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The Chameleonisation of Masculinity: Jimmy's Multiple Performances of a Working-Class Self

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Abstract

In this paper, drawing on ethnographic observations and using the case study of one working-class young man called Jimmy, I explore how multiple masculinities are displayed through a process of chameleonisation. I show that in a variety of settings, within and beyond the school and through different social interactions, Jimmy navigates between numerous conflicts in order to try and achieve both academically, with aspirations of processing into higher education and also as a successful athlete. These processes are simultaneously met with demands to achieve a socially valued form of masculinity that has been shaped by the former industrial heritage of the region. This paper argues that young working-class men are not locked into displaying just one performance of masculinity, but have the agency to switch between performances and to adopt multiple identities. However, this process which I term chameleonisation, is fraught with difficulties. This process illustrates how we must begin to think about young men having the ability to display multiple masculinities at various times, and are therefore not the bearer of one all-encompassing masculinity that is always, and everywhere, the same.

Keywords: young masculinity, social class, heritage, performance, place

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La Camaleonización de la Masculinidad: Identidad Múltiple de Clase Obrera de Jimmy

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Resumen

En este trabajo, a partir de observaciones etnográficas y con el estudio de caso de un joven de una clase obrera llamado Jimmy, exploro cómo se muestran las masculinidades múltiples a través de un proceso de camaleonización. Muestro que en una variedad de entornos, dentro y fuera de la escuela ya través de diferentes interacciones sociales, Jimmy navega entre numerosos conflictos con el fin de tratar de lograr el éxito académico, acceder a la educación superior y también convértirse en un atleta exitoso. Estos procesos se cumplen simultáneamente con las exigencias de lograr una forma socialmente valiosa de masculinidad formada en el marco de un contexto industrial. Este artículo sostiene que los hombres jóvenes de clase trabajadora no solo están encasillados a mostrar una forma masculinidad, sino que también tienen la capacidad de cambiar de formas y adoptar múltiples identidades. Sin embargo, este proceso está plagado de dificultades que se observa cuando tenemos que empezar a pensar en los hombres jóvenes que tienen la capacidad de mostrar múltiples masculinidades en varias ocasiones. Por tanto no somos el portador de un solo modelo de masculinidad global que se reproduce siempre y en todas partes de la misma forma.

Palabras clave: masculinidad joven, clase social, herencia, forma, lugar

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This paper draws on research into young masculine identities and specifically seeks to develop the sociological literature on the lives of working-class young men in de-industrialised communities and the difficulties they face when trying to achieve successful transitions to adulthood. In former industrial spaces acceptable forms of working-class masculinities in particular are still often displayed through acts of physicality and male camaraderie, through contact sports, 'banter', sexual storytelling, the ability to drink large amounts of alcohol, expressing heterosexual desires and homophonic language and by studying certain educational subjects (Kehily & Nayak, 1997; Martino, 1999; McDowell, 2003; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Kenway et al. 2006; Ingram 2009; Ward 2014a, 2014b). However, other recent studies conducted with young men both inside and outside school have illustrated that young men's identities can be quite fluid and complex, and that there are possibilities for constructing alternative masculinities which are not necessarily subordinated or oppressed (McCormack & Anderson, 2010; Roberts, 2013). In contemporary society as some authors have documented, men might actually be developing softer or more 'inclusive masculinities' (Anderson 2009, Roberts 2014), demonstrating a real shift in attitudes and practices among men. However, as Heward (1996, p. 41) has argued, a difficult question that arises when looking at changing masculinity is 'the extent to which individuals are constructed by their structural contexts and how far they can build alternative identities despite their stigma'.

In this paper, drawing on ethnographic fieldwork conducted with young men (aged 16-18) in a de-industrial community in South Wales (U.K), I build upon the existing work with young working-class men in de-industrial communities in the U.K, Australia and the US (Nayak 2003; Kenway et al. 2006; Morris, 2012). Through a detailed case study of one young man called Jimmy, and his transitions through post-compulsory education, I explore how the challenges of working hard academically and aiming to be a successful athlete, are simultaneously met with other pressures to achieve a socially valued form of masculinity through engaging in risky leisure pleasures, such as drinking large amounts of alcohol. I use Jimmy's case study to explore the difficulties facing working-class young men who try to be successful on many different fronts and how the continuation within

education in a de-industrial community, can create alienation from one's peers as one transitions towards adulthood.

In examining these performances of working-class masculinity, I draw upon contemporary gender theories of hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1985; Connell, 1995; Connell &Messerschmidt, 2005), and the work of Goffman (1959, 1974, 1976) on the performance of self and the formation of social identity and other work influenced by the symbolic interactions tradition (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009). I argue that Goffman's often overlooked dramaturgical framework (see Jackson & Scott, 2010; Beasley, 2012) has important implications for analysing performances of gender and specifically young masculinities. When applied to masculinities (and femininities) this framework highlights how gender comes into being through socially constructed performances which are understood (consciously and unconsciously) as publicly acceptable in a given situation, setting or community, not as innate biological accomplishments or discursive practices.

This paper contributes to the sociology of masculinities literature by using one case study to illustrate how the performances of young masculinities in de-industrialised communities are far from straightforward practices, being influenced by social interaction and the history of industry and place. I introduce the term 'chameleonisation' to capture these complex processes and I suggest that this metaphor is a useful step forward for the field of study as it enables the multifaceted processes young men have to navigate whilst growing into manhood to be illustrated. I argue that this process can help how we begin to think about young men having the ability to display multiple masculinities at different times, and not as the bearer of one all-encompassing masculinity that is always, and everywhere, the same.

Code-shifting and multiple performances of a masculine self

In Goffman's most renowned work *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, ([1956] 1959), he lays out a dramaturgical framework to represent the conduct of an individual's interactions using the stage metaphors of front (made up of setting, appearance and manner) and back regions to illustrate how the self is a social product of performances that individuals or 'teams'

of individuals (Grazian, 2007; Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009; Hughey, 2011) display in different situations.

> The self, then, as a performed character, is not an organic thing that has a specific location whose fundamental fate is to be born, to mature and to die; it is a dramatic effect, arising diffusely from a scene that is presented and the characteristic issue, the crucial concern, is whether it will be credited or discredited. (Goffman, 1959, p. 245)

This can perhaps best be summarised by saying that there are many aspects to one's self which can be altered in different situations. Nonetheless, some of these aspects of self are more prominent in some situations than in others and actors must work hard not to reveal certain characteristics in front of the wrong audience.

Influenced by Goffman, Elijah Anderson (1999) in his ethnographic study of an inner-city neighbourhood in the US, where most of the residents were poor African Americans, found that younger members of the community characterised themselves and each other as coming from either 'decent' or 'street' families. Those from 'decent' families (those more likely to be financially stable) were socialised to accept the values of hard work, to have respect for authority, a deep religious faith and a belief in education as a way for self-improvement. Those younger people from 'street' families were more likely to lead lives less secure than their 'decent' street counterparts, with drug and alcohol problems, and where violence was a part of everyday life. However, Anderson also found that some young people behaved in different ways according to the situation they found themselves in. Anderson (1999, p. 98) therefore suggests that 'the child may learn to code-shift, presenting himself one way at home and another with his peers'. He found that 'decent' young people saw the ability to code-switch, to play by the code of the 'street' with the 'street' elements and by the code of 'decency' when in other situations, as crucial to their survival in a violent inner-city neighbourhood. Those most associated with the 'street' see little value in gaining middle-class knowledge. How far the young people went to become 'street' depended on their socialisation at home, their own opportunities and their own decision-making processes and life chances.

Although not directly drawing on the symbolic interactionist tradition, Reay (2002) illustrates many of the same processes as Anderson (1999) in her study of Shaun, a young man from an inner-city social housing estate in London. The case study explores how Shaun had simultaneously to balance his academic school side with also trying to maintain a local version of hegemonic masculinity based on violence (Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), which, as in Anderson's study, is needed for young men to survive in the socially deprived community he inhabits. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the specific performance of gender in any given setting that 'legitimates the global subordination of women to men' (Connell & Messerschmidt 2005, p. 832) and the system of power relations reflecting differences among men. While this process defines masculinity as plural, masculinities should not be seen as psychological typologies, but displays of practice (Beasley, 2012) or 'manhood acts' (Schrock & Schwalbe, 2009) that are more revered and acceptable than others in different situations and places.

However, Connell (2001, p. 8) has further suggested that there are 'fixing mechanisms that limit the fluidity of identities', with class, as Reay (2002) indicates, being one such mechanism that can limit the effectiveness of young men to display or perform masculinity in different ways that are deemed acceptable in all situations. A second 'fixing mechanism' is the importance of place, as individual choices are geographically and historically specific and differentiated sets of opportunities develop (see also McDowell, 2003; Nayak, 2006). For young working-class men in particular, these opportunities were often connected to certain forms of heavy industrial labour. However, as de-industrialisation has occurred across the global metropole since the 1970s, the performance of a masculine self which accompanies the new industries that have replaced them, require different values, skills and attributes. I now turn to outline how these changing industrial practices provide the context for this study, before moving on to discuss the concept of chameleonisation and then use Jimmy's story to illustrate some of these processes.

Context and methods

The research site, Cwm Dyffryn[1], was in an area of Wales that was once a major contributor to the British coal industry (Williams, 1985) and one of the largest industrial centres in the country. A strong division of labour characterised these communities, where distance from anything seen as 'feminine' was essential for a strong masculine identity, which would enable the communities to survive (Walkerdine, 2010). These roles were often seen as heroic with punishing physical labour that involved different degrees of manual skill and bodily toughness, creating a stoic form of masculinity. Male camaraderie was established through physicality and close working conditions underground and maintained through jokes, story-telling, sexist language and banter. This camaraderie was further supported through social institutions such as miners' institutes, chapels, pubs, working men's clubs and sports.

During the 1980s and 1990s, the region underwent rapid de-industrialisation due to the economic restructuring policies of the UK government and this acute collapse coupled with the decline of the manufacturing industry, led to a drastic increase in economic inactivity. These industrial losses were accompanied by the erosion of traditional apprenticeships and youth training schemes, which would have supported these industries and provided a platform into adulthood and other forms of manual employment. The area is now characterised by a 'triangle of poverty' (Adamson, 2008, p. 21) with low levels of educational attainment and high levels of unemployment, health inequalities and poor housing across the region. Young people from the area have also become subject to social stigmatisation as a result of these social inequalities (Ward, 2014c).

Given this background, a two and a half year Economic and Social Research Council funded ethnographic study was conducted, to explore the diversity of a group of white, working-class, young men living within this former industrial region. The overall aim was to investigate how masculinities were formed, articulated and negotiated by one school year group at the end of their compulsory schooling and then to follow them through their post-16 educational pathways. After completing Year 11, a sample of 38 young men were tracked. Furthermore this research was also undertaken across multiple other arenas of their lives. This was carried out

to further highlight the numerous ways that these young men performed their masculinities to different audiences and in different contexts. The research area was personally known to me, so as a result I was able to form close relationships with many of my respondents through a shared biographical history. The fieldwork included participant observation supported by extensive fieldnotes, focus group interviews, ethnographic conversations, and more formally recorded one on one interviews with a number of these young men. The interviews were fully transcribed and along with the detailed fieldnotes, coded using a CAQDAS package for key themes.

Several key themes emerged; First, the multiple, nuanced ways young men's lives were lived in a specific de-industrialised place emphasised that there was a degree of code-shifting occurring, where respondents adjusted and altered their performances of masculinity with different audiences. Second, different academic and vocational educational pathways framed the definition of the situation for these young men, learning what roles were expected of them when studying a certain subject or course and what was also expected of people around them, ultimately resulting in classed and gendered implications that impact on their future life chances. Third, outside their education institutions, the legacy of the region's industrial past and the working-class cultural milieu of the locale, were re-embodied and re-traditionalised in different ways across other local sites and spaces (See Ward 2014a, 2014b, 2014c; Ward, 2015).

I drew the data together based on friendship ties that became apparent as the fieldwork progressed (see Ward, 2015 for these narratives) but there were also individual young men, who adopted multiple presentations of self and tried to switch between friendship groups. Jimmy was one young man who tried to do this. As Goffman (1974, p. 573) reminds us, the 'self, then, is not an entity half-concealed behind events, but a changeable formula for managing oneself during them': so despite the social-economic barriers Jimmy faced as I will show in this paper, this young man was still involved in a constant practice of code-shifting which results in a form of what I term 'chameleonisation' occurring.

The Chameleonisation of Masculinity

As I have shown the young masculinities literature over the past few decades has illustrated how masculinity is performed in different ways and in different settings. However, there is little in the literature on how individual young working-class men alternate between masculinity identities (see Reay, 2002 for a notable exception) or how the pressures to conform to specific ideals of manhood, often termed hegemonic, are juggled with other demands to perform alternative displays of masculinity which are defined by place (Morris, 2012). I purpose that young men are capable of acting out different performances across multiple fronts, but that the success of this depends on a complex set of classed, racial and territorial processes. I suggest one of ways of capturing and understanding how different front displays of masculinity are switched between, can be defined by a process of chameleonisation. We find that chameleons are a distinctive and specialised species of lizard that are famed for their ability to change skin colour[2]. Although not all species of chameleon can actually change their skin tone, and there is a base colour for all, most can camouflage themselves to fit in with almost any habitat (Le Berre, 2009). The metaphor is therefore useful for trying to understand and make sense of how multiple performances of self are attempted in different situations. As I will go on to show, Jimmy switches between academic and athletic performances in order to create successful future options for himself and to adapt to different situations, but this act of chameleonisation is hindered by what are deemed acceptable forms of masculinity fostered by the locale and the working-class industrial heritage of the region. Ultimately his defence against being ostracised from his community and peers by indulging in risky leisure practices, impacts on the success of his academic and athletic life and his future is uncertain. The chameleonisation of masculinity thesis, builds on Connell's work by showing how masculinity is 'done' in a micro context through interaction, but also how these pressures are linked to global economic changes and how critical studies of men and masculinities can understand how young marginalised men deal with such social change (Beasley, 2012).

Being Jimmy

I was first introduced me to Jimmy by his teachers during the initial phase of research at Cwm Dyffryn High School (Spring 2008). He was in the top set for most of his subjects (all school subjects were streamed into ability groups) and a promising athlete competing at both cross-country and track events (800 and 1500 metres). The local newspaper had written about him and tipped him to appear for the Welsh Commonwealth team in the near future. He was one of the oldest in his year group and lived with his parents and younger brother in a small terraced house a short distance from the school on the edges of the town. Jimmy's father was a train driver and his mother was a ticket sales assistant at a nearby railway station. Both were born in the town and had left school at a young age, neither having been to university. Jimmy was short at around 5ft 7in, slim, with blonde streaks in his stylish quiffed-up hair, which, coupled with his good looks, meant he bore a resemblance to the America teen actor Zac Effron[3]. This resemblance was a source of humour between him and his best friends Bakers, Frankie and Ian, (Ward, 2015) but it was something that he said did not bother him too much, as it tended to bring him attention from girls in the town. Jimmy was polite, softly spoken, well-mannered and seemed popular with teachers and the majority of his peers. His main interest outside school was his running, which connected him to his father, with whom he went training with on occasions and who had also been a successful long distance runner in his youth. As the study progressed Jimmy, supported by his father, began to run for different clubs and took part in competitions both at regional and national level.

His other interests included music and, along with learning to play the guitar, he told me that he liked a wide range of music spanning different decades and this was a key part to his identity. Outside school he usually dressed in T-shirts with the names and logos of different rock bands on them and often went to watch local bands play in the pubs around the town. During the summer holidays between Year 12 and 13 along with some friends he had also been to the *Sonisphere* heavy metal music festival[4]. He still wore the entrance wristband months after the event, which he said was to remind him how good it had been. When I asked him about his favourite bands he told me:

> Well I like *Metallica*, *Jimmy Hendrix*, *Black Sabbath*, *Led Zeppelin*, ah *The Beatles* they got to be in there, *ACDC*…ah there's too much choice man, *Avenged Sevenfold*, also don't mind a bit of *Bullet…Joe Bonamassa*.
>
> [*Individual Interview*]

During the early stages of the study Jimmy was constantly changing girlfriends and had a reputation amongst his friends as being a bit promiscuous or, as they termed it, a 'player'. This was something Jimmy always denied, stressing that he was only really looking for 'the one' and that it was girls who tended to mess him about, not the other way around. Towards the end of his time in school, things became more serious with one girl, Rhiannon, and as he began to spend more time with her, he distanced himself from his male friends and saw less of them (for a similar discussion of the retreat from friendship groups, see Frosh et al., 2002). I now address these different areas of his life in more detail, drawing out the tensions that came with performing multiple masculinities across separate fronts.

The Academic Achiever

Jimmy had done well in his GCSEs, achieving 10 A*–C grades, and returned to school in September 2008 to study Biology, Chemistry and Physical Education (PE) for AS and subsequently A level. His best friends left at the end of Year 12 (Ward, 2015) he began to find school a difficult place to be, especially as many of his other friends with whom he had played in different rugby union and football teams, were not taking the same subjects as him.

> Jimmy: It's not as good as the old days when you're in Year 9 or 10 like.
>
> MW: Why do you feel like that then?
>
> Jimmy: Because like Frankie and Bakers and that aren't here cos they were the ones I used to bother [hang out] with the most…
>
> MW: Right.

> Jimmy: And like when Hughesy, Birdy all that come in…when they come in it's fine like…but the problem is they hardly come in to school.
>
> [*Individual Interview*]

Jimmy was expected by the school to do well and he wanted to go to university to study sports science, with the eventual aim of becoming a professional athlete or a PE teacher. However, without his close friends in school and with many of his other former sports team mates in different classes to his own A level ones, Year 13 became a struggle. As these field notes illustrate, he found himself increasingly alienated and alone during his A level classes.

> The chemistry lesson only had a small number of students present. The class was made up of Sam, Ieuan, Leon, Nixon, Sin, and Jimmy, whilst Abby and Carys joined the class from another school in the area as part of the combined post-16 educational programme. Jimmy was sitting on a work bench on his own in the middle of the classroom, whilst the others were clustered around the front bench. I sat next to Jimmy and we chatted whilst the homework was passed around by the teacher. He suggested that life had got a bit better for him since he last saw me, but still didn't feel like he was free enough, and wanted to leave school as he felt like he was in limbo. [*Fieldnotes*]

We can see from these field notes that Jimmy was sitting alone, often his practice in his A level science lessons. As Jimmy got older and his former certainties had been dislodged, he had fallen out of place. His friends had moved on, but there was tension between him and those who remained around him. As his final year in the Sixth Form progressed, he later told me that he felt rather irritated by some of the others in his class. When I asked him more about this he told me he found the attitude of his class mates towards him annoying.

> MW: You were telling me about science, didn't you say that you don't feel comfortable in there sometimes?

Jimmy: It's just that there's an attitude from um, like Ieuan and that, they are looking down on me type of thing, like when I get a question wrong or something a snide comment comes out and they kind of go [sighs loudly] and they put their heads down [on the desks]. Come on we're 18 now…also it's trial and error, you're not going to get anywhere if you don't try…

MW: Do you feel that if you shout something out and you're wrong, you think some people may have a dig or a go at you?

Jimmy: Um I know they'll dig at me…but it still won't stop me. Half the time I know some of the stuff the teacher's on about so it don't bother me.

MW: So is that the same in PE then?

Jimmy: Ah no it's tidy there like, good boys I got in my class, cos I think they are into sport as well. You know you get that like sort of sport personality if you get what I mean, extrovert whereas the non-athletic types are a bit um…a bit ahh…all for themselves I find. You got to do what they want to do type of thing; like the other day when I was in the library I was just minding my own business and I heard Alan say that Sam called me inferior because I'm doing lesser subjects than him sort of thing!

[*Individual Interview*]

Despite the area's industrial decline, to be a 'proper' boy or man from the South Wales Valleys, an archetype of masculinity associated with this older world of industrial labour and 'masculine' ideas of male embodiment are still the default reference points. However, Jimmy felt that in his science class his classmates belittled him when he tried to answer questions asked by the teacher and he was also mocked by Sam for his choice to study PE, which, as a subject that uses the body, could be seen as a direct link to a manual world of labour. Of course this is the very area where he exceled and the sporting sphere, where he felt comfortable, was a space which most of his classmates avoided and distanced themselves from. It was also clear how insightful Jimmy was in recognising the different forms of masculinity that were on display where he discussed with me the differences between the 'sports personality', e.g. local hegemonic form of masculinity (Connell

& Messerschmidt, 2005), and those who he referred to as 'all for themselves', e.g. the individualistic, academic achieving, middle-class aspiring geek. Jimmy then proceeded to tell me how he felt his subject choices were further criticised by some of his peers.

> MW: Do you think there's a type of snobbery then?
>
> Jimmy: Yeah... definitely.
>
> MW: So the subjects you do in school, other people either look up or look down on you maybe?
>
> Jimmy: Yeah apart from in PE like, it's a good subject...and there's more to PE than those boys think as well! Cos I still get comments off um saying that PE isn't a subject mun, you know…
>
> MW: (laughs) Who said that then?
>
> Jimmy: Ha well them again really, Ieuan, Sam and them in Biology.
>
> MW: Even though you do a lot of Biology as part of PE don't you?
>
> Jimmy: Yeah and history of sport...there's a lot, I can't wait to get out of here!
>
> [*Individual Interview*]

Jimmy's A level science classmates are illustrating a form of what Redman and Mac an Ghaill (1997, p. 169) suggest is 'muscular intellectualness' (See also Edley & Wetherell, 1997). This front performance helped articulate a form of masculinity that differed to what traditionally defined being a 'proper' man in their community and normally it was not equal to the power held by the more sporty boys (see also Mac an Ghaill, 1994 for a similar process), however for Jimmy trying to cross between these two spheres, was not easy and he felt he was judged and without his best friends in his class he was open to ridicule and felt out of place. He did not fully achieve the chameleonisation process and couldn't quite fit in.

Jimmy continued to work hard with the hope of being the first one in his family togo to university. However, when discussing his future and university options, it became clear that Jimmy was adamant that he wanted

to attend somewhere local, despite initial ideas about applying to universities further away from Cwm Dyffryn.

> MW: So um when you decide to leave school you're going to go to uni?
>
> Jimmy: Yeah.
>
> MW: And you're going to go to UWIC [University of Wales Institute Cardiff[5]]?
>
> Jimmy: Hopefully yeah.
>
> MW : And what other choices have you…
>
> Jimmy: Um…Glamorgan[6] is my um (click fingers) insurance is it?? And I turned down Swansea.
>
> MW: Ok…and where else did you apply?
>
> Jimmy: Um well just those three.
>
> MW: Ahh right…cos you had six choices didn't you?
>
> Jimmy: Five I could choose yeah.
>
> MW: Five right…
>
> Jimmy: Um cos I wanted to go to America like but…
>
> MW: Right.
>
> Jimmy: But I didn't bother in the end.
>
> MW: Maybe you could…
>
> Jimmy: ….didn't bother applying or nothing like…
>
> MW: Because you mentioned Bath to me a while back didn't you?
>
> Jimmy: Yeah I was thinking of Bath Uni…but it don't entertain me. UWIC's just as good as…it's on your doorstep init…Welsh people…and this is my home like, do you know what I mean?
>
> MW: Yeah, do you feel then that they would be a bit different up in Bath then?

> Jimmy: (Laughs) Um well you know what it's like when you go to a different country, also different sense of humour…like with UWIC or Glamorgan, I just do my work, come home chill out around here...

> [*Individual Interview*]

Jimmy seemed to be trying to reconcile his aspirations to go to university with his desire to stay at home in a place where he felt comfortable (see Lucey et al., 2003 for a discussion about working-class girls who also feel this pressure). As illustrated above, Jimmy struggled with the environment of the A level science classroom and his classmates' attitudes towards him. From his experiences it is clear that he does not fit in with the others, who are themselves marginalised in the community for being academic achievers, but what it further showed is how his potential is hindered by his experience of studying without a close friendship group for support. Jimmy felt lonely battling against his classmates, whilst trying to succeed in the subject in order to progress into higher education. Although social class is not overtly mentioned here (nation in fact replaces it) what Jimmy does refer to in his decision making is that he would rather stay local as a 'different sense of humour' would exist elsewhere and he feels he wouldn't fit in. A 'sense of humour' could be read in terms of class, as the studying environment in Bath would be vastly different to that of the socio-economic conditions he is under in Cwm Dyffryn. His choices represent his desire to study with people he is familiar with and also show that his chameleonisation is perhaps limited to the local level and he cannot take this into other environments.

The Party Boy

Whilst trying to achieve academically Jimmy was also caught in the position of trying to display a localised version of acceptable masculinity. As Year 13 wore on he went out at weekends and during the week drinking and partying at night. He also bought a car from *Ebay* and took to driving around the town at high speed with Frankie and Bakers. However, when he went out at night during the week, this affected his academic performance in class. As the extracts from my field notes below show, trying to burn the

candle at both ends, or to perform a more macho masculinity, alongside a more studious position in the classroom, was not always possible.

When I walked into the registration classroom I joined a group of boys sitting at the back. Jimmy, Brad, Bunk, Tomo and Birdy were chatting about a party they had been to in the town's rugby union club the previous night. Jimmy was looking quite hung-over with a white face and dark bags under his eyes and was explaining to the others who had also gone out the night before, how bad he was feeling.

Biology was the first lesson of the day and the class contained Jimmy, Ieuan, Leon, Nixon and two girls, Abby and Carys. The lesson was based on the human life cycle and sexual reproduction. From the beginning and throughout the lesson Jimmy struggled. This seemed due to his hangover and not having done the notes he'd needed to do in order to catch up, as he'd missed the previous lesson. After around 50 minutes into the lesson the teacher suggested that Jimmy was half an hour behind everyone else which caused the others in the class to laugh. It appeared that Jimmy's 'party boy' image and his attempt to be popular with everyone, certainly wasn't helping today. His hangover seemed to be affecting his work and he had to ask the teacher and the others for help. Whilst they were waiting for Jimmy to finish off copying the diagram from the board, Leon showed the teacher his revision notes and the teacher marked the electronic register.

At 10.00am the teacher stopped the lesson for a 10-minute break and the majority of the class headed to the shop just outside the school gate. Jimmy followed a few minutes later after finishing the diagram. When he arrived at the shop, he bought a can of coke and before drinking complained that he felt really ill and stated how hung-over he was. On the way back to class Jimmy and Leon started discussing some chords from a song they had both been trying to play on their guitars, but when they returned to the classroom Leon went back to his place on the front bench and the conversation was cut short. The teacher resumed the lesson and continued to go through other parts of the reproductive process with diagrams on the board and the students making notes and answering questions. Towards the end of the lesson with Jimmy still showing signs of struggling due to his hangover, Carys mentioned that this would be worthy of a Facebook status

update which made the others laugh and she criticises him for always drinking.

[*Fieldnotes*].

As these fieldnotes show, this 'party boy' image not only had an effect on his schoolwork, but also alienated him from his A level class mates. This is not to say that his classmates did not go out at night, but they tended to go out on weekends or during the holidays when it would not impact on their school work. These practices acted to police and regulate their behaviour, something which Jimmy could not do if he was to maintain his standing with his wider peer group, and an acceptable form of masculinity with them: so he began to fall behind in his academic work. Drinking alcohol was a way to maintain an acceptable symbol of manliness and a connection to the heritage of the locale from which he was in danger of becoming disconnected from by his investment in academic labour—and the hangover he was suffering was a symptom of this pull. His drinking also began to have an impact on his running and performance as an athlete.

The Athlete

Jimmy took his running seriously. After spending so much time with him and discussing and reading about his continual progress in the local newspaper, I was interested in watching him race for myself. When a trial for the Welsh schools team was held at a nearby athletics track towards the end of Year 13 I went along to support him.

> I parked my car just behind the running track and as I walked into the stadium, asked the people at the table by the entrance gate what time Jimmy was due to start. As the events were running ahead of schedule, the race was to begin shortly, so I quickly found a seat at the back of the spectator stand to watch. As I sat looking over the track to where the ten or so runners were lining up for the 3,000 meters, I caught sight of Jimmy. He was wearing a black and yellow vest with the number 22 pinned to the front and standing in the middle of the athletes behind the starting line. When the gun sounded he took off at speed and from the beginning of the race he was out in front with

another competitor and left the rest of the field far behind. Coming into the final lap he was still leading and holding the other runner off, but as the contest neared its climax, the other athlete was too strong and made a surge for the line and took first place. Sitting high up in the stand and looking down on Jimmy, I couldn't help but feel more than a little disappointed for him. He had told me in the morning that this was his last chance to get into the Welsh schools team. I left the stand and walked to meet Jimmy at the end of the track. Jimmy's father was there and he seemed slightly frustrated at Jimmy's 2nd place. After briefly chatting to Jimmy I left him to it as the atmosphere between Jimmy and his father seemed rather tense.

[*Fieldnotes*].

During an individual interview we talked about the pressures he felt to go out and socialise and to run. However, as can be seen in the race described above, to do both was not always successful.

Jimmy: Doing pretty well in my running like you know running for Wales and stuff but umm…in the past four months I'd say there has been a lot of socialising going on outside of it like…drinking and all that…but I got to get myself back on track been a week now. I know it sounds like I'm an alcoholic speaking but…but you got to start somewhere.

MW: So you know when you're running and that, how many days do you run?

Jimmy: Six days a week I reckon.

MW: And what or how much are you running?

Jimmy: About 10 miles or well about 8 miles a day on an average day, don't want to do too much too soon.

MW: So you want to increase distance or speed or?

Jimmy: Um both really got to push yourself past your limits.

MW: Um when you're running like cross-country distances, what's your distance?

> Jimmy: Four mile normal…but when I reach twenty it'll be um six miles.
>
> MW: OK…and how fast are you doing it?
>
> Jimmy: Um for cross country it don't really matter about time like…just position, but um when track season comes now, time will matter
>
> MW: And you do six minutes on the track is it?
>
> Jimmy: 800, 1500 and 3,000 metres. Yeah.
>
> MW: So when you do the running though, do you think it's a good way of coping with everything else that's going on?
>
> Jimmy: Um because I've been doing it for so long I don't really think about it like that, but thinking on it or reflecting on it does help. Just switch off, get into a rhythm and don't think about anything else.
>
> [*Individual Interview*]

While the running was a form of escape for Jimmy and he said that when he was doing it he could stop thinking about other things, drinking alcohol was again having an impact on his performance, this time his athletic ability. He talked with knowledge about his sport and seemed to know what was expected of him as an athlete; however, drinking with his friends impacted on how good a sportsman he could be. Also, as Connell (1990, p. 86) notes in the life history interview with the water sports iron man Steve Donahue, being successful as an athlete should have prevented 'him from doing exactly what his peer group defines as thoroughly masculine behaviour: going wild, showing off, drink driving, getting into fights', but the temptation to participate in these activities was strong. This is also made clear below when I asked him what his father thought about his drinking:

> Jimmy: Um he hasn't said much but he said it won't help your running, let's put it that way!
>
> MW: Do you find though that it does mess it up a bit?
>
> Jimmy: Ahhh yeah definitely you just feel tired all the time, can't be bothered to do anything.

MW: Must be difficult like when the boys are drinking?

Jimmy: Yeah yes it is, but um touch wood I won't do it for a long time now.

MW: I think if you balance it though, it should be alright?

Jimmy: Humm, yeah just like you know not every weekend like, it's going to be hard let's put it that way! Well I want to get in good shape for the summer now…so if I start now, it'll get easier.

MW: It must be hard when all the boys are going out...

Jimmy: Yeah I'll have to start going out and not drinking like which is going to be hard like.

[*Individual Interview*]

Jimmy's constant chameleonising took a huge amount of effort to maintain, and the contradictions in his multiple performances of masculinity were clear. As I have shown through this narrative, Jimmy experienced various obstacles in performing his masculinity across the different educational and leisure settings. As an academic achiever, by investing in 'mental labour' (Willis, 1977) Jimmy would be perceived by some in the community to be in opposition to what constitutes a dominant or hegemonic form of masculinity. But by investing in sports and also by going out drinking and partying, he could maintain an acceptable form of masculinity to offset this and chameleonise between these two worlds. However, a major consequence of this was that Jimmy could not truly fulfil his academic goals and he suffered within the more studious environment and had conflict with his classmates there.

As I have shown throughout this paper, Jimmy's multiple performances were not fixed dualities, but were fluid and changed in specific spaces and in different interactions. Jimmy had the ability to chameleonise, to be able to present himself in different ways and to shift the cultural and local ideology of what it means to be a man in diverse situations, to varying degrees of success. Nonetheless, most of Jimmy's anxiety was attached to the hyper performance of his heterosexual masculinity. The ability to chameleonise into the dominant masculine performances produced the most difficulties and was accompanied by a high level of stress and uncertainty,

ultimately impacting on the more studious performances and potential future life chances.

Conclusion

In August 2010 after completing his final exams Jimmy received an A in PE and two C's in his sciences. Despite getting the grades, he rejected his first choice university, instead opting to go to a university which was closer to Cwm Dyffryn. His rationale for this, he told me, was that this way he could keep his part-time job at *Domino's Pizza*, be close to his girlfriend Rhiannon and remain living at home. His running had petered out and although he planned to start again when he went to university the following month, I felt that this would be difficult with the new pressures he would face as an undergraduate with an even busier social calendar.

Jimmy's story highlights the challenges and conflicts that accompany the multiple performances of masculinity adopted by one working-class man in a de-industrial community. I have shown how those who adopt different pathways to the traditions of the locale, like Jimmy, face demands to adopt multiple subjective positions to decrease the risk of becoming alienated. His performances of masculinity alter or, as I have termed it, he chameleonises his masculinity across different spheres, within and outside the school gates. It is not only the dominant versions of masculinity that Jimmy feels he has to adopt to become credible which are disturbing about his story. What is also disconcerting is that he cannot fully achieve his goals and future desires, due to his disadvantaged social class position and the pull of the locale. Nonetheless, there are glimmers of hope in his story, as he had a very close relationship with some other young men and, despite acts of macho bravado, this is a small platform for discussing many of the issues he found troubling in his life. In detailing some of these issues and problems, this case study contributes to the literature on young masculinities by outlining how we must begin to think about young men having the ability to display multiple masculinities at various times, and are therefore not the bearer of one all-encompassing masculinity that is always, and everywhere, the same. This could help educators and others working with young men, to combat some of the more negative or damaging aspects of masculinity and recognise how working-class young men in particular

are under pressure to adopt multiple identities in order to appear successful across different fronts and still fit in to their home communities.

Notes

[1] All names used in this paper are pseudonyms, the town name which translates from Welsh to English as 'Valley Valley'

[2] See http://www.bbc.co.uk/nature/life/Chameleon and http://phenomena.nationalgeographic.com/2013/12/10/chameleons-convey-different-info-with-different-body-parts/

[3] Zach Effron is an American actor who started in the Disney franchise High School Musical. (See http://www.zefron.com/).

[4] *Sonisphere* is a large heavy metal festival which tours Europe during the summer months. (See http://uk.sonispherefestivals.com).

[5] Now re-named as Cardiff Metropolitan University, UK.

[6] Now re-named as University of South Wales, UK

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Sexual Commercialization and Masculine Rhetoric: The Problem of Prostitution in Spain

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Sexual Commercialization and Masculine Rhetoric: The Problem of Prostitution in Spain

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Abstract

This article is focused on the study conducted on prostitution customers in Spain with the purpose of understanding why men pay for sex. In order to answer this question, the discourses of prostitution customers were analyzed through semi-structured in-depth interviews, group interviews and discussion groups. With the aim of coherently structuring the obtained narrations and classifying them in categories, the theoretical framework "frame analysis" was implemented. Four typologies of ideal customers were obtained: the misogynistic (hatred for women); consumerist (everything can be bought and sold); friend (affective though abusive); and critical (occasional and repentant). As far as we are concerned, the purchase of sex is not produced by the search for quality sex, fun and hedonistic enjoyment, but rather for a strategy to reinforce masculinity based on an identity focused on exhibition in front of a group of peers.

Keywords: Gender, prostitution, users of prostitution, frame analysis, theories of masculinity

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Comercialización Sexual y Retórica Masculina: El Problema de la Prostitución en España

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Resumen

Este artículo se centra en el estudio llevado a cabo entre los clientes de prostitución en España con el fin de comprender por qué los hombres pagan por sexo. Para responder a esta pregunta, se analizaron los discursos de los clientes de prostitución a través de entrevistas en profundidad semidirigidas, entrevistas grupales y grupos de discusión. Con el objetivo de estructurar coherentemente los relatos obtenidos y clasificarlos en categorías, se puso en práctica el marco teórico "frame analysis". Se obtuvieron cuatro tipologías de clientes ideales: misógino (odio a las mujeres); consumista (todo puede ser comprado y vendido); amigo (afectivo aunque abusa); y crítico (ocasional y arrepentido). Desde nuestra perspectiva, la compra de sexo de pago no se produce por la búsqueda de sexo de calidad, diversión y disfrute hedonista, sino que es una estrategia de refuerzo de una masculinidad conformada por una identidad que gira en torno a la exhibición frente al grupo de pares.

Palabras clave: Género, prostitución, clientes de prostitución, frame analysis, teorías de la masculinidad

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The present paper wishes to contribute to the debate around the phenomenon of prostitution in Spain, analyzing an aspect of this reality that has not been studied in depth: the prostitution seekers or customers[1]. Due to the complexity of the concept of prostitution and the methodological difficulties for its quantification, it is difficult to provide exact figures to help us understand the real magnitude of the phenomenon. According to a UN report from the year 2000, around 4 million people in the world practice prostitution every year, generating a value for the so-called "sex industry" worth around 7 trillion US Dollars per year[2]. In the case of Spain, a report from the year 2007 carried out by the "Comisión Mixta de los Derechos de la Mujer y de la Igualdad de Oportunidades del Congreso de los Diputados de España" (Mixed Committee for Women's Rights and Equality of Opportunities from Spanish Parliament) indicated that around 300,000 female prostitutes exist, while the vast majority of customers, 99.7%, are men. Furthermore, the abovementioned report estimates that the business of prostitution in Spain creates 18 billion euros per year and that the Spanish expenditure in prostitution is around 50 million per day[3]. Certainly, this vast expenditure in prostitution services is linked to a high number of consumers, as understood by a poll conducted by the Centro de Investigaciones Sociológicas (CIS) [Center for Sociological Research] in 2009, that estimates that 32.1% of men have paid at least once to have sexual intercourse.

The contrasted rise of sex purchasing is producing adverse effects with a clear impact in prostitution: The increase of sex trafficking. The fight against sex trafficking became part of the political agenda of the United Nations on the year 2000 where, through the Palermo Protocol, the definition was stablished and incorporated to the legislation of the state members (Spain incorporated it late and incomplete). The work of the social movements, over all feminists, against sex trafficking at both international and national levels, were the key for this success: Coalition Against Trafficking in Women, Human Rights Watch, ECPAT International, Stop the traffik, Glogal Alliance Against Traffic in Women, etc. In Spain exist two big action platforms: Foro Social contra la Trata (brings together NGOs, public administration and experts) and RECT (Red Española contra la Trata: ACCEM, Médicos del Mundo, APRAMP, CEAR,

Federación de Mujeres Progresistas, Women´s Link Worldwide, Mujeres en zonas de coflicto, Save the children, etc.).

This article presents relevant results of the investigation "Consumo de prostitución en España: clientes y mujeres" [Prostitution consumption in Spain: customers and women], financed by the Instituto de la Mujer del Gobierno de España [Women's Institute of the Government of Spain] during 2011-2013[4]. The study will be divided into four sections: in the first one a tour is taken through the previous studies conducted on this topic, in the second, the theoretical and methodological bases that have inspired this research are exposed. The third section, epicenter of this paper, tackles the study of the customers' narrations and in the last section the achieved results and the reflections on the same are presented.

Sex Customers in Scientific Literature

The investigations that analyze, and in some cases classify, prostitution customers are relatively recent and highly descriptive, since in general they do not study in depth the reasons of the consumption of prostitution. At an international level, the pioneer author on this topic is the Swedish sociologist Sven-Axel Manson, who studied the prostitution phenomenon from the point of view of men and patronage since the decade of 1970. In 1984 Manson published Faceless sexuality. The buyer of sex, though he is best known for his work: Men's practices in prostitution: the case of Sweden published in 2001. In this book, Manson divides the customers of prostitution into four groups. The first group is composed of men that nourish the "dirty whore" fantasy. The second group is formed by those that share the idea that certain kinds of sex cannot be experienced with a non-prostitute woman. In the third group are those that, due to their fear, shyness, advanced age or physical or mental disabilities, turn to prostitution and the last group is composed mainly of young men that have a vision of sexual roles defined by images produced in today's society that are massively distributed through pornography, advertising and leisure shows (Manson, 2001, quoted in Gómez & Pérez, 2013).

There is another significant research study conducted in France by the Mouvement du Nid (NDT) where a typology of prostitution customers is carried out. This study, headed by Claudine Legardinier and Saíd

Bouamama, was concluded in 2006 with the book Les clients de la prostitution, l'enquête. In this book, five types of customer were identified. The first typology comprises 75% of the cases, men that justify their condition as a product derived from their own sexual, social and affective shortages. The second typology is formed by those that justify the consumption of these services by appealing to the fear, mistrust and hatred that women inspire in them. The third category includes the "commodity consumers" that invoke their condition as "buyers". The fourth category comprises those that pay in order to avoid the problems associated with every affective relation. Lastly, the fifth typology is formed by men addicted to sex (Legardinier & Bouamama 2006, quoted in Gómez & Pérez, 2013).

However, in most investigations the main causes that men put forward to demand this type of service are analyzed without elaborating a typology of prostitution customers. In this regard, Anne Allison, professor of cultural anthropology in the United States, analyzed prostitution consumption in Japanese clubs by Japanese businessmen in the book Nightwork: Sexuality, Pleasure, and Corporate Masculinity in a Tokyo Hostess Club. One of the conclusions of this investigation is that this consumption does not always correspond to a particular erotic interest, but to a great extent is a masculine group membership ritual and is increasingly used as organized leisure between a group of peers, as well as a patriarchal mandate, a way of demonstrating before the group of peers that they are "fully men" (Allison, 1994).

A different perspective is offered by the book Sex Markets, written by the economics professors Guista, Di Tommaso and Strom. In their research, they explore the supply and demand of prostitution and conclude that the vast majority of men use it each time they feel excited about the idea of it being illicit, about the transgression and because they think that, the woman prostitutes herself for pleasure, not for money (Guista, Di Tommaso and Strom 2008).

The sociability, the need for domination and fun are some of the reasons that are highlighted in other studies. One of the reasons sustained by the prostitution customers, sociability, is included in the research conducted in Brazil by Elisiane Pasini, where the customer is defined as a "regular" man (Pasini, 2000). The need for domination is emphasized in a paper on

Finnish customers published by Anne-Maria Marttila, where the demand for prostitution is related to the general power structures (economic, social, cultural, local and global) and to the necessity for domination (Marttila, 2003)[5]. The fun feeling and the desire to try different sexual experiences is present in the book Men who buy sex. Who they buy and what they know, from the authors Melissa Farley, Julie Bindel and Jacqueline M. Golding. In this book, created from 103 interviews with prostitution customers in England, 54% of the polled men asserted that the main motive for purchasing sex was not the absence of sexual partners but the need to receive immediate satisfaction, entertainment and pleasure as well as "variety of women" (Faley, Bindel & Golding, 2009).

Peter Szil, a psychotherapist specialized in sexual education, associates prostitution with domination and masculine socialization in a published paper in 2004 titled Men, pornography and prostitution[6]. In this work, Szil asserts that: "Prostitution institutionalizes the most basic assumptions of masculine domination as social order or even as civilizing order (...) this sex grants them the right to rule their environment, the space, the time of others and, in first place, other women. This right extends as well to the body and the sexuality of women" (Szil, 2004).

In Spain, our country, the first paper that analyzes prostitution customers in Spain was written by José Luis Solana Ruiz, who published in 2002 the article "Prostitution of immigrant women in the province of Córdoba" where he distinguishes two types of Spanish customers according to their relationship with the prostitutes: the objectifiers and the personalizers (Solana, 2002).

In 2003, María José Barahona Gomáriz and Luis M. García Vicente published a book titled "An approach to the feminine prostitution customer in the Autonomous Community of Madrid" focused on prostitution customers from Madrid. From 15 interviews with Spanish customers, they extracted five reasons for paying for sexual services: affective sexual intercourses, the necessity for more frequent and varied sexual relations, the exercised power due to paying for sexual services, the desire to satisfy sexual fantasies and, lastly, the search for fun, especially as a male group experience (Barahona & García, 2003).

Rafael López Insausti and David Baringo Ezquerra published in 2007 the article "City and heterosexual prostitution in Spain: the point of view of

the male "customer". From 12 interviews with different typologies of consumers, the authors established six different customer categories: men that had difficulties interacting with women; men that went in groups to have fun; married men that wanted to have extramarital affairs as a minor infidelity, men that had marital problems and were searching in the payment for sexual services for certain revenge; men for whom payment for sexual services arose as an element of their work or business environment and lastly, young men that pay for sexual services because it implies less complication and effort (López & Baringo, 2007).

In 2010, María José Barahona Gomariz published the book "Estudio sobre la información, opinión y actitud de los habitantes de Álava ante el fenómeno de la prostitución y una aproximación al perfil del cliente de prostitución femenina". The research was conducted through the completion of 452 questionnaires distributed in Álava to people over 18 years of age. 16.6% of men admitted that they had paid for sex at some point in their lives. Furthermore, 30% of those polled did not answer this question, which leads the author to think that they have been prostitution customers but did not want to admit it (Barahona, 2010).

Also in 2010, Carmen Meneses Falcón analyzed, in the article "Factores motivacionales en una muestra de hombres españoles que pagan por servicios sexuales", the reasons that men have for paying for sex. After conducting 138 interviews, fourteen reasons for paying for sex were extracted. The three where customers agreed the most were: to be able to choose different women (56.5%), thinking that paying for sex creates fewer problems (46.6%) and having fast and impersonal sex (41.3%). With the reasons offered by the customers, Meneses explains a fact analysis with the method "Extraction of principal components" and obtained six factors that could explain 80% of the variance: company, necessity, entertainment, risk, domination and speed (Meneses, 2010).

In 2012, Enrique Javier Díez Gutiérrez published "El papel de los hombres en la prostitución". In this article it is asserted that the number of men seeking for prostitutes to dominate them is increasing, more than those who search for sexual satisfaction because they have experimented a loss of power and traditional masculinity and they are not capable of creating relationships of reciprocity and respect for women (Díez, 2012).

Gómez and Pérez published in 2009 the book Prostitución: clientes e outros homes, focused on young men and the consumption of prostitution in Galicia, Spain. In this study, 17 interviews with customers were conducted, 5 with discussion groups of masculinized collectives, 6 with female prostitutes, 2 with transsexual prostitutes, 3 with owners and managers of prostitution clubs, 1 with a worker of these clubs and 3 with social services technicians that work with female prostitutes (Gómez & Pérez, 2009). Afterwards, this investigation was expanded to the Spanish territory during the period 2010-13, and in this article we will present the most relevant results from this research.

Is important to indicate that exists an international men movement in favour of the abolition of prostitution shaped by academicians (Luis Bonino, Peter Szil, Sergio Sinaí, Michael Kauffman, Hernando Muñoz, etc) and out-standing activists near to the feminist movements (Colectivo de Varones Antipatriarcales, Gendes, Kolectivo Poroto, National Organization of Men Against Sexism of USA, European Men Profeminist Network, Hommes contre le Patriarcat, etc). In our country this movement materializes in the "Red de hombres por la abolición de la prostitución" and it includes the men movement for equality among whom professionals stands out. Andrés Montero (psychologist), Erick Pescador (sociologist), Hilario Sáez (sociologist), and associations as AHIGE, Hombres por la Igualdad, Stop Machismo, Hombres Abolicionistas or Heterodoxia.

From the different investigations we have analyzed, prostitution service consumption by men is derived from a specific way of understanding the concept of "being a man".

Masculine Discourses on Prostitution: The Customers

In order to analyze the narrations obtained from the interviews with prostitution customers, the "frame analysis" theoretical framework was chosen (Gerhards, 1995; Goffman, 1974) with the aim of coherently structuring their narrations and classifying them in categories in order to improve use and understanding of the same. This analytic category, the "frame", stems from the "symbolic interactionism" of Goffman, currently understood as a main element for analyzing the creation of social agents' identity and its "performance". The objective is the analysis of the

narrations' narrative structures and its coherence regarding the customers' discourses with the aim of knowing his ideological position and his interpretation of the phenomenon of prostitution. These four typologies derive from the identification of four absolute and coherent narratives that propose four forms of classification of the world regarding this phenomenon (Gerhards, 1995; Goffman, 1974). This article aims to open reflection on the causes of the purchase of sex in our country, seeking the meanings contained in this strange practice, mainly for the customers and to a lesser extent, as well for women in situation of prostitution (this topic has been researched in depth). Likewise, the impact that the relational dynamic stablish in these contexts is not trivial within the framework we are in: is an expression of the current occidental society and its affective-sexual precarisation. The hyper valuation of the total pleasure (individual) and the contrast with the leisure experiences narrated by the customers and the drama of the situation of a great number of women in prostitution, invites to ethical reflection on this social phenomenon where gender perspective cannot be avoided.

Hereafter is a description of the central framing dimensions and strategies of the ideological discourse of prostitution customers in Spain as well as their ideological manifesto, interests and ideologies from their narrations in the individual interviews and group sessions. The presented results are the outcome of research conducted during 2011-2013. It was created with the objective of understanding why men choose to pay for sex in Spanish society. To answer this question, in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted with 29 customers, 13 female prostitutes, 3 owners of prostitution clubs or flats, 4 workers from these clubs, 23 social services technicians, academics and/or professionals of social services[7]. In the interviews, a thematic outline was used with the aspects to bear in mind during the conversation. The priority was to create an atmosphere of confidence and freedom to facilitate the development and transmission of the discourse. With this purpose, the aspects in mind where: motivation and causes of the consumption, frequency, type of services, valuation of the consumption and women, positive and negative experiences, meanings of prostitution.

Furthermore, 3 group interviews were conducted with groups of men from 9 autonomous communities from Spain: Andalusia, Aragón, Asturias,

Castilla-León, Catalonia, Galicia, Madrid, the Basque Country and Valencia.

Even though the objective of this article is not to analyze the discourses of women in prostitution, we would like to highlight some aspects that the customers emphasize. The women highlight that the profile of the customers is very heterogeneous –all ages, sentimental situations, professions and education levels are represented–. Overall, they distinguish two groups of customers according to how they treat them –the "good" ones and the "bad" ones–.

> I: "And, how are the men?" A: "Well, ha ha, some are brutish, but, I don't know, they… they are different, some behave well, some behave badly, you can find everything..." (Romanian, 23 years old, unemployed couple, one daughter, Club Corazón, Bierzo, 2012).

Many declare that most of the customers do not respect the initial service agreement, pretending to do some other non-agreed activities.

> I: "And, how are the men?" A: "Let me see, they are undesirables, they stink… Other, well, they are nice but drunk, and sometimes they don't want to put on the glove, you have to be alert so they don't take it off, one thing, the other…" (Colombian, 37 years old, divorced, three children, León, 2011).

They also recognize that in their job they must dramatize –pretending to enjoy, worshiping the customer's ego, etc. – achieving the satisfaction of the customer.

> (In order to obtain a client) A: "Hello sweetheart (with sugary voice)… what are you going to make me upstairs? This, that and that… you have to brainwash them in order to… (…)" (Colombian, 37 years old, divorced, three children, León, 2011).

From the narrations provided by the interviewed customers, we classify the prostitution customers using the "frame analysis" (Goffman, 1974). The result was the identification of four types of customers that we have denominated "misogynist customer", "consumer customer", "friend customer" and "critical customer".

The sociological typology of the analyzed prostitution customers is wide and comprises a broad range of ages, civil status, different backgrounds and different professions (Table 1), allowing the final classification to be extrapolated to all prostitution customers.

Table 1
Typology of the 29 polled customers

	Misogynist (6)	**Consumer (10)**	**Friend (8)**	**Critical (5)**
Age	25, 28, 36, 43, 53, 56	24, 29, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 43, 50, 57	21, 28, 32, 40, 45, 47(2), 48	28, 30, 32, 48, 50
Civil Status	single (3) married (2) divorced (1)	single (3) in a relationship(3) married (3)	single (2) married (1) divorced (3) widower (1)	single (2) in a relationship, married (2)
Academic background	primary education (1) secondary education (2)	secondary education (3), university studies (4)	primary education (2), secondary education, university studies (3)	
Profession	salesperson, administrative assistant, police force, army officer	salesperson, shop manager, martial arts teacher, administration, secretary, secondary teacher (3)	unemployed (2) waiter, administration, doctor (2)	unemployed (2), salesperson (2), carpenter
Ideology	right-wing, liberal, independ., apolitical	social democrat (1), left-wing (4)	liberal, progressive, left-wing (2)	progressive, left-wing (2)

Misogynist customer

For misogynist customers, the existence of prostitution services is something normal and necessary. They do not observe any "dark zone" in this business, adopting a critical and unreflective attitude and naturalizing the existence of prostitution because they consider it essential to mankind. From their point of view, the consumption of prostitution is logical and, according to them, general in our society:

> I: "What is your opinion about prostitution?" A: "I think that it offers a necessary service for society and is in higher demand than some people would like to admit" (waiter, 21 years old, single, Ourense, 2012)

They share the perception that all women are "whores" because in their actions and in their affective-sexual relations women always have an economic and material interest. Their imagination around the "feminine world" is full of negative connotations about the woman: they consider her a perverse entity, a false and materialist human being that only acts when guided by some interest, although disguised by a passive and angelic appearance.

> "A woman doesn't want sex if it's not in exchange for something… Any woman! (…). But, normally, I think that when a woman wants sex it is because she is looking for something, always marriage, or… money. Or benefits or a promotion if it's in a company or a gift…" (Military serviceman, 56 years old, divorced (marriage annulment), Zaragoza, 2011).

The image they have of prostitution is profoundly banal. They pay for prostitution services because this is the only way to have sexual intercourse with a woman. They see themselves as victims in a system where the materialistic ambitions of women force them to spend their money. However, they see it as more comfortable and less compromising than having to "flirt". They point out, ironically, that prostitution is cheaper than marriage:

I: "So, for you, sex is almost always in exchange for money? More or less?" A:"Yes, I think so, but marriage is more expensive than that (…)" (military serviceman, 56 years old, divorced (marriage annulment), Zaragoza, 2011).

Some men have always imagined that prostitutes are free to choose them and feel real satisfaction with them. It is a sexual fantasy that they believe and maintain in order to reinforce their own hegemonic masculinity. This idea is used to eroticize the practice of prostitution:

"They enjoy it and some of them are there because they want to be… I like to go because of the "forms of seduction" that they develop, that they display... they enjoy "giving satisfaction" because to "give satisfaction is a satisfaction itself" and there is also something spiritual, transcendental in that relationship, not always, but it does happen sometimes" (secondary school teacher, 56 years old, married, Madrid, 2012)

For this type of customer women practice prostitution because they desire to, because they do a comfortable job where they have good wages with little effort:

"If she fucks it's for money, this is crystal clear, but who gets the money afterwards is another subject, isn't it? But the prostitute normally gets ninety eight per cent of the money; I am sure that if most prostitutes were offered a job washing dishes for 900 euro per month they wouldn't accept (…)" (military serviceman, 56 years old, divorced (marriage annulment), Zaragoza, 2011).

If misogynist customers understand women to be materialistic entities, they consider that men are, instead, sexual beings and genetically promiscuous. They resort to certain pseudoscientific theories to demonstrate this inevitable male tendency to sexuality:

"I very much believe in the theory of...this friend of mine... Darwin, Charles Darwin, so I think that men have some genetic predisposition to procreation, procreation, so, I'm sure that man, definitively, besides from having a feeling of satisfaction, genetically tends to have sex..."

(Military serviceman, 56 years old, divorced (marriage annulment), Zaragoza, 2011).

Among the misogynist customers' most frequent motives to purchase sex, we should underline the search for "quality sex", a change in the routine of conjugal life and to satisfy physiological needs in order to maintain physical health and mental balance:

"Satisfaction! (Sharp) (...) lack of love... lack of sex... sometimes when I didn't have a girl, when I was younger, ha ha, I wanted to have fun and I went there... now I do it for a change... because having always the same girl... is tiresome (...)" (construction worker, primary education, 28 years old, married, Ourense, 2012).

Another reason that they use to justify their consumption is the perception that many women are not as sexually active as they are, consequently, they are forced to turn to this kind of service:

"I am incapable, but I have friends, workmates that are in here all day long and, and we say it, this is the typical Spanish macho, he has a wife, he has lovers, he picks up whores, I mean, we can't... we can't categorize... there are women that (...) are very prudish and that... they don't like sex, then... if there isn't communication in that aspect, in every aspect, but in that... sexual aspect, I think that's very important because that will end up... exploding, you will end splitting up (...) (doctor, 40 years approx., divorced, Zaragoza, 2011).

As will happen in other typologies of prostitution customers, consumption of sex within the group of colleagues or friends is the most frequent type and, in many cases, is within the "protocol" of the labor relations with customers or workmates:

I: "Is it common at work to finish the day in a club?" A:"I think so! I believe that... Seventy per cent of people! Ha! I: "Why do you think that this happens?" C:"I think that you're not at home for the whole week, don't you? And, for example, you meet with three people and one has his job, another does other work, another has another different job and ninety per cent of people say: Do you know if there's a club

around here? Yes, there is one there, let's go and have a drink..."
(Farm machinery salesperson, 25 years old, single, Ponferrada, 2012).

Their uncritical and conformist attitude towards prostitution culminates in a proposal for legalization and regulation of this activity:

"If they are there, they should at least have the right to social security and that sort of thing, shouldn't they? Work is work" (construction worker, primary studies, 28 years old, married, Ourense, 2012).

The customers belonging to this typology adopt an opinion that is sexist and contrary to gender equality policies, even expressing an incredulous attitude towards male violence against women:

(Regarding gender equality) "I think that this is a movie that left winged governments invented to generate work...positions, to generate positions because, honestly, we'll never be equals because you can't distinguish between two things that are equal, but you can distinguish a man from a woman perfectly" (Worker from the hotel and restaurant industry, secondary studies, 53 years old, single, Ourense, 2012).

Misogynist customers see in prostitution an environment where they can maintain their position of masculine power that, according to them, has been eroded by gender equality policies:

(On prostitution) "Something they sell and we buy (...) but is like a power relation; what I mean is that I pay so you do as I want, right? (...) Power through money (...) by having this feeling of power, maybe is used to take out a lot of frustration..." (Martial arts teacher, 50 years old, divorced and in a relationship, A Coruña, 2011).

Consumer Customer

From our research, we have obtained a hegemonic discourse of common places from young people, an explicitly non-sexist discourse that is critical with the chauvinist male inheritance from the past. They are young men, generally sufficiently educated and well informed, that share hedonistic consumption ethics and have a weak and dependent economic base, since

most of them still live with their families. They consider that nowadays people have more freedom in all sorts of relationships, including sexual intercourse. They think that the stereotype of women that only seek love and men that only seek sex is merging. For them, both genders look for the same:

> "There's always this prejudice: that men only go for that, I mean, sex; and that women seek the affective part, but I think that is only a prejudice, the truth be told" (GD2, students, economics, Cordoba, 2011).

They think of women as equals. In their opinion, both genders are active in all fields (social, labor and sexual), although they recognize that women are still suffering from some discrimination and inequality:

> "The truth is that I think that things are way better than some years ago, although we can find some differences, especially in the employment sphere. In the remaining areas, sexuality or society, I think that there are few differences between men and women" (administration worker, vocational training, 29 years old, unmarried and in a relationship, Ourense, 2012).

Nevertheless, they do recognize that sexual freedom is still more severely punished for women than for men, something that they consider unfair:

> "Yes, that is still present: if a man picks up many girls he is a champion, yet a woman that has sex with several guys is a whore. I don't know how long this will last, but it is indeed unfair; but it's something rooted in society and it's very difficult to eliminate it" (GD2, economics students, Cordoba, 2011).

The consumer customer senses the existence of women that are sexually exploited against their will, which is a situation that they resolve from a consumerist perspective, "buying what is being sold", as a consumer of clothes manufactured by labor and child exploitation:

> "Most of them (women in prostitution) are exploited, I think... women, look, they are in a situation that I don't think they would be if they could choose (...) but no, I don't think it's wrong" (civil servant, teacher, 35 years old, single, Ourense, 2012).

Some customers within this typology appear to defend gender equality, which leads them to criticize chauvinist male attitudes. However, this defense is more theory than practice because their freedom and rights as consumers are above other kinds of considerations of an ethical or ideological nature:

> "I think that there should be gender equality, but I don't think it is something that can be easily appreciated in today's society (...). A case in point, at home my wife is still the one that has the burden of the household, I'm embarrassed about that and I try to gain ground but she is way more organized than I am and I wish I was like her" (secondary education teacher, 43 years old, married, Ourense, 2012).

Among these young men, a non-sexist, less chauvinistic vision is shared in comparison to previous generations but, paradoxically, this perspective on gender equality is not applied in the prostitution field. A contradictory stance is observed: they search for equal women to be their partners...

> "Look, in my case, the ideal woman, the physical appearance... Of course I have to like her but she should share my ideas and my way of being, because she can be a beauty but if nobody can stand her… this is essential (…) you should be able to speak to her about any matter" (civil servant, teacher, 35 years old, Ourense, 2012)

And, at the same time, they search for prostitutes and treat them as commodities, just as another consumption product, a McSex consumption, quick, frugal, with scarce quality and without commitment. This way they can conciliate non-sexist opinions with the purchase of sex: the field of prostitution is another consumption market for them.

This mercantilist point of view complements itself with a value system where individualist hedonism and the search for satisfaction are driving their lives:

> (Sexual intercourse) "It was usually the same, they were already doing their job, they are professionals, they are like (…) because they work for you to feel horny" (teacher, 35 years old, single, Ourense, 2012).

It is frequent for sex consumption to be done due to social matters, trying to emulate a group of friends. This last reason is related to a type of masculine guild subculture that reinforces the union of the group through common complicity, transgression and fun between friends because, in the end, it is the group that confers your masculine identity (Connell, 1996)[9]:

> "Once I knew that at a stag party there were things related to prostitution but I didn't intervene regarding touching the woman or regarding the things that could have happened during that night (…) (Secondary school teacher, 43 years old, married, Ourense, 2012).

In many cases, these group practices occur the first time as an initiation to "become a man":

> "It was in group celebrations (…) I suppose we were going for fun (…) but of course I wasn't there for sexual reasons, some friends of mine were, I suppose, but not me, and not for fantasy either (…) it was for fun (…) it was like giving the "macho" a girl when he has to become a man (…) I do remember it now as an initiation ritual" (secondary school teacher, 43 years old, married, Ourense, 2012).

In some of their narrations there is certain self-criticism with their past as customers: they participated because of "young foolishness":

> "We were going around once or twice per year (…) that was for some years, I don't know, four or five… pre-adult gibberish, ha ha ha (secondary education teacher, married, Ourense, 2012).

The union of this non-sexist partial point of view which at the same time is mercantilist and consumerist ends in a position favoring the legalization and regulation of prostitution, granting, above all, "quality", because hygienic and sanitary controls of the sold "product" will be performed.

In a free market society, this activity should be regulated in order to guarantee the right conditions to develop the activity as well as guaranteeing minimal security conditions regarding hygiene and material safety for customers and for the prostitutes" (manager of a computer shop, 34 years old, single, Ourense, 2012).

Friend Customer

In this typology are those men that adopt a "kind" attitude when purchasing sex. These customers are able to humanize prostitutes and "empathize" with them. For them, women that practice prostitution do so mainly because they have no other option:

> "It's sad that there are women that have to do this, but, in general, if they do it, it is their last resort and this is absolutely better than stealing (…)" (RENFE employee (state-owned company that operates Spanish freight and passenger trains)primary education, 45 years old, widowed, Ourense, 2011).

They think that their good practices as lovers make a difference between them and other customers, because they know how to give satisfaction to prostitutes. This is why they have an image of themselves as luxury customers, because they achieve that the prostitutes forget about their economic benefits for the sake of enjoying their time with them, because they treat them well and give them satisfaction. This attitude drives them, in some cases, to establish emotional bonds that recreate the ties arising from a situation of "casual flirting" or the beginning of a love relationship.

> "Some loved it, even, well, you know? They give you their telephone number and say "call me so we can go out together" and I don't know, this happened to me several times and one even fell a little in love with me (…)" (martial arts teacher, 50 years old, divorced and in a relationship, A Coruña, 2011).

In the "prostitution" context there is a certain "dramatization" by women flirting and, during the sexual intercourse, making the customer believe that he possesses wonderful qualities that give them satisfaction and orgasms,

but everything is pretend and dramatized in order to make the customer to feel good, as an "excellent lover".

> "Even though the customer believes it and I can vouch for it by what I have listened to, the woman is getting laid for money, not for affection, nor for love, nor even for the sex and maybe it's disgusting for her (interview with a social technician, Proyecto Érguete Muller, Ourense, 2011).

Even though sexual necessities appear among the motivations declared for purchasing sex, other motivations are abundant as well, for example, covering affective aspects, the search for certain human warmth, company or friendship:

> "After being married for more than 20 years and without any children, on one side I need to feel affection, I do have some affective necessities and I can cover them, at least temporarily, this way" (RENFE employee, primary studies, 45 years old, widowed, Ourense, 2011).

Sometimes they even recognize that consuming prostitution is not a decision that makes them proud. The friend customer often argues that the consumption is produced in situations of meetings, parties with friends or colleagues:

> "I have gone to have a drink but I didn't consumed, but (takes breath) but this happens when we dine out, you go to have dinner with some friends "let's go there, let's go there!" and I don't like it, I don't like to go upstairs, I don't like it but I do go and I have fun, I have some drinks, I pay some drinks for the girls… but I don't like to go upstairs" (unemployed, secondary education, 47 years old, divorced, Barbadás, 2012).

This type of customer usually supports regulatory positions regarding prostitution, but consider that its regulation is complex::

> "The regularization of this activity, including medical inspections, would reduce the frequency of these effects, that may reach the family

of the men that use these services, having, as consequences, the infection of sexually transmitted diseases" (doctor, divorced, Ourense, 2011)

Critical Customer

The narrative typology of the critical or repentant customer is less abundant among the interviewed customers up to now. They hold a critical point of view, where the existence of gender inequality and injustices suffered by women in a patriarchal and capitalist environment are recognized. For them, this inequality aggravates in as much as we descend the socio-economical scale, the origin and legal status of women inside prostitution. This is the reason why the critical customer considers that women in prostitution are one of the most vulnerable social groups. According to them, women practice prostitution because of necessity, being, sometimes, victims of mafias that exist in the prostitution field:

> I: "What is your opinion about prostitution?" A: "It's a very complicated job, there is no legislation, it moves a lot of money, there are mafias involved and some of these women are enslaved and suffering from aggressions, extortions, blackmail..." (Insurance intermediary, 48 years old, married, Ourense, 2011).

The critical customer considers that there are a larger number of privileges intended for men and, besides, that there is greater control over the emotional and sexual life of women:

> I: What was the feeling you had from the women in there, engaged in prostitution? A:"Puffff!! At that moment I didn't think about it but I did after... What a shitty life!!! Basically they are enslaved there, I was impressed by some of them with marks on their faces, some scars and I did link it, for sure it was some trafficking, they must be treated worse than if they were dogs because some of them had scars" (carpenter, 28 years old, in a relationship, A Pobra do Caramiñal, 2011).

They assert that the reasons for the consumption of sex are not the ones that men usually talk about, but rather other reasons related to the power situation that they have in the prostitution context are hidden because in this

context they can relieve their daily frustrations through the humiliation and abuse of these women.

> "If you feel inferior, there you have an opportunity to feel superior and to do what you really want (...) We went upstairs, some guys and some girls and I didn't like it because I felt a role of superiority, that you want to be more, right? Abuse in itself, some superiority..." (Carpenter, 28 years old, in a relationship, A Pobra do Caramiñal, 2011).

The customers belonging to this typology develop a discourse where another motivation for men that purchase sex remarked: the increase of the commercialization of human relationships, which provokes the search for sex and affection in separate ways.

> "I imagine that this is something beyond pure and simple sex and that there would be people only interested in getting laid, but I do consider that another story is (...) looking for someone to do a blow-job for 15 euro, stop, finished... then people look for that, those five or ten minutes and the guy got relief" (salesman, 50 years old, married, Santiago de Compostela, 2012).
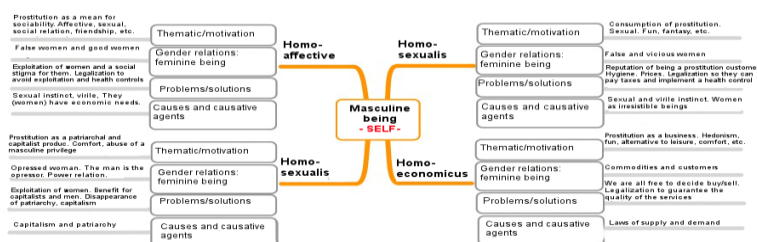

Figure 1. Diagram with the four typologies of prostitution customers

Final Reflections

In contemporary western societies, mass consumption of prostitution services by male population is one of the most significant indicators of a way of understanding, living and feeling sexuality, is a glimpse of the regulatory standard of affections and sexuality of our historic time.

Contrary to expectations, prostitution has acquired an unsuspected and unpredictable relevance in the context of sexual liberation that seemed to indicate a gradual disappearance. Prostitution has expanded and diversified, turning into an activity legitimized by the post-capitalist system itself, in a context of exploitation that is ever more standardized. From a tour around all existing scientific literature and around the empirical research, this article on prostitution in Spain has focused on the study of the prostitution customer, trying to understand why men, the main consumers of prostitution in Spain, pay for sex.

All specific discourses, through the different customer typologies, have answered these; why, how, when, how much, with whom, etc. is the purchase of sex produced with the aim of clarifying the reasons and causes of the high consumption of this service in Spain. In general, the four typologies share a culture prostitution and porn –erotic, besides use prostitution as an "initiation rite" towards the reaffirmation of a masculinity characterized by its narcissism and accumulative sexuality. Taking into account the results of other researches as well as the analysis of the discourses of interviewed customers, the existence of a masculine subculture in a porn-capitalist context can be deduced. This subculture fixes the most traditional patriarchal values and has as identity base male chauvinism and the exercise of a type of masculinity where frequent encounters with women through the "use of phallus" is decisive to self recognition and to show of in front of the group of peers (Gómez & Pérez, 2013).

The typologies obtained in this research have a high degree of coincidence with other similar studies done in this field. . In fact, we can find in all the typologies two groups of customers. The first group is composed of those men that seek in prostitution the satisfaction of needs outside the sex sphere, as domination, experiment risks or company, identifying in some of them the customers' subgroup "misogynist" and

"friend" (Legardinier & Bouamama, 2006 quoted in Gómez & Pérez, 2013). The second group of customers is formed by those men that demand sex as a category of leisure, as a leisure activity. Emerges as well in some the subgroup of young men, who use the consumerist logic in their discursive narrations (Gómez & Pérez, 2013). In the rest of researches is not carried out a typology of customers but some of these motivations emerge in the discourses of prostitution customers: to satisfy a need of domination (Marttila, 2003; Díez, 2012), socialize through prostitution (Allison, 1994; Pasini, 2000; López & Baringo, 2007) or increase the frequency and/or the variety of sexual encounters (Farley, Bindel & Golding, 2009).

Nevertheless, in our research we have gone further, conducting a characterization of customers in each typology. In the misogynist customer typology there is a prevalence of men with a lower education level that identify themselves with right-winged politics. At the other end, among men with the critical customer typology, are those who have a higher educational background and define themselves left wing oriented[10].

The analyzed individuals displayed their particular "emic" perspective about the reasons, causes and opinions related to prostitution consumption but it is from their "etic" perspective where the total dimension can be interpreted. Through the "frame analysis" theoretical perspective used, and from sociological meanings, an understanding of this social reality has been reached.

In the end, this scientific research identifies a set of extra-sexual causes related to payment for sex: the search for dominance, entertainment, affection, sociability, desire for consumption of new "commodities", etc. (Legardinier & Bouamama, 2006; Szil, 2004; Barahona, 2010; Barahona et al., 2003; López & Baringo, 2007; Meneses, 2010). In no case have we found discourses from lovers of pleasure for pleasure as a magnificent and transcendent act. The causes and motivations are different and from our point of view, are related to the building of a dominant and patriarchal masculinity that is still hegemonic in our society. As far as we are concerned, the purchase of sex (justified by the affirmation of the search for quality sex, fun and hedonistic pleasure, etc.) answers to a patriarchal mandate and to a strategy, not necessarily conscious, or to reinforcement of a masculinity created by an identity devoted to exhibition in front of a

group of peers, the "use of the phallus" and frequent sexual practices with women.

In our work hypothesis, it is considered that the purchase of prostitution services is directly related to contemporary masculinities, built in relation to compulsive sexual practices and the need to have male witnesses in order to reinforce their masculinity in public. The dominant masculine identity is focused on a narcissistic "phallocentrism" that shifts the traditional role (father, protector and supplier) and is built in relation to "other" men. This type of masculinity is sheltered, reproduced and legitimated in spaces of prostitution. The elements where this dimension is fostered are collective consumption, the pact of silence shared by the customers and groups of friends (what happens inside the club should not transcend) and the presence/use of the phallus. These elements create an impeccable code shared by the virilized subjects, the "prostitution subculture" that can be considered as another exponent of human rights violations and gender violence.

The pernicious and adverse effects of the excess commercialization and objectification of human beings would be rejected in other identity models where other ways of masculinity are reinforced. These models are based on integral personal development, just as much as on the physical, mental and social activity of men, fostering a pleasant and healthy sexual life, developed within the framework of respectful, equal, fair and caring social relationships among men and between men and women.

This paper tries to open reflection on the reasons of massive consumption of prostitution as indicator of a sexual hegemonic culture with enormous lacks in affective and educational matters and the contrast that exists between the banal and insensitive attitude that the customers adopt opposite to the dramatic quality of the situation of women in prostitution. Prostitution turns out to be a re-foundation ritual of patriarchy though the choice of a propitiatory victim: the woman.

From our point of view, in a world where globalization is constantly increasing, it is necessary to reflect on human sexuality. There are other forms of interpreting affection, gender and sexuality in order to be able to develop an alternative "epistemology" that will help to build a fairer and more equitable world.

Notes

[1] Assuming the current cultural meanings of prostitution in our society, we should consider the "customer" as the main actor that executes the main and primary responsibility for the existence and permanence of the phenomenon and, as a result, the necessity of designating him as "prostitutor" (prostitution agent). However, in this text we will use the "market" meaning of "customer", as it is the standard.

[2] This data places the sex industry as the third most profitable industry in the world, after arms trafficking and drugs trafficking.

[3] From October 2014, the INE, Instituto Nacional de Estadística [Spanish Statistical Office], will include the impact of this industry in the informal economy in Spain. There is certain uncertainty as to how the impact of prostitution and drugs will be calculated on the economy, because there are no official data.

[5] Garafalo also carried out research on prostitution customers in Europe, where he asserted that the relations established between customers and prostitutes are based on power, gender, class and race (unpublished investigation quoted in Gimeno, 2012).

[6] This paper is available at szil.info/es/system/files/document/101-hombres-pornografia-prostitucion.pdf

[7] Within the NGO, we have identified a triangle structure that differentiates three discursive typologies. The first one is consisted of abolitionists, those that consider that prostitution is another expression of gender violence. The second one consists of the technicians, women that carry out welfare actions with women on prostitution; they do not comment or possess a meta-narrative in order to understand and interpret the phenomenon of prostitution; they are aware of the existence of networks that exploit women but do not develop a positioning regarding this matter. The third one consists of the pro-legalization group, that consider prostitution as a job, as decent as any other job; their discourse is placed in the fight against the stigmatization and margination of women in prostitution and their customers, against sex trafficking, exploitation and abuse within the rights framework of every worker.

[8] Between brackets is the number of individuals.

[9] Raewyn Connell defines masculinity as a position in gender relations; and as a practice through which men and women occupy that gender position. In order to describe the process of building this masculinity, Connell focused his analysis on the relationships among men, more than man-woman relationships.

[10] As this is a structural sample and not proportional we can not affirm, in a restricted sense, that exists a formative profile in each of the customers' typologies. In fact, within the category of "friend customer" we have found men belonging to every formative level.

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Male Rape Myths: Understanding and Explaining Social Attitudes Surrounding Male Rape

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Male Rape Myths: Understanding and Explaining Social Attitudes Surrounding Male Rape

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Abstract

This paper provides a critical review of the literature surrounding male rape, aimed at exploring how male rape myths shape society's responses and attitudes to male victims of rape and integrates the literature from a theory driven perspective. In doing so, this theoretical paper reveals information relating to the barriers to recognition of male rape. These barriers are male rape myths that prevent male rape victims from coming forward and seeking the support that they merit. There has been a lack of research on male rape myths, although some research has documented such myths to be present in practice. These myths could be harmful because they may influence societies' opinions of male rape victims, so this could affect the treatment and responses toward such victims. To understand and explain such myths so some attempt can be made at eradicating them, this paper will explore common male rape myths that seem to be prevalent in Western society. This paper will examine male rape myths in the areas of media, incarcerated settings, and the wider community, focusing on England and Wales, UK. This is important to do to recognise which myths are harmful and are facilitating the under-reporting of male rape. This paper will help raise awareness of male rape myths and not only attempt to tackle them, but also encourage male rape victims to come forward to report and seek the help that they merit. It will also address the gaps in the literature and areas ripe for research, so further empirical research can be conducted on male rape, highlighting ideas for future research and providing guidance in areas most needed in research on male rape.

Keywords: male rape myths, male rape, gender, masculinity, sexuality

Mitos de la Violación Masculina: Entender y Explicar las Actitudes Sociales alrededor de la Violación Masculina

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Resumen

Este trabajo ofrece una revisión crítica de la literatura sobre la violación masculina, dirigido a explorar cómo las respuestas de la sociedad alrededor de los mitos de la violación masculina forman actitudes en los hombres que han sido víctimas. De este modo, este trabajo teórico revela datos sobre las existentes barreras al reconocimiento de la violación masculina. Estas barreras son mitos que impiden que las víctimas puedan buscar el apoyo que merecen. En este sentido, ha habido una falta de investigación sobre dichos mitos, aunque algunas investigaciones los han documentado en la práctica. Estos mitos pueden ser perjudiciales porque pueden influir en las opiniones de las víctimas de violaciones masculinas y en la sociedad, así que esto podría afectar el tratamiento y las respuestas a dar a estas víctimas. Para entender y explicar tales mitos que permita su erradicación, este trabajo explora los más frecuentes en la sociedad occidental. De modo que se examinarán mitos de violación masculina en los medios de comunicación y en la comunidad en general, centrandonos en Inglaterra y Gales (Reino Unido). Este análisis es importante para demostrar que los mitos son perjudiciales y están facilitando la infradeclaración de la violación masculina. Así, este artículo ayudará a aumentar la conciencia sobre dichos mitos y no sólo tratar de hacer frente a ellos, sino también alentar a las víctimas y buscar la ayuda que merecen. También se abordarán las lagunas en la literatura, por lo que una mayor investigación empírica puede desvelar ideas para futuras investigaciones y proporcionar orientación en este ámbito.

Palabras clave: mitos de violación masculina, violación masculina, género, masculinidad, sexualidad

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While men are more likely to be the offenders of sexual violence and women the victims, writers are not encapsulating the full range of sexual violence by conceptualising men as respectively offenders and women as victims. This, it could be argued, only bolsters rape myths rather than attempting to eradicate them. It is important to eradicate both male and female rape myths because the victims will neither get the treatment nor help that they merit. Male rape myths may not only silence male victims of rape, but also could exacerbate their experience of victimhood, resulting in societies not understanding the full depth of sexual violence since the victims may be reluctant to report their crime. Therefore, it is important to explore male rape myths in this paper, so as to understand their development and current manifestations in Western society. By doing so, one can then outline possible means for tackling male rape myths. Approximately 3 to 8% of British men report having suffered an adulthood incident of sexual assault in their lifetime (Elliott, Mok & Briere, 2004). Weiss (2010) found that, whilst 30% of female rape victims reported their rape to the police, only 15% of male rape victims reported their rape to the police. These figures, however, are likely to be underestimates of the scale of the issue of male rape, considering that many male rape victims are frequently reluctant to report their crime (Javaid, 2014a, 2014b, 2014c). This warrants research on male rape, in order to not only understand and explain the phenomenon using social theory, but also to encourage male rape victims to come forward and report, whilst raising awareness of male rape. To do this, it is important to shed some light on what male rape and male rape myths are.

This paper focuses on male victims of rape and sexual violence in England and Wales, UK. The Sexual Offences Act 2003 (UK Government, 2003) in England and Wales strengthened and modernised the law on sexual offences, although there are some weakness of the Act (see Javaid, 2014d for a discussion of the weaknesses surrounding this Act). This Act extends the definition of rape to include the penetration by a penis of the vagina, anus, or mouth of another person. Moreover, sexual violence is any unwanted sexual act or activity. For example, male sexual assault is a form of sexual violence. Male sexual assault is an act of psychological, physical, and emotional violation in the form of a sexual act, which is inflicted on a man without his consent. It can include manipulating or forcing a man to

participate in any sexual act, such as the offender intentionally touching the victim in a sexual way, apart from penetration of the mouth or anus (however slight) with the penis since this would be rape. These definitions form the conceptual basis for this paper in order then to be able to critically explore male rape myths.

Male rape myths are stereotyped, prejudicial, and false beliefs about rape, offenders and victims of rape, keeping male rape hidden. Throughout this paper, I argue that the cause of the stereotypes and male rape myths is the gender role socialisation, and, as a result, the social construction of masculinity that socialises men into becoming sexually dominant, strong, violent, and invulnerable. This socialisation process, as such, produces what is known as the 'myth of male invulnerability' (Donnelly & Kenyon, 1996, p. 448) that precludes societies, incorporating men, from accepting the fact that men can experience all forms of sexual violence, including rape. Groth and Burgess (1980), McMullen (1990), and Isley and Gehrenbeck-Shim (1997) argue that the taboo and stigma of male rape keep it under-researched and hidden. It may be argued that this taboo and stigma are consequential of stereotypes and male rape myths ingrained within societies pertaining to the causes, impact, and nature of male rape. It must, therefore, be recognised that research on male rape is needed. This paper will draw attention to the many stereotypes and male rape myths, backed up by various research studies. This paper will consider the following common male rape myths/cultural myths and stereotypes identified in various work: (1) men cannot be raped; (2) only gay men are victims and/or offenders of male rape; (3) 'real' men can defend themselves against rape; (4) men are not affected by rape; (5) gay and bisexual men deserve to be raped since they are deviant and immoral; (6) male rape only occurs in prisons; and (7) if a victim physically responds to rape, he must have wanted it.

This paper will focus on adult male rape victims as opposed to male children who are victims of rape. Both are certainly worthy of research. Though research on male rape is vital, the conception of male rape has been largely "overlooked, dismissed, or ignored" (Ratner et al., 2003, p. 73) and is an understudied topic. The marginalisation and invisibility of male rape is largely due to male rape myths being perpetuated (Kassing, Beesley, & Frey, 2005). This paper aims to elucidate how male rape myths influence societies' attitudes in respect of male victims of rape and sexual violence.

Through an investigation of the attitudes, this paper will present an important insight into how social and cultural perceptions shape the responses to male rape. Thus, this paper will provide an improved understanding of male rape and will supply knowledge to help support male rape victims all around the world, informing and encouraging them to engage with their respective criminal justice system. Moreover, it will help increase awareness that will help to eliminate negative perceptions of male rape that may be present in many countries, which may not just be limited to England and Wales, UK. This paper will attempt to tackle the gender expectations of men that are possibly ingrained in all societies; this, again, may encourage male rape victims to come forward to report, and possibly validate their experience of being raped. In short, this paper aims to critically review studies relating to male rape, and important results and omissions will be highlighted.

This paper extends the existing literature on male rape, as it specifically explores male rape myths in different settings, bringing studies on rape myths together from disparate disciplines is not only original, but also enlightening, permitting deeper insights into the ways in which male rape myths influence the reporting, recording and service delivery pertaining to male rape. This process helps to illuminate the significant attitudes that underpin the responses to male rape victims. Research that is available on male rape rests either on analysed quantitative data sets on male rape victims' experiences or on case outcomes, or interviews directly with male rape victims. Though a wealth of research highlights victims' experiences of being revictimised by the legal and criminal justice systems, by exploring male rape myths, I am able to discover how they impact not only male rape victims, but also the wider community. I chose not to directly interview male rape victims because getting access to them was extremely difficult, and the male rape literature implies that such victims rarely disclose their rape to researchers because they hold feelings of self-blame, trepidation, and shame. Therefore, this paper is a conceptual and theoretical analysis, using the theoretical frameworks of Butler and Connell and, to a lesser extent, feminist research, to help explain and understand the conception of male rape and male rape myths.

It is important to note that some empirical studies on male rape premise themselves on low sample sizes, which further limits the reliability of

anything we know about the topic of male rape. Therefore, caution is required when considering the different studies used in this paper. In order to encourage future research to adopt large sample sizes and to research areas relating to male rape that have been largely neglected, this paper will end by highlighting ideas for future research and it will provide guidance in areas most needed in research on male rape. It is also important to note that, in general, many studies on male rape are US-based, which urgently calls out for in-depth research to be conducted within the UK since there may be a dearth of information available for male rape victims who are situated in England and Wales, UK. Nonetheless, this paper will be structured around different contexts to elucidate which male rape myths are likely to occur in particular contexts.

Rape in Institutions and Secondary Victimisation

It is important to contextualise the issue of male rape to give an understanding of such a phenomenon. However, very little is known about the nature, incidence and prevalence of male rape in UK prisons. Therefore, this section will include the majority of studies emanating from the USA. Nonetheless, USA research pertaining to male rape in prisons can be utilised to give some indication of the nature of rape within prisons.

In the 1970s, male rape was first seen as a problem in incarcerated populations, and it was in prisons that male rape first gained recognition (Graham, 2006). Male rape was seen as something that neither required research nor public interest because it was considered as a minority issue (Abdullah-Khan, 2008). Therefore, it has been argued that male rape in prisons remained hidden until relatively recently. Throughout the world, the places with the largest number of male rape are prisons (Scarce, 1997). However, an absence of robust empirical evidence means that such conclusions remain anecdotal. It is difficult to gain empirical evidence in prisons because of the reluctance of men to report being raped (Rideau & Sinclair, 1982), and the difficulties of carrying out research on rape in prisons within conservative institutional establishments (King, 1992). Still, the widely held misconception in UK society that male rape happens only in prisons flourishes, but this misconception is problematic because it ignores male rape occurring in the community; non-institutionalised rape

has been traditionally seen as consensual homosexual activity (Javaid, 2015a). Therefore, state and voluntary agencies may neglect dealing with male rape happening outside of prisons. Similarly, this may also be the case in prisons as is suggested in the following quote:

> [M]ale rape within prisons can be viewed as an extension of powers forcibly taken by the aggressors to dominate the victims both physically and sexually. The rape of inmates is not regarded sympathetically, due to the common belief that a 'man' cannot be forced to engage in anything against his will (Abdullah-Khan, 2008, p. 17).

This assertion suggests that prison officials may overlook the issue of male rape in prisons because it is possible that they consider that 'men cannot be raped'. However, Abdullah-Khan does not consider alternative explanations. For instance, there could be a general indifference to the negative experiences of prisoners who are there to be punished as criminals; e.g., 'they get what they deserve when raped in prisons' because of the crimes they committed to be incarcerated, although this remains speculative but warrants further research. Moreover, it is found that prison officials also see that any sexual intimacy in prisons is purely of a homosexual nature (Lockwood, 1980). In addition, it has been argued that victim-blaming views are instilled in prison officials, in that they blame prisoners who have been raped for being 'weak' and, thereby, inviting the rape and this justifies exploitation in the eyes of prison officials (Scacco, 1982). Regardless of efforts by prison officials to conceal the issue of male rape (ibid.), male rape research continually refutes the claim that male rape is non-existent. This is illustrated in the early work of Lockwood (1980) and Scacco (1982), who both demonstrate the occurrence of male rape in US prisons and document that it is common. The increasing prevalence of male rape in prisons is further emphasised:

> The opportunity to carry out rape within prisons has … increased with the erosion of the nineteenth-century ideology of prisoners needing strict supervision to avoid corrupting one another. This lack of tight control due to the normalisation of prison life since the 1960s, combined with *financial cutbacks* (resulting in staff shortages) and

overcrowding within prisons, means that prisoners have more freedom of movement and, hence, are more able to engage in illegal activities (Abdullah-Khan, 2008, p. 17. Emphasis added).

The conception of financial cutbacks can also be applied to state and voluntary agencies because, currently, there are financial cutbacks in such agencies, resulting in staff shortages and a lack of resources in England and Wales. Therefore, this may reflect the treatment and responses that male rape victims get in the community. It is important to conduct empirical research on the prevalence of these issues. Such drawbacks have also resulted in research examining male rape in the UK to be based on small-scale samples due to the limited number of known cases and have mainly been clinically based. Thus, this may be due to the lack of resources and finance put in place for male rape victims in the community to come forward and disclose their crime. This is similar to the position of prisoners who have been raped, in that they are also reluctant to come forward to report sexual assault and rape, which means that the extent of these crimes are likely to be underestimated (Rideau & Sinclair, 1982).

There is evidence to suggest that male rape also happens in the army. Though military establishments may not be as restricting as prisons, the state of being confined may make male rape less easy to evade.

Recent research has found that male veterans who were in the military and suffered sexual assault were met with poor treatment when they sought help from state and voluntary agencies (Mulkey, 2004). The author found that the participants in their study suffered what was defined as 'secondary victimisation', which refers to the re-traumatisation of the sexual assault, abuse or rape victim. It is an indirect result of assault that happens via the responses of institutions and individuals to the victim. The types of secondary victimisation are victim blaming, inappropriate language or conduct by the police, medical professionals and by other organisations that have access to the victim after their experience of crime. This conception of secondary victimisation is also evident in cases of female rape; it was found that many female rape victims feel as if the experience of seeking help from mental, medical, and legal health systems only exacerbates the trauma (Campbell et al., 1999). This study explored the link between post-traumatic stress symptoms (PTSS) and secondary victimisation. Analyses concerning rape victims' psychological well-being and social system

contact showed that the group most at risk for high PTSS levels post-rape were female victims of non-stranger rape, who had received minimal assistance from the medical or legal system and had suffered victim-blaming attitudes from system personnel.

It was found that instances of male rape are minimised in the military (Belkin, 2008). This was in fear that, if people discovered that male rape, particularly if it is seen as a gay issue, happens and that even military men who are trained can become victims, it could diminish the military's reputation as an establishment comprising of tough, masculine men (ibid.). Belkin (2008) argues that the military places blame on gay men for male rape occurring, suggesting that 'male rape is a gay issue', and it allows male rape to carry on without punishing the perpetrators. Therefore, homophobia within the army is problematical, which not only leads to uncertainty between the connection of male rape and homosexuality, but also dissuades reporting of same-sex rape, enabling perpetrators to avoid being punished, allowing them to carry on raping other men who are seen as 'inferior' (Scarce, 1997).

Earlier work found that sexual assault and rape were more dominant in the army than any other non-institutional setting. This is evidenced in the work of Goyer and Eddleman (1984), who researched a psychiatric outpatient clinic serving a population of Marine Corporal and Navy men within the USA. The authors conclude that these men experienced similar trauma to other victims of male rape (sexual difficulties, mood disturbances, and problems in relationships with peers) consequential of the attacks. In this research, it was also established that analogous themes to rape in prisons were present, such as humiliation, submission to sexual advances because of fear of actual physical violence, and gang rape.

Given the above-mentioned anecdotal work and research studies, it can be seen that male rape is apparent in prisons and military establishments. There is no research available on the prevalence and incidence of male rape in UK prisons and military establishments—this calls out for in-depth research to be conduced to explore male rape in such UK institutions. Of course, research can only take place in these institutions if/when the authorities in charge of these confess that male rape occurs in these settings and give permission for research to be executed. It is also important that the male rape myth that 'male rape happens only in prison' is eradicated

because male rape occurring in the community may be overlooked. That said, it is vital to critically examine other male rape myths occurring in the community because they will ultimately influence the way state and voluntary agencies, regardless of their own professionalism, respond to and handle male rape victims (Javaid, 2015b).

Common Male Rape Myths in the Wider Community

This section highlights common male rape myths/cultural myths and stereotypes identified in various work. These stereotypes of male rape and male rape myths proliferate in societies (Hodge & Canter, 1998), which are exacerbated by the visible tendency to hypothesise men's sexual 'experience' in comparison to women's, in that numerous male rape research compares male rape with female rape in terms of severity (Cohen, 2014). This can be seen in various male rape research (e.g., McMullen, 1990; Stermac et al., 1996; Scarce, 1997; Gregory & Lees, 1999). These research studies neither specifically develop nor apply theory while unchallenging the conventional frame of male rape—either within the sphere of feminism or sexual violence. It could be argued that this lack of theory in prior research leaves the stereotypes of male rape and male rape myths unchallenged. However, McMullen (1990) does begin to challenge male rape myths, but it is not empirically supported. For example, McMullen (1990, p. 132) suggests, "The sexual identity … of the vast majority of male rapists is heterosexual," therefore, challenging the male rape myth that 'male rape is solely a gay issue' whereby the male rape offenders and victims are both gay. However, McMullen's argument is purely anecdotal, as he has no empirical data to support his theory; therefore, he can be accused of being biased when formulating his argument. McMullen draws his conclusions from clinical observations, not empirical work, and disregards case examples from his observations to support his arguments. Research by Hodge and Canter (1998, p. 231), which was empirically based, found the following in their research pertaining to male rape offenders:

> [F]orty-five percent (30) of the offenders in the self-report sample were believed to be heterosexual, and most offenders in the police

sample were thought to be either bisexual (43%, 10) or homosexual (33%, 8) with only 22% (5) labelled as heterosexual.

The dissimilar findings from these two data sources (i.e., the self-report sample and police sample), pertaining to the sexual orientation of offenders, demonstrate the difficulties in generalising since they show different results. The dissimilarities may be because of the police being reticent to categorise offenders as heterosexual or because of the lack of data required to develop such categorisations. Other work has found that 10 male rape victims were gay; 8 were heterosexual; and 4 were bisexual (Mezey & King, 1989). In this study, however, the researchers placed advertisements in the gay press for victims to come forward, which may have biased their sample. Mezey and King (1989) do indicate that this may have biased their results. Nevertheless, the 'sexual orientation' variable is vital to understanding male rape, as it helps to challenge the male rape myth that 'male rape is solely a gay problem'; for example, only gay men rape other gay men or that only gay men get raped. However, all men have the potential to rape or be raped, not just gay men (Lees, 1997). For example, Stermac et al. (1996) found that heterosexual male rape victims are more likely to experience 'stranger rape,' while gay male rape victims are more likely to experience 'date rape.' 'Stranger rape' typically refers to a stranger raping a victim, a victim who had no knowledge about the offender prior to the attack. 'Date rape' (also known as 'acquaintance rape') is a type of rape perpetrated by someone known to the victim. Arguably, focusing on heterosexual male rape victims relatively neglects gay male rape victims experiencing 'date rape' in the discourse of male rape, which reinforces a myopic conception of male rape analogous to female rape victims experiencing 'stranger rape.' Other research evidence also supports that heterosexual men can be raped:

> The survey found, similar to existing reports on adult male rape, that most of the victims seeking therapeutic help were both heterosexual and white. Reports by victims further verify, as Groth and Burgess (1980) have suggested, that men are more likely to be assaulted by male, white, heterosexual offenders (Isley & Gehrenbeck-Shim, 1997, p. 162).

It is vital to challenge unhelpful and deleterious male rape myths in order to accurately understand male rape offenders and victims. The studies mentioned above, though, neglect acknowledging the theoretical issues that tie in with basic comprehensions regarding sexual orientation. Therefore, the contexts wherein the studies decide which male rape victims are what sexual orientation are frequently ambiguous. The studies also do not consider that sociologists claim that sexual orientation is fluid and open to change, so it is never fixed. However, this is a highly contentious area especially when studies on this issue are empirically flawed. The studies mentioned above (for example, Hodge & Canter, 1998) are inconsistent especially when the sexual orientation of offenders itself is guessed, as it is unknown within the studies or to the male rape victims. In addition, it is quite possible that an offender may identify himself as being a heterosexual man but will carry out the act of male rape in order to execute power and control, not for sexual purposes (Groth & Burgess, 1980). However, their sample was based on convicted sex perpetrators undertaking examination at a clinic for sexually dangerous people, so they will show considerably dissimilar characteristics that are ungeneralisable to perpetrators recognised via other means and environments.

Likewise, the above-mentioned studies used different data sources and obtained different results, so it is problematic to generalise the sexual orientation of both the offenders and victims of male rape, especially when the data is reliant upon the participants that come forward to report, are prosecuted, or are seeking treatment. The studies are all based on certain sample groups, most of which are small scale. Nonetheless, the studies do give a valid understanding of male rape while challenging the male rape myth that 'male rape is solely a gay problem'.

It is argued that male rape myths are prevalent among the general public as well as counsellors, medical professionals, and law enforcement (Anderson & Quinn, 2009). Chapeau et al. (2008) found that participants equally endorsed male rape myths and female rape myths and that there was a strong, positive relationship between participants' endorsement of these two types of myths. That is, people do not believe male rape myths more or less than female rape myths, and people who believe one type of myth are likely to believe the other. It is clear, then, that there is some overlap of rape myth acceptance regarding male and female rape. I argue that male and

female rape myths are prevalent due to gender expectations and stereotypes and social norms pertaining to sexual orientation and masculinity. These norms stipulate that men are expected to achieve the heterosexual masculine ideal (i.e., hegemonic masculinity, which refers to the dominant social position of men, and the subordinate social position of women and other subordinate masculinities, such as gay masculinity) and have certain traits, such as independence, toughness, power, aggressiveness, control and dominance (Connell, 2005).

However, traits such as emotionality, submissiveness, homosexuality, and compliance are not in agreement with social norms pertaining to masculinity (Javaid, 2015b). Socially constructed ideas of masculinity are not consistent with construction of the rape victim as weak, feminine, and defenseless (Javaid, 2014a). Therefore, based on socially constructed definitions of masculinity, 'real men' cannot be rape victims (Lees, 1997). This is consistent with research findings that male rape victims are blamed for their rape (Walker et al., 2005). In addition, sexual orientation is vital to the conception of male rape considering that constructions of masculinity are very closely linked to heterosexuality. Due to such close linkages, male rape victims are frequently thought of as gay and less deserving of help and sympathy (Graham, 2006). This concurs with research that argues that gay male rape victims are blamed more than heterosexual male rape victims (Stermac et al. 1996), and that homophobia is a significant predictor of male rape myth acceptance (Kassing et al., 2005). On balance, it can be argued that male rape myths are perpetuated by a substantial segment of the population and are linked to social norms regarding sexuality and masculinity. Future empirical research should explore male and female rape myth acceptance in different contexts, such as in state and voluntary agencies, prisons, colleges, schools, universities, and the media. This is important to do, otherwise, such myths may continue to minimise and conceal both male and female rape, which can have harmful ramifications for all rape victims, regardless of gender.

It is my argument that male rape stems from the same patriarchal structure as female rape and is related to different forms of oppression, such as heterosexism and sexism. Particularly, under a social system of patriarchy, masculine heterosexism and hegemony are valued ideals and these are inconsistent with men's experiences of rape. In certain areas (for

example, sports and religion), there is little or no empirical research on male rape or the various male rape myths, such as 'male rape victims will always fight back.'

However, some male rape victims will submit or freeze so as to reduce physical damage (Carpenter, 2009). Scarce (1997) postulates that a 'real man' is someone who is a physically powerful heterosexual male guardian, who is able to look after not just himself, but also violently protects his own safety and that of others. However, this definition is refuted within research; for example, Hodge and Canter (1998) found that in 119 incidents of male rape, freezing was the victims' response in 60% of bisexual, heterosexual and gay men. Carpenter (2009) adds that the intense fear of death forces male rape victims to remain cooperative when being raped, promoting their inability to fight back. Analogously, Gregory and Lees (1999) found that, in their sample, 60% of male rape victims gave no resistance to their attackers; and that the threat of violence was usually sufficient to gain compliance from the victims. In another study, it was found that most of the male rape victims in the sample responded to their rape with either submission, frozen fear, or helplessness, though 27% stated they resisted at some point during the attack (Walker et al., 2005). The issue of focusing on the physical violence aspect of a male rape incident is that it disregards those victims who have a lack of, or none physical damage. It is evident that the extent to which a male rape victim is seen to have attempted to physically resist a rape situation influences the opinions made towards him (Lees, 1997). This leads one to argue that a scarcity of physical violence in male rape is explicitly or implicitly associated with consent (Graham, 2006), as the media tend to reinforce (Cohen, 2014).

Representations of Male Rape in the Media

Male rape [is] framed as a secretive topic that not even the media can contend with accurately … when male rape is referenced in the media, it is not representative of the experiences that survivors [male rape victims] are challenged with. This can further reinforce an idea that rape is about female victims … women are portrayed as sexual objects for men, whilst men are denied being sexual objects for other men (Pitfield, 2013, p. 81).

This part of the paper focuses on the depiction of male rape in the media. It is important to critically discuss because research, which will be examined in this section, has found male rape myths/cultural myths concerning male rape to be present in the media. In turn, this may influence policy makers, societies, state and voluntary agencies' responses and attitudes toward male rape victims. Cohen (2014) asserts that the media has credence, credibility, and authority; so it has the power to legitimise knowledge of the social world while inventing it or simplifying it. She goes on to argue that the media is the main source of learning, and, through the socialisation process, it consorts people to becoming accustomed to 'normal' rituals. Therefore, it may be safe to claim that the media has the power to influence societies' responses to, and attitudes toward male rape.

Although media depictions of male rape are important, it lacks research within the realm of social science. General texts on media depictions of sexual violence have a dearth of information on male rape, but disregarding male rape may be deleterious because male rape myths may stay unchallenged in the media. Research that includes media representations of male rape often reinforces male rape myths, such as 'male rape is a homosexual issue.' For instance, Wlodarz (2001) argues that it is always homosexual men who are blamed in male rape movie story lines. He scrutinised movies in the 1990s that convey male rape, and concluded that male rape is intrinsically 'deviant' and 'abnormal', arguing that the narratives in these story lines are desexualised and unerotic. It could be argued that, by conveying the character's sexual orientation, however, sexualises the nature of male rape.

Again, the male rape myth that 'male rape is a homosexual issue' is highlighted in more recent research. Demirkan-Martin (2009) perpetuates male rape as solely a homosexual issue and believes that male rape is either incited by sexual deviance, sexualised aggression, or sexual lust/desire, instead of male rape being totally desexualised. This suggests that male rape does not affect heterosexual men and is essentially a sexual act, whereby the offender is unable to control his aggressive and sexual impulses. Lees (1997) argues that male rape is usually committed by heterosexual men against other men and is not motivated by sexual gratification but, like female rape, by dominance, power and the enhancement of masculinity. It could be problematic if studies wrongly

inform state and voluntary agencies because they could possibly perpetuate and, perhaps, reinforce male rape myths.

Male rape myths, suggested by some authors, are very much commonly widespread throughout the media and the media continue to express such myths. For instance, McMullen (1990) argues that the media undoubtedly reinforce these myths, especially the press. He goes on to comment that there are many reports pertaining to male on male rape, in which the physicality of male rape victims is discussed in a way that suggests a shock that such a physical, masculine, capable individual ought to enable himself to be sexually abused and overpowered by another man. This may serve to reinforce gender expectations, and patriarchal and heterosexual norms, while emphasising the male rape myth that 'men cannot be raped by other men.' Jewkes (2015) argues that media texts can have double meanings, in that they are open to many interpretations. This is because, she argues, the audience has unique identities and characteristics that allow them to have different views on the subject matter at hand. This implies that not everyone will subscribe to male rape myths, but some will critically challenge them. The problem with Jewkes' argument, though, is that it is too simplified because the effects of media do not have to be inevitable and causal, as there may be other contributing factors involved.

If we consider the work of Judith Butler (1993), it can help one to understand the above male rape myth that 'men cannot be raped'. Butler theorises that heterosexuality creates sexual differences or it determines one's gender, so gendered subjectivities and heterosexual affiliations are comprehended with regards to *penetrating*. That is, heterosexuality is rooted in an understanding of whether bodies penetrate or are penetrated. This links into her discussion on representations through generations, though more specifically, the place of generation and, as generation of form is linked intrinsically with the feminine (able to give birth and reproduce), the masculine is perceived as penetrating or 'entering that place'. This notion flows through generations. Butler's analysis summarises that the feminine is always the penetrated and the masculine is always *impenetrable*.

It seems this creates and is reconfirming the gender expectations through cycles of generations, while completely disregarding the idea that men can be raped, which supports and perpetuates the male rape myth that 'men

cannot be raped'. In short, *by Butler's definition*, the female body is the penetrated by receiving penetration; and the male body, again, by her definition, is the penetrator, not penetrated. From Butler's viewpoint, it can be seen that, for societies wherein heterosexual orientation is the norm, a male body being penetrated would be more problematical to understand than penetrating the actual anus since it is an opening that both women and men inherently possess. It can also be concluded from Butler's ideology that penetrating the male body is more 'disgusting' than penetrating the female body, as the conceptualisation of the male body directly challenges the act of male rape, because within generations, men are inevitably seen as 'impenetrable'. The female body being penetrated is less 'disgusting', as societies see this as the norm. Therefore, classifying anal penetration of men as 'unnatural' and 'abnormal' may question the credibility of male rape victims. The autonomy or integrity of the male body might be classed as less deserving of attention or protection by state and voluntary agencies. Although unjustifiable, Butler's ideology offers an understanding as to why societal psyches frown upon male rape and perpetuate the male rape myth that 'men cannot be raped.'

Meanwhile, research shows that the media socially construct knowledge, so it may possibly distort the knowledge in ways that are misleading (Kern et al., 2003). For instance, Abdullah-Khan (2008) criticised articles for their stereotypical viewpoints, having conducted content analysis of UK newspaper coverage of male rape between 1989 and 2002, because approximately 50% of the 413 articles examined depicted male rape victims as liars, male rape as consensual sex, and male rape as solely a gay issue. As a result, she argues, the newspaper reports on male rape convey heterosexuality as culturally 'normal' while presenting homosexuality as 'abnormal' through the use of stereotypes, inviting condemnation. In addition, most media coverage on male rape cases is given to the concept of stranger rape, whereby the coverage demonstrates that the typical rapist is the serial or the sex crazy stranger rapist who lurks in dark alleys (Jamel, 2014). A serial rapist is a person who forces a series of victims into unwanted sexual activity. Similar to a serial killer, the rapist will have a 'cooling-off period' in-between crimes.

However, research evidence regarding male rape has shown that acquaintance rape and date rape, which are both types of rape that involve

people who are familiar with or know each other, are more common than stranger rape (Stermac et al., 1996; Isely & Gehrenbeck-Shim, 1997; Walker et al., 2005). It could be argued that such erroneous depictions may keep society misinformed, conveying an extremely distorted picture of the incidence, prevalence, and nature of male rape. This could be deleterious for how state and voluntary agencies handle male rape victims because such agencies may uncritically and simplistically believe the media when it is portraying stereotypes and male rape myths.

> [I]t is often difficult to disentangle how news frames shape the social construction of reality from the "actual" reality of events. It is like being surrounded by an endless hall of mirrors (Kern et al., 2003: 282).

The conception of the media distorting knowledge pertaining to sexual violence is evidenced in Cohen (2014), in which she found articles on rape that are routinely and invariably gendered, and this is made both implicit and explicit. In Cohen's research, the gendering of rape was found in images, content, and context in the articles examined, whereby women were viewed as victims; men, as offenders. In doing so, the male rape victim is conveyed as aberrant, relegated, and marginalised within specialist archive of news; and even voluntary agencies' workers and the police cited in the media failed to provide due attention to male rape victims (ibid.). It can be argued that such portrayal supports the male rape myth that "male rape is not 'real' rape." If state and voluntary agencies consider such misrepresentations, it could ultimately have an impact on their duties when dealing with male rape victims. In criticism, the writers' media reports may be based on low statistical frequency of male rape in police statistics or on the lack of known cases of male rape, which in turn is gendering the media reports, in spite of neither justifying nor excusing the gendering of rape. To prevent the gendering of rape, the media should use gender-neutral terms without gendered pictures or pronouns. Such neutrality, therefore, will include both male and female rape in the media discussions, giving a chance for all rape victims to seek validation for their experience.

From the evidence presented herein, it seems that the media does not consider male rape victims to be real victims, promoting the male rape myth that 'male rape is not a serious issue', which may discourage

reporting from male rape victims. Whilst media coverage on male rape is increasing and is better than silencing the problem of it, it seems that such coverage is distorting this phenomenon. The media choosing not to dispel male rape myths is pernicious to the lives of male rape victims, and such myths may negatively influence policy makers, societies, state and voluntary agencies' responses and attitudes toward male rape victims.

Conclusion

This paper focused on male victims of rape and sexual violence in England and Wales, UK. This paper critically explored how institutions and societies perpetuate male rape myths, and how the institutional presence of these rape myths is related to individuals' rape-related attitudes alongside social norms regarding gender expectations. The aim of this paper was to critically explore the literature on male rape myths with regards to their prevalence, development, and where they stem from. I particularly focused on how male rape myths are perpetuated and present in the institutions of media, institutional settings, such as the military and prisons, and the wider community. This paper argues that both male and female rape myths are deeply rooted in stereotyped gender and social roles alongside different forms of oppression, such as heterosexism, sexism, and homophobia.

In addition, combining the above theoretical frameworks enables one to arrive at a better understanding of the rape of men and the subsequent responses to this phenomenon. This paper critically explored and applied the theoretical frameworks of masculinity and sexuality to the subject of male rape. I explored these theoretical frameworks in this paper to understand and explain male rape. The discussions in this paper attempted to understand gender as a social construction. This paper demonstrated that gender is used to express behavior learned through the socialisation process, not biologically determined, and negotiates through socio-structural settings. This is where male rape myths emanate from. It was argued in this paper that male rape may be disregarded due to the powerful gender expectations and stereotypes wherein women and men are socialised. For example, it was argued that traditionally men have been expected to be dominant, powerful and strong, so this expectation may disallow them to be male rape victims; arguably, male rape essentially

challenges and threatens men's manliness and sexuality. Hegemonic masculinity helps to understand and explain the attitudes surrounding male rape, as well as the under-reporting and causation of male rape. I focus the rest of the paper on suggestions for future empirical research in the area of male rape myths and potential ways for eradicating them.

Future Research

In the existing literature surrounding male rape, only a small bulk of empirical research has explored male rape myths. The bulk of research on male rape myths looks at rape attitudes utilising college samples and rape vignettes. These are vital but may underestimate the magnitude of male rape myths since at least one research has argued that male rape myths are more prevalent amongst older, less educated men (Kassing *et al*., 2005). Future research is required amongst more diverse and larger samples, so as to estimate the frequency of male rape myths and consider dissimilarities amongst different types of groups, as this will allow researchers to discover male rape myth perpetuation across time if the same measures of assessment are used. Though a small number of self-report measures of male rape myths have been formulated, these measures were not utilised extensively across populations and may benefit from additional psychometric examination (Chapleau et al., 2008).

The use of other methods, for example, qualitative examination of open-ended questions and quantitative examination of closed questions, and content analysis of legal papers relating to male rape, media documents, and historical materials, and so on, might be of particular use to help conceptualise, examine and comprehend male rape myths. By adopting different research methods across various contexts, researchers can explore the link between male rape myth acceptance and actual conduct. For example, studies should explore the influence of male rape myths on the treatment that is provided to male rape victims, and, when male rape victims disclose their crime, are they met with people who support male rape myths? It is vital to see whether male rape myths influence state agencies because they are the first port of call for when male rape is reported; similarly, whether male rape myths influence the treatment that voluntary agencies provide to male rape victims.

Because male rape myths are seen to link to other forms of oppressive belief systems, such as sexism, racism, homophobia, and ageism (Kassing et al., 2005), future examination of these links, alongside research on the underlying mechanisms and formulation of male rape myths, is also required. It is crucial that research attempts to critically explore the intricate relationship between male rape myth operation at the individual and societal levels. There is certainly a requirement for empirical research to examine the prevalence, effects, and manifestations of male rape myths in sport and religious settings because there is no published empirical research to date on these areas.

It is vital to tackle male rape myths within the context of treatment, screening, and rape prevention programmes. Because men could be reluctant to report their rape and search for treatment and report due to male rape myths, it is vital that medical practitioners are knowledgeable of male rape and its effects. Knowledge regarding male rape myths ought to also be talked about in counselling and medical treatment contexts when handling male rape victims. Because male rape myths might exacerbate male rape victims' experiences after their attack, medical and mental health practitioners must be well-equipped to talk about these myths and associated concerns; for example, homophobia, masculinity, sexuality, and gender role conflicts, handling these concerns could help victims to better handle the shame, stigma, and self-blaming attitudes (Kassing et al., 2005).

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Ser Macho y Jugar al Rugby. Estudio sobre Masculinidades y Sociabilidad entre Hombres de Sectores dominantes de la Ciudad de La Plata

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PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Being "macho" and play rugby. An study about masculinities and men's sociability in dominant sectors of La Plata

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Abstract

The central problem to discuss in this article is the construction of masculinities among a group of men who practice rugby as a sport associated with a distinctive and selective character (related to class position) in the city of La Plata, and in Argentina. From an ethnographic approach –fundamentally- the representations that a group of rugby players has on their own practice, on their ways of being and acting like a man will be analyzed. The hypothesis of this work is that rugby is a space of moral, social and cultural distinction in La Plata, and a place where a dominant male model is produced and reproduced, where the exaltation of virility is an attribute showed positively between the group of men who try, at all times, to keep their manliness; it is the guarantee to support legacy linked to gender and the way of establishing a different space of sociability and distinctive. Strength, vigor, courage and bravery articulate the imaginary of a *real man* in the field of rugby in Argentina.

Keywords: masculinities, rugby, dominant sectors, distinction

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Ser macho y jugar al rugby. Estudio sobre masculinidades y sociabilidad entre hombres de sectores dominantes de la ciudad de La Plata

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Resumen

El problema central a discutir en este artículo es la construcción de masculinidades entre un grupo de hombres que practican rugby, como deporte asociado a un carácter distintivo y selectivo (emparentado con la posición de clase) en la ciudad de La Plata, y en Argentina. Desde un enfoque –fundamentalmente- etnográfico se analizarán las representaciones que un grupo de jugadores de rugby tiene sobre su propia práctica, sobre sus formas de ser y actuar como hombre. La hipótesis de este trabajo radica en que el rugby es un espacio de distinción moral, social y cultural en La Plata, y un lugar donde se produce y reproduce un modelo masculino dominante, donde la exaltación de la virilidad es un atributo que se exhibe positivamente entre el grupo de hombres que intenta, todo el tiempo, mantener su hombría; es la garantía para sostener legados, vinculados al género y la manera de establecer un espacio de sociabilidad distinto y distintivo. Fuerza, vigor, coraje y valentía articulan el imaginario de un *verdadero hombre* en el campo del rugby en Argentina.

Palabras clave: masculinidades, rugby, sectores dominantes, distinción

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El rugby, en Argentina, no es un deporte de participación masiva. Las lógicas de integración se relacionan con obturaciones en el espacio de las instituciones dedicadas a la práctica, que establecen que sólo lo practiquen determinados agentes cuyos capitales acumulados –sociales, culturales, económicos-, sostengan y garanticen la inclusión en el espacio. El *prestigio social* atribuido por los propios agentes practicantes del rugby, es uno de los ejes centrales de análisis, en relación al clivaje de la clase social. Con Thompson (1989) *lo impreciso* vinculado a la pregunta por la clase es una oportunidad, concibiendo a la clase como fenómeno histórico, como la sucesión de acontecimientos en apariencia sin conexión, tanto con lo que entiende como materia prima de la experiencia, como con la conciencia. En ese mismo sentido, rechaza la clase como "estructura" y, aún más como "categoría", para pensarla como "algo que tiene lugar de hecho (y se puede demostrar que ha ocurrido) en las relaciones humanas" (Thompson, 1989, p. 13). La experiencia de clase está determinada, según Thompson, por las relaciones de producción en la que los hombres nacen o entran involuntariamente. Puede surgir la conciencia de clase en algún momento y lugar, pero no de la misma forma para todos. La conciencia de clase es "la forma en que se expresan estas experiencias en términos culturales: encarnadas en tradiciones, sistemas de valores, ideas y formas institucionales" (Ibíd., p. 14). Se piensa a la clase como experiencia. De lo contrario, se caería en el mecanicismo que se intenta discutir y sortear para el análisis de este artículo. Es entonces que se sostuvo una relación estrecha entre la referencia empírica y las herramientas conceptuales, donde las experiencias fueron percibidas *en movimiento*, en constante devenir, más allá de la profunda base, más o menos determinada de las trayectorias sociales, culturales y económicas del grupo de sujetos investigados. Ahí estuvo centrada la atención; no sólo en el modo de abordar el conflicto entre las clases y entre sus miembros, sino también, en cómo se modela la cultura: experiencia que ordena, segrega, integra, agrupa, nombra, produce y reproduce símbolos, representaciones e imágenes.

Metodología

Este trabajo es un análisis de corte cualitativo. Se desarrolló, principalmente, en tres unidades de observación para estudiar a hombres que juegan rugby en la ciudad de La Plata[1]: Club Universitario de La Plata, La Plata Rugby Club y Albatros Rugby Club. La investigación cualitativa, dice Irene de Vasilachis de Gialdino (2006), es multimetódica e interpretativa. Es decir, que las investigadoras e investigadores cualitativos indagan en situaciones naturales, intentando dar sentido o interpretar los fenómenos en los términos del significado que las personas les otorgan. La investigación cualitativa abarca el estudio, uso y recolección de una variedad de materiales empíricos -estudio de caso, experiencia personal, introspectiva, historia de vida, entrevista, textos observacionales, históricos, interaccionales y visuales-que describen los momentos habituales y problemáticos y los significados en la vida de los individuos. (p. 24-25).

Así se reconstruyeron los temas que articularon la trama discursiva definida como propia del rugby. Fue crucial comprender el escenario de disputa por los sentidos sociales y culturales rastreados a partir de los discursos; entendiendo a los discursos como acciones sociales en un marco de comprensión, comunicación e interacción que, a su vez, son partes de estructuras y procesos socio-culturales más amplios. Es una configuración espacio/temporal de sentido. Así el discurso establece un orden social donde es posible comprender las condiciones de las distintas formaciones discursivas. Sobre la metodología, se ampliará en los siguientes apartados.

Sobre sociabilidad y distinción

Los círculos de sociabilidad ligados al ocio (tiempo no necesariamente productivo y donde se puede encontrar algún regocijo en una trama de relaciones sociales), en el rugby, se vinculan con la construcción de la diferencia, con la distinción de otros espacios moralmente no deseables. El rugby en La Plata es uno de los espacios de acceso y acumulación de prestigio, liderazgo y poder, instituyendo una de las bases para adquirir cierto estatus social, al decir de Joffre Dumazedier (1971). En este caso, el ocio se vuelve posibilidad de establecer un valor potencial en la vida social

de una ciudad y en la influencia que diferentes sujetos, a partir de sus estrategias, desarrollen entre esos círculos de acumulación de poder.

La importancia del origen social en nuestras sociedades reproduce ciertas desigualdades y agudiza la llegada (más o menos rápida) a diferentes posiciones de poder (tanto en la órbita estatal, como en la privada). La importancia de la jerarquía que concede la titulación universitaria y el trayecto por instituciones educativas de prestigio o las profesiones paternas o de los hijos, sumado al prestigio acumulado por *herencia social* por parte de la proveniencia de una familia con trayectoria y buena posición social, es la que genera círculos de sociabilidad distintivos. Piensa Bourdieu (1998) que los estilos de vida diferentes marcan las barreras más duraderas entre las clases, y lo hace apoyándose en el concepto de *homogamia* (Ibid.)

El gusto por el rugby agrupa y revela los valores que, históricamente, se fueron reconstruyendo desde una matriz reconocida social y teóricamente como el *modelo civilizatorio europeo*. Las viejas tradiciones reproducidas por los sujetos: el lenguaje, las prácticas y la modelación de los espacios, demuestran que la mirada hacia el estilo europeo significó el signo de distinción, por excelencia, en y para el rugby. El gusto es una disposición, según Bourdieu, que es adquirida para "diferenciar" y también para "apreciar". Otorga un doble mecanismo de operación distintiva que asegura el reconocimiento legítimo del objeto, aunque se desconozcan sus rasgos distintivos. Funciona involuntariamente y se manifiesta como valores de expresión o, por ejemplo, en movimientos y gestos corporales, colaborando con el proceso de clasificación y evaluación del mundo social. Esto permite incorporar modos de orientar el sentido de ciertas prácticas y convertirlas a ellas y a sus reproductores, en espacios de dominación; y por lo tanto, marcar el lugar de los dominadores, en tanto reguladores y ordenadores de esa visión legítima del mundo.

Civilización y sectores dominantes

El concepto de civilización deriva del francés *civilité*. Ya en los escritos de Erasmo de Rotterdam, se hacía visible el concepto y sus características. Siguiendo a Norbert Elias (2009), el proceso civilizatorio se define como trama socio-histórica, y como proceso de cambio de costumbres, basado en la limitación de los impulsos y las emociones. Desde el Siglo XVI, en

Europa*,* las clases nobles y las cortesanas construyeron una red de relaciones basadas en modos legítimos, asentados en el refinamiento de las costumbres. Tanto para la nobleza, como para el Rey Luis XIV, su participación en la vida pública tenía un fin en sí mismo, al contar con el atributo del poder central, y el monopolio de la dominación. La etiqueta, como la posibilidad de gobernar y decidir sobre la vida de los súbditos, sintetizaba el sentido que el Rey le otorgaba a su función de administrar las diferencias, preferencias, rangos y jerarquías. A lo largo del tiempo, el marco civilizatorio, que no fue concebido por Elias dicotómicamente como racional/caótico, ni tampoco planificado, se profundizó según el grado de complejidades institucionales y la organización de las redes de relaciones sociales que esto implicó, entre las sociedades occidentales, marcando y nombrando, claramente "qué es lo otro", lo "no civilizado"; también aumentó la complejidad en cuanto a la dependencia entre los agentes, más la coacción externa, a través de instituciones formales y normativas (de los Estados-Nación, principalmente). Esto, según Elias, generará una internalización de esas normas regulatorias, produciendo la autocoacción de los individuos: las normas se hacen cuerpo y se naturalizan, a tal punto que se reproducen involuntariamente, marcando los criterios y las formas de recrear modelos legítimos de concebir las prácticas socioculturales. Las formas de actuar en público, y también en privado, serán aceptadas y se basarán en la construcción de umbrales de violencia colectivos menos tolerantes. La violencia para dirimir ciertos asuntos se restringe, mediante un poder externo, pero también como autocoacción (Ibíd.)

Para Elias, el movimiento civilizatorio se orienta fuertemente a alinear el sentido de todas las funciones corporales hacia una privatización intensa, cuyo confinamiento y reclusión se realice tras "la puerta cerrada de la sociedad" (Ibíd.). Esa confiscación de las emociones y los sentimientos que se retraen hacia el mundo de lo privado; son los sentimientos de culpa o de vergüenza en caso de no cumplir con los estándares civilizatorios, ligados a las buenas costumbres y a la buena conducta social, a lo esperable y deseable colectivamente. Pero hay excepciones y esferas de la vida social donde sí se tolerarán algunos vestigios de esos impulsos emotivos, dice Elias:

> En cualquier caso, estas emociones, en su forma refinada y racional, también tienen un lugar legítimo y específico en la vida cotidiana de

la sociedad civilizada. Esta forma es absolutamente significativa en cuanto al tipo de transformación de la estructura emotiva que se da en la civilización. La combatividad y la agresividad, por ejemplo, encuentran una manifestación socialmente aceptada en la competencia deportiva (p. 295)

Se ha repasado cómo en Argentina, a partir de la década de 1860, el país afianza y sostiene al capitalismo, que se expandía desde Europa, como sistema organizador de la vida social de los argentinos. Pero también, dice Adamovsky (2012), la vida cultural estará imbricada por un modelo que, de igual manera, fue exportado de Europa: "La 'civilización' y el 'progreso' quedaron asociados así en tanto al proyecto político y económico de la élite, como la voluntad de emular al viejo continente" (Adamovsky, 2012, p. 11). De aquí que surja el imaginario sobre el ciudadano argentino "ideal", piensa Adamovsky. Ideal que no concordaba con los pobladores "reales" del país, debido a las diferentes características y pautas culturales de cada grupo que residía en el territorio argentino. El plan de homogeneizar una imagen ideal del "ser argentino", suscribía al proyecto de construir un ciudadano deseable, a partir de pensarlo dentro del marco civilizatorio, consecuente para concebir a la "razón" como modo legítimo y correcto para moverse en el mundo social.

La exportación del modelo civilizatorio no sólo es impulsado por las elites dirigentes que, desde el Estado, procuran la formación de una Argentina "civilizada" y de un "ser argentino", consecuente con el modelo europeo político, cultural, social y económico. También la paraestatalidad de instituciones como el rugby expone el deseo de los sectores mejor acomodados en la estructura capitalista. Los actores protagónicos que modelaron el rugby en Argentina, sus orígenes y sus trayectorias sociales, pretendieron e instalaron un sistema de valores morales que distaron de la emergente cultura de masas de fines del siglo XIX y principios del XX. En este análisis, el objeto y los sujetos de la investigación están enmarcados en una relación determinada por un contexto capitalista. Esto implica dar cuenta y diferenciar el posicionamiento teórico de este trabajo, basado en la categoría de sectores dominantes, y no en la de "clases dirigentes" o "elites".

Pensar en "elites" en la ciudad de La Plata (dada su configuración histórica) o en "clases dirigentes", traspolando la teoría de Wright Mills

(2005) sobre la Nueva York de mediados del siglo XX, o pensar en los grupos de poder que establecieron las bases, según Adamovsky, de la Argentina moderna, sería un error teórico. El rugby en La Plata está conformado por sujetos que acumulan diferentes -y más- capitales que muchos otros grupos sociales u otro tipo de instituciones. Familias tradicionales, capital escolar acumulado, trayectoria social prestigiosa, capital social caudaloso y de privilegio, son la tendencia de los participantes del campo. Es por eso que el rugby, sus practicantes, modelan sectores de privilegio que, pensados desde la noción de distinción y legitimidad social y cultural, se establecen como dominantes en el mundo social.

En un sistema basado en el privilegio de algunos colectivos que genera desigualdad, justamente, por la pretensión a ocupar esos espacios, y por la posición efectiva de otros colectivos despojados de ciertos capitales básicos para vivir, se puede hablar de *espacios y sectores de dominación*. La desigualdad, la asimetría, resultantes de un sistema de dominación, es consecuencia de una trama de relaciones entre sujetos (asociados a una o varias clases) que institucionalizan su poder como colectivo (dentro de una relación de fuerzas sociales). En coincidencia con Ziegler & Gessaghi (2012), la preocupación es pensar y explicar cómo se dan las disputas y cómo se movilizan los recursos vinculados a la distribución social de las posiciones de poder. Desde allí, pueden volverse visibles no sólo posiciones efectivas dominantes (en esas disputas), sino también, las percepciones sobre esos efectos de dominación. El campo del rugby en La Plata puede comprenderse como un *sector de dominancia*. Es un espacio donde se aprehenden (en complemento con instituciones educativas) las convenciones y las identidades que caracterizaron a las elites en los períodos históricos referidos a la construcción civilizatoria de la Nación argentina y, por ende, donde se consagran posiciones sociales (Adamovsky, 2012) y se reproduce social y culturalmente el modelo vinculado con aquel imaginario europeo y de distinción.

Si bien no es posible hablar de los mismos sistemas de dominación, teniendo en cuenta los cambios históricos, según cada época, se puede pensar en la combinación específica de "dominación-participación" institucionalizadas, como sistema vigente (Errandonea, 1985).

El poder dominante no sólo reside en la riqueza acumulada, sino también en la dimensión simbólica de esos sectores para construir

diferencias o los criterios que definen esas diferencias. Lo importante de esta conceptualización es contrastar con la referencia empírica específica de este trabajo, si los sectores dominantes a los que se alude en esta investigación, disponen de los medios para conservar, mantener, defender y hasta sumar privilegios (que sería su principal posesión, según Errandonea).

Rugby y Masculinidades: un rompecabezas para rearmar

Para pensar al rugby y la reconstrucción de las características asociadas, por los propios sujetos investigados, en relación a los modos de *ser hombre,* se toma como punto de partida una reflexión de Badinter (2003), sosteniendo la idea de las "múltiples masculinidades": "No hay una masculinidad universal sino múltiples masculinidades, tal como existen múltiples femineidades. Las categorías binarias son peligrosas porque desdibujan la complejidad de lo real en beneficio de esquemas simplistas y condicionantes." (p. 49)

La hipótesis y la pregunta por las formas de *ser macho*, y de establecer prácticas dominantes respecto a otros modelos masculinos, fueron analizadas a partir de la escucha y la observación sobre cuáles son los relatos que legitiman –reproducen, reafirman- esas prácticas en relación a la masculinidad construida en el espacio del rugby.

Siguiendo a Badinter (1994) se podría establecer que la identidad masculina, en nuestras sociedades, se emparenta con el hecho de poseer, tomar, penetrar, dominar y afirmarse (si es necesario, por la fuerza); mientras que la identidad femenina ha de asociarse a las características de docilidad, pasividad, sumisión y a la búsqueda de ser poseída. Todo esto relacionado con la categoría "género" como una operación que tiene una lógica binaria que separa sólo lo femenino de lo masculino y, más aún, dentro de un mismo género, posiciones dominantes y subalternas, reproduciendo relaciones desiguales de poder (Burin & Meler, 2009). Para superar las visiones que restringen el análisis a una perspectiva androcentrista y pensar en un universo más amplio que las oposiciones, por ejemplo, entre lo innato o lo adquirido, o el Género o la diferencia sexual (Ibíd.), se entiende que:

> La estereotipia de Género, que es un 'trabajo cultural' en sí misma,
> niega las amplias similitudes existentes entre mujeres y varones y

destaca la polaridad desconociendo la gran variabilidad que existe al interior de cada subconjunto genérico […] El género, la clase, la etnia y la edad, se entrecruzan para construir subjetividad. (p. 43)

En el problema de la construcción de masculinidad entre jugadores de rugby en La Plata, se exhiben ciertas formas de *ser hombre* de manera asimétrica, tanto con mujeres como con otros hombres que no responden a actitudes, atributos o propiedades que hay que poseer para ser un *hombre verdadero*. Se habla, en principio, de una masculinidad dominante o hegemónica, dentro del espectro de múltiples masculinidades que se relaciona con un contexto de estudio, las características de un objeto y de sujetos de investigación históricamente determinados por variables, fundamentalmente, como la clase social y, en consecuencia, con una posición de privilegio en la ciudad de La Plata.

Rodrigo Parrini (2002) reconoce a los autores anglosajones y pioneros que se preocuparon por pensar el concepto de masculinidad hegemónica: Connell, (1995, 1997, 1998), Kimmel, (1997, 1998), Kaufman (1997) y Seidler (1994). La necesidad de una definición para un problema político que explique la estructura patriarcal sostenida por un modelo capitalista es asociada por estos autores, justamente, a una masculinidad legítima dentro de ese sistema, garantizando la posición dominante de ciertos hombres y ubicando en posiciones subalternas a las mujeres, y a otros sujetos. Esa masculinidad dominante se caracteriza por la centralidad de la heterosexualidad como mandato, conjuntamente con una activa sexualidad que se corresponda con el ejercicio viril de ese modelo masculino. La hombría, para estos autores, puede probarse en la práctica sexual con las mujeres como un registro de importancia vital (Parrini, 2002). El sentido de la hegemonía radica en la constitución de una simbólica y un conjunto de prácticas eficaces, tales que, se constituyen en destrezas aceptadas y legitimadas por el resto de los colectivos. Sin embargo, sigue Parrini,

una forma de masculinidad puede ser exaltada en vez de otra, pero es el caso que una cierta hegemonía tenderá a establecerse sólo cuando existe alguna correspondencia entre determinado ideal cultural y un poder institucional, sea colectivo o individual (párr. 10)

También revisa Parrini las investigaciones latinoamericanas que han puesto el foco en la construcción de masculinidades como elemento estructurante de identidades tanto colectivas como personales. También, al igual que la saga anglosajona, plantean un modelo hegemónico de masculinidad. Fuller (1997, 1998), Valdés y Olavarría (1998), Olavarría, Mellado y Benavente (1998), Viveros (1997), Ramírez (1997), Leal (1997, 1998) y Gutmann (1997, 1996) fueron los encargados de pensar, en Latinoamérica, algunas preguntas en torno a la masculinidad dominante y el poder.

Pero, ¿qué elementos contienen y definen a una masculinidad dominante? Élizabeth Badinter (1994) afirma que la característica distintiva de una verdadera masculinidad contemporánea es la heterosexualidad, convirtiéndola en un fenómeno que aparece como "natural". Es decir, la sexualidad es una prueba central de la identidad masculina, de cómo y con quién se tiene sexo. Quien no cumpla con el precepto, quedará excluido de la grupalidad masculina.

Para Kaufman, dice Parrini, el elemento fundamental de la subjetividad masculina es el poder, que sostiene y justifica un sistema de dominación sobre los hombres que no cumplan las prescripciones hegemónicas y, por supuesto, sobre las mujeres. Es histórico y tiene continuidad a través de la reproducción de un sistema de control y poder:

> El poder colectivo de los hombres no sólo radica en instituciones y estructuras abstractas sino también en formas de interiorizar, individualizar, encarnar y reproducir estas instituciones, estructuras y conceptualizaciones del poder masculino […] 'la adquisición de la masculinidad hegemónica (y la mayor parte de las subordinadas) es un proceso a través del cual los hombres llegan a suprimir toda una gama de emociones, necesidades y posibilidades, tales como el placer de cuidar de otros, la receptividad, la empatía y la compasión, experimentadas como inconsistentes con el poder masculino'[…] el poder que puede asociarse con la masculinidad dominante también puede convertirse en fuente de enorme dolor. Puesto que sus símbolos constituyen, en últimas, ilusiones infantiles de omnipotencia, son imposibles de lograr. Dejando las apariencias de lado, ningún hombre es capaz de alcanzar tales ideales y símbolos (Kaufman, 1995, p.125-131, en Parrini, 2002, párr.15).

Junto a David Gilmore (1994), se piensa cómo conciben y experimentan la masculinidad los jugadores de rugby observados. La masculinidad, según Gilmore, es la forma de ser varón adulto en una sociedad determinada y la preocupación que muchas otras tienen al respecto, necesitando y considerando la posibilidad de lograr ser "un hombre de verdad" o de un "auténtico hombre" (Gilmore, 1994). Esto es concebido como un premio que se logra con esfuerzo en diferentes esferas y se conquista ante la aprobación cultural de esas sociedades mediante prácticas, pruebas y diversas modalidades de llegar a poseer una "verdadera virilidad". Y, además (resultando fundamental para este análisis), pensando que:

> Si hay arquetipos en la imagen masculina (como los hay en la feminidad), deben estar, en su mayor parte, culturalmente construidos como sistemas simbólicos y no simplemente como resultados de la anatomía, porque la anatomía no resulta muy determinante cunado la imaginación moral entra en juego. La solución del rompecabezas de la masculinidad tiene que estar en la cultura; tenemos que intentar comprender por qué las culturas utilizan o exageran, de muchas formas específicas, los potenciales biológicos (Gilmore, 1994, p. 33-34)

Al respecto, dice Bourdieu que,

> Cuando los dominados aplican a lo que les domina unos esquemas que son el producto de la dominación, o, en otras palabras, cuando sus pensamientos y sus percepciones están estructurados de acuerdo con las propias estructuras de relación de dominación que se les ha impuesto, sus actos de conocimiento son, inevitablemente, unos actos de reconocimiento, de sumisión. Pero por estrecha que sea la correspondencia entre las realidades o los procesos del mundo natural y los principios de visión y de división que se aplican, siempre queda lugar para una lucha cognitiva a propósito del sentido de las cosas del mundo y en especial de las realidades sexuales" (Bourdieu, 2000, p.26)

La división social del sexo y de género, se vuelve "naturaleza biológica" a partir del sistema de visión y división del mundo dominante. Sin embargo, se tuvo en cuenta la crítica de La Cecla (2004) a Bourdieu, afirmando que

para el francés toda diferencia entre sexos es una invención de la dominación masculina, y que los machos han inventado en toda cultura las diferencias entre hombres y mujeres, para organizar y justificar la dominación de los primeros sobre las segundas.

Técnicas e instrumentos

Desde finales del año 2009 y durante los siguientes, hasta 2013, el programa metodológico apuntó a trabajar las variables a partir de las técnicas e instrumentos pertinentes:

- Etnografía[2]. Permitió construir datos sobre las relaciones entre sujetos, espacios y discursos (Presentados en las Notas de campo)
- 35 entrevistas semi-estructuradas a jugadores de rugby. La desagregación de trayectorias familiares e historias de vida, permitieron ubicar y categorizar, provisionalmente, a los interlocutores en la estructura socioeconómica, y a la posición vinculada a la distribución de capitales en juego en nuestras sociedades. Con los datos se construyeron categorías como: *profesión, participación en el sistema educativo, titulaciones, profesión de padre, madre y familiares.* Así se vislumbró la tendencia de los participantes del campo: cuántos sujetos de la investigación han accedido al sistema de educación universitaria, o a cargos de decisión en la órbita del Estado, o del sector privado. Esto facilitó pensar el problema de *los sectores dominantes y el espacio social,* en una de sus dimensiones.
- 89 entrevistas etnográficas a diferentes agentes del campo (familiares de jugadores, dirigentes, periodistas especializados, espectadores, ex jugadores): facilitaron comprender la formación discursiva.
- Observación participante en entrenamientos, practicando el deporte y desarrollando la experiencia propia del "hacer" y la observación no participante de partidos, en un Gimnasio de musculación (coordinado por uno de los interlocutores clave), en fiestas nocturnas, cumpleaños, espectáculos artísticos, salidas nocturnas, peña folklórica[3], viaje de ocio, partidos oficiales, trámites varios, situaciones domésticas familiares y "tercer tiempo"[4]. (presentada en

las Notas de campo). Un total de 223 presencias en los diferentes espacios nombrados durante los cinco años de trabajo de campo.

- La búsqueda y recopilación de documentos de campo, vinculados a la historia del rugby en Argentina, en La Plata, y en los clubes, enmarcaron historiográficamente la investigación, y colaboraron al entendimiento actual de las lógicas del campo.
- Búsqueda e interpretación de documentos periodísticos, audiovisuales y gráficos, especializados en rugby

En los siguientes apartados, se expondrá parte del análisis de los datos, con la aplicación de estas técnicas e instrumentos.

Compartir virilidad[5]

El viernes 6 de enero de 2012 emprendimos un viaje a Villa Gesell[6] con Nacho[7], mi interlocutor clave en el campo del rugby. Entrada la tarde, comenzamos a planificar qué haríamos a la noche. Las opciones eran: recorrer algunos bares de Villa Gesell o ir a Pinamar[8]. En el camino, compramos hamburguesas, pan, tomates y carbón para cocinarlas en la parrilla del hotel. El hotel era modesto, pero contaba con un gran parque.

A medida que comencé a prender los carbones, se acercaron otros pasajeros del hotel. Todos hombres, ocho, que también cocinarían en la parrilla. Nacho se había ido a bañar, y apareció promediando las llamas del fuego. Yo estaba charlando con el grupo de hombres. Eran de cuerpos grandes, voluptuosos; en musculatura o en kilos de grasa. Hasta la llegada de Nacho, sólo había bromeado con secuencias de la playa, sobre las preferencias de cada uno en las bebidas y la comida. Nacho llegó y noté –enseguida- que quería saber quiénes eran los que compartían parrilla. No me hablaba. Su atención estaba focalizada en conversar con estos hombres. De a poco les preguntó de dónde eran, a qué se dedicaban. Cuatro eran profesionales (dos abogados, un contador y un arquitecto) y el resto dijeron dedicarse al comercio. Sólo uno dijo trabajar en una oficina en Puerto Madero[9]. Los ocho eran de zona norte del conurbano bonaerense (San Isidro y Pilar[10]), pero la mitad vivía en CABA. Todos estaban en pareja. Oscilaban entre los 35 y 40 años. Nacho contó que jugaba al rugby y que era profesor de Educación Física. Principalmente hizo hincapié en que jugaba al rugby. Tres de los hombres dijeron haber jugado en el Club

Champagnat[11]. Intensificaron la charla con valoraciones desde "lo buenas que están las minas en la playa. Aunque siempre están los cachivaches[12]" (Nota de campo –NC- 06/01/2012), hasta las anécdotas de la épocas de solteros y las aventuras sexuales que consideraron compartir en una ronda.

El tema de conversación era uno sólo: las mujeres y diferentes anécdotas sexuales. Cada uno contaba la suya. La ronda había arrancado a mi derecha y seguía hacia la derecha. Yo sería el último, si seguía en ese orden (Nota: yo era el más pequeño físicamente. Todos rondaban el metro ochenta de altura, para arriba). Comenzaron los hombres de Buenos Aires, con anécdotas que incluían una serie de artilugios para sortear a las esposas. Lugares inusuales como un estacionamiento de autos donde se "cogió rapidito pero muy lindo" y donde "No quedaba otra. Cuando estás en pareja y querés coger afuera, hacés la que podés. Muy divertido" (NC 06/01/2012). El cuarto de la ronda contó una historia que sucedió en un campo de un amigo, donde fueron a buscar al pueblo cercano a "un par de putas y a un putito" (NC 06/01/2012). En el camino al campo "nos iban chupando la pija[13]". "Los muchachos nos esperaban como locos. Estaban desesperados por coger. Estaban todos borrachos. Fue una fiesta. Nos cogimos a las putas y al putito" (NC 06/01/2012). El sexto contó una historia entre dos chicas y él. Donde tuvieron sexo los tres juntos, y donde "las chicas estaban enloquecidas" (NC 06/01/2012). Le llegó el turno a Nacho. Nacho y yo habíamos compartido una escena con una chica, que luego desarrollaré. Imaginé que relataría esa historia. Pero no fue así. Contó una anécdota de unos compañeros de equipo, en una ciudad del litoral argentino, famosa por sus carnavales. Señaló que dos compañeros *"se cogieron a una trava"*[14] (NC 06/01/2012). Nacho, en ese mismo momento, me miró y me dijo: "bueno, vos a Tartu lo conocés" (NC 06/01/2012). Yo lo conocía a "Tartu". Es primera línea[15] de Albatros, y uno de los jugadores más experimentados del club. Nacho terminó la anécdota y enseguida se cortó la ronda.

Otra vez, era recurrente esta secuencia de un "saber ver", un "saber escuchar" y un "saber ser" un *verdadero macho*. Se trataba de una escena donde todos estábamos y debíamos sostener la hombría. En algunos casos, redoblando la apuesta. Si uno contaba una historia con dos mujeres, otro sumaba a dos mujeres y "un putito", sin perder crédito de su masculinidad, o sin echar a perder (sobre la mirada de los otros) su hombría. Tanto es así

que Nacho triplicó la apuesta y expuso el cuento de sus compañeros con una travesti. Se cumplía la afirmación de Kimmel, "las mujeres y los hombres gay se convierten en el otro contra los cuales los hombres heterosexuales proyectan sus identidades [...] y al suprimirlos proclamar su virilidad" (Kimmel, 1997, p. 59)

Nacho sabía que nada correría peligro, excepto cuando me miró, y dudó, por un momento, qué efectos causaría en mí. Es que Nacho reconoció el marco que lo habilitaba a contar su anécdota: todas historias grupales, excepto alguna solitaria. Nacho conoce muy bien el precepto, entre su círculo masculino de sociabilidad (el espacio de rugby), que el varón que es penetrado pierde masculinidad, pero el que penetra la gana (Sloan & Reyes Jirón, 1995). Es una relación directamente contigua a la pérdida o a la ganancia de dominación. Y eso Nacho lo conoce muy bien, porque supo y sabe "ver y escuchar" la masculinidad dominante. Lo que Silvia Chejter (2011) reconoce propio de "sostener la hombría": con las prácticas, pero también con los relatos sobre lo sucedido; que puede haber sido así, o casi, o ni siquiera haber ocurrido. Pero hay que contarlo. Dice:

> Hay ritos impuestos entre pares que hay que seguir: iniciación, despedida de solteros, otros festejos para agasajar a un amigo o agasajarse en conjunto, que terminan en el burdel o en alguna 'fiesta privada'. Cada una de estas ocasiones supone la confirmación de la virilidad, que, fundamentalmente, requiere de la mirada voyeurista de los otros varones del grupo. Mirar a los otros y dejarse mirar cuando practican sexo prostituyente, se carga de un valor de goce adicional, y, en algunos testimonios, constituye la más importante motivación. (p. 39)

La certificación de la masculinidad[16]

Allí radica la eficacia de la virilidad: en certificarla, que el otro la refrende. A propósito de autenticar la virilidad, dos años antes, Nacho me confesó que había tenido una charla con una ex alumna de un gimnasio. "La mina es un caño, mide 1,75 m, tiene las tetas hechas, carita divina, veintisiete años. No sabés lo que es" me decía, describiéndola (NC 14/01/2010). La mujer quería cumplir una fantasía sexual, teniendo relaciones con dos hombres a la vez. Y Nacho me lo estaba proponiendo. Yo nunca tuve una experiencia

como ésas. Mi sentimiento de inhibición fue percibido por Nacho, que me dijo "mirá que la mina está re buena. No te vas a perder esta oportunidad*"* (NC 06/01/2012). La inhibición y la sensación de incomodidad, también tenían que ver con dos cuestiones: la primera era que, hasta donde yo conocía, Nacho tampoco había experimentado relaciones sexuales grupales. Y hablaba con certeza de cómo realizarlo (supuestamente sería en su casa), cómo manejarse, qué hacer y qué no hacer. Y la segunda, y fundamental para mí: ¿por qué no se lo proponía a un amigo del club? ¿por qué a mí? Jamás pensé que Nacho quisiera tener relaciones conmigo, pero me resultó extraño que no convocara a un amigo para realizar la fantasía de esa mujer. Le dije que no sabía, que me daba vergüenza (aunque pensaba que no podía perderme esa situación si, justamente, estaba tratando de reconstruir los procesos de constitución de identidades masculinas entre un grupo de jugadores de rugby).

Pasadas tres horas, le confirmé mi presencia. Me dijo "¡qué bueno! nos vamos a cagar de risa. Ya arreglo todo con la mina[17]" (NC 06/01/2012). Aquella noche asistí, pero no participé del encuentro sexual. Estuve apartado de la escena, aunque observando cómo Nacho desplegaba todas sus destrezas físicas y retóricas para complacer a la mujer. Nacho trababa sus bíceps y pectorales, producto de la fuerza que estaba ejerciendo. Me di cuenta que también me estaba mostrando que todo lo que me contaba fuera de ese contexto, era verdad. El "yo las hago mierda a las minas", describía su *performance*, cada vez que narraba una historia sexual con una mujer. *"Les echo tres polvos, y se quedan con la lengua afuera"*, siempre repetía. Nacho me demostraba que realmente era viril y potente.

Entre las numerosas metáforas y analogías reproducidas por Nacho, una se alinea como significativa para el análisis. Siempre me decía *"Estoy hecho un toro"*, al referirse a las actuaciones en un partido de rugby, y a un encuentro con una mujer. El significado social que se pone en juego al construir semejanzas con el concepto de "toro" sugiere la posibilidad de exponer los atributos que remiten a la *fuerza*, *la resistencia* y al lugar otorgado *como proveedor* (sobre todo con las mujeres[18]).

Gilmore retoma el relato de Herdt acerca de la leche como asociación entre madre y semen. Herdt dice que la felación mantiene una forma de refuerzo psíquico del destete pero, además, una promoción hacia una

virilidad autónoma y autocreación masculina, "una sustitución homeopática de símbolos orales por otros fálicos" (Gilmore, 1994, p.160).

La leche, el semen, es símbolo entre los jugadores de rugby de potencia, o de potencia acumulada. Y expulsarla, sacarla, implica una muestra de virilidad donde se obtiene un reconocimiento grupal. A mayor cantidad de orgasmos hay un mayor reconocimiento a la supuesta virilidad. También se utiliza para desjerarquizar a los más jóvenes o a quienes tienen altos rendimientos físicos, con una base aeróbica alta y de calidad. Se los menosprecia diciéndoles, "éste tiene una leche bárbara". Eso implica que no ha largado semen, es decir, no ha tenido encuentros sexuales. No "tener leche" es signo de virilidad. Y Nacho me había sugerido que sus relatos se corresponden con los hechos. Es decir, todos los relatos previos sobre las cantidades "de polvos echados", eran certificados por mí. Tal vez por eso fui invitado a la reunión, más allá de mi hipótesis de que Nacho no quisiera compartir a Jimena con alguien de su tamaño corporal. Aunque Jimena parecía estar dispuesta al placer y al goce, sin evaluar dimensiones corporales, Nacho se colocó como un aspirante a la virilidad, diría Gilmore, que logra una identidad social como un bien social, en relación a la atención a las mujeres. Para Nacho, sacar toda su leche simboliza una conquista viril.

La relación entre Nacho y su virilidad estaba sólo relacionada a verlo en los partidos de competencia, donde realmente no era de los jugadores más potentes. Sin embargo, siempre sus relatos hacían referencia a sus atributos sobre la potencia sexual.

Palabras y preguntas finales

El rugby es un lugar más para entender una de las formas del "poder del imaginario masculino en una sociedad concreta" (Archetti, 2008, p. 43). Entonces, la pregunta es: *¿cuál es ese estilo masculino vinculado a la práctica deportiva en el rugby?* El proceso socio/histórico del rugby indica que los agentes participantes del campo tienen mayores posibilidades para administrar culturalmente las diferencias en cuanto a la producción y reproducción de un estilo masculino, asociado a la construcción de una hexis corporal[19] y a su correspondiente representación mediante estrategias discursivas.

El rugby significa, en la ciudad de La Plata, dentro de un contexto nacional, uno de los espacios de atribución y conquista de un prestigio social reconocido entre círculos de privilegio. Es una escuela moral distintiva donde se clasificó, históricamente, lo que significa ser un *verdadero hombre*, a partir de un sistema de pautas dominantes y hegemónicas, emparentadas con el atributo de la heteronormatividad y con la exaltación de la virilidad, dentro y fuera del campo del rugby. El origen social y las trayectorias de los sujetos investigados demarcan las propiedades y la legitimidad propia y reconocida como principal, para pertenecer al campo. El capital cultural adquirido, más una trayectoria emparentada con una "buena familia distinguida" (reforzando la idea de los legados, como modo de reproducir y sostener el prestigio social), se vinculan no sólo a la posición compartida, en términos de clase, en relación a la posición en la estructura social y económica de los sujetos, sino también en la capacidad, destreza y poder de administrar las diferencias culturales y simbólicas.

Desde la estética, la retórica y la moral, el rugby se ha erigido como un espacio de distinción y, a la vez, de invisibilización de unos "otros". Bajo el relato del amateurismo[20], también se configura el límite de las posibilidades materiales y simbólicas de participar o no del espacio.

El rugby es el territorio donde se enseñan las buenas y legítimas costumbres que, estratégica y eficazmente construyen distinción moral, pero también estética, a la vez que se edifica una narrativa en donde la retórica del honor y la caballerosidad, diría Gayol (2008), proveen un lenguaje propio. Además de nombrar ese mundo como legítimo, se prueba poniendo el cuerpo y exhibiéndolo, ya que el honor en el rugby, se asocia a la reputación social. Es la forma que se aprende a *ver y a ser visto*, de ejercitar los criterios de clasificación moral, además *de evaluar y ser evaluado*. La masculinidad se evalúa constantemente. Es un espacio estrictamente jerárquico donde la posición de prestigio, ligada con la forma de mostrar la hombría, es constantemente evaluada: como condición heteronormativa, asociada a la clase (que también se pone a prueba) y a los modos dominantes de reproducir una *verdadera hombría*.

El rugby mantiene la obsesión por instaurar jerarquías: económicas, culturales, etarias, étnicas y de género. Allí radica la eficacia de su carácter exclusivo y de privilegio. Someterse a esa jerarquización y lograr sostener

el escalafón conseguido, es la prueba a pasar. Ese lugar se mantiene con esfuerzo, con dedicación, y con la performatividad tanto práctica como retórica. Palabras, gestos, actitudes normativas dentro del campo de una masculinidad hegemónica, deben asimilarse y reproducirse en el espacio estudiado, más allá que se intenta mostrar que las identidades y las valías que las recubren, son situacionales.

Por último, se ha podido demostrar, a lo largo de años de trabajo, que la dimensión sentimental en las prácticas masculinas se ve impedimentada o, por lo menos, resguardada para ámbitos exclusivos y para momentos de carácter excepcional. Es suprimida por una dinámica de relaciones de hombría que clausuran el efecto del llanto, la angustia, y la añoranza, por ejemplo, por una mujer. La domesticación de la sensibilidad es el contralor y el sustento de la *verdadera hombría.* Es allí donde se requieren enfoques: a la educación sentimental de los hombres; a los complejos mecanismos de obturación de una sensibilidad necesaria, que nos garantice sociedades más justas, más plurales y menos violentas.

Notas

[1] La Plata es la Capital de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, ubicada a 56 Km de la Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires (C.A.B.A). Es la quinta ciudad con mayor densidad poblacional de Argentina.

[2] Con la etnografía se entiende que la sola presencia en el campo no alcanza para reconstruir las prácticas y sus significados, siempre y cuando no esté acompañada por una rigurosa y reflexiva vigilancia teórica y epistemológica. Sobre el "estar ahí", Guber (2004) refiere que "la presencia directa en el campo es condición necesaria, pero no suficiente para acceder a la perspectiva de los actores y construirla teóricamente" (p.77). La etnografía y el trabajo de campo etnográfico deben entenderse "no como un determinado cuerpo teórico o un bagaje técnico especializado, sino como un enfoque totalizador para el cual la perspectiva del actor es, a la vez, punto de partida y de llegada" (Ibíd. p.77)

[3] Una peña folklórica es un espacio de encuentro, de sociabilidad, donde se escucha y se baila música reconocida como regional, propia de géneros y estilos argentinos.

[4] El "tercer tiempo" es realizado luego del partido de competencia. Históricamente, como ritual, el equipo local recibe a su rival con un agasajo que consiste en compartir desde bebidas como té, hasta alcohólicas, acompañadas de algún alimento dulce y/o salado. Allí ampliamos el espectro de actores conocidos dentro de los clubes.

[5] En este apartado se cambiará el registro de escritura a la primera persona del singular y del plural, dado que se transcribirán apuntes y pasajes del diario de campo (observación), a partir del cual se construyeron los datos que responden a los objetivos centrales de la

investigación. La idea de mantener el registro se entiende como un recurso en el cual se intentó mantener la fidelidad del lenguaje y de las prácticas de los sujetos investigados, para reconstruir su trama narrativa; emparentada, por supuesto, con el ejercicio reflexivo de la participación del investigador inmerso en el campo. Los entrecomillados indican las citas fieles de lo nombrado por los sujetos investigados.

[6] Villa Gesell es una ciudad balnearia costera de la Provincia de Buenos Aires. Históricamente se caracterizó por recibir a familias de sectores medios y a algunos grupos sociales tradicionalmente posicionados entre sectores dominantes; aunque no es el lugar elegido y exclusivo de los sectores dominantes.

[7] Nacho es Profesor de Educación Física y es propietario de un Gimnasio. Juega en el Albatros Rugby Club y he compartido muchas horas y días con él y sus compañeros de equipo en ese gimnasio. Ha sido un espacio importante de sociabilidad donde he conocido muchos aspectos sociales, culturales y estéticos del mundo del rugby. Todos los nombres que aparecen en este escrito son de ficción para resguardar la identidad.

[8] Pinamar es otra ciudad balnearia ubicada a 20 Km de Villa Gesell. Es uno de los espacios turísticos elegido y construido como lugar de distinción por sectores dominantes de Argentina (junto a Cariló y Mar de Las Pampas –Argentina-, y a Punta del Este –Uruguay-, entre otros), donde se afianzan y refuerzan criterios para sostener privilegios a la hora de escoger la plaza para el ocio. Muchas familias tradicionales del mundo del rugby veranean en Pinamar.

[9] Puerto Madero es el centro comercial por excelencia de la CABA, donde se emplazan la mayoría de las oficinas de las empresas multinacionales.

[10] Pilar y San Isidro son localidades del norte del conurbano bonaerense donde, actual e históricamente, conviven las familias que mantienen sus apellidos asociados a una tradición de prestigio entre círculos de privilegio, en diferentes campos (político, económico, cultural).

[11] El Club Champagnat es una de las instituciones más prestigiosas dentro de la Unión de Rugby de Buenos Aires (URBA). Ubicado en zona norte.

[12] "Cachivache" es una categoría utilizada para referirse de manera despectiva hacia una mujer; sobre todo a su dimensión estética.

[13] "Pija" es una categoría nativa, utilizada como sinónimo de pene.

[14] "Trava" es apócope de Travesti.

[15] Primera línea es uno de los nombres correspondientes a una posición dentro del campo de juego. Generalmente, son los hombres con más masa corporal y más peso (en kilos) del equipo.

[16] Se continuará con el mismo registro de escritura utilizado en el apartado anterior.

[17] "Mina" es una categoría nativa, utilizada como sinónimo de mujer.

[18] El "toro" es quien provee el esperma necesario para la procreación de la especie, identificando así, el rol del macho en la práctica de reproducción. Es, en muchos casos, el único encargado de la fecundación y por ende de la "propagación" y la "pureza" de la especie.

[19] Asociada por Bourdieu, entre otros, al cuerpo externo.

[20] Pese a incipientes movimientos profesionalizantes, los jugadores que participan del rugby, en Argentina, lo hacen de forma amateur. Costean ellos mismos todos los gastos que implica competir. Esto convierte al deporte en una práctica menos democrática (en términos inclusivos y en relación a otros deportes) y también en el signo distintivo, particular, que recubre simbólicamente la idea de *pagar para jugar.*

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Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times

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Reviews (I)

Hearn, J. (2015). *Men of the World; Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times*. London: SAGE. ISBN: 978-1-4462-0717-8

Jeff Hearn es un referente en los estudios de masculinidades a nivel internacional. De hecho ha sido co-editor de las revistas *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies* y de *Men and Masculinities*, y ha dirigo las investigaciones más relevantes en este ámbito como *CROME (Critical Research On Men In Europe*) y *The Study on the Role of Men in Gender Equality EU projects*. Este bajage investigador se demuestra a lo largo del libro, en sus diferentes capítulos.

Al inicio del libro Hearn plantea cuáles serán sus planteamientos teóricos de partida para analizar la masculinidad a nivel mundial. Estos planteamientos se vinculan a conceptualizaciones tales como la deconstrucción de la masculinidad hegemónica, la transnacionalidad, postcolonialismo, interseccionalidad, teoría queer entre otros. Considerando este punto de partida, en el capítulo 2 Hearn hace un breve análisis histórico del papel del hombre en diferentes países de Europa: Finlandia, Suecia, Irlanda, Sud-África e Inglaterra. En el Capítulo 3 el autor se detiene a explorar la deconstrucción de la dominación masculina desde una perspeciva que combina la globalización con un enfoque local. Finalmente en el Capítulo 4 se vuelve a realizar una crítica a la masculinidad hegemónica desde el concepto de patriarcado. Para ello se emplea la noción de transpatriarcado que en esta ocasión se vincula estrechamente con la de interseccionalidad.

En la segunda parte del libro que engloba de los capítulos 5 al 9 Hearn se adentra en este ámbito del transpatriarcado, haciendo un repaso exhaustivo a diferentes procesos que están cuestionando los antiguos cimientos de la masculinidad. Por ejemplo el autor hace referencia a los discursos sobre "el cuerpo" para pasar después a referirse al papel del activismo, los movimientos sociales y las migraciones. Finalmente Hearn hace referencia al papel de las tecnologías y las sexualidades en la sociedad actual.

El autor nos sorprende con unas últimas páginas en las que reflexiona sobre la impliación real de todos estos cambios visibilizados a partir de los diferentes enfoques descritos en capítulos anteriores. Así en uno de los fragmentos Hearn apunta: "it is time to take apart the taken-for-granted category of 'men' – and instead create, produce, improvise, practice, make, a large number of possible gender positions" (p. 201). En definitiva, el libro aporta nuevos elementos para entender los cambios que la globalización y la modernidad reflexiva están definiendo alrededor del papel social del hombre.

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Masculinidades y Ciudadanía: Los Hombres también Tenemos Género

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Reviews (II)

En su obra Salazar hace un extenso trabajo en defensa de la necesidad de crear una nueva concepción en los hombres: su identidad de género. Parte de la idea de que los hombres, a diferencia de las mujeres –tal y como se puede observar en un análisis del movimiento feminista-, no se han planteado su identidad y su capacidad de transformación social, sino que la identidad masculinia es fruto del proceso de socialización en determinados modelos masculinos que responden al modelo dominante de masculinidad tradicional. Un modelo de masculinidad que se basa y se reproduce gracias a las estructuras sociales basadas en un modelo patriarcal. A la vez, Salazar considera que esta socialización, que marca el comportamiento de los hombres, no les deja espacio para poder realizarse a sí mismos, siendo un yugo que impide ser personas justas e igualitarias respecto a las mujeres. Por tanto, considera que el cambio social por parte de los hombres debe empezar por una autocrítica hacia la propia masculinidad, partiendo de un análisis de la socialización vivida y de sus consecuencias.

De forma paralela, considera que pese a los logros conseguidos en materia de igualdad de género, el patriarcado aún está muy presente en nuestras vidas. Las desigualdades entre hombres y mujeres aún son evidentes y, por tanto, queda mucho trabajo por hacer. El libro presenta multitud de ejemplos de mensajes emitidos por los medios de comunicación y de los valores que están presentes de forma mayoritaria en el conjunto de la sociedad actual, como la concepción acientífica de los micromachismos, altamente difundida en los últimos años, como ejemplo de la persistencia de estructuras y relaciones sociales basadas en el patriarcado.

En este sentido el autor aboga por la deconstrucción de los modelos de masculinidad dominantes y crear nuevas formas de relación con las mujeres, relaciones más libres y que no sean herencia de una sociedad patriarcal. En

base a esta situación, y partiendo del cambio que están sufriendo las sociedades a partir del giro hacia modelos más dialógicos e igualitarios en los que las relaciones basadas en la autoridad están perdiendo su hegemonía, Salazar liga la idea de *conciliación de la vida personal, familiar, y laboral* a la idea ejercer el derecho de ciudadanía, entendiendo que la transformación social empieza en la transformación personal. Además considera que el modelo patriarcal y sus valores como *la competitividad, la violencia o la desigualdad* son una de las causas que han conducido a la crisis económica y de valores a escala global. Así, defiende la idea de qué debemos tener una visión más crítica de los modelos sociales dominantes para poder construir las bases de una sociedad más justa y democrática, una sociedad más conectada a los derechos y las libertades de toda la ciudadanía, es decir, una sociedad que asegure la libertad en aspectos básicos como la construcción de nuestra identidad como hombres y mujeres en el espacio público y privado. Mejorar como personas y mejorar como ciudadanos como vía hacia la construcción de sociedades más justas, igualitarias y, por tanto, más avanzadas, creando una relación positiva entre *igualdad de género, desarrollo y democracia*.

El autor presenta su análisis dividido en 4 capítulos en los que en cada uno de ellos hace una presentación muy exhaustiva de cada uno de los pilares de su obra. Así, capítulo a capítulo Salazar desmenuza su discurso con la realización de un extenso y basto trabajo de concreción y análisis. De modo que parte de un estudio del marco jurídico español centrándose en el análisis del texto constitucional de 1978. Nos presenta como se reproduce el modelo de sociedad patriarcal en el marco constitucional, y, de forma paralela, las acciones en materia de igualdad que se han llevado a cabo, tanto a nivel jurisdiccional como en las prácticas parlamentarias. Partiendo de este análisis el autor prosigue su obra con el estudio de la consolidación de la cultura patriarcal en las sociedades de mediados del s. XX, así como un vasto trabajo sobre la creación y definición de la identidad masculina, para finalizar con una presentación de alternativas reales que muestran vías de superación de la desigualdad por razones de género.

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