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Influences of Emerging Beauty Industry for Men on Construction of Masculinities of Male Students of Dhaka City

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Influences of Emerging Beauty Industry for Men on Construction of Masculinities of Male Students of Dhaka City

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Abstract

Back in history, muscular and strong male body has always been used to promulgate masculinity. This idealized male figure was proliferated mainly for spreading the notion of male superiority in relation to power and to give a strong base to the social construction of masculinity. This study targets to disclose the perception about the attributes masculinities among the male students of Dhaka city regarding male beautification. It attempts to unveil young men's perspectives regarding their masculinities and beauty. From history, we can see men have always been assumed as the ambassador of roughness but in recent time the emergence of fashion-conscious men can be seen, who are slowly occupying a handsome position in the society. Concerning study attempts to bring out the way in which such changing trend of male beauty is perceived among the male students of Dhaka city. What could be the ideologies of these young men who are being involved with it? What is influencing them to be part of such arena which, to a great extent, is still considered as a female domain? Is their perception about the construction of masculinity is shifting from the so-called idealized masculinity? The study tries to find out the answers.

Keywords: Masculinity, Male Beauty, Identity, Body.

Influencias de la Industria Emergente de Belleza para Hombres en la Construcción de las Masculinidades de los Estudiantes de Dhaka

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Resumen

En la historia, el cuerpo musculoso y fuerte del hombre siempre se ha utilizado para promulgar la masculinidad. Esta figura masculina idealizada proliferó principalmente para difundir la noción de superioridad masculina en relación con el poder y dar una base fuerte a la construcción social de la masculinidad. Este estudio tiene como objetivo revelar la percepción acerca de los atributos de las masculinidades entre los estudiantes varones de la ciudad de Dhaka con respecto al embellecimiento masculino. Intenta desvelar las perspectivas de los hombres jóvenes respecto a sus masculinidades y la belleza. Históricamente hemos podido ver a los hombres que siempre han sido asumidos como el embajador de la aspereza, pero en los últimos tiempos se puede ver el surgimiento de los hombres conscientes de la moda, que poco a poco ocupan una posición hermosa en la sociedad. Además este estudio intenta poner de manifiesto la forma en que esta tendencia cambiante de la belleza masculina se percibe entre los estudiantes varones de la ciudad de Dhaka. ¿Cuáles podrían ser las ideologías de estos jóvenes que están involucrados con ella? ¿Qué les está influyendo para ser parte de este ámbito que, en gran medida, todavía se considera como dominio femenino? ¿Su percepción acerca de la construcción de la masculinidad está cambiando de la masculinidad idealizada? El estudio trata de averiguar las respuestas a dichas preguntas.

Palabras clave: Masculinidad, Belleza Masculina, Identidad, Cuerpo.

Three wishes of every man: to be healthy, to be rich by honest means, and to be beautiful' – said Plato (Graham, 2009). The pursuit of beauty is a congenital human characteristic. It is one of the natural instincts of human beings to find beauty in every sphere of life. It is quite obvious that people will try to make them beautiful. As Dr. Nancy Etcoff (2011) described that from the beginning of human civilization humans have had the ability to recognize and admire the beautiful in different things. Therefore, from the dawn of civilization, we found human using various color and ornaments (made by wooden sticks, rock or metal etc.) to look them beautiful. Though enhancing physical beauty through using different products was seen as a domain of women, from recent past men are also entering and making own space in this arena. According to the American Society for Aesthetic Plastic Surgery (ASAPS) (2013), globally more than 1 million men has gone through cosmetic procedures to enhance their physical beauty in 2013 and there has been over 273% increase in the total number of cosmetic procedures on men since 1997. From 1997 to 2008 surgical procedures increased by 50%, and nonsurgical procedures increased by 231% (ASAPS, 2009). Though there is unavailability of numerical information regarding the number of men involved in this practice of being beautiful but it is assumed that number of beauty conscious male who use different surgical/cosmetic products for personal beautification are increasing day by day. In her study, Iida (2005) found that the changing trend of men's perception of male beauty has often been described as 'feminization of masculinity', in which the phenomenon is viewed as a logical outcome of the greater trend of the 'feminization of culture' in the 'postmodern' cultural condition where human bodies are transformed into visible representational surfaces.

The relation between masculinity and male beautification is a least developed arena of masculinity and sexuality studies. Very few works have been done in this sector, most of which are based on the content analysis of the advertisements present in various visual and print media (Burton, 2008). Other works which refer to relation of beauty with masculinity mainly deals with the ideals of a typical masculine figure that is constructed through the patriarchal masculine mindset of society (Cafri & Thompson, 2004; Agliata & Tantleff-Dunn, 2004; Frederick, Fessler & Haselton, 2005; Holliday & Taylor, 2006). The change in men's behavior regarding their beauty which is gradually shifting from typical construction of masculinity to a more

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ambiguous form is still an unexplored terrain regarding the social science researches. Though there are very few works regarding men's changing trend and perception about male beauty could be found in recent days ([Sowad, 2010](#)), a little handful of works are seen to try to induct scholarly endeavors in this issue.

As a consequent result of the evolution of men's perception of own physical beauty in the more developed global north, the concept of nurturing male beauty has hit the developing global south as well. In respect to Asia, majority of such studies to mark the causes and the outcomes of the men's changing trends about physical beauty have been taken and literature have been developed has been directed from a southeast Asian perspective focusing on Hong Kong, Taiwan, Thailand, Japan etc. As previously discussed Iida ([2005](#)) tried to discover the implication of the rising trend of male beauty by observing and analyzing the expressions, strategies, and intentions of those young men aesthetically representing themselves. In context of Japan she assumed that the changing trend of beauty among male would take them to a closer situation with female counterparts, their gender identity will have a more ambiguous form. This emerging gender ambiguity may help to diminish the vital form of patriarchy in a steady process as people will then be less sturdy about their certain gender identity and will think before trying to oppress the people of different gender identities.

In Bangladesh, research on masculinity and sexuality is almost an unexplored territory. The concept of male beauty and its relation with masculinity, change in social trends and construction of new masculine concepts are new to the researchers. As an academic discourse, masculinity is an emerging concept in Bangladesh and scarcity of local literature is prominent. Changing trend of beauty among men has caught attentions of only a few researchers over the world and in Bangladesh, there are still no mentionable scholarly endeavors. The young generation is seen as the trendsetters in the field of fashion of a nation. A large portion of the male population of Bangladesh especially the young population who are said to be the future leaders of the future generations of the country are being attached to the enhancement of own physical beauty will were generally seen as women's arena even in a recent past. Like other existing Patriarchal societies, Bangladesh, that always see gender construct as an unchangeable phenomenon are now facing a divergence in strict gender attitudes; one of

the divergences is men's interest in personal physical beautification. The rapid growth of men's beauty parlors in Bangladesh brings out the very issue of physical beauty enhancement of men in front of us. At the moment there are lots of male grooming parlors are visible in big cities of the country like Dhaka, Chittagong, and Sylhet etc. The questions are now arising, is the long existing traditional concept of 'men as rough diamonds' going to break in Bangladesh now? Is this the time when strict distinction among women and men regarding own physical beauty is going to break here? Nurturing own beauty, which was totally seen as an arena of women, are going to be shared by men also from now on? If the concept of personal physical beauty, which was totally seen as a feminine issue for centuries, are now changing can we not hope that the idealized form of masculinity which seems static now can be changed with time to a more gender sensitive, gender identical way

Masculinity/Masculinities

Masculinity has its own view regarding beauty and in common notion, all men have to follow that in order to be perfectly masculine. Though masculinity was introduced as a singular concept, subsequently in the 1980s it was gradually substituted by plural masculinities to acknowledge the complexities and to contextualize historically (Hooper, 2012). Clatterbaugh (1998) has questioned the rationality of masculinity/ masculinities as he proposes that identity of men are too diversified to be termed as masculinity and even use of the term masculinities is not enough to clarify what institutes the integral parts of this plural and who or how are people consigned to these integral parts. Present constructions of masculinities are erected upon previous notions of masculinities that once enjoyed hegemonic influence (Blazina, 2003). Basically, masculinities are perceived as the cluster of values, norms and behaviors endorsed on male members of the society. Connell (1995) proposes, mainly four strategies could be used which helps up to define masculinity and to distinguish the category of person who is masculine. These approaches are easily distinguishable in terms of logic but are often combined in practice. The fundamental problem with this Connell's approach is this approach does not offer any clench on masculinity at the level of personality (Imtiaz, 2009, p.14). Ouzgane and Morrell (2005) also reject the notion of homogeneity of men and when they

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write about African masculinities they reiterate that they start from a ‘position of diversity’ because ‘the variations are infinite’.

In discussing men’s perception of masculinity and the changing trend of male beauty hegemonic masculinity plays a significant part because beauty and beautification are always seen a property of a specific gender group (women) and has been kept out from another group (men). Moreover, these concepts of beauty and beautification are always seen as an undermined concept as men do not need to polish his beauty because he is beautiful as he is. On the other hand, women are always told to be beautiful to attract men and to be their playmates. Here superiority of men has always been highlighted over women by creating a hegemonic stand. In the existing idealized concept of masculinity in Bangladeshi society male beautification is not a well-accepted phenomenon. Yet as the construction of masculinities is contextual we can assume that someday this concretized stigmatization of beautification among men may lose its acceptance in our society.

Masculinity and Male Body

Body is a significant instrument to perform gender roles by acting specific tasks over time (Butler, 1993) and in construction of masculinities body also plays the major role. The representation of male strength has always been characterized through the visualization of a strong, well-shaped and toned male body. Body has always been a prominent field to visualize masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity patronizes facts like strength, aggressiveness etc. that needs the male body to be well-toned. Unlike women, Masculine body for men is always meant to be a muscular body with a rough look. The rough outlook was the representation of powerful, dominating masculinity which occupied a careless attitude. An existing study on the body and masculinity reports a growing concern among men in improving their physical appearance (Mishkind, Rodin, Silberstein & Striegel-Moore, 1986). One factor contributing to this development is the increased cultural attention given to the male body, notably the revival of male body images within popular culture and the media (Wienke, 1998). The previous rough version of men is now being replaced with the beauty conscious male. The recent male figure shows the body of men without any bodily hair, faired look, wrinkle free face and most of the time with a gentle smile. Today’s the much-needed fairness of men for the existing culture

reminds us the historic representation of women in the media and brings an analogy of both sexes in front of us.

Methodology

This study was conducted among the male students of Dhaka city. The respondents were selected through random sampling. The age group of the respondents was from 19 years to 25 years and was studying in undergrad and postgrad levels of different universities. In this study, the qualitative findings are supported by the quantitative data. Data and information from both primary as well as secondary sources have been gathered and used for this study. For the first phase of the study, a questionnaire survey among one hundred (100) male students from Dhaka was conducted to get a quantitative understanding of this phenomenon. After doing so, the questionnaires were assessed questionnaires and few respondents were sorted out who seemed interesting for the next phase of the study. In the second phase, ten in-depth interviews were conducted where the interviewees shared their views about masculinity, concept of beauty and male beautification. Through the interviews, it has been tried to find out how young male students view the social construction of masculinity and perception about the changing trend of male beautification.

Beautification of Men

The concept of beauty embedded in the mindset of people helps to distinguish anything as beautiful. whether by societal consent or from an individual stand, the concept of beauty is often based on some amalgamation of Inner and Outer Beauty; which includes psychosomatic features such as behavior, attitude, civility, honesty, grace; as well as physical dynamics such as health, youthfulness, facial symmetry and complexion. Beautiful – the term once used only for women is now by the grace of the capital market being adjacent with men as well. The existing beauty industry today is emphasizing, creating and circulating the images of beautiful men. Beautification of a person generally means the procedure of making visual enhancements to a person's body and face. Historically beautification occupied a place on women's sphere. In the existing setting, women are compared with 'body, nature, immanence, joy and life' (Jaggar,

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1992, p.364) and are seen as ‘introvert, wishful, dreamy or fantastic’ (Firestone, 2000). The process of beautification, through which one enhances own beauty was primarily introducing to make women more presentable to men. Smooth skin, young look, fair outlook all were the ideals of a beautiful woman. Currently coming out of the age-long trend, men are also being involved in this process of physical beautification.

As beauty is seen as a feminine arena, generally it was never associated with masculinity till very near past. The traditional masculine male was anticipated to be masculine by having a strong, rough, and wrinkly face. Male ideologies controlling the market were mainly omitting the inclusion of men in the arena of beauty as it may impair the existing male superiority over the society. Men may have been afraid to enhance their physical appearance in the past through the use of grooming products because, as Etcoff (2011, p.87) noted, ‘Beautiful men may get questioned about their sexual orientation’. The concept of male beautification is now coming into our everyday life. With the evolution of masculinities, it becomes clear that the changing of men’s body construct would not be able to hamper the spreading of patriarchy over the society as the oppression is deep rooted and bound in a systematic process. So to expand the market, the concept of beauty of men was also brought to the media.

Masculinity and Beauty: Exploring Men’s Perspective

Featuring Men, Unveiling Masculinity

Men the chief agents of patriarchy exercises masculinity in all spheres of their life. It is not always true that each and every man willingly exercise the attributes of hegemonic masculinity to dominate or to subjugate other people especially women but the socially imposed attributes become inherent amongst almost every man through their socialization. When unveiling the construction of masculinity among the respondents it has been tried to understand them on basis of some indicators that represents the socially laid up construction of masculinity. Before going to the analysis of men’s view on their bodily beauty and beautification process it was important to unveil their construction of masculinity and their ideal construction of a ‘man’.

Ideal Masculine characteristics

When it was tried to see the deeply rooted constructions of masculinity among the young men in Bangladeshi society, the characteristics which men give the supreme importance for being a 'man' was first sorted out. When respondents were asked to mention the ideal masculine characteristics they mentioned punctuality, determination, carrier consciousness, responsibility, decision-making capability, bread winner, helpfulness, personality, wealthy, honesty, smartness, strong physical structure and attributes, autocratic mind and ill temper. Among these characteristics, most of the respondents have mentioned breadwinning or the monetary responsibility as the most crucial characteristic of a man. Being the breadwinner of the family a man should be responsible for fulfilling the needs of the family members. Secondly, a man should also have the decision making power. The third most important characteristic is men have to be physically strong. In general, the ideal masculine characteristics that came out from the analysis of the narratives of the respondents are the common socially ascribed characteristics. The patriarchal setup has captured the mind of these people so well that most of them cannot think out of it.

Household Responsibilities

Generally, when the discussion comes to masculinities, the responsibility of household works is a secluded and stigmatized area. Men are always kept away from the domestic arena by the so-called traditions of the society and taught to see domestic works as the domain of women, where they are best suited to. Most of the respondents had the same typical and biased view about the domestic responsibilities of gendered division of labor which was clearly portrayed in their answers. Almost all of the respondents said a man should not do domestic works in the house as they think it demeans the quality of a man. Still, some of the respondents are agreed to help their partners in domestic works but only in case of emergency, when no other options are available. These men are also interested in staying beside their partners when their partners will do this entire works which are the responsibilities of women. These respondents do not think directly see

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women as secondary but they support gender division of labor and thinks gender division of labor is important to run the society smoothly. Their perception brings to us in front of the age-old construction of persistent politics of patriarchy that men do not think men are women can be equal. Still, the situation is going to a silent positive change. One of the ten interviewees has expressed his opinion against the existing gender division of labor.

Strength and Power

The concept of masculinity is to a large extent is based on power. Connell (1995, p.41) argued that men perform and represent diverse patterns of masculinity depending on their positions within a social hierarchy of power. It is power that determines the social positions of men. It is always expected in the society that men will fight not only for him but for his family as well. A man has to protect his family from all types of problems. To achieve that position a man definitely need power. Such power can come in various forms like social, economic, physical, psychological etc. If a man is not powerful enough he would be stigmatized in the society. All of the respondents agreed that man needs to be strong and powerful. He should have a power to make his word established, to keep his superiority and to be in a leading position. The respondents also consented that most of the man in our society does not match these characteristics. Only a handful of men in the existing situation are as strong and powerful as it is expected.

Decision-making

Decision-making capacity is an important characteristic of masculinities. Does a man should always take the decisions regarding the household and family matters? Respondents got divided into groups while answering the question. The majority of them thought men should take all the decisions because of their superiority as women lack strength, power, quality and/or capability to have the final word. These people expressed their views almost similar to the traditional patriarchal values where men see women as a subjugated object; they never give women space for their full humane capabilities to be flourished. The few remaining respondents said that they will consult with their partners when taking any decision as sometimes they

might be wrong and their partners may come with a better solution, but still decision will be taken by men. Their view represents the existing male superiority of the society. Being socialized in a hegemonic masculine environment, men always learnt to see women as a secondary being. They think a woman can never take a better decision without a man's concern. On the brighter side, some of the respondents believed that a man is not out of humane errors and can never be always right. The decision taken is more important rather than the person taking the decision.

Men Perceiving Beauty

Man and beauty – till the last decade these two terms were seen as contrasting rather complementary. With the change of time, social system, tradition, mind sets of people are also changing and Men are now being increasingly conscious about their own beauty. When talking with the respondents it was always tried to understand their indicators of being a beautiful man, the characteristics of beauty as a concept that is drawing attention of men to change them and how they distinguish the beautification of men from the beautification of women. In this segment, the perception of male students of Dhaka about the idealized notion of masculine beauty has been tried to be explored.

Preferred Beauty of Men

Power is a term related to strength and to become powerful one has to be strong. Commonly, a strong man denotes a man with a strong physical characteristic rather than psychological. Most of the respondents have preferred a muscular body as their ideal male figure. From the answers given by respondents one thing became clear that still when questions arise regarding male beauty, most of the men prefer a tall and muscular body. Body is directly related with masculine power and masculinity. If we look into history, we can see a picture of a muscular body has always been the representative of masculinity. Another important fact is body color has not been emphasized by the respondents. It implies that though men are becoming beauty conscious their main intention is not becoming fair but they need a fresh look and handsome dress up that makes them presentable in any situation. Typical perception regarding male beauty that man should

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be muscular has not been changed because if a man does not have a strong body he will be less capable of dominating other persons especially women, which will make him prone to lose his hegemonic stand. These days a tall polished muscular body is the ideal beauty of male which has slightly been deviated from the previous perception of male beauty which was just tall and roughly muscular.

Importance of Beauty

Most of the respondents have mentioned tall polished muscular body as their preferred male beauty, and for that, they have mentioned grooming as an important factor. They emphasized on dressing sense and smartness in dress colors. They think in recent times outlook of a man is also very important. One of them thinks that a person who is not good looking cannot have common acceptance. Even being in public place when one needs to get the attention of people, a good and polished look may help him to do so. Plus, that time is no more when in job market women's beauty was the ingredients for getting a job and men was not to worry about their look. Now a day's good looking men are being preferred in job sector. Besides, young men of today think that a beautiful man is more accepted to women than rough and unpolished men. This notion completely challenges the age-old construction of patriarchy that manifests men as superior who will choose women for their service. In this time men are thinking about the women's choice of beauty and they are valuing women's idealized beauty concepts for men. Such situation is to some extent contrasting the existing patriarchal values.

View towards Male Beautification

Before the last decade, the beautification process was only confined to the women. Men who are intensely interested in beautifying themselves are generally stigmatized as womanly in the society. Etcoff (2011, p.87) noted, 'Beautiful men may get questioned about their sexual orientation'. Interestingly, in this study, it was seen that a handsome number of men think male beautification is important and they regularly go to the beauty salons. They showed a very positive view towards the change in the trend of male beautification. The common conception that women should only

have access to the beautification is strongly contested by one of the respondents. Another respondent said that he has been encouraged towards this male beautification by his family. He has mentioned his growing interest in beautification as a ‘learning process’, which started from his childhood. That shows us that though male beautification is given least importance in the society; there are people who do not think it as an awful and unnecessary thing. When most of the respondents are expressing their view in favor of male beautification for getting a job and/or to get public attention or to attract the girls, one of the respondents stayed with the traditional belief stating that at least for attracting girls it’s not needed for a man to beautify himself.

Perception about Own Body and Beauty

The existing patriarchal society promulgates a strong body for men with a rough look because without roughness men will not be able to continue their hegemony. In reality, most of the men do not have that idealized beauty or body that is ascribed by the society. Some men are there who are not satisfied with their look because it is not close to the idealized notion of the male bodily beauty of recent times. The reality is this socially settled standard is almost unachievable. Such idealized notion makes most of the men feel humiliated as they do not match that standard of masculinity. On the other hand, the people who don’t think the idealized form of masculine body is acceptable and are happy with their beauty, think society has settled wrong standard and people who try to follow that ideal are backdated. People who support this idealized form think that traditions are better to keep as they are. They think the male hegemony on the society is unchangeable as the tradition is age old. Being a man, the favor they are getting from society inspires them to support the perpetuation of gender hegemony. They are unaware of the truth that this hegemony is pushing them to a depression because of not having an ideal body and beauty. Other people whose oppose the idealized view of male beauty proliferate that society is not an unchangeable thing. It keeps changing its form and varies in time, place, culture etc. Social ideology regarding male beauty is going to face a much-needed change. The existing ideology is making men obliged to change their body according to social expectation, which is not an abnormal thing.

Conclusion

Masculinity as a discourse has emerged to help male supremacy persist over the society. To keep women's secondary position perpetuating, they are always being represented as the symbol of beauty. This symbolization performed a political role by which women were secluded from the outer sphere by saying that it will put bad impact on their beauty. They were always told to remain inside and home and keep cherishing their beauty because a woman is always being valued by her beauty, not quality. The process of personal beautification which has been seen as feminine trait since long ago now suddenly is involving men in it as in recent times men are becoming beauty conscious on a large scale. These happenings imply that the traditional construct of masculinity is shifting from its stand. This study presented some qualitative facts to prove that the young population of Dhaka city to some extent is thinking out of the box. Though these young men most of the time strongly argued that male superiority should prevail in the society, their conceptualization of superiority is different than their predecessors. They think men should dominate women psychologically, even if there is no difference regarding physical outlook or other visible features. Such attitude proves that the construction of masculinity is a continuously shifting process. The perception of people regarding male beauty has faced a huge shift in last two decades in Bangladesh. Beauty that was presented as a typical feminine concept in the society is now seeing the involvement of men in the process which represents the changing nature of social constructs like patriarchy and masculinity. If construction of masculinity is changing its form regarding beauty, it is also possible that this construction someday will change its form regarding the other concepts of masculinity which now seems unchangeable.

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Between Vietnam and 9/11: Arnold Schwarzenegger and a New Type of Masculinity in Twins and Kindergarten Cop

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Between Vietnam and 9/11: Arnold Schwarzenegger and a New Type of Masculinity in *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop*

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Abstract

This article argues that the 1990s was a culturally pivotal period in the history of the U.S. Trapped between the Vietnam War and 9/11, that time generated a very unique portrayal of masculinity in film. The article contends that with the release of *Twins* (1988) and *Kindergarten Cop* (1990), Arnold Schwarzenegger became a new hero of the 1990s, showcasing that masculinity of the 1990s was multifaceted. The article imparts the idea that in the 1990s masculinity was not defined by the notions of power, aggressiveness, and emotionless anymore; on the contrary, vulnerability, devotion, and care were the aspects that characterized the new type of masculinity.

Keywords: masculinity, body, aggressiveness vs. softness, family, film, Arnold Schwarzenegger

Entre Vietnam y 9/11: Arnold Schwarzenegger y un Tipo Nuevo de Masculinidad en *Gemelos* y *Poli de Guardería*

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Resumen

Este artículo sostiene que la década de 1990 fue un período culturalmente fundamental en la historia de los EE.UU. Atrapados entre la Guerra de Vietnam y el 11 de septiembre, el tiempo generó un retrato muy singular de la masculinidad en el cine. El artículo sostiene que con el lanzamiento de *Gemelos* (1988) y *Poli de Guardería* (1990), Arnold Schwarzenegger se convirtió en un nuevo héroe de la década de los 90, mostrando que la masculinidad de esta década era multifacética. El artículo presenta la idea de que en la década de los 90 la masculinidad no era definida por las nociones de poder, agresividad y falta de emoción; por el contrario, la vulnerabilidad, la devoción y el cuidado fueron los aspectos que caracterizaron el nuevo tipo de masculinidad.

Palabras clave: masculinidad, cuerpo, agresividad vs. ternura, familia, película, Arnold Schwarzenegger.

Masculinity and heroism are the notions that can be applied to every action film. There is an evident connection between the two that can be realized through the analysis of the role the body plays in action films. Yvonne Tasker (1993) claims that “the white male bodybuilder as a star” can be considered the main characteristic of American action cinema (p. 73). Thus, traditionally, every action film has a white male character with a muscular body. Richard Sparks (1996) adds more to the Tasker’s argument saying that action films “dignify and celebrate the suffering and striving of their leading men” (p. 348). Consequently, an action movie character is not only supposed to be strong but he also has to overcome obstacles, and the more difficult they are, the faster the audience can define his manliness. Ultimately, the character’s masculinity helps him become a hero. Thus, masculinity and heroism are inseparable notions when it comes to action films.

But can this tendency be applied to all action films? How do we deal with the action movie genre that is, indeed, not a cinematic innovation but rather a solid platform that has been developing for decades and, has inevitably been influenced by cultural changes? Why Schwarzenegger’s films? Why would we need to return to their analysis now, when decades passed since the films had been released and so much investigation of Schwarzenegger’s persona, his acting skills, and, importantly to this research, of the masculinity he himself as well as his characters generated has been carried out, which eventually proved that both the actor and his characters deserve their own niche in Gender, Cultural, and Film Studies? My main concern is that scholars have vehemently examined Schwarzenegger as a film star, as a politician, and as an embodiment of a certain type of masculinity from quite a similar perspective: what does Schwarzenegger’s masculinity have to tell us? However, I want to define my analysis in terms of a historical perspective and look at the 1990s as a significant decade with a very heavy and weighty limbus. Namely, there had been Vietnam before the 1990s began and there was 9/11 after the 1990s were over. Both events were crucial for the U.S. nation – both were devastating and effective in quite destructive ways. Both were the control points that dictated or at least provoked changes in U.S. militarism. Thus, both are of a profound significance when dealing with such an issue as masculinity. The 1990s stuck in between and, therefore, provided a rich material to investigate. There was an inevitable shift in masculinity in the

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1990s that would differ substantially from the one that the audience could observe on screen before the decade started as well as after it was over. Looking at the events of the Vietnam War and the terrorist attacks of 9/11 as well as U.S. interventions in Afghanistan and Iraq that followed in retrospect, one cannot neglect the fact that military activity always demands a so-called “traditional” masculinity. Therefore, the image of a fighter that gets imprinted on screen remains roughly the same in terms of his powerfulness and firmness. This should not necessarily be applied to his appearance – indeed, the comparison of action heroes from the 1970s and 1980s (e.g., Rambo from *First Blood* (1982) and its sequences and John Matrix from *Commando* (1985)) and the ones from the 2010s (e.g., William James from *The Hurt Locker* (2008) or Tony Stark/Iron Man from *Iron Man* (2008) and its sequences) will reveal obvious dissimilarities. Yet, my contention is that while Vietnam dictated the emergence of a Rambo-hero and 9/11 of a so-called soldier-protector, not so mechanical as his Vietnam predecessor was but still ready to sacrifice his life for his people and his country and firmly determined to revenge, dispense justice, and clean the world from terrorists (although one should not neglect films like, for instance, *The Expendables* (2010) or *The Expendables 2* (2012), where the huge “Vietnam-era-muscles” return on screen), the 1990s were not about that. The last decade of the twentieth century was a relatively calm page in the history of the United States. Indeed, there were interventions in Iraq, Somalia, and former Yugoslavia, but none of them became a radical point that would provoke significant changes in, first and foremost, the consciousness of American citizens like Vietnam and 9/11, indeed, did.

The 1990s became a symbolic decade when Vietnam was already not so pressingly notorious (or, at least, both the U.S government and American citizens tried to background the excessive feelings of loss, shame, defeat, and guilt). That was also the time when the Cold War was finally over and the fear of potential attacks from the Soviet Union has clearly lessened. The American people wanted to return back to normal and peaceful life, when nobody has to prevail physically or die in action. 9/11 had not happened at that moment so neither the world nor the United States in particular had experienced such a devastating catastrophe yet; nobody had a paranoiac fear of insecurity yet. Technically speaking, Americans wanted the 1990s to become a happy decade as they were tired of the Vietnam savagery and had not yet been broken psychologically by terrorists. Therefore, the 1990s

were doomed to become the era of comedies and family movies where ex-soldiers and fighters return to their normal civil life and their roles of fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons. Their warrior masculinity, hence, became unnecessary and had to undergo certain changes as the environment the American man found himself at that time in had changed too – he was not on a battlefield facing enemies but rather in his own house surrounded by his family members. From cultural and cinematic perspectives, this tendency was reflected in a great number of family movies that the 1990s became so famous for, including Schwarzenegger's *Twins* (1988), *Kindergarten Cop* (1990), *Junior* (1994), and *Jingle All the Way* (1996). Therefore, I concur with Michael A. Messner's (2007) speculation that masculinity is “multiple, contextual and historically shifting configurations” (p. 462) and look over the concept of the 1990s' masculinity as well as investigate how the masculinity of the Vietnam era had changed towards 1990. By means of an exhaustive analysis of Schwarzenegger's *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop* that opened the era of a new type of masculinity, I seek to answer the question: What is so peculiar about masculinity of the 1990s?

Despite the fact that apart from “good” masculine men who later turn into heroes, there are always “bad guys” who stand in the way of the positive character and who can also be very muscular, one can speak about “the prevalence of images of heroic masculinity in popular film and television” (Sparks, 1996, p. 351). However, there is a clear tendency in the male heroes' acting out, i.e., they expose their masculinity as a “self-conscious ‘performance’” (p. 355), which means that they treat masculinity not as a quality that can be inherited by somebody else but rather as something unique that characterizes only them as particular heroes, thus making them superior. Yet a great number of “heroes” in American cinema turn their acting into a competition where each of them tries to be more masculine. Sparks provides an example of “the star images or *personae* of Hollywood's leading men,” particularly, Mel Gibson, Sylvester Stallone, Arnold Schwarzenegger, and Bruce Willis – who “received much commentary” – arguing that in the 1980s they “exaggerated” their masculinity so that they could be perceived as unique (pp. 355-356):

We see masculinity “hyperbolized” in the ultra-physiques of Schwarzenegger or Stallone; or else we have the “hyper-

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masculine” close-to-the-edge dangerousness of the Mel Gibson character in the *Lethal Weapon* films...

Men do emote, but within a narrow compass. The primary emotions that they evince include grief (for lost love or slain partners) and rage (for the same reasons) ...

...[Their] images...can nevertheless remain physically and emotionally terribly powerful (pp. 356, 358).

This observation proves that in action films of the 1980s masculinity is associated only with physical strength, frightening appearance, and emotionless (even if emotions are expressed, they are minimized and the masculine hero will later revenge the one who caused them).

However, in the period from the 1980s to the 1990s, there was a change in the depiction of masculinity in American action films: a hard-body hero was substituted by a clever and emotional hero, which, as it has already been stated earlier, can be explained by the historical and political peculiarities of the time. To corroborate my argument, I want to quote Tasker (1993) who claims that “the action cinema is populated by wise guys as well as tough guys,” which means that many of the actors and their characters are “known for [their] voice[s] as much as their bod[ies], and [their] role in these films as wise guy[s] enacts a different kind of masculine performance to that associated with the bodybuilder” (p. 74). The features that build up masculinity change every time. Indeed, the “musclemen stars” of the 1980s “beg[a]n to creep into middle age” and they were not so popular in the 1990s (p. 75). In the 1990s, the audience started to associate an actor with the word “successful” only if he was able to portray a “complex character” (p. 75). Arnold Schwarzenegger arguably became a new hero of the 1990s with the release of *Twins* (1988) and *Kindergarten Cop* (1990), vividly demonstrating that masculinity of the 1990s is multifaceted. To be more precise, it was not even Schwarzenegger who turned into a new hero – it was a demanded type of new masculinity that made Schwarzenegger adopt himself to the image of a sensitive and caring man. Therefore, I claim that in the 1990s masculinity was not defined by the notions of power, aggressiveness, and emotionless anymore. Vulnerability, devotion, and care were the aspects that characterized masculinity of that time. Arnold Schwarzenegger’s characters in *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop* aptly illustrate the male hero of the 1990s.

Schwarzenegger's Debut

Arnold Schwarzenegger – an immigrant from Austria – has become famous in the United States first as a bodybuilder, winning a countless number of titles and awards for his excellently shaped and trained body. It was his body that later drew attention of many film directors and helped him start his acting career. He got his first role in *Hercules in New York* (1969), where he played demi-god Hercules and where he was virtually supposed to demonstrate his muscles. Later, he starred in the documentary *Pumping Iron* (1977) that, according to Sara Martín Alegre (1998), was Schwarzenegger's "first turning point" (p. 89). However, he began to gain more popularity after *Conan the Barbarian* (1982) was released. In brief, at first, both the directors and the audience were focused only on Schwarzenegger's muscular body.

Indeed, Schwarzenegger was right in time. Directors of American action cinema of the 1980s were looking for actors with over-muscled bodies. Tasker (1993) claims that in the 1980s the focus of attention was "male power" and "hardness" that could be achieved through "muscularity, a quality traditionally associated with masculinity" (p. 77). Thus, a good action film needed only a muscular man and some action; Tasker, nevertheless, stresses that muscles were the key attribute in every action film (pp. 77–78). It means that the more muscles were displayed, the better the film was, i.e., for the actors of the 1980s, it was important to be muscular-bumped and sweat all the time as they were not solving riddles but exposing their spectacular bodies. The muscular body of an action star was treated as a "static object of contemplation" (p. 80). Additionally, as Ellexis Boyle (2010) argues, "[m]uscles have long been a leitmotif of national and racial supremacy in the cultural imagination of the United States" (p. 47).

However, my assumption is that the launching of Schwarzenegger's career started later with the release of James Cameron's *Terminator* (1984), where he very convincingly played the role of a violent cyborg. Perhaps for the first time, the audience paid attention to Schwarzenegger not just as an artificial object with muscles but as a talented actor. His popularity was increasing over the 1980s, when films like *Commando* (1985), *Predator* (1987), and *The Running Man* (1987) were released. Nevertheless, Alegre

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(1998) argues that in all his 1980s' movies Schwarzenegger's characters looked "alike" due to the actor's "impressive physical appearance" (p. 88). Indeed, those were not only directors who created their characters but also the actor himself contributed to that process. Thus, Schwarzenegger's characters obtained the same masculinity that the actor thought to be "correct." Linda Ruth Williams (2012) claims:

Schwarzenegger became a star first through physical performance, turning to bodybuilding for reasons of masculinity and individualism. Team sports disappointed him because they lacked individual rewards...But more than this, bodybuilding shored up Schwarzenegger's sense of what a real man ought to be (p. 26).

This means that in his characters Schwarzenegger might have reflected his own life principles: he is always tough and staunch, he is an individual, and he is a real man, both on screen and in real life. Richard Maltby' speculation that "the star is always himself or herself, only thinly disguised as a character" (Butter, 2011, p. 151) vividly supports my argument. The words of Schwarzenegger's biographer Laurence Leamer corroborate it, too: "Schwarzenegger was a star whose own persona was his only capital. Arnold was not an actor as much as he was a performer who played various versions of his idealized self on-screen" (Williams, 2012, p. 30).

Like the Terminator, Schwarzenegger and his further action heroes can be characterized as "driven", "focused," and unstoppable (Williams, 2012, p. 29). He was very much different from the characters played by Marlon Brando and James Dean in the 1950s and 1960s, who, according to Alegre (1998), were "much less afraid of emotion and feelings" (p. 88). Michael Butter (2011) states that in the 1980s Schwarzenegger had a "rather stable star persona" (p. 150). The stress, in case of Schwarzenegger, was never laid on his face but on his muscles and body (Alegre, 1998, p. 89). All Schwarzenegger's characters from the 1980s had an "iron determination" (Butter, 2011, p. 153). Indeed, their only aim was to revenge, survive, or kill. They never relied on anybody else and thus always acted alone (that explains why Schwarzenegger's characters never had much to say) (p. 153). They were quite unique or, as Butter puts it, they represented a "highly pronounced otherness": a machine, a barbarian, or an extremely brutal character who often found himself in a very unusual environment or culture

(p. 153). In short, none of Schwarzenegger's characters could resemble a real human-being. Schwarzenegger always represented a superior man whose power and actions could never be repeated by anyone else. He remained an over-muscled object and hardly anybody could identify with him.

Given these facts, Schwarzenegger's action characters were perceived unnatural or, as Tasker (1993) puts it, “manufactured” (p. 78). Apparently, such an impression was created because of the actor's past as a bodybuilder. The audience thought that Schwarzenegger's characters were created in the same way as his muscles: no thinking, just working out. Therefore, scholars believed that Schwarzenegger was trying to draw attention to his body and masculinity by acting out an “excessive caricature of cultural expectations” (p. 78). His characters interested the audience, but they were very often criticized due to the lack of vitality and called “inactive” (Williams, 2012, p. 28). The impression was that Schwarzenegger decided to transform his films into a bodybuilding contest: he posed while the audience contemplated him.

Shifting Norms: The 1990s and a New Type of Masculinity

Toward the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s, “the idea of men as invulnerable, nonemotional, working and fighting machines” became a subject of mockery (Messner, 2007, p. 465). Thus, while the 1980s were the time of male heroes – with excessive muscles that stood both for their strength and incontrovertible power of the United States – represented on screen by Arnold Schwarzenegger, Bruce Willis, Sylvester Stallone, as well as some other older actors like Chuck Norris, Clint Eastwood, and their younger peer Jean-Claude Van Damme, the 1990s brought significant changes into the world of American action cinema. Particularly, Stallone starred in *Stop! Or My Mom will Shoot* (1992), Willis appeared as Ernest Menville in *Death Becomes Her* (1992), finally, Arnold Schwarzenegger surprisingly changed the track and played comedian roles in *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop*. Examining specifically Schwarzenegger's filmography, Martin Hultman (2013) even states that analyzing Schwarzenegger's characters over the time, one “can sense shifts in masculinity” (p. 81). As it has already been argued at the beginning of this article, the answer to the inevitably emerging question – What made all

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those actors with hard bodies temporarily forget about their mission to save the world and play calm, kind, naive, and at times ridiculous characters? – is America's longing desire to have normal, peaceful life. That caused a shift in the representation of masculinity that, as Boyle (2010) nicely puts it, became “more nuanced” (p. 48), as well as in one's understanding of what a masculine man of the 1990s was.

Tasker (1993) identifies “two main periods in the representation of masculinity”: the first one coincides with the years of Reagan's presidency, when the hard body is in the focus of attention, and the second one starts with the Bush's presidency, when the hard body is improved by “incorporating emotions and family-oriented values” (Alegre, 1998, p. 91). Although Brenton J. Malin (2005) argues that the second period starts a bit later, with the years of Clinton's presidency (p. 8). What is clear, however, is that both the hero of the 1990s and the masculinity this hero represents differ from the ones that were portrayed in the 1980s. Susan Jeffords (1994) draws attention to the political situation in the United States during the two decades, arguing that the American government of the 1990s differed from the one of the 1980s. During the years of the Reagan presidency, “individual actions [were equated to] ...national actions in such a way that individual failings were treated as causes for national downfall” (p. 14). Thus, the image of the hard body both in real life and on screen was “the projection of the national body itself” (p. 26). The United States in the 1990s was, however, “a ‘kinder, gentler’ place, where men were pledged to their families, were reluctant to kill, and were confident, firm, and decisive; where ...they were dedicated to the preservation of the future and the not destruction of the present” (p. 175). This image of the real man created in politics passed on to action cinema and turned old action heroes into “improved” new ones. Therefore, one can speak about an apparent family-centeredness of a new screen identity of muscular actors, including Schwarzenegger.

Twins

Arnold Schwarzenegger's star persona was changed in the 1990s with the creation of a “new image” in *Twins* and its consolidation in *Kindergarten Cop* (Butter, 2011, pp. 149, 152, 158). Indeed, from a destroyer, Schwarzenegger turned into a real protector; if earlier the audience saw

only emotionless Schwarzenegger, in the 1990s he revealed his sensitive side. Specifically, Butter argues that *Twins* “projects Schwarzenegger as the most intelligent, caring, sensitive and communicative man imaginable” (p. 154). The film starts with the explanation that there was experiment conducted and the audience is told that Schwarzenegger’s character – Julius Benedict – is part of it. But the voice-over points out that the experiment was “designed to produce a *physically*, *mentally*, and *spiritually* advanced human being.” These characteristics are pivotal when realizing what kind of a new hero was in demand. As the description signifies, the U.S. did not need just a “physically” strong hero anymore. It needed the one who was “mentally” and “spiritually” strong. Schwarzenegger’s character is exactly the person the country wants.

Julius Benedict was brought up by a scientist on an island, but as soon as he learns that he has a twin brother Vincent (Danny DeVito), he decides to find him. Obviously, Julius’s arrival in Los Angeles brings him many surprises because he has never lived in a city and does not know anything about the outside world. Interestingly, one of the first things that he comes upon in the city is a poster of Sylvester Stallone’s *Rambo III*. Julius is clearly surprised to see a half-naked man posing and demonstrating his muscles. Eventually, the image of Rambo makes him laugh. The audience is aware that Schwarzenegger possesses big muscles too; yet his character hides them under a t-shirt almost all the time because he does not consider them an important feature of his persona – something that he should show everybody and feel proud of. In *Twins*, the accent is obviously made not on the physical appearance of the character but on his spiritual side. Julius is kind, naïve, and sensitive. His physical power that he apparently possesses is nothing to him. He pays attention to the inner qualities of the others but not to the way they look like. The scene when Julius is in prison, waiting for his twin brother to come, illustrates Julius’s nature very well. At first, he notices a guy who resembles him outwardly: he has fair hair, he is tall and strong. However, in an instant, Julius sees Vincent who is short, half-bald, and stout. Despite all these “drawbacks,” Julius meets his brother with a pleased smile upon his face because for him *family* is important. It does not matter what his brother looks like, Julius wants to maintain the relationship with him. Moreover, if Vincent needs any help, Julius is always ready to do everything for him.

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Messner (2007) claims that toward 1990 one can talk about the emergence of a so-called “hybrid” masculinity, i.e., men were still possessing muscles, thus, visually and physically remaining strong and protecting individuals but, in addition to that, they became sympathetic and caring – such a combination was characteristic of hegemonic masculinity in the 1990s (p. 466). The shift was, indeed, noticeable, when compared to the way hegemonic (or normative) masculinity was understood in the 1980s:

Hegemonic masculinity was not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it.... It embodied the currently most honored way of being a man, it required all other men to position themselves in relation to it, and it ideologically legitimated the global subordination of women to men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832).

It is important, however, not to take the male softness that became noticeable in the 1990s for homosexuality that is, indeed, brought to the surface in *Twins*. Schwarzenegger's characters have arguably never been lady-killers or machos whose masculinity and heterosexuality were the crucial aspects in the characters' nature. On the contrary, Schwarzenegger remained quite reserved in terms of demonstrating and displaying his sexuality. From a machine-like characters (when possessing sexuality and expressing love would rather be an oxymoron), Schwarzenegger's persona transformed into rather childish and naïve personages on screen. Although the audience never thinks of his characters as playboys, *Twins* obviously makes one question Julius's sexual orientation, and, hence, the new type of masculinity. Julius always avoids women and, as soon as he meets Marnie (Kelly Preston), he is perplexed as he does not know how to behave with her. We see his astonishment when he looks through a *Playboy* magazine and his obvious embarrassment when Marnie catches him in looking into it. Butter (2011) makes an apt observation that the vigorous sexuality that could quite harmonically be associated with Julius is, instead, linked to his brother Vincent. Therefore, Julius appears to be a completely innocent character: he is not a fighter, he rejects violence, and, finally, he is a virgin. In the end, it is Marnie but not Julius who performs the role of seducer. Apart from taking the role of a man, Marnie also controls the gaze: thus, she is the one who spies on Julius while he is in the shower, which makes

Julius a passive character whereas Marnie becomes an active one (pp. 155–156). Nevertheless, the scene serves as a justification of Julius's heterosexuality, rejecting any misunderstanding or confusion of the new type of masculinity with homosexuality.

Julius is a more approachable character for the audience compared to all the previous Schwarzenegger's roles. Although he still appears to be quite superior, both physically and mentally, his emotionality and ability to react as a normal, or rather ordinary, human-being attracts the audience. Additionally, Butter (2011) points out that *Twins* is the first film where Schwarzenegger appears to have a family; moreover, it is in the center of the plot and Julius cares about it (p. 157). "All I want is make us into a family," says Julius – by that time, the first Schwarzenegger's character who had said that. The theme of family plays into Schwarzenegger's hands – the audience loves him: "He is a friendly, likeable guy who cares deeply about his family and works hard but also enjoys his leisure time, someone who lives and spends his time as they [the audience] probably do" (p. 158).

Kindergarten Cop

Two years later, in 1990, Arnold Schwarzenegger stars in another comedy, *Kindergarten Cop*, where he literally "calms down," although his ability to catch and punish a bad guy proves that he still can "kick ass" if he needs to (Malin, 2005, p. 8). The release of this film to certain extent consolidated Schwarzenegger's new star persona. This time, Schwarzenegger plays a role of a detective from Los Angeles who has to go to a small town and pretend to be a kindergarten teacher. The film arguably presents another way of Schwarzenegger's character development compared to the one the audience can observe in *Twins*. In *Twins*, Julius Benedict is initially a very positive character, while *Kindergarten Cop* first portrays detective John Kimble as the one who largely resembles Schwarzenegger's Terminator: he is wearing a long coat, sunglasses, has bristle on his face, and a gun in his arm – it seems that Schwarzenegger plays the role of a bad guy again until he shows his badge and the audience learns that he is a policeman who tries to catch a bad guy. Butter (2011) argues that in this scene Schwarzenegger's character appears to be "single-minded" again (p. 159): he does not talk much, he follows the criminal destroying everything on his way, no reinforcements are sent to help him, which hints at the fact that he

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always works alone and every time manages to accomplish his mission. Indeed, John Kimble is another version of the Terminator. However, later, working undercover, he has to perform the role of a kindergarten teacher, substituting for his female partner since she is ill. And here the audience observes the character's transformation. Alegre (1998) argues that in *Kindergarten Cop* Schwarzenegger "best combines his old with his new persona" (p. 91). Nevertheless, just like in *Twins*, the sexual orientation of Schwarzenegger's character from *Kindergarten Cop* is put into question. The (temporal) switch of professional occupation is pivotal and worth additional examination. From a police officer with big guns that only intensify Kimble's heterosexuality (as the phallus-shaped guns are displayed to the audience), Kimble turns into a kindergarten teacher, which is traditionally a female occupation. This is perhaps what Messner (2007) calls the "situational display of particular aspects of femininity, strategically relocated within a powerfully masculine male body" (p. 467). His transformation into a kindergarten teacher can be perceived as his figurative castration and, thus, closeness to a female, for he is now surrounded by children and has to spend most of his time with them. Of course, Kimble works undercover, but it is clear that he has to adopt himself to a situation he finds himself in: he has to reject brutality, savagery, and powerlessness that could be easily associated with a man, and accumulate tenderness, kindness, and certain passivity instead. He is clean-shaven, which symbolically illustrates that he has got rid of one-sided power-oriented masculinity – a characteristic feature of a man who would rather sweat and kick somebody's ass on screen instead of paying attention to his appearance. Kimble combines both strength and compassion, thus, displaying a new type of man of the 1990s whose physical appearance is aimed not at intimidating but rather at being given trust. Like in *Twins*, all the hypotheses about the character's homosexuality are proved untenable as the narration proceeds. Indeed, the audience learns that John Kimble is divorced because his wife could not put up with his hard and dangerous job; he has a son whom he loves very much but cannot see as often as he wants to. Later in *Kindergarten Cop*, John finds a new family: the woman who loves him and her son whom, to no surprise, John has to protect from the criminal father. Importantly, this protection, i.e., a certain fight that Schwarzenegger's character gets engaged in, is aimed at restoring the conditions for living in first, society that has to be cleaned off a criminal,

and, second, in the family that is terrorized by the bad father. The contrast one notices between Kimble and the criminal man is pivotal and the audience obviously supports *the real man* – Schwarzenegger's character who struggles for the well-being of women and children.

The theme of family and, in particular, fatherhood is at the heart of the film. When John Kimble plays the game “Who is my daddy and what does he do?” with the children in order to find out whose father is the criminal, he realizes that many children in his class have a one-parent family; those who live in full families have problems, too, since their dads “do[n't] do anything” or “watch TV all day long.” John is sympathetic with the children, and this feeling eventually grows into the love of a father. Through games, he teaches them many useful things, reads them fairy tales before they have an afternoon nap. In short, he becomes a perfect kindergarten teacher. He protects one of the children against his abusive father which, on the one hand, can be perceived as the use of violence that was so typical of Schwarzenegger's characters from the 1980s. On the other hand, the actions of John Kimble can be easily justified because he embodies a good guy, confronting a bad guy who lifts his hand against a child, which for a father figure whom Schwarzenegger plays now is simply unacceptable. Thus, Schwarzenegger's character is “a strong authority figure [who] provide[s] just the right admixture of authority and paternal nurturing” (Butter, 2011, p. 160).

As for comic effects in the film, Tasker (1993) argues that they come from the “redundancy” of Schwarzenegger's muscles when he is in the classroom with small children (p. 82). However, the hugeness of Schwarzenegger's figure is already underlined at the very first moment when he enters the kindergarten and has to speak to the principle – the woman who herself is almost as small as her kids. The choice of Linda Hunt to play the kindergarten principle was arguably aimed at emphasizing how big and visually inappropriate for the role of a kindergarten teacher Schwarzenegger is because he is too big compared not only to children but also to adults who work there. Additionally, the position of the camera at the moments when John Kimble finds himself in the same room with children is important. The director uses low-angle shots that also help him emphasize how gigantic Schwarzenegger looks. It is worth mentioning that the choice of Danny DeVito to play Schwarzenegger's twin brother in *Twins* was obviously made for the same purpose.

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While disciplining children, John Kimble also disciplines himself. Just like Julius in *Twins*, John is, at first, perceived as an outsider. He does not fit into the community and he has to learn how to become one of them. It applies not only to his clothing that visually makes him look different but also to his behavior (Butter, 2011, p. 161). However, John Kimble's nature does not allow him to become one of those people who shut their eyes to the child abuse and do not respect family values. Schwarzenegger's character is, therefore, again portrayed as a superior one but this time in a good sense. He shows to the audience what it means to be a good man and a father and makes us want to be like him. It is his sincerity that bribes the audience. The important scene takes place almost at the end of the film, when the woman he fell in love with does not want to be with him, blaming him for not telling her who he really is. However, John finds words to explain his behavior:

I didn't mean to hurt you. I wish I was a kindergarten teacher. But I'm not. I'm a cop. That's all I know how to be. I have a son I've hardly seen in the last seven years. I don't mean anything to him. My ex-wife got remarried; she doesn't want me to be part of his life. I lost my family. I should never have let it happen..... I don't want to lose you. I don't want to lose [your son]. I swear you will never have to run from [the criminal] (King, 1999, p. 60).

Twins and *Kindergarten Cop* illustrate the transformation of Arnold Schwarzenegger's star persona. Butter (2011) accentuates that in all the films released after *Kindergarten Cop* Schwarzenegger's characters have "either a real or a symbolic family" (p. 161). Even in his second *Terminator*, he turns into a positive character who portrays a father figure of John Connor – the image so much different from the one the audience has seen in the first part of *Terminator*. Many scholars explain such a shift not only by the new type of masculinity that was spreading throughout America in the 1990s both via politics and media, but also by the fact that by the end of the 1980s Arnold Schwarzenegger married Maria Shriver and by the 1990s they were building their own family, which, according to Tasker (1993), signified Schwarzenegger's "hyper-normality" (p. 81). Thus, not only his characters became more real, Schwarzenegger himself appeared to be a conventionally "normal" man. Moreover, the audience

believed that the way Schwarzenegger behaved on screen coincided with the way he was in his real life (Tasker, 1993, p. 81; Butter, 2011, p. 161; Williams, 2012, p. 22). That was also the time when Schwarzenegger started to get involved in the political life of the United States; that is why the transformation of his characters on screen “to the best” could also be interpreted as Schwarzenegger’s own transformation into a better guy whom citizens could trust. Looking over Liesbet van Zoonen’s (2005) question “Can politics be combined with entertainment?” (p. 1) from a different perspective, one can speculate that the actors who decide to participate in political life risk to be associated with the characters they have played. Whether it happens due to the blurring boundary between fiction and reality that fandom might not always realize or because politics is to some extent another sort of playing, it is significant for an actor to create a positive image on screen in order to be given trust in real life. Both *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop* are the examples where Schwarzenegger rejects hegemonic masculinity of the 1980s, demonstrating that the new heroes he plays are ready to sacrifice everything for the sake of their families. They are protectors for whom family values are of the greatest importance.

Conclusion

What do we make of such a shift in the construction of masculinity? What is gained if muscular, traditional masculinity is traded for a heteronormative consolidation of the family? From cultural perspective, in the 1990s, the United States adhered to the idyllic image of a family and family values. Such a tendency inevitably influenced the construction of masculinity at heart of which was care for the family itself. Film’s response to this was a temporal rejection (or at least minimization) of explosions, shots, and deaths, and centralization on love. The avoidance of fighting on screen and the change in masculinity, however, to borrow from Messner (2007), did not mean that, “successful and powerful men have fully swung toward an embrace of femininity and vulnerability” (p. 466). They just learnt how to combine power with gentleness and, as a result, how to be both a guardian and a loving father/husband/son/brother at the same time. Historically, the shifts in masculinity coincide with, or, in principle, are influenced by specific cultural movements/changes that take place in a particular time.

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For example, according to Messner, one of the reasons for such a strong masculinization of male characters in the 1980s was a reaction to “the cultural feminization of the 1960s and 1970s” (p. 465). In this respect, it is worth analyzing Schwarzenegger’s coined phrase “I’ll be back” that we hear not only in *Terminator* (1984) but in many of his other films, including *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop*. If J. Hoberman (2000) understands the words as a suggestion of the “Eternal Return” (p. 30), while Messner (2007) claims that in *Terminator* the phrase gains a certain symbolic meaning that should be interpreted as a return of a so-called traditionally masculinized man (pp. 464-465), then what do we make of the same phrase in the two films where Schwarzenegger’s masculinity combines conventionally male and female traits? In *Twins*, we hear the phrase in the scene when Julius is trying to find out where his mother is. He holds a shirt front of the man who was responsible for the experiment and, after having got the answer, calmly, although quite resolutely says: “If you’re lying to me, I’ll be back.” Julius lifts his brows, demonstrating the seriousness of his words, as if trying to say: “I am not going to hit you now because this is not how I solve the problems. I am going to believe you. But if you lied to me, I will find you, and then become your worst nightmare.” My speculation is that in this scene Julius’s “I’ll be back” should be interpreted as the signal of a possible change in masculinity. Indeed, if it has already been changed after the 1960s in a way that films became overfilled with muscles of bodybuilders, why cannot it happen again? Schwarzenegger’s rejection of *Terminator*’s masculinity and his turn to a family guy does not mean that he cannot fight. Quite the contrary, he warns that nobody should misinterpret his kind and naïve appearance – he still can pose a menace, although treats it as “plan Z.” In *Kindergarten Cop*, we hear detective Kimble saying a slightly changed phrase: “Hi kids, I’m back!” He is back from the hospital where he got to after having fought with the main villain in the film. The detective is happy to see the children, and this is reciprocal. One can speculate that the “I’m back” that we hear in *Kindergarten Cop* bears a somewhat different meaning, namely that although the man from the 1990s is not superior physically, he still wins in the end. Detective Kimble walks in the room on a crutch and this is an important attribute that should not be missed. It illustrates that Kimble is, indeed, not a superman and he can be hurt too. However, nobody should doubt the man from the 1990s since, no matter what happens, he can confront the bad guy and he will always be back.

Thus, practically the same phrase, pronounced in dissimilar contexts and under different consequences in *Twins* and *Kindergarten Cop*, symbolizes the same: the new man – the man from the 1990s – remains a hero; yet he does not resort to force without thinking but rather prefers solving problems and, most significantly, protecting his family or the weak with no or minimum violence.

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Análisis del “Enojo” del Varón en el Contexto de la Violencia contra las Mujeres para Trazar un Marco de Construcción de Responsabilidad

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Analysis of Male "Anger" in the Context of Violence against Women in order to Design a Framework for Construction of Responsibility

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Abstract

This article proposes a particular way of approaching male affection in the process of "anger" of men in the context of violence. In this framework, we proceed to the identification of the mechanisms that cause that the violence of men remains invariably. We intend to show how certain emotions emerge as an important source of interactive knowledge. We propose the analysis of these emotions as dynamic elements in the exchanges between subjects in their daily relationships, as well as in the establishment of autonomy and decision-making. Finally, we discuss how the emotional dimension in men can participate in the construction of what we call approximate responsibility to deal with the hegemonic male rules and to disable mechanisms of oppression.

Keywords: masculinity, emotions, fragmentation, anger, responsibility

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Resumen

Este artículo plantea una manera particular de aproximarnos a la afectividad masculina en el proceso del “enojo” del varón en el contexto de la violencia. En este recorrido se identifican mecanismos que provocan que la violencia de los varones permanezca de manera invariable. Pretendemos mostrar cómo ciertas emociones emergen como fuente importante de conocimiento interactivo; se propone analizarlas como elementos dinámicos en los intercambios entre sujetos en sus relaciones cotidianas, así como en la conformación de autonomía y en la toma de decisiones. Finalmente se discute de qué manera en los varones la dimensión afectiva puede participar en la construcción de lo que denominamos responsabilidad aproximativa, para hacer frente a la normatividad masculina hegemónica y desactivar mecanismos de opresión.

Palabras clave: masculinidad, afectividad, fragmentación, enojo, responsabilidad.

El presente trabajo expone cuatro aspectos significativos de la investigación “Jóvenes y violencia de género” realizada en tres áreas urbanas de México en el 2015, en la que utilizamos metodología cualitativa a través de grupos de discusión con hombres jóvenes de 15 a 24 años. Nuestra intención es retomar estos aspectos que en nuestra opinión resultaron relevantes y provocadores para el aporte conceptual que queremos exponer en este escrito¹.

Un aspecto importante que surgió en el discurso de los jóvenes fue el tema del “enojo” de los varones (Grupos 1, 2, 4, 5 y 7)². Para desarrollar una deconstrucción del enojo y su vínculo con la violencia se requiere hacer una precisión de la afectividad masculina. Por una parte, el enojo es una respuesta emocional que social y culturalmente suele ser tolerada, alentada y/o esperada del varón frente a diversas situaciones interactivas en las que se percibe atacado y/o amenazado, o como parte de una supuesta naturaleza masculina (Seidler, 2000). Por otra parte, nuestra intención no es hablar de las emociones en general, empresa que está más allá de los alcances del presente trabajo. Basta revisar la “Disertación sobre las pasiones” de Hume (2004), pasando por Descartes y Spinoza, hasta autores(as) más contemporáneos como Hansberg (1996), Vigotsky (1995), Gardner (2001), Eva Illouz (2007), para observar un campo teórico muy amplio³. Lo que nos interesa aquí es identificar aspectos de la afectividad vinculados con la construcción de género, y que estarían implicados significativamente en la generación de escenarios relacionales asimétricos.

Partimos de la tesis de que la vida emocional de los varones *no* está reprimida –visión arraigada en el sentido común– ya que las emociones no permanecen “contenidas” en espera de salir como si existieran obstáculos que las traranan. En cambio, lo que sucede, coincidiendo en un sentido con la perspectiva de Hansberg (1996), es que las emociones están ligadas a objetos sociales mediadas por la normativa social. El patrón de relación de un varón muestra su vida emocional en el marco de una economía afectiva en operación. La masculinidad conforma la afectividad de tal manera que el mayor despliegue afectivo de los varones está ligado a objetos públicos de su entorno como el éxito, metas y logros socialmente valorados (Kaufman, 1989). En estos espacios la afectividad se pone al servicio de una identidad de género masculina estructurada en torno a un yo exterior, activo, creador de sentidos orientados por el reconocimiento social. Desde esta óptica las

emociones son indicadores que permiten reconocer en qué aspectos sociales y personales están implicados los varones.

Durante el proceso interactivo los varones despliegan lo que denomino “*discriminaciones emocionales pre-reflexivas*”, que son maniobras afectivas no intencionales que ligan afectividad a objetos sociales. Esta ligazón no se produce al azar, está orientada por coordenadas normativas masculinas. Las discriminaciones emocionales pre-reflexivas son mecanismos de desplazamiento, delegación y subyugación afectiva, que muestran que las emociones lejos de estar “reprimidas”, se direccionan y delimitan según márgenes permitidos a partir de relaciones de poder establecidas. Estos mecanismos los describimos a continuación.

Para los varones existe un *desplazamiento* emocional hacia objetos del ámbito público (léase reconocimiento social, éxito, etc.) promovido por una economía afectiva masculina que se dirige hacia escenarios sugeridos por los imperativos normativos genéricos. Este desplazamiento está presente en el imaginario social que otorga múltiples sentidos a los sujetos. En otro nivel, en los espacios íntimos, la economía afectiva opera organizando a los sujetos maniobrando de otra forma, pero acorde a la lógica anterior. En estos espacios, los varones suelen *delegar* en las mujeres para que ellas sean las responsables de los escenarios afectivos íntimos (por ejemplo, la atención a la afectividad en la vida en pareja, mantener redes en los espacios privados). En este escenario la mujer se convierte en “*traductora emocional*” de las propias emociones del varón. Cuando un varón no comparte en algún nivel comunicativo sus afectos íntimos se debe, como veremos más adelante, a que a través del silencio se evidencia también que está activa este tipo de economía afectiva. En el caso de un varón frente a otro varón se produce una variante del mecanismo: las emociones se *subyugan* a los imperativos racionales masculinos. Un varón se presenta frente a otro mediado por una racionalidad articulada con el género que otorga el margen de maniobra para ambos. Aquí emerge el componente heterosexual que otorga ordenación simbólica y lógica del mundo. Es por ello que entre los varones las emociones se amoldan, se contornean, se acomodan, subordinadas a los límites normativos heterosexuales que marcan delimitaciones al cuerpo y al contacto físico. La homofobia, por ejemplo, vista desde esta economía afectiva, es uno de los

efectos de la estrechez y no permisividad orientada por una raíz heterosexual estricta.

En estas discriminaciones emocionales pre-reflexivas (desplazar, delegar, subyugar) lo normativo actúa sobre la experiencia emocional fragmentándola; pero no de manera dispersa y arbitraria, sino con una lógica y orientación. Ésta es quizá la imagen más cercana a la vivencia afectiva por parte de los varones, donde las emociones tienen direccionalidad diferenciada que posibilitan modalidades de vínculos: fuertes, débiles y/o nulos según las delimitaciones dominantes de género. Desde esta óptica, en estos procesos interactivos se modularían las experiencias emocionales. En el escenario de relación de pareja, los aspectos emocionales como la empatía tendrían una marca “débil” y/o “inconexa” toda vez que las emociones estarían moldeadas al servicio de los imperativos masculinos que no incluyen tener presente ni implicarse en la experiencia emocional de las mujeres. Cabe decir, sin embargo, que en este proceso la normativa masculina es altamente funcional generando una ficción: la norma al fragmentar la experiencia emocional produce un beneficio para el sujeto al facilitar, por una parte, que se deshaga de lo supuestamente “innecesario” e “inútil”, dejando a un varón libre y cercano de alcanzar lo deseado. Y, por otra parte, mantiene la ficción de estabilidad, de una idea de sí mismo sin interferencias, que lo aleja de colocarse en un lugar de vulnerabilidad social si se insinúa la implicación que tiene para sí y para la otra, la organización de su economía afectiva.

En este recorrido los varones niegan para sí mismos rutas y experiencias fuera de la órbita masculina dominante. Esta condición influye para que a un varón se le dificulte reconocer de qué manera otras personas viven sus experiencias y cómo elaboran, por ejemplo, sus temores, dolores, alegrías, sufrimientos, de manera diferente a la propia; experiencias emocionales que con frecuencia son irreconocibles para él. Situación que resuelve haciendo uso de un recurso social legitimado por la normativa dominante que consiste en devaluar aquello en lo que no está implicado y que no logra aprehender, lo que obstaculiza posibilidades de cercanía afectiva. Sin embargo, esta visión no pretende ser ni pesimista ni complaciente. Los varones no cuestionan estos mecanismos no porque sean “víctimas” del poder de la normativa masculina, sino porque obtienen beneficios tácitos cotidianos que les permiten mantener privilegios al implicarse personal y

socialmente sólo en lo que consideran que tiene valor social; condición de poder que sitúa a la otra en la posición de atender lo faltante, lo no valorado, en el mantenimiento de la relación.

Toda esta condición de la afectividad masculina de la que hemos hablado, es clave para comprender la dinámica del enojo en el contexto de la violencia contra las mujeres.

El Enojo del Varón y su Utilidad

Para los varones el enojo es comprensible desde una razón instrumental. Me explico. Primero, sucede “algo” que le afecta al varón, a continuación, una espera y después la posibilidad de repararlo (que en el discurso de los jóvenes de los grupos de discusión lo expresan como “desquitarse”, “vengarse” -Grupos 1, 2, 3 y 6-). Es decir, sentir que algo te afecta, aguantarlo y saber que después se puede sacar y te podrás desquitar, es parte del mecanismo naturalizado que hace inteligible esta emoción. El enojo se convierte entonces en un mediador entre algo que afecta al varón y la posibilidad de repararlo. En este marco, “vengarse”, “desquitarse” hace referencia a que el varón se percibe en una posición donde requiere compensar algo; vive una falta que traduce como desventaja en su espacio relacional. Pero lo central, como veremos enseguida, es que esta falta (y esta forma de codificarla) se *activa* en el marco interactivo con la Otra, y se *resuelve* a través de la violencia y no de otra manera.

El enojo del varón es un intento activo por resarcir una idea de sí mismo fragmentada. La interacción con una mujer que da cuenta de sí misma al verbalizar, exponer y ligar su vida emocional desde un marco afectivo de género diferente al propio, le devuelve al varón la imagen de su condición afectiva fraccionada, con ello “emerge” inintencionalmente su falta. La manera de interpretar la vida emocional de la otra también está orientada por la propia normativa masculina que devalúa formas distintas de economía afectiva.

A través del enojo –y al ser localizado el objeto social (mujer) que le otorgará la “reparación”– se busca un efecto tácito que no le devuelva un sí mismo fragmentado; se pretende afirmar una identidad a partir de imperativos dominantes masculinos: cohesión racional de las partes, estabilidad y delimitaciones definitivas del sí mismo. En efecto, lo que se

pretende “reparar”, en un acto real o fantaseado, es la sensación personal de unicidad, reintegración, totalidad y estabilidad. En este mecanismo, la práctica violenta busca un efecto definitivo de retribución que permita la sensación de control de un sí mismo no fragmentado, unificado y dominante. La práctica violenta simula garantizar de inmediato la compensación buscada. Pero ¿por qué se busca esa compensación a través de violentar a la otra, y no virar a otro escenario, por ejemplo, alejarse del objeto social que le devuelve un sí mismo no deseado? La razón no solo estriba en que en la interacción con la otra se activa la falta, sino porque ese es justamente el lugar donde *se puede* obtener la compensación. La práctica se produce donde ya existe un desequilibrio de poder, que requiere de ese mecanismo para actualizar y re-situar a los sujetos.

Esta ficción de reparación que “emerge” en la interacción está destinada a una repetición circular –implicada en la activación del círculo de la violencia–, porque la reparación buscada por el varón a través de la práctica reiterativa es un imposible constitutivo identitario, al no ser posible esa experiencia de completud buscada. No obstante, la promesa normativa masculina insiste en que sí es posible esa totalidad, y al ocultar la raíz de esa imposibilidad, genera que la práctica violenta sea “efectiva” porque simula que se obtiene la retribución buscada.

A través de este mecanismo se confirma la utilidad del objeto social (mujer) garantizando la circularidad cuando se active la falta. Cabría decir que el objeto se haría paulatinamente más propicio, mermando la capacidad de respuesta toda vez que la práctica busca una y otra vez –con su reiteración– la docilidad a la norma por parte del sujeto. Es decir, se pretende en cada acto, que la otra se coloque física y emocionalmente y acepte su lugar de desigualdad; buscando que las mujeres se amolden cada vez más con la menor resistencia posible. Por esta razón en mujeres que están expuestas a una dinámica de violencia es muy probable que vean poco a poco mermadas su autoestima y confianza en sus posibilidades de hacerle frente. Así, de continuar la exposición a la violencia, resulta más difícil salir de ella.

En el contexto de la violencia contra las mujeres tendríamos que definir el enojo como un mecanismo emocional de control social al servicio de la meta normativa dominante, que está legitimado por el patriarcado para que los varones reaccionen “justificadamente” si los descolocan de su posición

central identitaria de dominio. Esta reacción emocional (enojo) activa el recurso de la violencia porque es un continuo de un mismo proceso que busca el cumplimiento de la idea patriarcal de “complementariedad”, donde la mujer quedaría por debajo, cuidadora y al servicio del varón.

El Enojo como “Aliado”

Teniendo en cuenta lo anterior, no se trata de que el hombre intente o haga todo lo posible por no enojarse, como solución estratégica, o que “respiré hondo y cuente hasta diez” para evitar que derive en una práctica indeseable. Una perspectiva superficial sugeriría la búsqueda de opuestos, con la idea de que el varón evite a toda costa ese sentimiento “negativo”, que se colme de ideas positivas y optimistas como lo sugerirían algunas tendencias psicologisistas, y más claramente como lo aconsejan los libros de superación personal. Esta lógica de alejarse de lo que ha sido etiquetado como negativo puede terminar revirtiéndose cuando nuestras buenas intenciones traducidas en fórmulas simplistas clasifican el mundo social en bueno y malo. Consideramos que lo que está en juego es la posibilidad de modificar el estatus del enojo y su recolocación como fuente de conocimiento interactivo con capacidad de trastocar la base en la que se sostiene.

Esta postura sugiere que los recursos emocionales que se han denominado “negativos”, o, por el contrario, que se toleran socialmente como parte normalizada de una supuesta naturaleza masculina, no deberían desestimarse *a priori* en nuestra intención académica, personal, terapéutica, política, activista, etc., de desactivar una práctica indeseada. El recurso que opriñe, localizado y analizado, debería ser nuestro principal “aliado”, en el sentido que nos permite un conocimiento situado de los componentes en que se apoya una experiencia vital.

Masculinidad, Autonomía y Responsabilidad

Hasta aquí hemos tratado de explicar de qué manera la experiencia del enojo muestra la búsqueda del varón de una idea de sí mismo imposible de alcanzar. Este proceso pone al descubierto a un sujeto fuertemente “dependiente” del sistema normativo, condición que revierte la percepción

social frecuentemente compartida de considerar a la “independencia” o su búsqueda como característica intrínseca en la definición de un sujeto varón. Lo que hemos revisado revela a un sujeto significativamente atado – dependiente– a la normativa, y permite girar nuestra atención a los lugares desde dónde los varones dan cuenta de sí como sujetos autónomos, independientes.

Ser varón en el patriarcado es estar en un lugar favorecido y privilegiado para maniobrar relationalmente, y se basa en la lógica de que un sujeto sea atendido mientras él atiende lo importante y valorado socialmente. La experiencia de ser independiente, autónomo, estaría marcada por este proceso, donde el grado de cumplimiento de los mandatos dominantes permite al varón operar con márgenes de autonomía, decisión y autoridad en la medida que se apropiá de las reglas del sistema que le son favorables. Desde esta perspectiva funcional de la autonomía el varón puede dar cuenta de sí como sujeto “independiente”, que conoce, se reconoce y utiliza las reglas del juego.

En este mecanismo la idea de *responsabilidad* queda circunscrita al imperativo dominante que la delimitada al mandato de “ser proveedor”. Siguiendo a Emma (2005) una de las dimensiones de la responsabilidad la define como la capacidad de promover cambios, de producir efectos en la realidad social. Para nuestro tema de interés, la producción de estos efectos tendría que pasar por reconocer lo que estos implican para la otra. Entonces ¿qué lugar tiene la responsabilidad cuando el lugar de enunciación del varón está ligado a la normativa que otorga contenidos a su experiencia de autonomía, donde la responsabilidad estaría delimitada al cumplimiento del esquema de ser proveedor, ser atendido y permanecer lejano a los procesos de autonomía del otro(a)? Como veremos más adelante, la autonomía no es un lugar o un estado a donde llegue el sujeto, ni está delimitada por la experiencia individual, sino que es un proceso social que tensiona la libertad del sujeto en un entramado de relaciones de poder.

Retomando lo anterior existen aspectos que pueden favorecer el análisis de la experiencia afectiva⁴ para establecer una postura frente a la violencia contra las mujeres. A continuación, los explicamos.

Reenfocar la Revisión de las Emociones. La Afectividad del Varón Comprometida en Desactivar Mecanismos de Opresión

Uno de los ámbitos que se ha trabajado de manera importante en el análisis de la masculinidad es el referente a la dimensión emocional (Kaufman, 1989; Browker, 1998; Seidler, 2000; Connell, 2003; Kimmel 1997)⁵. No obstante, cuando se cuestiona a algunos varones que trabajan en esta área profesional de cómo esta dimensión podría estar ligada a hacer frente a mecanismos que mantienen el dominio y la desigualdad, no siempre hay respuestas satisfactorias (Bonino, 2012). Se suele llegar a lugares comunes de que es conveniente que los hombres expresen sus emociones “reprimidas”, que hablen de sus malestares, que los haría más cercanos; como si la finalidad fuese la expresión por sí misma, dejando de lado cómo el análisis de la afectividad de los varones podría favorecer la desactivación de dispositivos de opresión.

Esta óptica de que lo emocional está reprimido y que es desconocido por las personas, está relacionada con la concepción de que los seres humanos estamos constituidos por una suerte de *esencia humana* no “contaminada” por lo social, que está ahí dentro, oculta, en espera de ser descubierta, y que al hacerlo revelaría lo que “realmente” somos⁶. Visión que deja de lado cómo algunas emociones están presentes al permitir a los varones calcular, retomar experiencias anteriores, sopesar y evaluar una situación interactiva con consecuencias para sí mismo y para los demás.

Buscar la “esencia” de lo que somos para descubrir y expresar lo que ha estado oculto, también se relaciona con la extensa literatura comercial de “superación personal”, que en el tema que nos ocupa, partiría de una idea central: existe un sujeto en falta por desconocimiento de sí mismo, que requiere de técnicas comunicativas individuales para lograr su crecimiento y liberarse de ataduras psicológicas. Desde esta óptica, la idea radica en que es necesario que los varones se den cuenta de esa riqueza personal que han desaprovechado al no poder expresar objetivamente el mundo emocional reprimido –ya que el “yugo” de la sociedad los ha enseñado de esta manera a ser hombres–, lo que permitiría cambiar la emoción negativa por una positiva, facilitando así alcanzar el bienestar⁷.

Esta perspectiva individualista aplicada al análisis de la masculinidad – que llamaremos “*emocionalista*”–, es claramente conservadora, ya que si bien aborda un tema importante de incluir en el debate sobre la masculinidad⁸, carece de un elemento clave: desde un enfoque igualitario de qué manera el componente emocional podría participar en desactivar algún mecanismo que genera subordinación. El que un varón exprese sus “emociones reprimidas”, que “llore”, no nos dice ni garantiza nada en realidad, políticamente hablando; quizá sea recomendable para él como catarsis individual de sus malestares. Por ello es preciso discutir si este tipo de perspectivas permiten desafiar en algún sentido una dinámica de dominación basada en género.

El análisis que se ha desarrollado en este escrito aporta información de cómo algunos mecanismos de la afectividad están al servicio de la desigualdad, ya que se activan para mantener en el varón, a través de oprimir a la otra, una idea ficticia de sí mismo. En este proceso los varones no toman en cuenta las consecuencias que tiene esta economía afectiva para la otra, las prácticas que la acompañan, los costos para sí mismo, ni los beneficios de dominación que obtienen.

En el trabajo grupal o individual terapéutico y/o reeducativo que se lleva a cabo con los varones, el manejo de la afectividad (desde esta perspectiva emocionalista) puede estar operando una tautología no reconocida: se realiza alguna actividad personal o grupal a través de la cual se presupone se identifica, emerge y se expresa una emoción, y eso observable que surge ahí confirma la existencia de esa emoción “reprimida”. Es un “*performance*” donde el hecho de nombrarla y actuarla la crea; la actuación es lo que confirma la existencia de la emoción –mecanismo que Ashley Montague (1988) define como tendencia al pensamiento circular. En esta puesta en escena no cabe otro tipo de análisis porque ello sería frenar, intelectualizar, volver a “reprimir” y resistirse a liberarse personal o grupalmente de aquello reprimido que necesita ser expresado. De esta manera metodológicamente el sujeto queda atrapado y destinado a “liberarse” si no pone ninguna resistencia a dejar salir “su” emoción –con el casi probable dolor que ello implica por ahondar en “lo más escondido”–, sufrimiento que a su vez es señal inequívoca, objetiva y confirmatoria que se está por buen camino y que efectivamente hace falta que libere esa emoción “personal” para que “él” sane.

Esta perspectiva individualista alienta a que el varón se perciba permanentemente en falta y víctima del poder; necesitado de adquirir una competencia comunicativa personalizada y específica, alejándose de un escenario que incluya al otro(a), que posibilite el conocimiento de sí mismo desde una perspectiva relacional. Condición desde la cual se podría analizar cómo se van construyendo mecanismos de dominación –a veces evidentes y otras de manera más sutil⁹–, donde las emociones se sedimentan corporal, comunicativa y moralmente estableciendo relaciones desiguales.

Siguiendo a Eva Illouz (2007) podemos llevar el debate a un plano social más amplio si tomamos en cuenta la funcionalidad que puede tener esta visión de la afectividad. Esta autora plantea que la vida emocional en el sistema neoliberal actual debería entenderse desde la lógica del intercambio, donde lo emocional pasa a ser un bien social negociable, no limitado al ámbito privado, que incorpora nuevas técnicas y sentidos que lo hacen atractivo, que proporciona nuevas formas de sociabilidad entre los sujetos. Desde esta perspectiva podemos aproximarnos a cómo se va construyendo un componente social novedoso entre los sujetos, una modalidad interesante de ser incorporada en las relaciones.

Se produce un estilo emocional cuando se formula una nueva imaginación interpersonal, es decir, una nueva manera de pensar la relación del yo con los otros y de imaginar sus posibilidades (...) según guiones imaginarios que dan sentido a la proximidad o la distancia sociales (Illouz, 2007, p. 24).

En nuestra opinión estas corrientes que trabajan la dimensión emocional de los varones, en el sentido anteriormente expuesto, generan una fuerte sospecha. Podrían estar siendo partícipes de la construcción de un *capital emocional conservador* al servicio de los mecanismos de desequilibrio del sistema, donde se conforma el paradigma de varones “sensibles”, flexibles y emocionalmente acomodaticios, sin cambiar ni desafiar ninguna estructura de dominación. Para ellos el conocimiento, expresión, control y manejo de las emociones emergen como un componente más de los recursos comunicativos individuales de un patriarcado renovado.

La Autonomía en Espejo o cómo Evidenciar la Paradoja Identitaria del Varón

Un aspecto presente en el proceso identitario del varón radica en no incorporar para sí aspectos femeninos de su contexto; mecanismo que favorece la idea de un sujeto varón socialmente diferenciado, valorado, reconocido, autónomo, independiente. Seidler (2000) nos recuerda que la definición predominante de autonomía, sustentada en el paradigma de la Modernidad, requiere deshacerse de lo que esté relacionado con el mundo femenino. La autonomía es una cuestión de voluntad y determinación para eliminar aspectos no valorados y estorbosos para los sujetos.

En los grupos de discusión los jóvenes varones de nuestro estudio expresaron que incluir algún aspecto femenino en sus vidas tenía efectos indeseables que pasaban por el cuerpo: “incluir algo femenino en ti se siente raro hasta en el cuerpo, cómo te diría... es como si te debilitara” (Grupo 5).

“*No ser femenino*” otorga contenido territorial subjetivo a los varones para vivir la diferencia respecto a las mujeres: es no ser lo otro, no dejarse influir por ello. Tiene como base la dicotomía que pretende mantener sin fisuras la idea de un sujeto varón independiente. No ser femenino emerge como un mecanismo de anulación subjetiva que intenta no reconocer la experiencia de la otra como equiparable a la propia.

En este sentido, la incorporación coyuntural por parte de los varones de algún aspecto considerado femenino en su contexto, tendría que ser visto críticamente debido a que es posible que los varones pudieran incorporar componentes de la feminidad sin que se modifique el desequilibrio de poder, en el sentido de que este mecanismo podría no atentar la base real de dominio que sostiene la dicotomía... sólo la modularía. Un ejemplo de ello son los varones emocionalistas que hemos definido en el apartado anterior, que no atentan contra ninguna estructura de dominación, pero que sí hacen suya la dimensión afectiva tradicionalmente relacionada a la feminidad¹⁰.

Este proceso donde se articula diferencia, impermeabilidad, dicotomía, cancelación subjetiva, nos permite girar nuevamente la atención a cómo se conforma un sujeto varón autónomo. La autonomía del varón no incluye tomar en cuenta la autonomía de la mujer con la que se relaciona. El proceso para que los varones se vivan como sujetos independientes está

orientado por la normativa para controlar aquello que puede debilitarlos o amenazar, conformando un escenario donde la definición de su autonomía requiere imposibilitar procesos de autonomía de la otra, para que sea sostenible aquello que vive como autonomía. Sampson lo explica en términos más amplios y desafiantes “aun los grupos dominantes viven una mentira: su autonomía yace en su poder para construir otros no autónomos. Aún ellos dependen de estos otros, sin quienes su autonomía ilusoria se desvanecería” (Sampson, 1994, citado en Amuchástegui, 2003, p. 147). Desde esta óptica el varón depende del desequilibrio de poder en las prácticas cotidianas para poder dar cuenta de sí como un sujeto “autónomo”. Por ello resulta indispensable revisar maniobras de poder en el proceso de autonomización de los varones para identificar en este camino cómo se ve comprometida la autonomía de las mujeres con las que interactúan.

Por otra parte, como hemos visto la conformación de esta idea de sujeto total es un imposible constitutivo identitario. Pero lo que hay que resaltar aquí es la insistencia de la norma hegemónica en su intento de lograr ese sujeto definitivo, insistencia que muestra también su propia vulnerabilidad como lo sugiere Judith Butler (2001), ya que la norma al requerir esa confirmación permanente, muestra que no es efectiva ni definitiva de una vez y para siempre. Identificar esta posibilidad, estos intersticios, esta característica de amoldamiento no concluyente a la norma, de posible ruptura, nos permite cuestionar esa ficción de la masculinidad dominante, y percibir a un sujeto que atraviesa y es atravesado por redes de significación no cerradas ni definitivas, con márgenes de mutabilidad. Emerge un sujeto con fisuras, inestabilidades y posibilidades de variabilidad... impensables para la lógica normativa, al abrir espacios que pueden fugarse de la órbita dominante.

En estos procesos tendrían que identificarse componentes que favorezcan la conformación de *responsabilidad* –entendida aquí como implicación en prácticas igualitarias– por parte de los varones. Cuestión que abordaremos a continuación.

Elementos para la Construcción de una Responsabilidad Aproximativa

En este apartado sugerimos incluir lo que denomino *responsabilidad aproximativa* como un escenario que evidencie el componente afectivo para tensar lógicas que organizan el mundo interactivo en una dinámica violenta. Responsabilidad aproximativa es generar efectos en las relaciones cotidianas a través del reconocimiento de emociones mutuas, que permitan la conformación de habilidades para desafiar la normativa masculina dominante. La proximidad con la otra(o) es un escenario donde un sujeto evalúa, orienta y decide (consciente o pre-reflexivamente) una acción hacia una persona en específico¹¹.

Los componentes *histórico* y *evaluativo* son relevantes en nuestra idea de responsabilidad. Histórico, ya que advierte lo importante de reconocerse como sujetos en proceso, resultado de convenciones, mandatos, consignas sociales, culturales, normativas que nos constituyen, y que si bien tienen la fuerza de determinar lo que somos, esto no sucede de manera cerrada, definitiva e invariable. Evaluativo, ya que revela mecanismos que permiten identificar una singularidad acerca de cómo se genera una disposición moral para “situar” al otro, qué lugar le otorgamos para que se despliegue un determinado abanico de acciones.

El componente evaluativo es reconocer que la afectividad está activa, no reprimida, y que favorece un determinado juicio y valoración de la relación¹². Y la historicidad nos remite a que esa valoración no surge de manera natural, espontánea ni ocurre siempre de la misma manera, está atada a mecanismos que la hacen cambiante en el transcurso de nuestra vida. De esta manera, la experiencia de “responsabilidad” por parte de los sujetos se conforma como resultado de la articulación de estos procesos. Escenario que nos indica que están presentes y en tensión múltiples significados que acompañan, dan contenido y definen una experiencia.

Por otra parte, un aspecto a tomar en cuenta en la construcción de responsabilidad aproximativa, estaría dado por lo encontrado en el discurso de los jóvenes del estudio, ya que nos permite identificar un mecanismo de dominación que en nuestra opinión frena significativamente la conformación de este tipo de responsabilidad. Existe una constante en el discurso de los jóvenes de nuestro estudio que afirma que las inseguridades y dudas del varón en la vida privada se deben de manejar de manera

individual y en silencio: “uno no tiene que ir contando por ahí sus cosas, ¿no?, uno se guarda sus cosas personales para uno, calladito, así no te anda criticando nadie...no sé si esté bien o mal, pero por lo menos no te atacan” (Grupo 7). Esto coincide con varios autores que afirman que la vivencia de la masculinidad plantea no expresar aspectos íntimos porque se pretende evitar la experiencia de vulnerabilidad y vergüenza (Kimmel 1997). Por su parte Seidler (2000) nos recuerda que lo que queda sin decir de los varones es igualmente importante para entender cómo se relacionan, y las consecuencias de ello. Esta característica nos remite a un espacio donde se dirime el poder desde un ángulo poco explorado en el análisis de la masculinidad: *el silencio*, que es un mecanismo que en realidad sí habla. El silencio es el resultado de que la normativa masculina ya ha operado, es un indicador “exitoso” de la dominación en el sujeto. El silencio muestra aquí su utilidad, es condición necesaria para que el varón evalúe individualmente y sin alteraciones una situación interactiva; mecanismo que permite a la norma asegurar su permanencia. En este sentido, el silencio emerge como componente idóneo para mantener y reeditar relaciones desiguales. Schreiter (1998) afirma que en las dinámicas de dominación y violencia el silencio entre los sujetos tiene la función de reforzar la opresión.

El “monologismo” al que hace referencia Bajtín (1982), nos estaría hablando de esta característica discursiva que, en clave de género, podríamos definirla como un dispositivo comunicativo, dominante y cerrado que otorga seguridad y control a los varones. Su contraparte es la irrupción de “voz”, una polifonía (Bajtín & Voloshinov, 1992), confluencia de voces en conflicto con el discurso hegemónico que pretende erigirse como la única voz autorizada para determinar el significado de una experiencia. Esta cualidad permite definir lo “dialógico” (Bajtín, 1982) como condición discursiva para disputar el sentido de una experiencia y dar cuenta de ella¹³. La responsabilidad de la que hablamos tiene por tanto un rostro dialogante, no es una tarea individual para los varones en solitario para identificar las coordenadas de género que están operando en su cotidianidad¹⁴.

Siguiendo a Bowker (1998), Gilligan (1982), Seidler (2000), la responsabilidad estaría entonces comprometida con identificar y desafiar los parámetros dominantes que no aceptan la dimensión afectiva como fuente de conocimiento válida. La responsabilidad aproximativa sugiere

que las emociones ligadas al mandato masculino hegemónico estarían frenando la conformación de *emociones éticas* que tengan presente al otro(a). Desde esta perspectiva, la empatía, que es una habilidad emocional a tener en cuenta en escenarios violentos, conlleva descifrar señales de comportamiento, deseos, afirmaciones y sentimientos del otro(a)... y conocimiento y reconocimiento de estas señales en uno mismo. Implica tener presente la propia vulnerabilidad y la del otro(a). La empatía es fundamentalmente un ejercicio de interpretación situado, que se va habilitando para generar una respuesta favorable hacia otro (y por lo tanto con efectos en la relación).

Las emociones al permitir contar con pautas orientativas para evaluar una relación, habilitan moral, corporal y discursivamente al sujeto para desarrollar prácticas. Esta característica de cómo opera la afectividad nos indica que las emociones están ligadas a objetos sociales de manera pre-reflexiva, y que participan en conformar una disposición en la relación, ya sea (en el tema que nos ocupa) para desafiar, fisurar o reafirmar el mandato hegemónico masculino individualista. La idea de responsabilidad que manejamos marcaría una ruta diferente al proceso del enojo: tensa esta emoción descentrándola de la normativa dominante a la que ha estado atada, que puede derivar en la configuración de una emoción ética que toma en cuenta qué le pasa a la otra y responder a ello.

El análisis de las emociones implica discutir cómo nos relacionamos con el otro, cómo tratamos a los demás, es analizarnos interactivamente en el entendido que los escenarios emocionales “son rasgos constitutivos no de los individuos sino de las relaciones” (Gergen, 1996, p. 259). Nuestra postura no proviene de un decreto de “deber ser” –que corre el riesgo de convertirse en un discurso políticamente correcto de los varones–, sino en una óptica que pone acento en hacer visible maniobras emocionales como parte de las dinámicas de poder.

Finalmente queremos comentar que en los grupos de discusión los varones también mostraban discursos híbridos –donde coexistían elementos dominantes frente a otros que resistían su lógica–, lo que permite observar contradicciones en las formas de vivir la masculinidad; es decir, ya operan formas de resistir la versión dominante masculina. Pero aquí más que hablar de “nuevas masculinidades”, “nuevos hombres” o “masculinidades emergentes”, lo que es importante señalar es que una visión crítica de la

economía afectiva puede ampliar los escenarios que desafían la dominación. Es poner el acento en las condiciones que hacen posible dar cuenta de sí mismo en relación con la otra, desmarcándose de parámetros con los que se ha aprendido a menospreciar, posponer, descartar y cancelar componentes significativos de la propia experiencia y la de los demás.

Existen muchas voces en diferentes latitudes, activistas, terapeutas, académicas(os) y organismos internacionales que sostienen que la violencia ejercida por los varones contra las mujeres tendría que ser definida y vivida como una “elección” en un entramado de relaciones de poder. Con este escrito pretendemos colaborar en dar sustento a esta perspectiva.

Apunte para una Política Pública

El tema de la responsabilidad por parte de los varones desde el análisis que aquí se sugiere, podría ser parte los insumos para repensar la elaboración de políticas públicas destinadas a la prevención. Sugerimos que los contenidos de las acciones para construir *responsabilidad aproximativa* pueden dividirse en tres dimensiones:

Revisión de la autonomía en espejo. Revisar procesos de autonomía en la vida cotidiana de los varones junto con los procesos de autonomía de las mujeres con las que el varón convive. Emprender este proceso junto con las mujeres en un marco de diálogo que permita reflexionar sobre los intercambios explícitos e implícitos durante los trayectos de vida de mujeres y hombres. Que identifiquen conflictos, contradicciones, subordinaciones, confluencias, sinergias, y tomar posturas frente a ello.

Las emociones fuente de conocimiento relacional. Resignificación de la dimensión afectiva que desafía al soliloquio normativo, que incluya la construcción de emociones éticas donde lo dialógico impere frente a lo hegemónico. Desarrollar estrategias que pongan en el centro la ruptura del monologismo, y la construcción de empatía como habilidad social emocional a desarrollar a través de procesos educativos comunitarios, o transversalizado en el currículo para escenarios escolares.

Perspectivas cambiantes frente a certeza normativa. Permeabilizar las fronteras simbólicas femenino/masculino que permite la fluidez de género. Superar al género como parámetro orientativo vital de certidumbres. Frente a la dicotomía... la multiplicidad de prácticas que desacrediten la ficción de

un varón delimitado, completo y definitivo, por uno abierto, parcial, mutable.

Frente a una práctica hegemónica evidenciar la variabilidad de prácticas posibles, experiencias existentes o imaginadas fuera de lo normativo. A la manera de Bruner (1986), *subjuntivizar* nuestra realidad interactiva: trasformar conjuntamente el modo indicativo (yo soy, yo quiero, yo puedo) por el modo subjuntivo (yo sería, yo podría, yo quisiera), que permita enfrentar la mirada normalizadora de “lo definitivo” por “lo posible”. Provocar imaginar escenarios abiertos para resituarnos frente a los mandatos monolíticos de género.

Notas

¹ Agradezco las largas y clarificadoras discusiones con Natalia Biencinto López y Luis Bonino Méndez, que permitieron que este trabajo se nutriera y reorientara significativamente.

² Se utiliza el término “varón” por el de “hombre”, evitando el uso androcéntrico del término “hombre” como sinónimo de “humanidad”. Aunque este término también presenta inconvenientes, esperamos que pueda cumplir con esta intención.

³ Para un interesante recorrido antropológico de las emociones ver Le Breton (2012), donde otorga un estatus importante al análisis de las relaciones para interpretar la afectividad de las sociedades y de los individuos en particular. Por su parte, Ramírez Goicoechea (2001), aborda el tema de las emociones desde una perspectiva interdisciplinaria para proponer una teoría de la complejidad de lo emocional. Enciso y Lara (2014), desarrollan un estudio de las emociones al interior de las Ciencias Sociales durante el siglo XX y lo enmarcan desde siete aproximaciones: El Sociocostrucciónismo, la Psicología Social Discursiva, los Estudios Culturales de las Emociones, las Emocionologías, la Sociología Interpretativa, la Sociolingüística de las Emociones, y los Estudios Feministas de las Emociones.

⁴ Nuestra intención, como se verá enseguida, es incluir la afectividad como componente de análisis problematizador respecto al papel de los varones para hacer frente a la violencia. Con este movimiento se politiza un componente que aparentemente se circunscribe en la esfera individual, para situarlo en el ámbito social y susceptible de incluirse en la definición de política pública.

⁵ En México, Ramírez, Gutiérrez y Cázares. (2015), preguntaron a profesionales que trabajan en el tema de masculinidad -desde la academia, organizaciones de la Sociedad Civil y a funcionarios de la administración pública-, sobre los temas que más han trabajado en este terreno: las emociones están en primer lugar, seguida por violencia de género. Y mencionan que el tema-problema más importante identificado como objeto de política pública es la violencia de género.

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⁶ La corriente teórica del Construcción Social ha criticado radicalmente la existencia de un supuesto esencialista que constituya al sujeto independiente de lo social e histórico. Para profundizar en este debate ver a Potter (1998), Ibáñez (1994), Gergen (1996).

⁷ Illouz (2007) analiza el surgimiento contemporáneo de una narrativa de autorrealización donde se busca una “mayor compatibilidad entre la psicología y el punto de vista moral” de que las personas pueden y deben labrar su destino de forma individual. De hecho, para esta autora la autorrealización del yo se va desplazando para convertirse en sinónimo de salud, lo que favorece a que prolifere la identificación de “conductas no saludables” emocionalmente, “disfunciones” que requieren ser abordadas desde el “modelo e ideal de la vida plenamente autorrealizada”.

⁸ La dimensión afectiva en el sistema patriarcal ha estado devaluada y delegada a las mujeres, los débiles y subordinados, y no se le considera legítima como fuente de conocimiento. En este sentido, incluirla en el análisis de la masculinidad desde una visión crítica, implica otorgarle otro estatus, lo que podría derivar en reposicionar a las emociones como componentes activos en las dinámicas de poder para evidenciar y favorecer elementos subversivos de las interacciones que desafíen al patriarcado.

⁹ Para Bonino (1995) existen dispositivos “sutiles” favorecedores del mantenimiento de la desigualdad en la vida cotidiana. Los denomina “micromachismos”, no por minimizar la importancia de sus efectos en las mujeres, sino para resaltar su poca visualización y detección.

¹⁰ Que los varones incorporen aspectos considerados femeninos dentro de su contexto, puede ser en otros casos un franco desafío a la normativa dominante masculina. El travestismo y la transexualidad, son dos ejemplos claros de irrupción de realidades que hacen trastabillar la “estabilidad” del mecanismo normativo dicotómico heterosexual que insiste en mantener dividido y con fronteras claras lo designado para mujeres y lo designado para hombres.

¹¹ Para esta definición donde nos interesa resaltar el papel de la afectividad en la conformación de prácticas, nos ha sido útil la idea de “interpretante” retomado de la perspectiva semiótica de Peirce (1978). En especial, nos parece interesante el concepto de “interpretante emocional”, definido como parte del efecto que dejan las emociones en la experiencia del sujeto, siendo también éstas al mismo tiempo, condición de posibilidad de generar efectos en el otro. Para Peirce este componente formaría parte de lo que se sedimenta en forma de hábito en el sujeto, lo que nos permite resaltar el carácter instituyente de las emociones en las prácticas de los sujetos. Por otra parte, para nuestra definición de responsabilidad aproximativa es importante mencionar que ésta se gesta en el marco de las relaciones cotidianas. Para White y Epston (1993) la interacción es la condición para que se generen visiones alternativas de entender y dar cuenta de nuestra vida en contraste con las visiones estrechas y delimitadas que establece la dominación. La interacción, el diálogo, son la condición del surgimiento de lo que él denomina “contraprácticas”. En este mismo sentido, el concepto “zona de desarrollo próximo” de Vygotsky (1995), si bien está construido para otro tipo de análisis, nos es útil porque epistemológicamente coincide en otorgar importancia al encuentro entre sujetos para las trasformaciones mutuas, como escenario idóneo para el diálogo y ruptura de visiones

individualistas. Para este autor, los cambios y aprendizajes en las experiencias se gestan de manera compartida, donde es fundamental el otro(a) cotidiano en este proceso.

¹² Gergen (1996) nos recuerda que las emociones están presentes y no pueden separarse del ámbito de la evaluación moral.

¹³ La ética discursiva en las que se inscriben Otto Apel (1991), Habermas (2002), Cortina (2000), permite sustentar que el diálogo forma parte de los escenarios que desafían los procesos de dominación. Si bien no negamos que posiciones de esta corriente, como la que sostiene Cortina, supone que para el diálogo se partiría de una posición idealizada de los sujetos, sí nos parece oportuna para explicitar, por una parte, la importancia del diálogo como mecanismo para hacer frente a la opresión, y por otra, el marco ideológico en el que nos movemos: igualitario, democrático, dialógico, marcado por la promoción y respeto de los derechos humanos; horizonte donde los sujetos tienen validez para legitimar y deslegitimar prácticas.

¹⁴ El silencio emocional además aleja a una relación de ser analizada desde procesos discursivos, morales e institucionales más amplios que nos permitan identificar de qué manera influyen y construyen nuestros hábitos y prácticas cotidianas. En este sentido, Schreiter (1998) afirma que quienes suelen tener más elementos para enfrentar dinámicas de opresión son aquellos sujetos que logran colocar sus discursos y relatos personales en relación a otros discursos de un nivel más macrosocial y globalizante.

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Male Presence in Gender Research Networks in the Communication field in Spain

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Male Presence in Gender Research Networks in the Communication Field in Spain¹

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to learn about the scientific productivity and collaboration of authors who have published papers on gender in Spanish communication journals by paying special attention to the role played by men. The citation network was analysed in order to identify the researchers network and the participation of men therein. The hypothesis put forward is that men have a secondary role in scientific communities that research gender in the communication field. Methodologies from the analysis of social networks were applied. The information extracted was analysed using Ucinet software. It was confirmed that men have a marginal role in the network and that women tend to cite other women in their publications.

Keywords: gender, social networks, bibliometric, invisible colleges, research in communication

Presencia de los Hombres en Redes de Investigación de Género en el Ámbito de Comunicación en España¹

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Resumen

El objetivo de este trabajo es conocer la productividad y colaboración científica de los autores que han publicado trabajos sobre género en las revistas españolas de comunicación, prestando especial atención al rol desempeñado por los hombres. Se ha analizado la red de citaciones con el fin de identificar la red de investigadores y la participación de los hombres en la misma. La hipótesis de la que se parte es que los hombres tienen un papel secundario en las comunidades científicas que investigan sobre género en el área de comunicación. Se aplican metodologías procedentes del análisis de redes sociales. La información extraída ha sido analizada con el programa Ucinet. Se comprueba que los hombres tienen un rol marginal en la red y que las mujeres tienden a citar a otras mujeres en sus publicaciones.

Palabras clave: género, redes sociales, bibliometría, colegios invisibles, investigación en comunicación.

The words of Sánchez de Madariaga are revealing when she states that “the most recent research has shown how, in many scientific knowledge fields, from humanities to medicine, via social sciences and engineering, sex and gender variables are still not sufficiently taken into account” (2011, p.1). The same paper containing the aforementioned researcher’s prologue stresses that women are still not highly represented.

Women’s access to the fields of research and technology encompasses a true obstacle course. For centuries, scientific academies and universities vetoed women in multiple ways. Arguments included a “feminine nature” perceived as incompatible with scientific knowledge. The consideration of Donna Haraway (1991) when she reflects that science is concerned with knowledge and power is important because it is in the link between science and power (especially if it is understood as domination) that the quid of the question could lie. Scientific literature has shown the under-representation of women in practically all academic fields and it is confirmed that there are fewer women, and those in the field hold peripheral positions in research networks (Ceci et al., 2011; Eccles, 2007; Ecklund et al., 2012; West et al., 2013).

While participating in scientific tradition’s demonstration of this reality, we want to ask whether something similar occurs with regard to men in collaboration networks focusing on studies from a gender perspective that have been conducted in recent years. In other words, we want to answer the following questions: Have men been fully included in research whose central topic is women’s studies? Conversely, are those researching these topics primarily women? Does a gender bias occur in women’s studies?

There is no research that has analysed sex in gender research or that studies the role played by men in this academic community. The main purpose put forward in this paper is to learn about the scientific productivity and collaboration of Spanish authors who have published papers from a gender perspective in communication journals indexed in SCOPUS during the period 2008-2014. The citation network was built to identify the structure of researcher networks and the role played by men therein. This information can serve as a basis to understand the scant presence of men in this kind of research and contribute to the design of policies to expand this topic among male researchers.

Justification and Theoretical-Methodological Framework

Traditionally, women's studies in communication were started and have been developed by women researchers, as in other fields of knowledge where research has also always been linked to the commitment of action in social sciences. Male participation began to rise in the last 10 years, and a study specifying the reason for this participation is important and may explain whether, in addition to scientific interest, the tendency towards researching sensitive topics, including gender, and the ease with which they are published contributes to this. In gender research, this is not an isolated fact, therefore, it is to be expected that the same thing happens in other branches deriving from or complementary to women's studies: in masculinity studies, the majority of the researchers are men (Pini & Pease, 2013) and in queer studies, the researchers are women and men, but militants of this perspective or vital position (Allen, 2010). But it may be that the scarcity of men is not only due to a lack of interest, but also because research networks led by women are hard to access.

Bibliometrics was used to analyse this phenomenon. Bibliometrics applied to social sciences with regard to author productivity helps to prove the productive life of an author, as well as his or her consideration in the scientific community, in the words of Rubio (1999). Likewise, the role of co-authorship, which has risen in the last decade and is linked to state or private support figures and experimental works, according to the same author, is essential in order to mark so-called "invisible colleges", understood as professional groups united along research lines, personal and teaching relationships, etc. These methods have produced important papers in other areas of knowledge (Chi & Young, 2013; Clark et al., 2014; Kraus et al., 2012), which validates them in order to put them into practice in communication and gender studies.

There are multiple papers that have used bibliometrics in the field of communication, but none of them have influenced their practice on gender studies in a comparative way. Work has been done on quantitative or qualitative methods of journal articles in communication (Castillo, Almansa & Álvarez, 2013) on the provenance of authors and their points of reference in Spanish journals (Fernández, Masip & Bergillos, 2013), on co-citations (Piedra, 2010) or on the "Academy" itself through the components of the

doctoral thesis committees in communication (Casanueva & Caro, 2013). Gender journals remain at the fringes of this kind of research on researchers, therefore, there is no work quantifying the gender of research in women's studies. There are publications on women researchers in general (Alcalá et al., 2005) in the country or in autonomous communities, and some specific ones on women researchers in social sciences (Maz et al., 2011), but no meta-research on sex in gender research in communication.

The first stage we intended to reach was the small-scale discovery of invisible colleges where the domain of women researchers does or does not leave room for men researchers. De Solla Price (1963) points to the existence of groups of scientists that are essentially made up of a contact and informal communication that creates a stable social structure (highlighting the role of the elite within them). The concept of “invisible college” with a long track record in psychology studies, is reduced to scientific collaboration that for different reasons becomes reiterated.

The concept of “invisible colleges” is not new in literature. It is linked to the origins of modern science with a clear objective: to serve as a communication vehicle between researchers and research. In fact, scientific journals managed to harmonise this link between those who read them and alerted those who worked on a specific topic (Gracia, 2005). Therefore, such concept is linked to the actual development of science in that it recognises that the person conducting the research not only needs to communicate his or her results, but also needs to know what other people think and are studying. If we consider science as an organisation (Carpintero & Peiró, 1981), it is possible to analyse academic production in both its qualitative and quantitative dimensions by taking the material and the social into account, and invisible colleges can be understood as social networks where the analysis unit is the social relationship (Miceli, Bruno & Pulh, 2011). Thus, for the aforementioned authors, a measurable aspect of an academic relationship in terms of content would then be the bibliographical reference, and the frequency and/or volume of the exchanged material would be a measurement factor of the intensity of the social relationship.

Scientific journals come about with the precise purpose of becoming a communication network among those working on the same topic, and “constitute a kind of distance work group” (Gracia, 2005, p.13). The same

author makes explicit the differences between the concept of “visible colleges” and the concept of “invisible colleges.” The former are identified through joint signatures on scientific papers and citation networks, while invisible colleges are social networks and groups that are identified through paths other than those of citation networks, given that they come before them. Electronic communication encourages the consolidation of these networks.

As maintained by Peñaranda-Ortega and Osca-Lluch (2013), they are scientific connection networks that are established informally, but come to be formalised in research articles published jointly. Thus, such networks facilitate the exchange of information and, on many occasions, culminate with an interdisciplinary collaborative exchange that aids the growth of scientific literature, both in a quantitative and qualitative manner. “Currently, the term “invisible college” is attempting to show the close relationship between productivity and collaboration” (Peñaranda & Osca, 2013, p.129) and entails the union of authorship and perspectives “within time (evolutionary invisible college) and space (geographical invisible college) coordinates” (Peñaranda & Osca, 2013, p.130).

There are different studies on invisible colleges and their impact on science. The work done by Monsalve, Cerdá and de Andrés (2004) is interesting. They studied 520 papers signed by 1,172 authors by evaluating the lead author, number of articles written, number of authors comprising it, number of signatures per paper and index of articles per author. They classified the authors as transient (those who signed once during the period studied), aspiring (those who came to sign on up to four occasions), moderate (those whose signature appeared five to nine times) and productive. In the communication field, and at an international level, invisible colleges and their determination through bibliometric studies have also been explored (Chang & Tai, 2005; Tai, 2009).

One of the fundamental questions of this paper is formulated as follows: Is that collaborative exchange joint when it is linked to specific gender studies? Or, conversely, does one sex dominate the leadership of research projects? If so, two new traditional gender concepts reappear: the velvet ghetto and the glass ceiling. Have women gender researchers created a velvet ghetto for themselves in this field? Have they raised a glass ceiling

for male researchers that leads them to play a secondary role in gender research networks?

Objectives and Hypothesis

The specific purpose of this article is to identify the network of Spanish authors conducting research from a gender perspective in communication. For this, the citations produced among those who have published in Spanish communication journals indexed in SCOPUS during the period 2008-2014 were analysed.

The hypotheses upon which we are basing our work relate to the role played by men in the gender researchers network in communication. A superficial observation of gender research forums and of research groups focusing on the subject show that the presence of men working in this field is very scant and they have less weight on research. Our first hypotheses focus on this statement:

- (1) Hypothesis 1: There are few men conducting research from a gender perspective in communication.
- (2) Hypothesis 2: Men conducting gender research in communication play a secondary role in the researcher network.

Should the two hypotheses be proven, we put forward two more hypotheses aimed at identifying a potential reason for the scant presence of men in the gender researchers network. We posit the fact that there is a tendency among researchers to cite those of the same sex. In this case, we are talking about homophily or assortativity, which is the tendency of people to relate to others that are like them (McPherson et al., 2001).

- (3) Hypothesis 3: Women show a preference for other women when citing.
- (4) Hypothesis 4: Men show a preference for other men when citing.

Methodology

To respond to these hypotheses, we turned to a bibliometric study of scientific publications in the field and the citations produced among their authors.

In view of the limited internationalization of publications from communication academics in Spain ([Casanueva & Caro, 2013](#); [Masip, 2011](#)), it was decided to analyze the papers published in the Spanish journals of the area. SCOPUS was chosen against other standardized international databases as SSCI. Only one journal in communication was indexed in 2014 in SSCI compared to six in SCOPUS.

Articles on gender published in Spanish journals in the communication field and indexed in the SCOPUS database were identified. The journals were: *Comunicar*, *Estudios del Mensaje Periodístico*, *Comunicación y Sociedad*, *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social*, *Historia y Comunicación Social* and *Signa*. The study period considered was from when the journals were included in SCOPUS up to 2014. The first one to be included was *Comunicar* (2008) and the last one was *Revista Latina de Comunicación Social* in 2011. The other four were indexed in 2010.

For the article search, a key word search strategy was followed. A search for the term GENDER was carried out in the fields TITLE, ABSTRACT and KEYWORD. This search generated 60 references. These results were immediately filtered by reading each one to ensure that the research took into account the gender perspective. Only one of the publications did not meet this requirement, therefore, the total number of studies analysed was 59. They are shown in [Table 1](#). The full bibliographical reference can be found in [Annex 1](#).

Table 1

Articles that form the research network from a gender perspective in communication

Authors	Year	Journal
Callejo, J.	2013	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Castillo, A., & Carretón, M. C.	2010	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Crescenzi, L., Araüna, N., & Tortajada, I.	2013	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Diego, P., & Etayo, C.	2013	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
García-Muñoz, N., Fedele, M., & Gómez-Díaz, X.	2012	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Marín, F., Armentia, J. I., & Caminos, J.	2011	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Menéndez Menéndez, M. I.	2011	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Tolsá Caballero, J.; Bringué Sala, X.	2012	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Tous-Rovirosa, A., Meso-Ayerdi, K., & Simelio-Sola, N.	2013	<i>Comunicación y Sociedad</i>
Fombona-Cadavieco, J., <i>et al.</i>	2012	<i>Comunicar</i>
Aierbe, A., & Medrano, C.	2008	<i>Comunicar</i>
Belmonte Arocha, J., & Guillamon Carrasco, S.	2008	<i>Comunicar</i>
Casero-Ripollés, A.	2012	<i>Comunicar</i>
Colás-Bravo, P., González-Ramírez, T., & de Pablos, J.	2013	<i>Comunicar</i>
De Andrés-del Campo, S., & de Lima-Maestro, R.	2014	<i>Comunicar</i>
Fernández Villanueva, C., & Revilla Castro, J. C.	2011	<i>Comunicar</i>
García Muñoz, N., & Martínez García, L. del C.	2009	<i>Comunicar</i>
García-Jiménez, A., López de Ayala, M. C., & Catalina, B.	2013	<i>Comunicar</i>
Lacalle-Zalduendo, C.	2012	<i>Comunicar</i>
Marín Murillo, F.	2011	<i>Comunicar</i>
Martínez-Pastor, E., Nicolás-Ojeda, M. Á., & Salas, A.	2013	<i>Comunicar</i>

(continued)

Table 1

Articles that form the research network from a gender perspective in communication (continued)

Authors	Year	Journal
Navarro-Beltrá, M., & Martín-Llaguno, M.	2013	<i>Comunicar</i>
Moral Toranzo, F.	2009	<i>Comunicar</i>
Torres Díaz, J. C., & Infante Moro, A.	2011	<i>Comunicar</i>
Tortajada, I., Araüna-Baró, N., & Martínez-Martínez, I.	2013	<i>Comunicar</i>
Monferrer, E. B.	2012	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Caro, F., García Gordillo, M. D. M., & Bezunartea, O.	2014	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Fernández García, N.	2013	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Fernández Jara, L., & Roel, M.	2014	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Gaona Pisonero, C., & Torregrosa Carmona, J. F.	2013	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
García Nieto, M. T.	2013	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Gómez Y Patiño, M.	2011	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Hernández Ruiz, A., Martín Llaguno, M., & Beléndez, M.	2012	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Lledó Patiño, M.	2012	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Marini, L., Medina Bravo, P., & Rodrigo Alsina, M.	2010	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Martínez Rodrigo, E., & Sánchez Martín, L.	2012	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Martínez Rodríguez, B.	2014	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Medina Bravo, P., Figueras, M., & Gómez-Puertas, L.	2014	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Menéndez Menéndez, M. I.	2013	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Ramos Soler, I., & Papí Gálvez, N.	2012	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>

Table 1

Articles that form the research network from a gender perspective in communication (continued)

Authors	Year	Journal
Sainz De Baranda Andújar, C.	2014	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Zurbano Berenguer, B., & Liberia Vayá, I. H.	2013	<i>Estudios Sobre el Mensaje Periodístico</i>
Carmona, M., Conesa Pérez, M. C., & Ros Clemente, M. I.	2014	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Galván Arias, M. Á.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Gámez Fuentes, M. J.	2014	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
García Castillo, N.	2014	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
García Nieto, M. T., & Viñarás Abad, M.	2014	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Hernández Ruiz, A., & Martín Llaguno, M.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Martínez Valerio, L.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Menéndez Menéndez, M. I.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Rodríguez Wangüemert, C., Matud, M., & Pestano, J. M.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Ruiz Somavilla, M. J., Narbona Carrión, G., & Agüera, C.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
Zurian Hernández, F. A., & Borrego Errazu, M.	2013	<i>Historia y Comunicación Social</i>
García-González, A., & Piñeiro-Otero, T.	2011	<i>Revista Latina de Comunicación Social</i>
Gutiérrez San Miguel, B., et al.	2014	<i>Revista Latina de Comunicación Social</i>
Túñez López, M., Martínez Solana, M., & Valarezo, K.	2014	<i>Revista Latina de Comunicación Social</i>
García-Pascual, R.	2012	<i>Signa</i>
Gómez Garrido, M.	2013	<i>Signa</i>
Valverde Velasco, A., & Ridao Rodrigo, S.	2012	<i>Signa</i>

Seventy-five per cent of the articles were published in the journals *Estudios sobre el Mensaje Periodístico* (17), *Comunicar* (16) and *Historia y Comunicación Social* (11).

Citations were then extracted from each article and a matrix was built with the authors of the articles who were cited. Centrality and homophily statistical procedures were applied to this matrix using the specific UCINET VI software for the analysis of social networks.

The Citation Network

The analysis of social structures must be based on specific data, not on the characteristics of individuals, but rather on their social links. For this, the analysis of social networks is used (Wellman & Berkowitz, 1988). The purpose of the analysis of social networks is to learn about the joint structure of the links between the players, enabling the existence of any general relationship patterns resulting from the abstraction of the elections of individuals or from the relationships between elements to be identified. A network can be defined simply as a set of nodes or elements related to each other. Therefore, the starting point of the analysis of social networks is the study of these two basic units: the nodes representing the players or elements of the network and the relationships between these nodes (Casanueva & Caro, 2013, p.65).

Before starting the analysis of social networks, we obtained confirmation of the first of our hypotheses. The proportion of women and men who study the gender perspective is very unequal: 72% of the authors are women, while the overall proportion in Spanish journals in all fields is 37% (Mauleón et al., 2013), which initially denotes greater interest on the part of women in this kind of research.

To contrast Hypothesis 2, we used the social networks analysis that enables the discovery of structures and associations between elements based on their relationships. In this case, the network comprising 110 authors from the 59 publications selected was analysed. The relationship studied was the citations between them, in other words, when an author of any of the articles cites another from the list. Crane (1972) suggests that it is possible to understand the social and intellectual structure of a field of knowledge or a certain disciplinary focus by studying the different relationships between the authors, in particular by analysing the citations.

In total, the 110 authors cite 1,814 in their bibliographical references, but our interest was limited to the relationships within the network we

defined. These relationships were not symmetrical. We did not take into account the weight of the relationship, that is, the number of times an author cites another, simply the fact that they were cited. We worked with dichotomous relationships. In this way, a matrix of 110 x 110 elements can be built, in which a 1 in each box indicates that the author in the row cites the corresponding author in the column and 0 in the other case.

The matrix can be represented in a chart, such as the one shown in Figure 1.

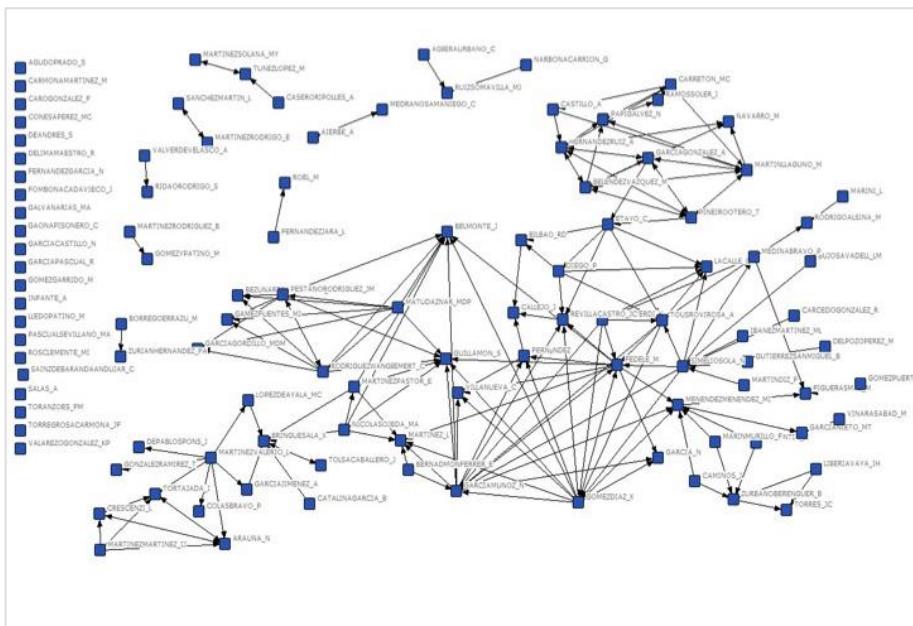


Figure 1. The autors network

The structure of the network can be analysed through a series of indicators provided by Ucinet VI software (Borgatti, Everett, & Freeman, 2002). The size was 110 and the density 0.0325, which is rather low (only 3.2% of all the potential relationships). This result showed scant cohesion between the authors who take the gender perspective into account in communication. It was observed, therefore, that there were few social relationships and little collaboration in the citation relationships.

The network had 22 isolated elements (authors who are not cited and do not cite other authors in the network). This may be due to the fact that they were recently included in the topic and, therefore, their papers could not have been familiar to other researchers.

Below we show the most relevant authors in this network identified from two measurements of centrality ([Table 2](#)). One of them is the degree of centrality, that is, the authors who are cited more frequently. It corresponds to the number of arrows received by each author in the chart in [Figure 1](#). The most central authors in the network are Bringué Sala, García Muñoz, Martín Llaguno y Tous Rovirosa. Of the 10 with greater centrality, eight are women (a proportion of 80%, higher than that of the total sample, 72%).

The other measurement is intermediation, which refers to authors who have more connections with different groups in the network. In other words, the number reflects the times that the author appears in the paths that connect to all the pairs of authors in the network. These nodes are called “bridge nodes.” It can be observed how, with the exception of two of them, the authors were different from the previous ones: Etayo, Piñeiro, Simelio-Sola y Tous Rovirosa. Some of these intermediation positions can be clearly observed in [Figure 1](#). In this case, the prevalence of women is absolute.

Table 2
Centrality of authors

Degree Centrality	Sex	Betweenness Centrality	Sex
Martín-Llaguno, M.	W	Etayo, C.	180.000 W
Tous-Rovirosa, A.	W	Tous-Rovirosa, A.	154.000 W
García Muñoz, N.	W	Simelio-Sola, N.	108.000 W
Bringué Sala, X.	M	Piñeiro, T.	73.500 W
Hernández Ruiz, A	W	García-González, A.	73.500 W
Tortajada, I.	W	García Muñoz, N.	70.333 W
Beléndez Vázquez, M.	W	Carretón, M. C.	62.000 W
Belmonte Arocha, J.	M	Gómez-Díaz, X.	59.333 W
Guillamón Carrasco, S.	W	Fedele, M.	59.333 W
Ridao Rodrigo, S.	W	Hernández Ruiz, A	56.333 W

The scant number of male researchers (28% of the total) and the little relevance they have in the network confirmed the second hypothesis: men play a secondary role in gender research networks in the field of communication.

To confirm the third and fourth hypotheses, a study of the correlation of the citation matrix was conducted with the independent variable “sex of the authors.” The degree of homophily was measured, in other words, the preference that people from a group have for those from the same group, in our case, the preference of women for citing other women and of men for citing other men. We again used Ucinet VI and applied the “hemophilic variable” method. The following table outlines the coefficients obtained.

Table 3
Significance of the preference between equals

Independent	Significance
Men	0.268
Women	0.007

It can be observed how the correlation is significant in the case of women, therefore, hypothesis 3 is confirmed. In other words, women show a preference when citing for people of their same sex. In the case of the “men” group (hypothesis 4), the relationship is not significant, therefore, it is shown that there is no homophily when citing among them.

Conclusions

The analysis of the citations in articles from a gender perspective published in communication journals shows significant questions. Firstly, it should be pointed out that the number of articles published from this perspective is very scant. In the period analysed, the six journals considered published 1,763 articles, of which only 59 include a gender perspective (3.3%).

Secondly, it is important to stress that most of the publications are from recent years, which implies that interest in the field of communication in gender is recent, or that, at least, interest in the topic on the part of the publishers of these journals has come about recently.

With regard to researcher networks, it can be observed that gender studies in communication are a question of sex. It is women who make up the majority of the network. It is also women who have greater centrality in said network and serve as elements of connection between the different sub-groups that could be identified. Other studies on Spanish scientific publications in all fields show that men are the ones who play that role (Mauleon et al, 2013).

But the most significant contribution of this paper is the identification of a significant degree of homophily between women who cite articles published by other women. This data suggests the existence of invisible colleges, in which certain positive discrimination towards the female sex can exist when it comes to citing. Could the existence of any kind of “Matilda effect” be suggested (Rossiter, 1993) in the case of men who conduct research on gender matters? This effect, scientifically studied and documented, shows the discrimination suffered by women in science, reflecting the denial of their contributions and discoveries that were assigned to their research colleagues. In this case, the effect would affect only the preference of women for their colleagues of the same sex and not the androcentric subordination behaviour of the woman defined by Rossiter. These conclusions could suggest the existence of intentional behaviour on the part of women; they simply indicate that this tendency exists and that it would be interesting to delve deeper into the reasons therefor.

Limitations and Future Lines

To better understand this phenomenon, it is necessary to conduct new research based on both qualitative and quantitative data. To that end, in future research, in-depth interviews shall be held with women and men gender researchers from the field of communication. A study is also being conducted on the components of research groups, R&D projects and the chairing of doctoral theses and of scientific meetings and conferences on gender in communication. The qualitative evidence will serve to find out whether there are differences between the motivations of women and men when it comes to conducting research in this field and their perception with regard to the role played by men. The quantitative data will help delve more deeply into the researcher network and their relationships, and to find out

whether the presence and role of men in these scientific activities, not directly linked to production, remains similar to the information obtained in this study.

We invite researchers from the field (or others) to contribute evidence in favour of or against this hypothesis. In any case, the researchers signing this article defend the need for institutional support for women's development in science and research, with a reminder that, in the case of unequal conditions in Spain, male researchers are 2.5 times more likely to receive a promotion than women researchers (Sánchez et al., 2011), and for the development of policies encouraging male researchers to join this necessary field of research.

Notes

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ANNEX 1. Analysed Papers

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Beckett's Masculinity

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Reviews (I)

Jennifer M. Jeffers. (2016). *Beckett's Masculinity*. New York: Springer.
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Samuel Beckett es uno de los exponentes más importantes de la literatura contemporánea del siglo XX, de hecho su obra es un claro ejemplo de la influencia que puede tener el teatro y la dramaturgia en la sociedad de la época. Su legado se sitúa dentro del existencialismo literario y una de sus principales contribuciones y más reconocida a nivel internacional es Esperando Godot. En el libro Beckett's Masculinity se realiza un análisis de la obra del escritor de forma diferente a previos análisis ya que en este caso se hace hincapié en la construcción de la masculinidad que se vislumbra en sus libros.

En el libro en cuestión se realiza una breve introducción al impacto que ha tenido la escritura de Beckett en diferentes personalidades de la época del mundo de la filosofía, la música y la literatura. Entre estos impactos Beckett señala los realizados a filósofos y pensadores como Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault, Theodor Adorno y Harold Pinter. Además en esta introducción el libro pone de relieve las excentricidades sexuales que aparecen en las obras de Beckett que significan un replanteamiento de las normas de género de la época así como la definición de la masculinidad. Para la autora de Beckett's Masculinity este desarrollo se debe sobre todo al deseo de dar una respuesta al contexto social de su época y a la normatividad que en él se definía. En este sentido se destaca el papel destacado que tuvo la construcción de Irlanda como un estado libre principalmente influencia por la religión protestante.

El libro se divide en siete capítulos, en el Capítulo 1 se pone de manifiesta la influencia, anteriormente mencionada, de la creación del Estado libre de Irlanda y la religión protestante. En este capítulo se destaca el papel de la familia patriarcal en la obra de Beckett así como la

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constatación de la pérdida de los privilegios masculinos hegemónicos y de la figura paterna en el entorno social de la época. En el siguiente capítulo el énfasis se pone en los viajes de ida y vuelta a Irlanda y la relación que ello tiene en los procesos de emasculación y de la construcción de las identidades de género.

En el Capítulo 3 se describe la influencia de la figura paterna en las primeras obras de Beckett, y ligado a ello el planteamiento relacionado a las representaciones de género impuestas por Occidente. Para la autora de Beckett's Masculinity los primeros trabajos del escritor significan un desafío a la idea preconcebida que los hombres y las mujeres tienen una identidad estrictamente ligada a la naturaleza. En el Capítulo 4 el foco de atención son las obras Esperando Godot y Endgame donde se visibiliza un interés en explicar el fracaso del patriarcado en occidente, su decadencia y caída. La imposibilidad de retorno es de hecho unos de los aspectos que se manifiestan en Endgame. Por otro lado, en el Capítulo 5 se analizan aquellas obras en las que Beckett presenta una nostalgia del pasado, queriendo y deseando un retorno a la masculinidad de base anglo-irlandesa.

En los dos últimos capítulos se vuelve a ahondar en como al dramaturgo, a través de sus obras, realiza de forma concienzuda un cuestionamiento importante a las expectativas de género de su época.

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When We Imagine Grace: Black Men and Subject Making

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Reviews (II)

Simone C. Drake. (2016). *When We Imagine Grace: Black Men and Subject Making*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press. ISBN: 978-0-226-36383-7

Los recientes acontecimientos que ha vivido Estados Unidos con los asesinatos de personas negras han llevado a construir debates teóricos y movimientos sociales alrededor de los derechos de la comunidad afro-americana en este país. La autora del presente libro, Simone C. Drake, es un ejemplo de ello. La Dra. Drake es una profesora de la Ohio State University y una de las investigadoras responsables de los estudios Afroamericanos de dicha universidad, de modo que posee un importante currículum relacionado con la temática. En este sentido, al inicio del libro Drake argumenta que el análisis que efectúa en el presente libro se sitúa en su agenda investigadora sobre las desigualdades que interseccionan diferentes variables como son el género y la etnia.

A pesar de este amplio bagaje investigador la autora del libro pone de manifiesto que el objetivo con el que redacta dichas páginas es el de ofrecer un futuro mejor a sus tres hijos, tres chicos negros. La autora es muy crítica con las representaciones que se llevan a cabo alrededor de la masculinidad negra sobre todo desde los medios de comunicación y los discursos culturales hegemónicos. Por ese motivo en el libro se profundiza alrededor de figuras masculinas afro-americanas que han permitido dar un paso adelante.

Estas figuras masculinas se presentan el libro a través de diferentes narrativas de hombres con distintos perfiles. Por ejemplo, Drake presenta la historia de su abuelo que estuvo en el primer cuerpo militar exclusivamente negro durante la Segunda Guerra Mundial y también describe los detalles

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biográficos de Nat Love que fue un cowboy afroamericano. Otros de los perfiles que se detallan en el libro son los del emprendedor Marcus Garvey y los de las personalidades homosexuales: Cornelius Eady, Antoine Dodson y Kehinde Wiley.

Las historias que presenta la autora ofrecen la posibilidad de conocer los procesos a través de los cuales algunos hombres afroamericanos están construyendo sus subjetividades en consonancia con la definición de los ideales democráticos de los Estados Unidos. En este sentido, Drake plantea que los hombres negros pueden y están haciendo grandes contribuciones para fortalecer el sistema político americano. De todos modos, la autora subraya la necesidad de conocer con mayor profundidad los pasos que estos hombres están realizando en la esfera privada para que puedan tener un impacto en la esfera pública. Así, como se subraya en el libro, se permite definir y delimitar identidades masculinas activas y que se alejen de representaciones estáticas de la masculinidad.

Por último, Drake también menciona el papel que el movimiento “Black Lives Matter” está teniendo en la reconfiguración de la masculinidad afroamericana. En este sentido, la autora argumenta que dicho movimiento ilustra una evolución en la movilización de la comunidad afroamericana, ya que después de 20 años se articula para exigir su inclusión como ciudadanos y ciudadanas de pleno derecho en la nación americana.

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I would like to thank all the scholars who served as reviewers in 2016. As the editor of the journal *Masculinities and Social Change* I am very grateful for the evaluations realized which have contributed to the quality of this journal.

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