -- that is, the social division of labor between the sexes, the patriarchal character of our societies, gender differences, reproduction, the participation of women in the public sphere -- the need arises to include feminine domestic life, because it is in this dimension of the condition of women that one necessarily finds a greater part of feminine socio-cultural determinants.

In this way, recent studies have shown greater concern for the daily life of women, mainly those women who work outside the home, since the issue is to investigate how they reconcile housework and the family needs with work outside the home.

Research such as Prado (1979), Barbieri (1984), Bruschini (1986), Ardaillon (1989) and Paiva (1989), just to cite a few, attempt to describe and understand how the domestic sphere is organized, from the point of view of the daily life of the woman and the family, taking into account the social changes which have occurred in different cultures during the past decades.

However, I consider the inclusion of emotional expressions and experiences present in the life of the woman in the analysis of daily life to be productive, not only to become aware of this dimension, but mainly due to the fact that the woman is an important agent of socialization in the everyday sphere.

To analyze domestic life it is not sufficient to uncover what "happens" in the everyday sphere of these women. One has to pursue the inquiry from the perspective of internalization of the dominant ideology and of socialization, that is, the construction of the resulting imagery within the women. As Althusser says, "what is represented in ideology is not the real system of relationships which govern the being of individuals, but the imaginary relationship of these individuals towards the real relationships which they live"(1970:82). Therefore, one must grasp this imaginary sphere and verify how these women transmit what they "do" and their own existence, in the private sphere, as agents of socialization.

If we consider Heller's observations about the importance of daily life (because it is the center of historical happening), together with Althusser's contributions on the understanding of ideology (seen as illusion about/allusion to reality), and Freud's concept of individual phantasies (illusory, generated by privation), we can recognize the need to better explore the construction of this imaginary sphere.

Therefore, the first problem which presents itself is how to get an understanding of the daily life of the women, which goes beyond concrete and material reality, not to disregard it, but to use it as a starting point to construct the imaginary domain of the everyday life of middle class women in the city of São Paulo.

The main thrust of this work, then, proceeded to uncover the *everyday life of women*, based on oral reports, a broad expression which encompasses a variety of data gathering techniques used by social scientists to get to know important aspects of the society or of the group to which an individual belongs, revealing behavior, values, ideologies, beliefs and social organization, which can be grasped from individual life story narrative.

"In fact, all that social scientists gather is made up of stories, or parts of stories of individuals, or can be transformed into them", asserts Maria Isaura P. de Queiroz (1988:29). The importance given by psychoanalysis to free association can signify a valuable and decisive resource in the dynamics of interviews. It can help attain greater depth in the subject of the

conversation, and at the same time facilitate better exploration of the data collected.

By listening to the women with the minimum input possible, and by affording them autonomy to determine their own account, the norm was respected of not introducing values, judgments or personal opinions of the interviewer. On the contrary, the actual content of the interviewee's narrative was used to broaden and deepen the topic being investigated.

My role as interviewer amounted to sketching the field of research (everyday life) to establish an asymmetrical dialogue (the interviewer should not take up space with personal matters), accompanying the narrative and only intervening with the intention of facilitating the contact. Special care was taken not to close out or to classify interview data, avoiding any judgment or personal opinion that could hamper or bias the train of thought of the interviewee's narrative.

In this way the psychoanalytical concept of the initial interview could be used: obtain some objective facts and an understanding of the individual's life history, while apprehending what is being expressed between the lines of the narrative.

The importance of investigative techniques lies in the efficiency of grasping the value systems, the norms, and the representations, fantasies and symbols pertaining to a culture or subculture. Through the narrative one can perceive the patterns internalized by the subject (safeguarding their contradictions and conflicts), and how they explain the world view which one wishes to perceive. After all, a cultural model can only be constructed from its own productions and formations.

In this case, the use of an associative rather than a directive technique, intends to facilitate verbalization in such a way that it also constitutes symptomatic revelations which can, at the same time, be considered "revealing of the culture and subcultures attributable to each individual, and of those mechanisms which dominate their structure (utilization, transformation and organization of the various available 'stereotypes')". (Michelat, 1987).

Michelat shows us how one can reach the sociological realm from the personal and feeling levels, specially bearing in mind that the individual does not say what he or she knows, but what he or she feels and thinks, as representative of a group, because of the internalization of cultural models. It is up to the researcher to recognize and grasp what is similar, constant, different and variable in the manifest and latent language of the researched individuals. (14)

Frequently some interviewees regard their individual or social living experiences and practices as natural, almost biological, and not as sociological facts. For example, in the case of these women, one perceives a tendency to explain social inequalities as natural differences. When this happens, one must seek motives for the facts in the Sociology of Ideology.

Jacques Maître studies the place of ideology in individual and social subjective processes from the standpoint of Marxism and psychoanalysis. One concept presented by this author,

which seems rather interesting, is the analogy between the dream, as an attempt to fulfill individual desires, and ideology, as the fulfillment of common needs through ideas. This parallelism is one of the principal pivots which links the sociological and psychoanalytical plans to ideological propositions". (1987:215).

Based on the proposals of Althusser, Piaget and Baranger, J. Maître creatively promotes the articulation between the two plans in which he presumes ideology occurs.

For Althusser, ideology "represents the imaginary relationship of individuals to their real conditions of existence". (1974:77)

Baranger takes off from psychoanalysis to affirm that ideology is "the entire system of abstract ideas (conscious and unconscious), the function of which is to be accountable to reality". (1970:184)

Maître adds to this concept the connotation of "attempt to fulfill individual desires and to satisfy common needs by means of thought", to which Piaget alludes. And his articulation proceeds: "Far from dissolving the social realm and individual psyche in a 'culturalism' in which they would appear barely differentiated and reciprocally self-explanatory in a circular manner, such a concept permits a thorough operationalization of the social processes as such, starting from the material basis up to the level of the individuals as subjects of this praxis, at the same time preserving intact the place of the processes of subjectivity as they unfold throughout the biography of a particular individual". (1987:220)

As Baranger proposes, it is interesting and quite advantageous to consider in this type of work that ideology possesses a "latent content", the same as dreams, symptoms, games, which gives one access to unconscious formations. And that the ego uses its own ideological construction in its attempt to integrate unconscious formations into its imaginary world, seeking a certain conformity to 'reality'". (*Ibid.*)

However, I consider it useful to highlight its importance in the actual selection of this "method of researching and interviewing".

Pursuing this "method of researching" it was possible to trace some strategies of investigation keeping in mind the difficulties and dimensions of this type of study.

It is evident that an interdisciplinary approach to a theme allows for a wider understanding of its complexity. On the other hand, this procedure requires doubled attention from the researcher in order not to dilute or extrapolate the limits inherent in the field of knowledge specific to the research. Therefore, taking into account sociological studies on non-directive interviews, anthropological approaches to life stories, and psychoanalytical interpretation, the aim was set to attain a singular meeting between interviewer and interviewees that could grasp what occurs at the crossroads of individual and social life". (Queiroz, 36)

The Field

The field of research was delimited to 20 women, between the ages of 30 and 40, belonging to the middle class in the city of São Paulo, with experience in marriage and maternity, who were carrying out, or who had carried out, activities outside of the private sphere.

The great challenge was to find a way to approach these women, respect their given conditions, and at the same time manage to establish a contact that would favor developing the topic.

Considering the difficulties in randomly locating women who would be willing to be interviewed, I asked seven friends each to indicate three names of their friends, whom I did not know, and who would accept to talk about their lives, following the example of Bott (1974), who contacted the families to be researched through the mediation of priests, institutions or doctors. In this regard Rodrigues (1978:41), diverges from Bott, alleging that in her experience talking to a stranger decreases the appearance of fantasies, that is, the interviewee is not concerned about the leaking of information to the mediator, who is a known figure. However, my experience showed that when the researcher does not know the interviewee directly, being introduced by a mediator who does not belong to the public sphere, such as priests or doctors, it can work out very well, appeasing many of the harrying fantasies that the personal testimony could be badly used. In this way, each one of my seven friends indicated three women, who, when consulted about their interest in, and possibility of, being interviewed about their lives, accepted the invitation.

The women were not chosen only because of their family income nor their salary level. Besides seeking to ensure a good contact, the procedure of indicating interviewees also sought to guarantee that the women belonged to the same social milieu -- middle class of the city of São Paulo. This condition was enriching since it made it possible to perceive heterogeneity and homogeneity of lifestyles within the middle class, because it did not restrict the sample excessively, which would comprised a very specific group, as for example, militant women, executive women or intellectualized women. In this sense, the group of 20 women contains a diversity, although it includes elements of the above-mentioned specific groups.

Feminism itself, from the vantage point of its intellectualized militants and researchers coming out of middle class, ended up narrowing down the recognition of feminine living experiences in our society, propagating a normative and homogeneous language and creating a myth of woman. (Sarti, 1985)

The number of women to be interviewed was defined by the concern to outline some possible route to grasp the life of these women. In this way, around the time of the sixteenth interview, a basic common configuration took shape which was repeated among the interviewees. By interviewing 20 women (40 hours of recording), I chose a wider safety margin to confirm this configuration, and to bring out the diversities, all representative of the social group being studied.

The women chose the time and place and we would mark the meeting, which lasted two hours. A large part of the interviews was carried out in their homes. Only three took place in the work setting, and one in the husband's office.

The fact that I was introduced into the field through common friends no doubt made the contact easier and gave them a sense of confidence right from the start. Our common friend backed up my moral uprightness and the credibility of the work.

During the meeting the aim of the research was clarified from the outset, and an ethical contract was agreed upon whereby the researcher pledged not to identify the interviewees in her thesis, (not mentioning names or any other identifiable data). Therefore, their testimonies could be included so long as it would not be possible to identify the persons.

The need for secrecy keeps us somewhat apart from the biographies in anthropology or history. However, we know from psychoanalysis, that when we work with feelings, fantasies and intimacies of an individual, utmost care must be taken, for we are touching on what is most precious, private and secret. Thus, to enter the world of "mental privacy" (representations and phantasies) very often it is necessary to offer assurance of secrecy.

The stage of approximation happened in three different moments: first, when our common friend made a contact with the interviewees, then when the researcher made the initial contact, and finally when the personal meeting took place.

From the second to the third moment an interesting fact occurred: 70% of the women marked the interview, then afterwards telephoned to postpone it and to set up a new date for the interview in a week's time.

In the final field phase, I concluded that this incident was not random nor could it be attributed only to the fact that we lead a busy life in a metropolis like São Paulo. This fact reinforced the anxiety and ambivalence generated by the proposal, given that a week's time was enough to digest and cope with the desire and anxiety of being interviewed, in spite of the care taken to lessen the burden of harrying anxiety naturally present in such situations. However, the meetings took place without exception.

The first four interviews were carried out in 1989, the remainder in mid-1990.

Only one of the interviewees did not wholly fulfill the conditions, since she is a single mother. Even so, I decided to include her, not only to observe the similarities and differences

in the manner of organizing life, but also because there were indications of differences between the lifestyles of a single mother and of a separated or divorced mother.

In the third moment of approach -- the personal meeting -- I realized that difficulties of another nature were arising, that is, unconscious resistance to the proposed situation.

The first four interviews served as a test case for the later ones. A strategy to conduct the interview was fundamental, for to simply ask the women to tell about their lives made the situation anguishing, harassing and finally, constraining. The women asked that some sort of question be made to ease the beginning of the conversations.

After four test case interviews, I chose to suggest a guideline of topics that could help warm up the interview and lessen the anxieties generated by the unfamiliar situation, thus providing an atmosphere of greater receptivity and reducing, insofar as possible, internal resistance of the interviewees towards the task agreed upon.

The proposed "guideline" consisted of three phases: personal data, a brief history of the family background, and the topics to be touched on.

Personal data was comprised of: age, civil status, length of married status, number of offspring, age of offspring, level of education, profession, length of time of professional formation, salary, length of time in actual job, work hours, neighborhood, religion and therapeutic experience (see table).

The brief family background history allowed them to reconstruct the socio-economic and cultural route until the formation of their present family -- husband and children. It even permitted the investigation of the influence of the parents in their professional choices and the support of the mother in current daily life.

The choice of the topic to be developed (about what and how to talk) was up to the women, with due respect for the flow of free association. The guideline suggested the following topics: work, marriage, family (pregnancy, children, education), daily domestic living (home, servant, schedule, spare time), the couple's management of money, sexual life, the influence of feminism in their lives, other women, and their life project. The function of the guideline was to stir up and ease the conversation, not to restrict it. If the introduction of a guideline is, in itself, a limitation, the experience showed me the opposite. If I had retained the original plan (of only asking: tell me about your everyday life), the constraint would have increased, to the point of possibly hampering the richness of the narrative.

Several interviews took on the nature of pondering one's life, in which the women reflected on past and present family life. Others were characterized by personal testimony: the women told me what they thought and felt in their lives as women, considering the problem of the feminine condition and the role of women in society. Still another group assumed a more confidential tone, almost making use of the opportunity to let off steam about conflicts, complaints, and try to understand

themselves better. These three types of interview atmosphere were the most frequent, with some exceptions where I consider having had difficulty in approaching and in breaking down initial barriers to the contact. Probably I was not able to reduce the harrising anxiety to a level adequate for a good contact.

In the book *To Be a Wife: The Oldest Profession*, Danda Prado comments that "given the taboo which surrounds everything related to the intimate life of the couple, and given the type of interview which I carried out, directly and personally with each of the women, the issue of time dedicated to the couple's affective sexual relations was hardly mentioned. However, when the tape recorder was turned off, some referred spontaneously to their fears, or to previous facts, linked to their husband's infidelity".

In this research, however, the experience was a little different. The majority of the women spoke about their sexuality with relative ease. Naturally, it is not easy to talk about this, as Prado well points out. However, only one interviewee asked for the tape recorder to be turned off when she spoke about her love and sexual life, describing episodes which she had lived through as "madness". Soon after she allowed the recorder to be turned on again. In this particular case I believe that there were other aggravating motives for what happened. Before we began the interview we discovered that we both knew some other people, besides the friend we had in common, for when the interviewee commented in her circle of friends that she was going to be interviewed, she was surprised to find other mutual acquaintances. She did not give up on the interview, but this "excessive" proximity made the contact difficult and prompted her to safeguard herself from any breach of secrecy by controlling what should or should not be recorded. In this case I was helpless to mend the situation and I found it difficult to carry it out, and needed two meetings to complete it.

One could presume that the difference between researches is due to the period, since Prado's book is from 1979. There is an interval of a decade between the two experiences, time enough for significant changes of behavior in regard to sexual life.

The manner of interviewing, however, also intervenes in the type of data gathered. The care taken by the interviewer in regard to adverse factors in the process determines the "atmosphere" needed for the interviewees to express their ideas, conflicts and life experiences. The field work process brings important results that favor a reflection on the issue of how to research, when it is a case of human beings, and principally when dealing with subjectivity, feelings and intimacies.

In this sense psychoanalysis has a contribution to offer, for through it we know how difficult it is to reach someone's mental phenomena. And an interview that aims at grasping everyday life and its imagery has this challenge: "enter into" the individuals'

world of representations and feelings, principally because it is not a question of merely making anthropological observations or cataloguing customs, habits and lifestyles, but of getting to know what they think and feel about their lives.

The Analysis and Its Surprises

After listening to the recordings several times, I made the first interpretation of the interviewees and was surprised with the richness of the testimonies. I can say it was a combination of surprise and fright. What to do with so much material? How to organize and interpret all this?

The written text made the distancing needed for analysis easier, for the interviews with their intimate "atmosphere" were still very present. Since familiarity prevailed, objectivity would have to take over more space at this stage of the research.

Using the "guideline" of the interviews, I organized all the data within the nine original topics and clustered the remaining ones into various other topics that came up.

During the second interpretation I tried to establish links among all the narratives within each topic and to discover similarities, differences and patterns. I repeated this procedure with all the topics, then I tried to find links across the various topics, discovering new correlations and explanations for the observations raised.

Before getting into the field work I had some impressions and ideas about what would come up. However, only part of my assumptions were confirmed and I was surprised with what was revealed.

For example, emphasis on the issue of work and marriage was already predictable for the type of social group due to recent changes of behavior and of social context to which middle class women are exposed. However, issues like difficulty in making a choice of profession, lack of intimacy and conversation between marriage partners, and male adultery during the wife's pregnancy, were unexpected topics that appeared in the data.

The relationship of money and its function within the couple's interrelationship was observable right from the test case interviews, and, therefore, was included in the guideline suggested for the interviews which followed, turning out to be a pertinent and interesting topic.

On the other hand, the topic "work" turned out to be insufficient as a category for analysis. It was necessary to distinguish the women who work for various motivations (salary

and income supplement, desire not to stay at home, need to have some social occupation), from those who had an effectively professional aspiration, because the way they organize themselves in their everyday life and imaginary sphere is significantly different.

Within the same topic it was also possible to trace common concerns -- for example, the women's choice of vocation or profession -- since the majority of the interviewees admitted being in a vocational crisis, that is, had not yet discovered what they wanted in terms of profession.

It is necessary to point out that other difficulties arose during the analysis of the narratives. One aspect that stands out is the fragmentation of the oral expression. The transcribed texts bear the marks of the spoken words: personal mannerisms, slang, forgetfulness, and mainly fragmentation, without any organization or orderly sequence of thought. The women talked without any concern for synthesis or concatenation, telling their stories in a winding and associative way.

However, when I returned to them the transcribed text, as we had agreed, almost all commented with surprise the "confusion", "looseness", and "fragmentation", never imagining that they could have expressed themselves in such a manner. And normally they probably would not do so. The intimacy to which I referred before could be observed again here, because in a formal situation people are concerned about controlling and organizing what they say (in a job interview, for example), which does not necessarily occur in other situations, such as therapeutic sessions or personal conversation. This is one of the possible explanations for the strong fragmentation of the narrative, which can be considered a problem in the analysis and interpretation of the interview texts, or, on the other hand, can be used as one more element for analysis. After all, fragmentation, dissociation, displacement and condensation do not only appear in dream-related language, they are also present in oral accounts. And they can be focused within the interpretation of the text.

Psychoanalytic practice shows us that, in spite of all the care given by analysts to the "analytical setting and process", the difficulties of access to the internal world and its representations are enormous. We take years to get to know a little of the world of our patients; therefore in only two hours of (non-therapeutic) interview the difficulties of access to this imaginary world are great. Hence the importance of using a strategy of approach that respects the limitations and particularities of the task, and that promotes access to the other person.

Another type of problem stems from the women who have an articulate and conscious discourse about their feminine condition. In this case the task of listening to the ambiguities is more arduous, for everything appears to be well "arranged" and "resolved". Others set up psychological and emotional explanations for aspects of everyday life that are hardly subjective. In other words, it is not easy to decipher the

ambiguities, conflicts, concealments, projections and identifications in the narratives; it is like a tight plot.

All in all, the aim of this part was to formulate a general framework of the process of data analysis.

A Biographical Profile

(Profile constructed from the oral reports of the interviewees attempting to use their own expressions)

Patricia - 33 years of age, married for ten years, has one child of ten and another of seven. She graduated 12 years ago with a degree in zootechnics but never exercised her profession. Her mother was a psychologist and her father a government employee. Her mother helped her father to provide for the household.

She works eight hours a day as a secretary in an educational establishment.

She got married and went to live in the country where she worked selling clothes, and managed to earn her own money. Her husband has the same academic background and works as a zootechnician, but at the time was earning little. While they were living in the country she had two children. Then she returned to São Paulo and began to work and holds the same job to date. She would like to go back to study, perhaps social sciences, she even went as far as enrolling and attending classes for a month, but it got too burdensome for her and she could not arrive on time.

Luiza - 30 years of age, married for six years, has a baby of one year and ten months of age. Five years ago she took her degree in education and has been working for 11 years. Currently she is a human resource assistant in a governmental department, with a work schedule of six and a half hours. Before she worked eight hours daily, but then she managed to have it reduced because of the birth of the baby. She said her life and her everyday living routine changed completely ever since she had the baby, but that her husband's day did not change at all, which makes her upset. She has a nursemaid to take care of her baby girl while she is at work. She earns very little in comparison to her husband's income, for he has a small business. She says that her mother was against women working outside of the home, but after she separated from her father, she "had to begin from scratch". Today her mother is a sales supervisor and is doing very well at her job.

Maria -30 years of age, married for six years, graduated in music and movie-making two and a half years ago. She works at business journalism but has been giving piano lessons for about 11 years. She has two children, aged two and a half years and nine months. Her mother has a degree in history and geography and used to work before getting married, but her father did not allow his wife to continue working. Her father never completed high school, is of Arab descent and is very rigid .

She earns much less than her husband, has her own home and employs a servant. She is working as a free-lancer, but at a slower pace because of the children.

Eduarda - 40 years of age, married for 15 years, took her degree 20 years ago, is an editorial consultant, has been working for 17 years on an eight-hour daily schedule. She has two children, aged 13 and 11 .

Her father was a government employee and her mother studied accounting and piano. For many years she gave piano lessons at home. Eduarda's salary level is very close to her husband's. She is a successful professional woman whose competence is recognized socially and in the family. She is quite independent and has a well defined professional project.

She shares part of the family duties with her husband. She has a servant and has already undergone therapy.

Fátima - 31 years of age, currently separated, was married for nine years, graduated a year and a half ago with a degree in industrial design and has been working for a year and a half. She has two children, aged eight and six. Currently she is not working and keeps herself on the pension she receives from her husband for the children.

Her father was a dentist and her mother a piano teacher who taught for some time. Her mother is of Italian descent and her father is from the Northeast of Brazil.

She is looking for employment and is trying to find herself after the recent separation. Her mother helps her with the children and is going to live close to her to take care of the children while she goes out to work. Her mother also separated from her father recently. Fátima has no experience in the job market therefore is having difficulty getting a job.

Cristina - 33 years of age, has been married for ten years, has one child of eight and another of three years of age. She has been employed for five years as a social worker, her profession, although she has worked at other kinds of jobs away outside of the home for the same length of time. She works six hours a day in a state job and earns much less than her husband.

Her father is of Italian and Spanish descent and her mother of Portuguese descent. Her mother was a housewife and her father a bus and taxi driver.

She has a strong tie with her work, related to women; she likes what she is doing and is aware of the situation of women. She shares the household tasks with her husband. Sometimes she has a servant. When she is without domestic help, she and her husband literally share all the work, but the children also stay with the grandmother.

Suzana - 33 years of age, married for nine years, has been a professional journalist for five years and has been working for 12 years. She has a four year-old daughter. Currently she is a free-lancer. Her father, a teacher, is of Lebanese descent, and her mother, a secretary, is Brazilian.

Lately she has been "enjoying staying at home" after discovering this side, and is working as a free-lancer to fulfill this urge. She no longer wants to work in editing. At present her husband contributes more than she does to the family upkeep. She feels she has discovered her domestic and feminine side which was hidden, and is enjoying it. She has a servant who helps in the house. Her husband helps take care of the daughter. She has already undergone therapy.

Rosa - 34 years of age, has been married for 13, but not officially. She is a producer and although she has been working for nine years, only recently it has been in this area. She studied economics and dropped out because she went to live with her present husband. She wanted to be a diplomat, but they ended up going to live in the country and setting up a restaurant. They had two children. She is a free-lancer and has no fixed work hours, sometimes spending a week without working, then working day and night. Her husband earns four or five times as much as she does. The children study in an all-day school. She has a servant. She has undergone therapy.

Tânia - 31 years of age, married for eleven years, she has two children, one aged seven and the other five. She never finished university, dropping out of her studies at the college of education. She is a program secretary, has been working for 16 years, and carries a 9-hour daily work load. She is of Spanish and Italian descent on both her father's and her mother's side. Her father is a businessman who deals in publicity; and her mother never worked outside of the home.

She does not feel guilty for working so many hours outside of the home. Her mother lives in the apartment across from hers and this makes things easier for her. Her husband gets home before her and stays with the children. She earns half her

husband's salary. She regrets not having finished university and thinks this hinders her today.

Rachel - 38 years of age, was married for 16 years but not officially, and is now separated. She has a son aged nine. She is a state teacher, graduated 11 years ago and has been working for 18 years. She has a six-hour daily work schedule. She has already worked as geographer, executive secretary and has owned her own business. After she separated from her husband she was somewhat lost, without quite knowing what to do. She chose to do graduate studies in education and became a teacher. She is of Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese descent, having come from the country to study and ended up staying in the city.

Her father was a businessman and her mother a housewife, both with a low level of education. She thinks that she is badly paid. Property rent helps her monthly income and when her former husband is able, he contributes financially. The problem is that his situation is unstable. She is a politically aware person and perceives social issues as well as issues pertaining to women.

She feels lonely although she has close friends. She feels that it is difficult to find another companion. She has a servant who does the household chores.

Celina - 33 years of age, was never married, nor did she live with the father of her son who is three years old. She is a publicity agent and completed high school. She learned her profession through practice, and nowadays is successful in her profession. She is well paid within the job market.

She is of Italian and Portuguese descent. Her father was a military man who later went to work as a television technician. Her mother was a seamstress who worked for large garment factories and later became a housewife.

She lives in São Paulo, but her son lives with her sister in her home town. She came to work in São Paulo, did well, met a fellow younger than herself, got pregnant, and decided to bear the child without him. She cared for her own pregnancy, had the child and supports him on her own. The father never acknowledged nor wanted to see the child. Nor does she want his help; it is really an independent production! She counts on help from her sister, who also has a son and is separated. She works hard and supports the house, her sister, her nephew and her son. She feels like the man of the house, sends money and goes to visit them whenever she can. She has no fixed schedule, works as long as necessary, which generally involves a long day. She has an important and fairly powerful position in a good publicity agency.

Cândida - 33 years of age, married for nine years, graduated in geography nine years ago but works as a bank clerk. She has been working for nine years. She has a five year-old daughter and ever since the baby was born she has been working six hours a day.

Her father is of Italian descent and her mother Brazilian. They came from upstate São Paulo but came to live in the capital because her father was a biologist and her mother a *haute-couture* seamstress.

She studied in good schools with grants obtained by her mother. Besides working in the bank, she developed some social work in poverty areas, which she left when her daughter was born because there was not enough time. Currently her husband earns more than she does. Both are very attached to the home and their daughter. She has a daily servant to do some of the household chores. She has already undergone therapy.

Sandra - 32 years of age, married for eleven years, has three children aged eight, seven and three. She has no university degree. She was a teacher, a party organizer, an art dealer, and today she is a housewife. She is studying music because she likes it and is thinking of opening a school for children later on, when she feels that is really what she wants.

She worked for 12 years. She has two servants, one for the housework and the other as the children's nursemaid. She is giving herself time, trying to discover what she likes and what she wants to do. She has already undergone therapy.

Beatriz - 37 years of age, married for twelve years, studied languages and abandoned college just before completion. It was not what she wanted, because she always wanted speech therapy. She taught in a private school for 13 years. Today she is a housewife and wants to set up her own business to earn money. She has two children, of 12 and one year of age.

She has already undergone therapy and is doing analysis. She has servants who help with the housework. She wants to have her own money to do what she wants. Among other things, she would like to fix up the house and decorate it her own way.

Melanie - 36 years of age, married a second time (a daughter of 11 from the first marriage and a son of 4 from the second marriage). She is an economist and has worked for 15 years. Her work load is eight hours daily but she can make up her own schedule.

Her parents are Brazilian, both work as university professors.

Her former husband contributes to the upkeep of the daughter, but in an irregular manner. Before he helped more than

now. He takes turns caring for the daughter on week ends and during holidays.

She is successful in her professional project; she works in a well known institution and wants to improve herself. Her husband earns more than she does. She has a servant but manages to share some household chores with her husband, mainly in caring for the children.

Sueli - 32 years of age, married for five years, has a son of three and is pregnant. She took a degree in sociology, worked for eight years, and currently is at home. But she is trying to set up a small business. She gets disturbed with the thought of stopping work, but believes that at present it is better this way. She thinks of controlling the housework more efficiently, eventually using a computer, thus leaving more time to work out of the home. She has a servant to do the household chores. When she used to work out her husband earned much more than she did. Whichever way, she continues to be concerned about her professional aims. She has already undergone therapy.

Lurdes - 39 years of age, married for 16 years. She took a degree in education, taught in schools, then went to coordinate a institution providing non-formal formation and recreation for girls. She directed this institution for some time and still maintains ties with it. However, the remuneration was always low, almost symbolical. She worked for a total of 20 years. Her husband supports the house. The household chores are shared, daughters and husband do their part, but they have a charwoman and a cook to prepare frozen food. The girls are 14, 12 and 9 years old. Her dream is to set up a camp for children on her small farm. Both her parents are Brazilian.

Estela - 30 years of age, separated, was married for two years and has a son from this marriage. She is a planning researcher for marketing. She took her degree eight years ago in communication and has been working in this area for eight years. She has an eight-hour daily schedule. She feels successful in her field of work, earns well in comparison to the job market, and already has some fringe benefits due to the quality of her work, for example, autonomy and flexibility of work hours. She receives little help from her former husband. However, she keeps herself without needing family resources. She wants to get married again, but to someone with whom she can get along and who will have a favorable relationship towards her son. She is not in a hurry and wants to choose right this time. She is very organized in the household tasks and in the care of her son. She is very efficient in everything. She is concerned about being competent in what she decides to do. She is undergoing therapy.

Silvia - 36 years of age, married for seven years, her children are ten, seven and three years old and the last one is eight months old. She enjoys being a mother. She is a journalist and has worked for 17 years. She is of Brazilian and Italian descent. Her father was a bank clerk and her mother a housewife. She lived on the coast, then came to São Paulo.

At present she earns below the market value but she cannot complain because she got pregnant and asked for maternity leave. In three years she was on leave for nine months and because of this she did not want to negotiate her salary for fear of getting fired. So currently her husband earns more than she does. With so many children, and working out seven hours a day, many of the household chores are left up to the servant, but this does not bother her. She and her husband spend their free time with the children.

She is concerned about her professional project, her career, but she tries to adjust it to the pleasure of being a mother. She is concerned about bringing the two sides together. She has already undergone therapy for couples.

Clara - 34 years of age, married for nine years, two children aged eight and five. She became a psychologist ten years ago and has been working for nine years. She has an eight-hour work day. She has two servants to keep the house in absolute order and to help take care of the children when she is not at home. She is of Italian and Brazilian descent. Her father is a doctor and her mother is a housewife.

She has a medical office and is taking a specialization course. She earns less than her husband. She shares with him the tasks related to the children. She is undergoing analysis.

Tables

	Salary	Years of employment	Work day	Currently working
M1	160 btn	10 years	8 hours	yes
M2	1185 btn	11 years	6 hours	yes
M3	1015 btn	12 years	open	yes
M4	2878 btn	17 years	8 hours	yes
M5	-	-	-	no
M6	812 btn	10 years	5 hours	yes
M7	846 btn	12 years	open	yes
M8	2997 btn	9 years	open	yes
M9	643 btn	16 years	9 hours	yes
M10	1608 btn	18 years	6 hours	yes
M11	2291 btn	15 years	8 hours	yes
M12	1710 btn	9 years	6 hours	yes
M13	-	-	-	no
M14	-	-	-	no
M15	3047 btn	15 years	8 hours	yes
M16	643 btn	8 years	open	yes
M17	-	20 years	open	*
M18	4571 btn	8 years	8 hours	yes
M19	1862 btn	17 years	7 hours	yes
M20	1608 btn	9 years	6 hours	yes

* *Voluntary service*

BTN = CR\$ 59,0576 PARALLEL DOLLAR = CR\$81,00 (in
September 1990)

Salary in dollars (September 1990)

M1	US\$ 116.65	M11	US\$ 1,604.76
M2	US\$ 863.99	M12	US\$ 1,246.77
M3	US\$ 740.04	M13	--
M4	US\$ 2,096.36	M14	--
M5	--	M15	US\$ 2,221.58
M6	US\$ 592.03	M16	US\$ 468.81
M7	US\$ 616.82	M17	--
M8	US\$ 2,185.13	M18	US\$ 3,332.74
M9	US\$ 468.81	M19	US\$ 1,357.59
M10	US\$ 1,171.40	M20	US\$ 1,172.40

Percentage of the active population by income and by gender (1986)^a

Monthly salary (Minimum wage)	Gender	
	Male	Female
up to 2	18.7	40.7
from 3 to 5	24.6	17.1
from 5 to 10	21.5	12.0
over 20	5.8	1.1

Source: FIBGE, PNAD 1986

NOTES

1) "Before 1970, research on women was in a kind of limbo, with the few studies expressing a traditional view from the disciplines and not originating further developments (...) In 1970-1975, the women's liberation movement is already strong internationally. In Brazil, at that time we still find ourselves in a kind of Pre-history (...) From 1975 to 1978 we see the theme emerging (...) From 1978 we start a period of consolidation and expansion in which this field of study is already more accepted, with the requirements being of a different type, like more scientific rigour and more solid theoretical elaboration" (Quoted from Albertina de Oliveira Costa, Carmen Barroso and Cynthia Sarti, "Pesquisa sobre mulher no Brasil - Do limbo ao gueto" p. 6, 7, Cadernos de Pesquisa da Fundacao Carlos Chagas, Sao Paulo, August 1965, number 54, which is a literature review on the theme from 1975 to 1984).

2) The category of gender was borrowed from grammar. Resorting to language disciplines is a tradition within anthropological knowledge. In its origin, gender is the assignment of morphological differentiated endings to words to refer to individuals of different sexes or to attribute sex to things. (Larousse, vol. III, p.756) - phenomenon which is present in some of the Indo-European languages. However, the term has widened its scope and is now used as the distinction between cultural attributes assigned to each sex and the biological dimension of human beings. It is a usual reference within anthropology which is rescued and refined by female anthropologists empathizing with feminism (From the paper "Fazendo Genero? A Antropologia da Mulher no Brasil", by Maria Luiza Heilborn in "Uma Questao de Genero" (1992:98).

Gayle Rubin approached the theme proposing the system sex/gender in which "these are far from being non-historical emanations of the human mind; they are products of the historical human activity". The system sex/gender of a society, according to Rubin, consists of a series of arrangements through which the raw material of human sex, gender and procreation are shaped by human social intervention and satisfied in a conventional manner...The human sex, gender and reproduction domain has been subjected to and transformed by continuous social activity along thousands of years. Sex, as we conceive of it nowadays - gender identity, desire, sexual fantasies and

formulations established since childhood - is in itself a social product" (Rubin, 1975, p. 159, 165/6).

3) Cultural constructions are "illusions, not in the sense of being false, but in the sense of constituting the symbolization of individual fantasies, deprivation by the "Entbehrung". The illusion, indeed, differs from the mistake, whose cause may be completely different from the wish fulfilment - the Aristotelian thesis of the spontaneous generation of life was a mistake, but not an illusion - different also from the psychotic hallucination, whose characteristic is to be in contradiction with the reality. Fantasy, in this sense is not mistaken, but illusory (...) It is in this sense that culture constructions constitute illusions - symbolization of individual fantasies that start to be lived in the social sphere (Rouanet, 1985: 239,240).

4) The traditional role model is connected to the patriarchal family reference, in which the ideal mother is a woman married only once with a sexual life restricted to that with her husband, not working outside home and living totally for her children and husband. Her life is devoted to the future of her nuclear family members and a professional project is not envisaged.

5) Primary Socialization - It occurs in childhood, without the individual having any choice regarding his/her socializing agents, as for instance, his/her father, mother, and wider family. It is believed that this socialization is the most resistant and profound, since it is the foundation for the child's personality and identity.

Secondary Socialization - It comes later on, and throughout the whole life. It involves a possibility of choice by the individual, who identifies with role models, ideas, habits, etc., in a "freer way". That is, the individual is not only chosen, as it happens in the primary socialization, but has also the opportunity to choose. "The secondary socialization is any subsequent process which introduces an individual who has been already socialized, to new sectors in the objective world of our society" (Berger and Luckmann, 1974; 184).

Nicolaci da Costa's concept of "socializing discontinuance" refers to secondary symbolic structures acquired with the secondary socialization, which may add to the primary socialization, causing incoherence between both systems. It is this incoherence that the author calls "discontinuance".

Figueira's concept of "unmapping" refers to the combination of two or more series of values or maps, as he says, which are

internalized by the subject at a certain moment of life and which remain internally in different levels.

These concepts will be examined more thoroughly in part II.

6) Marilena Chaui has two other important passages about ideology that deserve being quoted:

a) "Ideology, specific expression of the modern social imagery, is the necessary way through which the social agents represent for themselves the social, economic and politic aspects of reality. Being the immediate and abstract form of manifestation of the historical process, this representation is the concealing or dissimulation of the reality, but should not be taken as synonymous for illusion or falsity. Basically, ideology is a systematic series of representations and norms which guides our perceptions and actions" (1980; 3)

b) "The ideological discourse intends to be taken as reality, to abolish the difference between thinking, saying and being. It aims at engendering a system which unifies thought, language and reality, identifying every social individual with a particular universalized image, that is the ruling class image. (Ibid.) Thus, transforming particularities into universality by denying differences and contradictions, the ideology obtains coherence because it is a discourse with gaps that can not be filled in.

7) The concept of "individual reality" ranges from the individual psychic reality to his/her subjective relation with the world, and to the actual experience of his/her condition. Within this context, the notion of "social reality" refers to the way through which the individual's social place is perceived or subjectively experienced including its influences in the individual's life.

8) Rouanet suggests the artist as an example of producer. He quotes Freud, who states in his paper "Formulations on the Two Principles of Mental Functioning" (GW, VIII, p. 237), that after having refused the dissatisfying reality, producing the fantasy, the artist manages to return to reality thanks to the art, this "mysterious" activity, through which he "shapes his fantasies in a new form of reality". However, not everybody has the artists' capacity, and this is the basis for the author to talk about "non-producers".

9) This observation made by Gramsci can be found in "Gramsci: Oeuvres Choiesies", Ed Sociales or Prison Notebooks, Lawrence and Wishart. It is also quoted by Althusser in "Ideology and ISA's" in Lenin and Philosophy - Ed Verso. Althusser says that

Gramsci noticed that the state was not limited to the repressive apparatus, but also involved other institutions of the civil society. However, Gramsci did not get to the point of systematising which institutions these would be, making only partial comments on the theme, which was subsequently rescued and eventually systematized by Althusser.

10) The concept of culture will appear several times in this study, therefore it is essential to clarify its definition. The general notion of culture that I find appropriate is the one provided by Clifford Geertz: "Culture is a system of symbols or units and rules concerning relations and ways of behaving" (1963). Nevertheless, it is Gilberto Velho who offers an operational notion of culture which instruments us for closer investigation. He says that culture is the "way of being and behaving, the daily experience of a certain social group, it is the expression of its participation in a system of wider symbolic and meaningful relations of which other segments take part, being distributed in many ways regarding their insertion within society. I insist though, that if we can locate these sociological units within a common communication field, in which there is a somehow shared series of beliefs and values, we will be talking about "culture" (1981 : 84).

11) From a topographical point of view, the primary process characterizes the unconscious system while the secondary process characterizes the pre-conscious/conscious system. The primary process tends to fully carry the representations related to the experiences of satisfaction which constitute the wish. The opposition between primary and secondary processes is a correlate of the opposition between the pleasure principle and the reality principle. "The Language of Psychoanalysis" Laplanche and Pontalis, Institute of Psychoanalysis, Karnac, 1973, London.

12) Phantasy: "Imaginary construction in which the individual is present and in which the fulfilment of a wish (ultimately of an unconscious wish) is expressed in a way which is relatively deformed by defensive processes. The phantasy or fantasy is expressed in several modalities: conscious fantasies or day dreams; unconscious phantasies such as those revealed by the psychoanalytical process as latent structures beneath a manifest content; and primal phantasies, The Language of Psychoanalysis", Laplanche and Pontalis, Institute of Psychoanalysis/Karnac, 1973, London.

13) The imaginary sphere, "broadly speaking, can be defined as a space where imagination prevails over the actual reality". (Dicionario de Ciencias Sociais. RJ :1986, pg. 574).

We find in Rouanet's reading of Freud a contribution to our study: "The fusion described by Freud between the collective and individual imaginary sphere remains, though not in the sense of an illusory compensation for the absence of a transforming action but in the shape of an affective substratum, where the individual fantasies would be supported by cultural structures, and from which impulses would be originated guiding our thinking to particular aims rather than others: those which intend to explore, not the actual reality, but from within this reality, the virtual reality (...) the imaginary processes intermingle with the cognitive processes both in terms of perception and of thought, both regarding concealing and developing properties. (1958 : 241)

14) Guy Michelat (1987), in his paper about the use of the non-directive interview in Sociology, follows the hypothesis that each individual is representative of the culture and subcultures, considering as culture the series of representations, of effective valuations, of habits, of social rules, of symbolic codes. The culture would be composed by the accumulation and interaction of ideological productions from the different social structures within history. Each time would be marked by the interaction of a significant number of individuals living a particular existence, according to the different social groups they belong or refer to, within a society with pre-established structures.