



**Masculinidades
y cambio social**



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Bar Wars: The Changing Geographies of Gender in Spain

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Bar wars: The changing geography of gender in Spain

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Abstract

This paper looks at gender segregation in rural Spain from an historical viewpoint. The subject is gender apartheid: female seclusion and male dominance in public places and the vicissitudes therein. The paper shows how a venerable pattern of female seclusion has been challenged and describes what the social consequences cultural are of this cultural upheaval. Working from the premise of “public/private” as ethnographically valid, the author describes how women in Andalusia have created a new institution specifically designed to breech the barriers of masculine space and attain public access.

Key Words: machismo, drinking, modernization, Spain, segregation

In Andalusia, as in many parts of the Mediterranean World, power and privilege are closely bound up with rules governing the use of public space, especially in rural villages. The public arena is where villagers meet and greet do deals, usually in neighborhood coffee houses and taverns, open forums where most business is conducted face-to-face over a glass of sherry. Traditionally in Andalusia adult men are said to be de la calle (“outside” or “in the street”), and women are supposed to be de la casa (“private, sequestered, inside the house). “In the street” means lingering in a bar or tavern or other public locale, sometimes being literally in the streets, plazas and alleys of the village where men, seated in chairs, bring a drink from a nearby bar and sit for hours taking the evening breeze and chatting. In contrast, traditionally, Andalusian women never loitered and never entered bars unless unaccompanied by a male escort: this has only changed recently--for reasons to be addressed here.

Having witnessed such rules of segregation worldwide, French philosopher Foucault (1980, p.46), wrote many years ago: "A whole history remains to be written of spaces--which would at the same time be the history of powers ... from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitat." Since then, cultural anthropologists have been closely examining the micro-politics of habitat, discovering a metaphorical geography of gender and power. Anthropologists are now examining how cultural norms and taboos configure the landscape of a society, determining where men and women should be and measuring how these small geographies impact power hierarchies—both formal and informal. What might be called an “ecological” approach to gender has thus become a staple of feminist sociology and political science. The feminist sociologist Daphne Spain (1992, p.15-16) summarizes the prevailing position when she writes, “Spatial segregation is one of the mechanisms by which a group with greater power can maintain its advantage over a group with less power. By controlling access to knowledge and resources through the control of space, the dominant group's ability to retain and reinforce its position is enhanced” (1992, p.15-16).

More and more aware of the importance of gender geography, anthropologists have taken up the challenge. In a recent paper, George (2005) writes about the separation of the sexes in an Indian immigrant community in an American city. Carefully detailing the use of space, she notes that the divide between men and women and the exclusion of women from symbols of authority is clearly manifested in the placement of men and women. This divide reaches its apex in the parish church during religious services. The “gender hierarchy,” she writes “is starkly delineated and enforced, as best exemplified by the physical separation of the congregation by sex” (2005, p.125). Noting that certain key areas in the community are “off limits to all women and girls,” she argues convincingly that such proscriptions in the heart of the community’s spiritual consciousness reinforce the subaltern status of women (*Ibid.*). Recent studies of Northern Ireland (Reid, 2008) and of Istanbul, Turkey (Mills, 2007) have likewise shown how powerfully spatial segregation influences the social and political status of women. Similar studies by other social scientists in other parts of the world show that “place discourse” (Reid, 2008, p.489) articulates with identity issues, systems of sexual inequality and with patterns of social change (Staeheli and Kofman, 2004; Andrews, 2009; Krom, 2009).

Cultures vary in the emphasis they put on gender segregation of course. Very strict rules of separation and female sequestering or exclusion are especially well known to students of the Middle East and the Mediterranean; in rural areas still there is still a residual opprobrium attached to women being out public spaces (see Girodano 2008 for a review). This is, as we shall see, very true of southern Spain. Today it may be exaggerating to use the label sexual apartheid; nevertheless, in many rural villages in Mediterranean public locales, remain barred to women and girls. As a result, women’s access to the critical nodes of decision making, commerce and decision-making, is thus effectively limited (see Herzfeld, 1991; Taggart, 1991; Mills, 2007). Obviously such symbolic systems of segregation and of distancing have crucial consequences for gender relations relationships in general since they determine the literal parameters of “place.” Here, we will examine some recent developments in the distribution of power, sanctuary, privilege, and space in western Andalusia.

In place: public and private

Long a foundation of ethnographic studies in the Mediterranean, the so-called “public-private” dichotomy originated as a heuristic device in 1970s as a way of defining female seclusion and political disfranchisement. In the dual model, public means the places wherein lay the reins of power, governance, commerce, information exchange and public discourse. The obverse, private means more than simply indoors: it connotes the domain of the family, of enclosed or hidden places, “marginalized” or “restricted” areas of life (see Reid, 2009, p.490-91).

Although long an accepted staple in Mediterranean-area studies, the public(male)-private (female) scheme, like most conceptual dichotomies, has come in for much criticism in the past years.¹ Probably most important is the work of Janet Abu-Lughod’s (1998). She repudiates the dual model, arguing that like all global dichotomies, this model glosses over nuances and is another instance of “orientalism” (see Reid, 2009 for a review). Despite this salient critique, many feminists still would probably still agree that the public/private concept is relevant, if only as a starting point in measuring gender hierarchies and power dualisms (see Benhabib, 1998). Simply put, what most feminists object to is not the dichotomy itself, but “the gender hierarchy that gives men more power than women to draw the line between public and private.” Even in Middle Eastern studies the spatial dichotomy has been useful to delineate the fluidity of boundaries, their recent shifts and infiltrations due to nascent women’s movements (Cope, 2004; Nagar, 2004; Mills, 2007). Instead of regarding the division of space as a static “thing,” a processual approach seeks to enlighten how borders are negotiated, re-negotiated and diluted as an on-going process (Staeheli and Kofman, 2004, p.10; Gutmann, 1997).

Research on the subject has progressed rapidly. One example is a recent study of women factory workers in Fez, Morocco by Cairoli (2009). The author shows how these lower-class women previously confined to the home, have subverted the male-female spatial dichotomy by reformulating ideas about what is public and what is private.

These women conceive the factories where they work as organic extension of their own domestic sphere; hence their relationships there with fellow women workers and with their entirely male employers have incorporated the familiar idiom of kinship: women workers are “sisters”; male employees are “brothers.” Male owners and floor bosses of the factory are “fathers.” Consequently, Cairlo argues, “Workers transform the public space of the factory into the private space of the home in an attempt to assuage the contradiction inherent in their presence inside the factory, outside the home” (2009, p. 542). Like Cairoli and others working in areas that have been historically sex segregated, I rely here upon the public/private split as a starting point in a discussion of gender spatialization and the current vicissitudes of machismo in Spain as a means of grasping contours of gender in a broader sense as a metaphor for “place.” This is not only because the public/private division is ethnographically and cognitively valid today, but also because, this very split between male and a female domains, in the minds of many women, has encouraged a unique form of feminist resistance. However, in a curious inversion of the Moroccan case reported by Cairlo, the women of Andalusia have inverted the classic public/private split not by transforming public into private but by doing the opposite. They have appropriated the public and turned it into private, thus reformulating the boundaries of sex within a moral order that long excluded and marginalized them.

Gender and territory in Adalusia

Let us first describe the social and cultural setting of the study.² The largest geographical region of the country and the most populous, Andalusia is Spain’s deep south. In many ways parallel to America’s own deep south, the region is classically agrarian, hierarchical, culturally conservative and traditional. Andalusia is also well known for regional eccentricities from which others in Spain often disassociate themselves as being backward or “Moorish”—that is, not “European.” My fieldwork in Andalusia took place originally in the 1970s and 80s and then again a few years ago. In Seville Province, just off the main road

connecting Seville to Madrid, lies the symbolically-named pueblo of Fuentes de Andalucía. Hoping not to appear too symbol-minded, I use this term because the town of Fuentes exemplifies the agro-town prototype as is a "fount" or "source" of knowledge for the social scientist (Fuentes means both). Agro-towns are big conglomerations of farming folk living in nucleated settlements: common in southern Spain, Italy and Portugal—a Mediterranean phenomenon. Located in the middle of a typical latifundium area in the Guadalquivir River Valley, Fuentes in the 1970s and 80s displayed all the well-known (and infamous) characteristics of traditional Andalusian rural society, i.e. poverty, class hatred and political strife. I did fieldwork in Fuentes intermittently between 1971 and 1986. It was home in that period to about 7,500 (there were 12,000 in 1950, the rapid decline due to labor out-migration). Today (2011) the population has recovered somewhat due to the return of many migrants. Typical for the region and throughout its history back to the Middle Ages, large landowners owned most of the arable land in the municipal territory. Fuentes was typical also in boasting a large and vibrant society of small "minifundistas" (smallholders) living cheek-and-jowl with the big plantation owners, farming scattered plots of sunflower, wheat, olive, and other Mediterranean staples. There were a few acres in irrigation, producing table vegetables, tomatoes, lettuce, peppers, and so on. A few people engaged in animal husbandry, mainly sedentary sheep and goat herding, although a few cattlemen made a relatively good living, supplying milk. Many families kept a few pigs and chickens if they had space in their backyards.

We must first recognize historical customs of female seclusion and confinement in communities such as the one I introduce above. Certain areas of the built environment in the Andalusian pueblos are defined implicitly as either female or male territory, male territory being outdoors, female indoors. These frontier-lines are strictly drawn; trespass is considered a moral transgression of a particularly egregious kind. These strict ground rules of course affect both sexes, touching men too, because there are places in which men must not set foot (e.g. the marketplace, the hairdresser). But the rules of place impact on women more onerously by denying them access to the "important" domains of

civic and social control. That is, women's appearances in places like parks and plazas, government offices, bars and taverns and public spaces, are still strictly limited by a fault line of convention, exiling the female from public life, enacting a kind of cultural house arrest. Severe sanctions come into play against women who are "out of place."³ In Andalusia women who venture out have historically maintained a stance of what Herzfeld (1991, p.80), writing about Greece calls "submission and silence." Their bodies and voices take on a veiled or "muted" covering, a quietude. I am not speaking here even by allusion of the Islamic practice of veiling but rather the distinct but analogous practice of deference, muteness, concealment. Men and boys literally rule the streets. Women and girls can be and are punished for being "out of place," that is loitering outdoors unaccompanied by a male relative, fiancé, or husband.

I can think one dramatic vignette from personal observation will demonstrate this. I was out walking in my village at dusk with a few local friends. We came upon a group of about twelve boys, 13 or 14 years old, milling about in one of the central squares of the pueblo. These youth packs are called pandillas (cliques or gangs). While nothing unusual in that male pandillas are often seen lurking outdoors at any time of day or night, my ethnographic alarm bell went off and told me this group was poised for some mischief which might be of interest. So I made inquiry to my companions. They told me the following. What I was witnessing was the first stage of a traditional adolescent activity called the "abucLEAR," a word I later found translated loosely as shouting, jeering, or hooting. My informants immediately understood what was going on because they had participated in such rituals themselves in their teens. The boys were in fact lying in wait for some unsuspecting and, more importantly, unaccompanied, young girl to pass by. When one did, they would rush after her, hollering obscenities, jeering and grasping at her clothing, driving her crying to her home, at which point they would relent and reorganize to repeat the process with another victim. The boys did not physically molest the girls (physical abuse being against the rules), but their victims were usually shaken up and frightened. In one famous case of abucLEAR, I was told, a girl ran

home in tears, her clothes in tatters, and told her father that she recognized the persecutors. Angry and insulted, her father then went to the boy's house to extract an apology from the boy's father; some words were exchanged. But the response of the hooting boy's father remains a classic piece of folklore in the pueblo. Rather than being chagrined or apologetic, the father coolly replied, "Why thank you for telling about this: that means my boy must be a real macho." He took it as a compliment.

When women and girls do appear "legitimately" outside the home in Andalusian pueblos, for example in the agricultural work gangs during the olive harvest, which they do often because of a shortage of male laborers at this the time, the women must be garbed from head to toe in layers of covering not normally seen. Their hair, normally exposed during evening walks and on other festive occasions, is ritually covered in the presence of strange men during the harvests. This is a "liminal" or interstitial time when the more general rules governing sexual segregation are relaxed temporarily (see Brandes, 1980; Taggart, 1991). Men and women mingle together in olive-harvesting squads. The covering of the females however is complete and from a visual and sartorial perspective bizarre, even to the women themselves. The women wear two layers of exterior clothing: skirts worn over full-length trousers, sweaters over shirts and the hair covered by both a cloth and a hat, all this resulting in a visual negation of the body, a burqa-like transformation of person into shapeless bundle. Many complained privately that they felt "curious" or "strange" (curiosa) wearing such thick swaddling, nevertheless given the social pressure, they all succumbed. One might conclude that some dangers inherent in the female body and normally under control, were unleashed in this promiscuous mixing of the sexes, so the women's bodies and hair have to be concealed, effectively neutralized⁴.

Men were also punished—if less severely-- being out of place, in their case for the observe sin: staying at home and avoiding the bars. Any man resisted nightly visits to the bars or who simply spent "too much time" indoors avoiding male society, was condemned not only as a "homebody" and "shameless" but also as unmanly, disgustingly

effeminate—the worst insult one could hurl at a man at that time in Spain. One unhappy example will demonstrate this connection between place, space and public contumely. The anecdote dates to the late 1980s. There lived an odd duck in Fuentes named Ildefonso Masot, a commercial broker. Of middle age. I got to know him rather well, since he lived on my street, but he was scorned by my other friends as a recluse and a miser (the foreign-sounding name did not help). What made him really repugnant was his avoidance of the bars and of men's activities in general. Ildefonso was that rarity in Andalusia: an uxorious homebody, an Alice-sit-by-the-fire. In consequence he was a virtually friendless man. Although aware of men's expectations, he resisted them, because, as he confided to me, such goings-on were not only a waste of time, but also expensive: he watched his pennies and hated the profligacy of the barroom. So he preferred staying at home with his family—wife and two adolescent daughters—reading books, watching television, or going over his accounts. I should add that he was a relatively successful businessman, indeed quite affluent by local standards, and therefore all the more susceptible to demands and expectations for generosity (see [Gilmore, 1990](#)).

Walking past his house one day with a coterie of my friends, I was treated to a rare tirade that intensified into a crescendo of abuse. "What kind of man is he anyway," said one, nodding at his sealed and cloistered home, "Spending every second at home like that?" The others took up the cue, savaging the loner for his defects, likening him to a "brooding hen" and to a "mother cow" and other female animals. They insinuated a number of character flaws, most egregiously stinginess and furtiveness, misanthropy and avarice; but beyond these surface defects they alluded to something worse: a failure at man-acting. Intensifying the character assassination, my friends left the domain of the observable and ventured into speculation, which is common when a man is judged. We proceeded up the street and the men offered their suspicions about this pathetic scapegoat. It all boiled down, they said, to his failure to be a man. This was demonstrated by his shadowy introversion, his hermit-like, withdrawn lifestyle. When I asked if his self-removal could be attributable to business requirements, I was hooted down with

denunciations of "a guy who will not invite, who never goes to the bars!" Others seconded this and began scurrilous speculations as to the deviant's sexual preferences, some insinuating homosexuality or some sordid perversion which might explain his evasion of manliness. In all this, Masot was paying the price for his withdrawal from the man's world. Being "closed," he must also be self-protective, introverted, guarded—traits associated with women, who must protect their chastity by social withdrawal and evasion; hence the comparison to female animals. Naturally, one may appreciate the sexual symbolism here of anatomical open/closed metaphors without being too Freudian.

Bad enough, cruel gossip is much worsened by the enforced sequestering of women which becomes an everyday burden --a lifelong sentence of indoor confinement. Let me illustrate this by retelling a curious anecdote from my fieldwork: this is the case of Filomena, a woman in her early fifties and during my fieldwork in the 1970s and 1908s, my next-door neighbor. Her husband, Alfonso, was a hard-working peasant, typically absent all the time either at work or in the neighborhood tavern, where he met his cronies every night. For the usual tipple and game of dominoes. Having only four grown sons, also out-of-doors types, and no daughters to keep her company, Filomena kept a lonely and desolate existence. Because of this isolation and the paucity of female neighbors on the small narrow street she lived on, was basically restricted to her house home and, on Sundays, to all-day services in the parish church where she lingered. Everyone pitied her because she was so isolated, and people called her a "pobrecita," poor thing, a sad sack.

Having some ingenuity and having put up with this all her married life, Filomena found an ingenious way to overcome her seclusion. One day, I found her leaning rather theatrically outside her front door with the back of her hand pressed dramatically against her forehead, looking anxious and distraught. Breathing deeply and clutching her heart, she breathlessly told me and my wife, who was, as Filomena, a medical doctor, that she had developed "an allergy" to her own house. Not a part of the house, she said, but the "whole damned thing." She could not abide remaining inside for another minute and had to "take the air" or

die.

Filomena suspected her illness had something to do with the nasty chemicals her husband used his farming and then brought into the house, traces of insecticide maybe, she wasn't sure. But the local doctors could find nothing wrong with her and her husband scoffed. So she asked for some corroborating support from my wife, so that her husband might bow to foreign medical authority and let her take the air on occasion just to counteract the allergy to the house. We promised to speak to her husband, which we did shortly afterwards. A gentle, tolerant man, he smiled indulgently, nodded knowingly, but said nothing. Afterwards, Filomena began to take restorative walks around the block which I believe did her much good. But what stuck in my mind was that our neighbor needed medical justification to get out of her own house for a few minutes a day. Other women with more rigid husbands, or stronger superegos, were less fortunate.

This form of female "house arrest" is corroborated by legions of ethnographic reports from southern Europe (for a review, see Cole, 1991). As such it must be accepted as a fragment of reality as personally experienced by every person every day. My own experience in Andalusia suggests the depth of commitment to sexual segregation leading to an occasional incongruities between reality and the senses. Things that were visibly there were elided or openly denied. For example, men would tell me emphatically, with a great deal of satisfaction, that women would never venture outside their houses except to go to the village market. But not more than fifty feet away from where we were talking, one could plainly see of women picking cotton or weeding sunflowers, more women in fact than men, since most of the male laborers were then in Germany or Switzerland. When alerted to this fact, the men would simply dismiss it as a sort of statistical deviation by assuring me that what I was witnessing was anomalous, unusual, rare, out of the ordinary, perhaps a mirage, or due to special circumstances never clearly explained. But it was clear to me that this discrepancy between what I saw and men's idealization about the "place of women" represented an example of wishful thinking."

Punishments imposed by the community upon women out of place were usually gossip and community-wide censure, resulting in a ruined

reputation as a puta (slut). “What is she doing walking alone the streets?” women will say. For a man to be called callero (street cornerguy, hail-fellow-well-met) is almost a compliment, but for a woman to be called a callejera is the same as calling her “streetwalker,” which has the same connotation as in English. This kind of a slander could then contaminate not only a woman’s personal reputation, but also that of her family, tarring not only her female relatives but also the men, who become hijos de puta, (sons of a whore); so compliance with the rules was routinely insured by public opinion and abusive gossip.

Power nodes: Public house

As stated previously, social life in the rural Mediterranean World centers on the village café or other public establishment, usually a watering hole of some sort. As the main theater for male camaraderie interaction in small villages, this central place may be a coffee-shop or teahouse as in the Muslim Middle East, or a bar or casino as in Europe (see Dietler, 2006). Providing not only comestibles, but also entertainment, meeting rooms, and electronic services, these places serve as men's clubs where regulars meet every day, eat, imbibe, play cards, chat, and more germane to our interests here, conduct business. In Europe these institutions are functionally equivalent to "men's houses" in other cultures where men congregate in avoidance of females, as Vale de Almeida (1966, p.7) notes in his book on masculine culture in neighboring Portugal.

Probably the best summary of this pattern of public-house sex segregation is that of French ethnologist Germaine Tillion (1983, p.167), who writes:

On the Christian shores of the Mediterranean, one may follow the zigzag path of an invisible frontier. On the inner side of this frontier, men walk the street alone; they go alone to the bars; and a woman's presence in a café--even in the company of a near relative--to this day appears as unusual as it would in Baghdad.

First, simply as recreational and social locales, Spanish drinking establishments provide a context for making friends and for accomplishing of expedient goals, especially in wheeling-and-dealing, business and commerce. Edward Hansen (1976) shows important this strategic function was in Catalonia under Franco, because other associations and forms of assembly were forbidden by law, an observation that holds true for other parts of the country. In the south, Driessen (1983) shows that bars also serve as an arena for the maintenance of male dominance and the building up of "macho" identity. Since Andalusian men must stay out of their homes to preserve their manly self-image, they use the bar as a kind of exclusive men's club. Having this home-away-from-home enhances their ability to evade their wives, to exclude women from business and back-room politicking, and to manage symbols of masculine superiority (see Gilmore 1991 for more on the masculinity-enhancing role of the bar).

We can see from all this that public houses like bars and taverns function as more than as simply contexts, because they reify and concretize the conceptual and moral boundaries of sex. Long ago Pierre Bourdieu (1971, 1977) proposed the concept of habitus, a generative principle of collective representations used to reproduce symbolic codes and existing structures as homologous systems. But for Driessen (1983, p.131) Andalusian bars not only represented a defended repository for a threatened masculinity, but also help to "keep women in a subordinate position." Kept out of the bars, women are denied access to power nodes and networks ensure naturally in public places where ritualized exchange takes place. What Driessen says for Andalusia, however, seems equally relevant for other parts of Spain including Castile (Brandes, 1979). For in the north, too, the sexes are socially segregated, to a greater or lesser degree, and men congregate in single-sex bars to enact rituals of masculinity and to run things.

Corroborating this observation, much of the ethnography of public houses in the Mediterranean shares a conception of the central public place as a micropolitical nexus or arena; that is, a critical time/place where strategic goals are pursued by men manipulating the political fields that constitute what is essentially the economically active

population of a village. Noting this, Vale de Almeida (1996, p.88) says in his work on hegemonic masculinity in southern Portugal: "In Mediterranean societies, the bar or café is a focal institution in public life. It is the main stage of masculine sociability; it is the male gender that is associated with public life." Thus the public house is by definition the local expression of the male occupation of the public space that contextualized political life. But an invisible frontier that lasted from who knows when to just a few years ago has been challenged, assaulted and indeed overthrown through the ingenuity of village women informed by the growing power of feminist unity, and abetted by a particular form of modernization that has been underplayed in the literature on social change of the region: American TV shows and movies.

Public: private: female: male?

Throughout rural Andalusia, dramatic change has transformed the gendering of public space in villages and small towns. It is well known that Spanish women now comfortably inhabit public spaces, hold elective office, linger brazenly about the streets and plazas, boldly linger in the parks where no woman has gone before, and have all the privileges that men enjoy. Men have generally acceded to this change in habit and cognitive geography . Yet one place remains a male holdout and is still to a certain extent "off limits" to women, and that is the neighborhood bar or tavern. Recently Andalusian women have taken major steps to infiltrate and indeed take command of this remaining bastion of male domination. How they did so presents an interesting tale of spontaneous social change in Andalusia, and also perhaps a lesson to woman in all such genederized social landscapes.

As in most pueblos, the public houses in Fuentes are of four kinds, based on government registration, taxation, licensing, history and culture. First and the oldest are the traditional neighborhood tabernas, dim gin-mills which hark back to the Franco era and beyond; serving wine, spirits and beer, they are patronized by older men of the lower classes. Second are the slightly more upscale "bars" which arose in the boom years of the 1960s and cater to a younger, hipper modern crowd, having modern accommodations and serving fancy liquors. Third is the new-style "pub" (pronounced "poof"), dating to the early 1980s and modeled after an idealized version of the English public house. Patronized by more sophisticated village youth, they are elegantly furnished and stylish turned out with cushioned sofas, colored lighting and a fancy range of imported beers and expensive whiskeys. Last are the still more fashionable discotecas, dating to the late 1980s, which feature live rock music, karaoke, dancing, and resemble an American or French night club (I am not counting the stuffy casinos, or private clubs here, which are mainly patronized by the elite and the elderly). The latter two establishments, the stylish pubs and youthful discotecas, are known specifically to welcome and to accommodate women and girls on weekends, and many unmarried young women attend on Saturday nights, always, however, in groups—it is still rare to see a single woman in a public house of any sort. The more forward-looking bars also welcome females, but usually get them only on weekend nights either in sizable groups or accompanied by male companions. But the smoky tabernas---especially the old-fashioned and louche working-class dives--remain strictly sex segregated. Women are still reluctant to enter such a manly world of tobacco, card-playing, televised sports, heavy drink and testosterone-driven male camaraderie. Indeed women in Fuentes still complain about a sense of alienation when it comes to the traditional public houses. "Why should women be made to feel like prostitutes for going where men go all the time?" is an often-heard complaint. For many women, being denied entrance into any of the public establishments in the village, even the hole-in-the-wall dives, represented a last frontier of sex discrimination, a galling challenge that

sooner or later would have to be broached as per don Quixote and the windmills. So some banded together and enacted a very dramatic remedy to turn the situation around. Before describing these recent developments, I must digress to explain the operative cultural principle of ambiente.

Ambiente

Literally the word ambiente might be glossed as “ambience” or “atmosphere,” but it means much more in colloquial Spanish. Perhaps “gaity” or “gregariousness” would be better translations. When queried about the meaning of ambiente, people in Fuentes will say that it contains the very key to pleasure of life and represents the source of emotional fulfillment for people of both sexes, for young and for old, the Royal Road to happiness. Connoting both “atmosphere” and “joy,” ambiente emanates primarily from crowding, from the presence of many engaged people in small spaces—from togetherness, social velocity, conversation and camaraderie. Propinquity creates social contact, providing the pleasures of sociability that are so keenly felt in isolated small towns. Without experiencing ambiente, a person is said to be “sad” (*triste*) and lonely (*solo*) and is pitied as a *probrecito(a)*. For example, as we have seen, a man without a neighborhood bar to go to every night or a man without dozens cronies is considered a “sad one” and a “lost soul” or, in the case of Masot, not a real man. People who live in isolated farmsteads outside the town are always said to be unhappy, lonely and desperate. Men who inhabit the bars nightly for rounds of drink, cards and other sorts of manly fun are “happy” and “lucky.” Many people say simply that ambiente is “life,” and life without ambiente is not only depressing but also not fully human. So people in Andalusia say that the worst fate to befall a person is not poverty or poor health, but loneliness. There is also a verb form, ambientar, to make merry, to socialize, engage. When you go to a public place to meet friends or when you arrive at a festival or enter a crowded bar, people will say it’s time to “ambientar,” time to make happy. Probably the closet terms in colloquial English would be “get loose” or “start partying.”

It should be obvious from the above, that ambiente is less accessible for women than for men, because any man can simply visit his local tavern and achieve some modicum of ambiente (there are always crowds, albeit all-male). But for many women, who are still confined to the home, ambiente is difficult to achieve. If a woman has many daughters, sisters and other living kinswomen within reach, she can socialize indoors and be fulfilled. But many women are bereft of such company, and for them a state of loneliness is common. Having put up with this sexist exclusion from a treasured part of life, and motivated by the women's movement in the 1980s, the pueblo women finally got fed up with this state of affairs and decided to do something about it. The result is the banding together and the creation of the revolutionary concept of the "private festival," on the face of it a contradiction in terms.

To go boldly where no woman has gone before

In Castilian fiesta means festival, feast, holiday--whether religious or secular. A fiesta in Andalusia is by definition a public event, and access unrestricted. Spanish secular fiestas, such as Carnival and the summer fair, and even religious holidays such as Holy Week, are times when everyone is outdoors celebrating and cavorting. Fiestas are periods of broad de-repression and latitude, when pack the bars, carouse and flirt, the moral rules being temporarily overthrown. Women are ungoverned during fiestas: they can visit the bars, drink and indulge themselves like men without much criticism (aside from some tongue-clicking among conservative people). Pre-determined by the ritual or liturgical calendar, fiestas are leaderless and no one person or group of people is ever in charge. Nobody has the power to limit access. However, a sea-change has occurred in Andalusia regarding the concept of fiesta. On recent fieldtrips (2002, 2006), I was told that women in the pueblos had devised a way to challenge the male control over the public places. Their strategy is to imitate a custom they have witnessed on American TV shows: this is to throw a private party in a bar or tavern or discoteque. They call this new invention a fiesta particular. Previous to about 1990, such a thing was unheard of in Andalusia.

Before elaborating, one must note that the word "particular" in Spanish differs slightly the synonym "privado." The latter, as in English, is a legalistic term meaning private property or ownership. Analogous but not isomorphic, particular carries the sense of something controlled by a person or persons for the specific purpose of keeping undesirables out: thus connoting exclusivity in *jus* rather than private, *in rem*. Thus a fiesta particular (perhaps the English "exclusive affair" is a fairgloss), has the self-contradictory sense of a public but restricted festivity or event—a totally alien idea in Spain up to the present. By the 1990s, young women in the rural villages had conceived the notion to pool their finances and rent out public venues for an evening. This radical innovation has permitted them to seize temporary control of male-only spaces. Having thus established a beachhead in "enemy terrain" as it were, the girls invite like-minded females and liberated men (whom they call non-machista, or unmacho) to join them. They then post a sentry at the door to ward off undesirables, all with the support of the barkeeps and tavern owners, who see a good thing in terms of a full-house. When anyone approaches who contravenes the spirit of gender-bending, the sentry sternly announces "fiesta particular!" turning the intruder away. Thus an unprecedented custom has entered the world of the village, potentially an upheaval in gender and usage rules. Few social scientists have examined the implications of such a spontaneous challenge to prevailing orthodoxies. Are women using the "fiesta particular" to network, to "do deals," advance careers? We must remember that such trivia are, in aggregate, the stuff of "social change": tiny first steps in the long journey of cultural transformation. It happened in the following way.

Looking back for inspiration at the past, a number of young women came up with a novel idea for entertaining themselves on weekends. Constituting an informal tertulia, or friendship society, a common form of female gathering in the late 19th century, four women aged between 22 and 25, unmarried, without serious novios, or boyfriends, they found themselves bored and unable to abide by the rigid rules of female housebound imprisonment that their mothers and grandmothers rigidly followed. Of course they had all been to the bars with men, and had

been accustomed to going in large groups of single girls to the discotecas on Saturday nights for drinking and dancing. But they felt something was missing in their liberated lives, something to do with control over the environment. Having watched American TV shows in which public halls were rented by women for parties, they conceived the idea of doing the same thing in the local bars. So when one mentioned her bright idea of going en masse to a local bar and paying the owner in advance for drinks, asking his wife to prepare tapas, or snacks, and to decorate the bar with bunting. They had seen similar preparations in American movies and on the TV Teledramas made in Spain that imitate what they like to call the "California life style," that is, modern hedonistic self-expression. Essentially, the intention of the young women here was threefold: first to give vent to the need for female control over entertainment, and second, to demonstrate their newfound assertiveness and defiance of male dominance, and third, just to have fun.

On the face of it, the contradiction in terms among public, private, particular, exclusive and the implicit the overthrow of male dominion, was not an issue to the first rank of organizers, the "revolutionaries," as they joking began to refer to themselves. The girls were more intent upon making a social success and establishing a precedent, thereby getting men and older women accustomed to seeing crowds of unaccompanied females gallivanting in the streets and drinking and socializing in public houses. Upon hearing of this, my first reaction was to query people in the older generations to see what kind of response the girls might have encountered. The older men's reactions were perhaps most interesting. I spoke to a few "regulars" of a bar that had been usurped by women for an evening in 1999, men in their 50s and 60s. In discussing the events, I found a surprising degree of acceptance and even grudging approval. One man said simply that women ruled inside the house and did most things formerly reserved for men, and so why should they not also rule in the public houses? Another older gent, less sanguine, argued that the bar was the "last refuge" for older males, a sanctuary and escape from the female-dominated world of the indoors, a kind of masculine oasis or

sanctuary. Still, this man smiled, adding sheepishly that despite all his misgivings and the wrench of seeing a tradition toppled, he was delighted to have the female company (they let him in that night out of equal motivations of pity and amusement). Chuckling heartily at the sudden apparition of feminine pulchritude heretofore hidden, he added that just to be able to look at all the women was a “vision” and a “feast for the eyes,” as he decorously confided. I detected more a note of moral resignation but also a certain understated elation at the turn of events.

Equally bemused, many older men responded to my questioning with the same ironical acquiescence, revealing a broader avenue of sentiments. For example, one gruff middle-aged farmer chuckled that seeing so many unattached women in bars is a treat he had awaited for 40 years, ever since the Civil War stopped female emancipation in the 1930s, and was more than pleased about the development. He added that he only wished they would come in more often while the regulars were assembled and not just on their own nights at these newfangled private festivals; the girls were a “tonic for tired old eyes,” he said, smirking and tapping his temple alongside the eyebrow as men in Andalusia do to indicate something visually memorable. “It’s not us old dogs who keep them locked away; it’s their mothers,” he commented. Out of about twenty preliminary chats with the older men, I got the impression more of relief than of anything else, as though an ageless battle, bravely but uselessly fought for decades, had been honorably concluded with little real damage to either side. In the spirit of sexual ecumenicalism (a favorite expression among young women), the men acknowledged the long-overdue rights of women and indeed expressed a measure of approval and satisfaction with their own sisters and daughters: a surrender to modernization, but an elated, happy one. The “old ways,” many men said, are not only a thing of the antiquated past, the “Franco Spain,” but also something they associated with the Franco dictatorship (which ended after the dictator died in late 1975); consequently one may say that any moral liberalization has the added attraction of political freedom, sexual liberation included.

In counterpoint, as might be expected, many older women had mixed reactions, which were most often skeptical, disapproving, or merely

envious. They evinced the usual criticism of the old generation who have suffered some injustice or deprivation and want their successors also to suffer in like manner. However, some elderly women felt proud and supportive, although of course they vigorously denied that they themselves would ever think of entering a bar without their husbands or drinking at all. And so, with only minor disapproval and little active opposition, the young girls of Andalusia have found the key to ambiente and at the same time a means of undermining the vestiges of patriarchy in public places. The solid wall of sexual bias has crumbled under their gentle assault, guised in the form of innocent entertainment. More than anything, the recognized symbolism of the female-dominated "private party" represents a revolution in both the moral structure of space in the village and in the contours of sex as cognitive constructs. And with ambiente come deeper satisfactions: the exhilaration of gregarious exchange, promiscuous mixing of the sexes, new experiences, excitement, and the possibility of social networking, career advancement, commerce, and of course on a psychological plane for women, unity, sisterhood and personal liberation.

Summary and conclusions

Having explored the subject at length, we return to the question of why women have always been excluded from the male-owned spaces, the bar being the *fons et origo* of patriarchal territoriality. Based on observations about how bars are used by men to create a society of equals, we can make a few interpretations, which, although none are singly valid, in aggregate they explain much. First, the public house is the place where informal exchange of commodities and contracts takes place. Such exchanges are a kind of village shadow economy. If we point out that women are excluded from this world of power-brokering it is only to state the obvious; but the question still remains as to why this should be so: what is preventing women from simply tearing down the walls of convention? Exclusion here readily translates to subordinate and oppression, which is recognized as such. What about the use of alcohol as a prime factor in sexual divisions? Drinking is of course associated with loss of control and with sexuality in many pre-industrial

cultures (Dietler, 2006). Alcohol works as an inhibitor to the moral sense, so that drinking often facilitates sex; therefore it must be denied women, another of women's disenfranchisement. Yet the fact that alcohol is served in the café does not seem an adequate explanation for women's exclusion by itself. As in other part of Spain (Brandes, 1979), men will sit for hours over a coffee or soft drink in bars and some regulars do not even drink at all, simply smoke and play cards--although this is unusual. For instance, I knew a man in Spain who spent most of his waking hours in the local tavern without ever drinking anything stronger than chamomile tea. Freely given without even prompting, his excuse was "doctor's orders" (he had a blood-sugar level problem).

But in southern Europe, alcohol, like most narcotics in most cultures, perhaps even more so, is a masculine privilege. But all this take us back to the sexual double standard which saves all the fun for the men. But which comes first: chicken or egg, sex or drink? Women's entry into the world of the public house in Andalusia, of course also means an equality of tippling and the privilege to indulge in the most public of all activities, no small matter here. So the symbols of women's empowerment begin to pile up within the context of the private party: equality of place, freedom of movement , equality in commerce, equality in public access, moral equality, and last but not least equality of being inebriated. What all this shows, beyond the power of innovative (and certainly not passive) manipulation of rules, is the validity of what we have called a processual approach to public/private dichotomies, as proposed by feminists. If we return for a moment to the initial literature cited, we see that the dichotomy remains useful methodologically as well as a persistent "social fact" that must be taken into account in understanding change. As Reid astutely puts it in relation to Northern Ireland (2008, p.500) the negotiation of public space and the integration of personhood and self-identity are inextricably mixed with the use of "territory." Her subject of course is sectarian politics and religious divisions in the context of The Troubles. Here in southern Spain, territoriality means something superficially different, not "named" factional cleavages so much, but rather venerable gender barriers that

access--the morphic language of patriarchy. As Mills writes, "...visions of what it means to be a woman continue to be articulated in relation to the spaces of collective memory and of everyday life" (2007, p.351). The ideology and the idiom of space should not be seen a passive backdrops, but as primary discriminators of social relations, no matter who the actors (Reid 2008:500). This dynamic or processual approach to gender/territoriality espoused by Mills and other social geographers have taken promotes "the imagining of space as already ramified in its meanings and uses" in everyday life, as Fincher (2004) calls it: seeing "multiplicites" rather than "dualisms" in the frontiers of territory and gender.

In conclusion, I would make a plea—a cliché perhaps, but here meant sincerely—for follow-up cross-disciplinary research. Cultural anthropologists have already done good work in southern Europe, especially rural Greece (Herzfeld, 1991) on the subject of sex, public houses, power and social change. However, parochial as usual, anthropologists working in the area have lagged in communicating with our sister disciplines. For example, the human geographer Edward Soja many years ago deplored the lack of research "on the spatial dimension of societal organization on a level equivalent to the extensive examination of kinship and contract relations" (197, p.8). Here he is addressing the lack of inter-disciplinary fertilization in geographic sociology. Some ethnographers have heeded this plaint; for example there is the first-rate, but now dated work of Herzfeld (1991), Low (1996), Lawrence (1996), Gilmore (1996) George (2005) and many others. More recently the call has been heard by other social scientists. But it is truly astounding that in her book on gender and space in which she provides a whistle-stop overview of sexual segregation from the Paleolithic to the post-industrial age, Daphne Spain (1992) never mentions the Mediterranean once or alludes to its vast area literature on sexual apartheid, except for a brief mention of the Turkish harem/selamlik household division. In making the case I have made here, I hope to ignite a dialogue among social scientists working in the Mediterranean, the Middle East and North Africa, where all the changes

I describe here are not only widespread, but accelerating. Although it may now be an anachronism, sexual segregation needs just as much attention as do ethnic and social-class separation and for the same reasons--both scientific and humanitarian. What we are seeing now is the upsurge of new human geographies, tectonic shifts in the space/time/gender continuum and a new landscape with new rules in birth.

Notes

¹ For a re-examination of Mediterranean dualisms see Narotzky (2010)

² Between 1972 and 2010, I spent time in the following pueblos, or “agro-towns”: Fuentes de Andalucía, Campillos, Carmona, Ecija, Osuna, and Utrera. My field trips to Spain were supported by generous grants from the National Institutes of Health, the National Science Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the HF Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Joint Committee of US Universities and Spain's Ministry of Culture, the Council for the International Exchange of Scholars (CIES), the JS Guggenheim Foundation, the American Philosophical Society.

³ Braquette Williams (1996) uses this phrase as the title of a book.

⁴ Brandes (1992) provides superb description of spatial stratification in Spanish culture, especially of children's games and adult puns, riddles, and folklore.

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Repensando el Machismo Latinoamericano

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Rethinking the Latin-American male chauvinism

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Abstract

In this article I try to reflect on the validity of the identification of masculinity in Latin-American with the so-called male-chauvinism: the aggravation of virility and the predominance of man over woman. I propose that these aspects respond to a particular historical configuration in the mestizo American societies and to the intrinsically contradictory quality of the male identity in these societies. Taking as a source research carried out about urban Peruvian males, I reviewed the representations of masculinity in these populations and the changes that have crossed in the last decades. I conclude assuring that in spite of the male-chauvinism is very frequent in their discourses, the role of macho is currently the summary of a questioned masculinity and of the difficulties that male are crossing in the world where the old certainties are breaking down.

Keywords: masculinity, male-chauvinism, gender identity; Latin-America, Perú.

Repensando el machismo latinoamericano

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Resumen

En este ensayo intento reflexionar sobre la validez de la identificación de la masculinidad en Latinoamérica con el llamado machismo: la exacerbación de la virilidad y el predominio de los varones sobre las mujeres. Propongo que estos rasgos responden a la particular configuración histórica de las sociedades mestizas americanas y a la cualidad intrínsecamente contradictoria de la identidad masculina en estas sociedades. Tomando como fuente investigaciones realizadas entre varones urbanos del Perú reviso las representaciones de masculinidad de estas poblaciones y los cambios que han atravesado en las últimas décadas. Concluyo que, si bien el machismo está muy presente en su discurso, en la actualidad la figura del macho es el epitome de una masculinidad cuestionada y de las dificultades que atraviesan los varones en un mundo donde las viejas certezas se derrumban.

Palabras clave: masculinidad, machismo, identidad de género, América Latina, Perú.

Apartir de finales de la década de los 60, surgió una vasta literatura dirigida a crear una nueva tradición que cuestiona las identidades de género tradicionales y busca entenderlas como no como datos naturales. Sin embargo, en la medida en que esta crítica surgió de los movimientos de liberación de la mujer, estos se centraron en la identidad femenina. Sólo en los años ochenta comenzó a plantearse la necesidad de analizar los caminos por los cuales los cuerpos, las psiques y los hábitos de los varones adquieren sustancia masculina. Desde entonces ha surgido una amplia variedad de estudios sobre masculinidad (es) e identidades sexuales alternativas. En la actualidad se pueden distinguir dos vertientes, una que intenta balancear el sesgo ginecocéntrico de los estudios de género (Parker, 1991; Cáceres, 1998) y se concentra en el estudio de la sexualidad, las prácticas reproductivas masculinas y la emergencia de las identidades gays y queer y, una segunda, mas vertida a la comprensión de las identidades masculinas como uno de los polos de los sistemas de género (Kaufmann, 1985, 1995; Connell, 1995, 1997; Kimmell, 1997; Fuller, 1997, 2001; Valdés y Olavarria, 1998).

Por otro lado, las relaciones entre los géneros se han transformado sustancialmente durante los siglos XIX y XX debido a cambios jurídicos que han consagrado la igualdad ante la ley de la población femenina, a la instalación de regímenes económicos que impulsaron el acceso masivo de las mujeres al mercado de trabajo, a la educación formal superior y al control eficiente de la fertilidad femenina. En consecuencia, las mujeres se han convertido en actores sociales y políticos de enorme importancia en la escena política y económica. Todos estos factores contribuyeron a la democratización de las relaciones familiares, a una cierta redefinición de las relaciones entre varones y mujeres. Más aún, el cuestionamiento de la legitimidad de la prioridad masculina ha socavado la confianza de los varones y mujeres en los paradigmas que dieron respaldo a las identidades de género tradicionales. De hecho, diversos autores han señalado que, en las sociedades contemporáneas, los varones atraviesan por una serie de dificultades que han sido denominadas “crisis de la masculinidad” (Kimmel, 1997; Fuller, 1997; Valdés y Olavarria, 1998a, 1998b).

La construcción de la/s masculinidad/es

En la presente exposición me centraré en el estudio de las masculinidades desde una perspectiva de género. Esta se deriva en gran medida del impulso dado por la deconstrucción del patriarcado emprendida por las pensadoras feministas de los 70 y 80s cuya contribución más importante fue el desmantelamiento del falocentrismo implícito en las teorías occidentales sobre el ser humano (Irigaray, 1974). Se hizo así evidente que la identidad del sujeto (masculina por definición) se basa en un presupuesto inicial: lo masculino es el modelo de la humanidad. De este modo, lo masculino no sería simplemente el conjunto de rasgos característicos de quienes nacen con ciertos atributos anatómicos sino que condensaría las cualidades humanas: actividad, razón, poder fuerza y así sucesivamente. Ello se expresa claramente en el hecho de que el término hombre es sinónimo de humanidad y de varón.

La fuerza del orden androcéntrico se fundaría en el hecho de que no necesita justificación: la visión androcéntrica se impone como neutra y no necesita apelar a un discurso que la legitime (Bourdieu, 1998). En consecuencia, el orden social funcionaría como una inmensa máquina simbólica que tiende a ratificar el dominio masculino sobre el que se funda. Ese programa de percepción se incorpora y aplica a todas las cosas del mundo empezando por el cuerpo. Al identificarse con el orden corporal esas relaciones se naturalizan de tal manera que las jerarquías sociales se identifican con la naturaleza y se perciben como inamovibles. Así por ejemplo, en su historia del sexo, Laqueur (1990) muestra cómo la concepción tradicional de los órganos sexuales se fundaba en un solo modelo corporal del cual el masculino era la versión plena y el femenino una manifestación disminuida del mismo. Los varones tendrían más elan vital. Por ello, sus órganos sexuales serían simbólicamente la identificación de lo masculino con lo absoluto.

Esta concepción de las identidades de género descansa en la oposición binaria por la cual lo femenino se convierte en ausente, en la negación partir de la cual lo masculino emerge como la instancia que condensaría las cualidades asociadas a lo universal, al saber y al poder. En la medida en que las mujeres están excluidas de lo masculino, lo femenino que ocupa la posición del otro contra el cual se contrasta lo

masculino. La feminización actuaría como un potente recurso discursivo que simboliza la pérdida de masculinidad y fuerza a los varones a mantenerse dentro de los límites de su identidad de género. Así por ejemplo, en el lenguaje coloquial, calificar a una persona como femenina, puede ser una manera derogatoria de referirse a ella. En sentido contrario, la virilidad se identifica con la posición erecta, la firmeza y así sucesivamente (Bourdieu, 1998). En este sentido lo femenino actúa como frontera simbólica de lo masculino, como lo abyecto (Butler, 1993) que presiona pero, sobre todo, permite visualizar las fronteras de lo masculino. Es decir, delinear sus rasgos y adquirir, por esta vía, consistencia y fijeza. Consecuentemente, la masculinidad se mueve dentro de dos paradojas: la ilusión de su fijeza (origen biológico) y el temor de perderla amenazada por lo femenino.

La masculinidad hegemónica

Los estudios centrados específicamente en la constitución de la identidad de género masculina señalan que es posible identificar cierta versión de masculinidad que se erige en norma y se convierte en hegemónica (Connell, 1995, 1997; Gutmann, 1996; Kimmel, 1997; Marqués, 1997; Valdés y Olavarriá, 1998). Este modelo impondría mandatos que señalan -tanto al varón como a las mujeres- lo que se espera de ellos y ellas y constituye el referente con el que se comparan los sujetos.

Toda versión de la masculinidad que no corresponda a la dominante, sería equivalente a una manera precaria de ser varón, que ocupa una posición subordinada frente a quienes ostentan la calidad de hombres plenos. Así los obreros serían subordinados frente al patrón; los niños, adolescentes y viejos frente a los adultos; los negros e indígenas frente al blanco; los homosexuales frente a los heterosexuales y así seguidamente. No obstante, lo hegemónico y lo dependiente se definen y constituyen mutuamente. Ambas se requieren en este sistema interdependiente porque, para poder definirse como un varón logrado, es necesario contrastarse contra quien no lo es.

El modelo hegemónico de masculinidad, norma y medida de la hombría, plantea la paradoja por la cual quien nace con órganos sexuales masculinos debe someterse a cierta ortopedia, a un proceso de

hacerse hombre. Por ello, los varones deben superar ciertas pruebas y cumplir con requisitos tales como: ser fuertes y potentes sexualmente, preñar a una mujer, fundar una familia, proveerla y ejercer autoridad sobre ella. En suma, Ser hombre es algo que se debe lograr, conquistar y merecer. Asimismo, son los otros hombres – y no las mujeres - los que califican y refrendan la masculinidad del varón. Aun cuando la aprobación femenina sea fundamental para demostrar la masculinidad de un varón y la reprobación de sus parejas los torne vulnerables frente a ella, son sus pares, quienes, en última instancia consagran su masculinidad porque solo los iguales pueden asumir esta tarea.

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Este molde restrictivo se puede vivir como una imposición que provoca incomodidad y molestia a algunos varones y fuertes tensiones y conflictos a otros. De hecho, muchos de ellos (si no la mayoría) presentan dificultades para superar todas esas vallas y satisfacer plenamente la norma, si es que alguna vez alguno lo logra. Ahora bien, aunque existan varones que critican la masculinidad hegemónica o son conscientes de que no la pueden encarnar en sus vidas, no les es fácil enfrentarla porque, así como representa una carga, también les otorga prestigio y les permite gozar de mejores posiciones en relación con las mujeres y con otros hombres inferiores en la jerarquía de posiciones masculinas.

Por otro lado, precisamente porque se trata de una posición de poder y prestigio, la masculinidad hegemónica está sometida al desafío de

diferentes versiones sobre la masculinidad, de las mujeres y de las categorías de varones que ocupan posiciones subordinadas. Así por ejemplo, es común que varones pertenecientes a razas o clases subordinadas reclamen que son más fuertes o más sexuados que los de los sectores dominantes a quienes califican de débiles o afeminados. Ello muestra que la masculinidad es también un campo móvil, sometido a un proceso continuo de redefinición y crítica.

Las masculinidades latinoamericanas

Uno de los objetivos que me propuse al iniciar mis investigaciones sobre las identidades masculinas fue criticar la identificación del llamado macho con la masculinidad típica en América Latina. Buscaba demostrar que este estereotipo nos impide comprenderla bien y encontrar un camino alternativo para explicar por qué el discurso de sentido común –y en algunos casos el académico- lo aceptan como un hecho.

Según esta versión, el hombre latinoamericano se distingue por la exacerbación de la sexualidad, la competencia entre pares y la voluntad de dominio sobre las mujeres. Ello se debería a que, en las sociedades coloniales ibéricas la dominación étnica, racial y de clase fue muy acentuada y propició formas de sojuzgamiento femenino y predominio masculino mucho más marcadas que en la sociedad española o en las culturas nativas. Otros autores señalan que esto se expresó en formas de abuso hacia las mujeres de los grupos subordinados y en la reluctancia de los varones de asumirse como padres de su prole mestiza (Paz, 1959; Palma, 1990; Montecino, 1991). De acuerdo con Octavio Paz, la palabra macho, “resume la agresividad, impasibilidad, invulnerabilidad, uso descarnado de la violencia..[y] la frase “yo soy tu padre no tiene ningún sabor paternal, ni se dice para proteger, resguardar o conducir, sino para imponer una superioridad, esto es, para humillar... (1959, p. 74)”. Este influyente escritor sostiene que estos rasgos tienen su origen “en la violenta, sarcástica humillación de la Madre y en la menos violenta afirmación del Padre...El mexicano es producto de un acto de violencia en el que la madre traiciona a su pueblo y el padre desprecia a su descendencia (1959, p. 72)”. Por lo tanto, sería necesario remitirnos al sistema de relaciones entre los géneros que se forjó durante el período

colonial. Este se habría caracterizado por la vigencia de múltiples códigos morales para ordenar la relación de los varones españoles con cada una de las diferentes categorías de mujeres: españolas, mestizas, nativas y esclavas (Seed, 1991; Mannarelli, 1993; Stern, 1995). Mientras los intercambios con las mujeres blancas y de posición social similar, se regían por el código del honor y se dirigían al matrimonio, los varones podían mantener relaciones consensuales con las mujeres mestizas, indias y esclavas. Esto confirió a los hombres una serie de privilegios sobre la población femenina al otorgarles, simultáneamente, acceso a mujeres de grupos raciales inferiores y reservarles el acceso exclusivo a las mujeres de su propio grupo (Seed, 1991).

Durante el período republicano los países hispanoamericanos se integraron al mercado internacional y se desmontó el régimen colonial. Sin embargo, las nuevas élites que se recompusieron en la segunda mitad del siglo XIX debieron responder al racismo que se difundió como ideología oficial en las sociedades occidentales. Para ello implementaron una política por la cual el hecho de identificarse con la cultura occidental, -simbolizada por sus hábitos culturales y sus rasgos fenotípicos-, constituía un importante criterio que las distinguía de la mayoría de la población y legitimaba su precedencia social (De la Cadena, 2000). Así, con el fin de acercarse al ideal racial caucásico y diferenciarse claramente de la mayoría de la población, propiciaron las uniones de sus mujeres con varones migrantes de Europa y Norteamérica (Oliart, 1994). De este modo, las formas de dominación étnica y racial se reciclaron y persistieron gracias a la difusión de las doctrinas racistas.

No obstante, resta responder al interrogante ¿Cómo surge y se difunde el término machismo? Parece ser que antes de 1930, 1940 el vocablo macho o machismo no aparece en el folclor mexicano (Gutmann, 1996) y se usaba solo como una cruda vulgaridad para referirse a virilidad u hombría. En el México de los años cuarenta se consolidó el estado nación, el aparato del partido en el poder y se construyó una identidad nacional moderna. En este periodo el estado emprendió una intensa labor de propaganda en torno a la construcción de la identidad nacional. En este contexto el guerrero revolucionario se convirtió en el ícono de la nueva mexicanidad. Esta imagen fue ampliamente difundida por el arte popular y por los medios de

comunicación. Estos fueron los principales órganos de propaganda del partido en el poder. Como es sabido, la música y el cine mexicanos se difundieron en todo el continente y contribuyeron a construir una identidad latinoamericana centrada en sus héroes populares. Ahora bien el guerrero se caracteriza por vivir en un mundo homosocial, apartado del ámbito doméstico y por representar de manera extrema ciertos rasgos de la masculinidad asociados a la fuerza y la competencia. No es de extrañar, entonces que el macho sea viril, violento y arbitrario.

Por otro lado, existe una intensa rivalidad entre los Estados Unidos de Norteamérica y México debido a una larga historia de guerras y invasiones. El vaquero norteño simboliza en gran medida el personaje que libró estas batallas. Él resume una combinación de individualismo y sacrificio por el bien de la nación que lo lleva a personificar el ethos de la nación. Del lado norteamericano el mexicano es el enemigo y también el migrante: portador de una cultura a la que califican de inferior. Ellos toman la palabra *macho* en su sentido literal. El macho simbolizaría al “otro” que se considera menos civilizado y a quien se atribuye, por tanto, una violencia y sexualidad menos humanas. Estas imágenes, a su vez, habrían sido difundidas a lo largo del planeta a través de la industria cultural norteamericana y devuelta a nuestros países convertidas en estereotipos. Ello se evidencia en que, en la actualidad, el vocablo *macho* se usa para designar al varón hiperviril en una amplia gama de idiomas.

En suma, lo arriba expuesto nos permite dar cuenta de los caminos por los cuales el machismo se identificó con la masculinidad latinoamericana. El interrogante que surge es hasta qué punto este corresponde a las masculinidades locales. A medida que avanzaba en mis investigaciones encontré que muchos rasgos atribuidos al macho eran parte integrante de la noción de masculinidad hegemónica pero convivían con otros que los contradecían. Así por ejemplo, la potencia sexual y la capacidad de seducir mujeres es una cualidad que en ciertos momentos o espacios puede ser festejada, en otras puede ser considerada como un rasgo de falta de hombría. Asimismo, la figura femenina no se percibe necesariamente como pasiva o asexuada. Ella puede ser más fuerte que el varón en ciertos terrenos y usar su sexualidad para sus fines. Finalmente, diversos estudios sobre fecundidad, masculinidad y paternidad (Villa, 1996; Henao, 1997;

Fuller, 2000; Viveros, 2000; Olavarria, 2001; Ramos, 2006) encuentran que los varones valoran positivamente la paternidad pero que está en permanente tensión con la autonomía social y sexual de la cual podrían disponerlos varones fuera del mundo doméstico, y con las deficientes condiciones materiales que impiden el buen desempeño de los roles de padre y proveedor que les prescribe la cultura local.

Parecería, pues que no se trata de que el llamado machismo no exista sino que la difusión de esta imagen ha distorsionado nuestra comprensión de las masculinidades en América Latina porque ha enfocado solo ciertos aspectos, los más llamativos, de ellas ignorando que éstas incluyen muchas facetas. ¿Cómo entonces explicar la coexistencia de todos estos elementos? Y, sobre todo, ¿Cómo, contribuir a entender la identidad de género masculina en América Latina y el Perú sin caer en el estereotipo ni en el victimismo?

Las masculinidades en el Perú

Para entender la complejidad de esta construcción y sus contradicciones llevé a cabo diversas investigaciones entre varones urbanos del Perú. En ellas propongo que la identidad masculina es inherentemente contradictoria porque se define a través de tres ejes o dimensiones a los que he llamado (para fines analíticos) *natural, doméstico y público*. Cada una de ellos se funda en códigos morales diferentes e incluso opuestos. Sin embargo, todos los varones deben, de algún modo, responder a sus demandas en el proceso de constituir sus identidades de género.

El aspecto natural de la masculinidad se refiere a los órganos sexuales y a la fuerza física. Estos rasgos se perciben como el núcleo de lo masculino ya que se fundan en características supuestamente innatas e inamovibles. Sin embargo, deben convertirse en sexualidad activa y fortaleza (vigor y valentía). Este proceso se define como un desarrollo de cualidades innatas pero, en la práctica, es cuidadosamente vigilado y dirigido. De hecho, la socialización primaria en el hogar, la escuela, los pares, así como la ideología hegemónica sobre la masculinidad, están fundadas en el minucioso cultivo de estos atributos en el niño y el joven.

La sexualidad activa y la fuerza serían, entonces, el eje natural de la masculinidad: la *virilidad*. Esta se define como el aspecto no

domesticable de la masculinidad. Si se lo controlara totalmente el varón correría el riesgo de ser emasculado y convertido en femenino. De allí que la sexualidad se describa como un impulso que no puede ser dominado (domesticado) totalmente porque se corre el riesgo de dañarlo o reducirlo hasta la impotencia. De ahí también que la fuerza tenga una connotación peligrosa, potencialmente destructiva.

Aún cuando los atributos de la *virilidad* se van estimulando desde la tierna infancia, estos se obtienen durante la pubertad y adolescencia. En este momento del ciclo vital el niño que hasta entonces pertenecía a “la casa” y estaba bajo el control de la madre, se separa simbólicamente de ella e ingresa al mundo masculino. En adelante uno de sus grupos de referencia e identificación más importante será el grupo de pares. Ellos serán los encargados de transmitirle cierta faceta de la cultura masculina, opuesta a la de la casa y centrada en el desarrollo de la fuerza y la virilidad. Es ante ellos que el joven deberá demostrar que es fuerte y sexualmente activo. Uno de los mensajes más importantes de esta cultura es que ser viril significa romper con alguna de las reglas de los mundos doméstico y público. Esta etapa se considera peligrosa porque el joven puede destruirse física o moralmente (De Keijzer, 1997) o quedarse fijado en este periodo y convertirse en un marginal o en el eterno inmaduro que exagera los valores viriles (fuerza sexualidad activa) y no se inserta en la vida doméstica o pública. Es el caso, por ejemplo, del drogadicto el delincuente o el don Juan.

Dentro de este juego de representaciones, la feminización es la forma más evidente de lo *abyecto*, el límite donde un varón pierde su condición de tal. Ésta ocurre debido a una excesiva prolongación del vínculo madre/hijo, cuando un varón es incapaz de imponer su autoridad sobre la esposa o la novia, cuando un rival le “pone cuernos” y, como el último y más aberrante límite, al ocupar una posición pasiva en una relación homosexual. La homosexualidad pasiva, ser penetrado por otro varón, constituye la última frontera de lo masculino en su aspecto natural: la *virilidad*. Consecuentemente, es la mayor amenaza porque esta última es el “verdadero núcleo” de la masculinidad. Un varón que quiebra esta barrera simplemente pone en entredicho su condición de tal.

Sin embargo, las prácticas homosexuales son bastante comunes durante la pubertad y la adolescencia, el período durante el cual se

confirma la *virilidad*. Desde el punto de vista de la cultura masculina estas prácticas pueden ser calificadas como inmorales pero no ponen en peligro la masculinidad de un varón. En tanto que la sexualidad se asocia a lo natural, no domesticable, ella es, por definición, difícil de controlar. Así, este comportamiento se califica como mala conducta, exceso o hipersexualidad siempre y cuando el joven asuma la posición activa. Sin embargo, el recurso a la actividad es bastante relativo porque una vez iniciado el contacto corporal la diferencia activo-pasivo tiende a borrarse.

A medida que los jóvenes maduran, se espera que tomen distancia (aunque siempre estarán presentes) frente a los ideales y demandas de la virilidad. Ellos deben –idealmente– dejar de ser jóvenes inmaduros para convertirse en “verdaderos hombres” e ingresar en el período de la hombría. Mientras que la *virilidad* (sexualidad activa y fuerza física) se representa como natural y como el núcleo de la masculinidad, la *hombría* se concibe como un producto cultural, como una cualidad que debe ser lograda. Si todo varón es viril no todos llegan a la perfecta *hombría*. Sin embargo las dos pueden ser perdidas, la feminización lleva a perder la *virilidad* mientras que el desafío público de la honorabilidad de un varón cuestiona su *hombría*.

La *hombría* se asocia a los ejes doméstico y público. La esfera doméstica corresponde a las familias de origen y reproducción. Todo varón nace dentro de una familia (hijo, hermano) y debe fundar una propia (esposo y padre.) Por lo tanto, el matrimonio, o unión estable, se considera como un paso necesario para llegar a ser un hombre pleno. Al casarse, un varón obtiene un hogar propio y una mujer que se ocupa de sus cuestiones domésticas. Asimismo, la vida conyugal les proporciona una vida sexual plena y la oportunidad de demostrar a sus pares que son sexualmente activos. Al tener un hijo de una relación públicamente reconocida, el joven se convierte en padre y jefe de familia: el eje de un nuevo núcleo social. Se inaugura así un nuevo período del ciclo vital y, sobre todo significa el punto en que el varón se consagra como tal al obtener los símbolos de la *hombría*: comprueba que es potente sexualmente, es jefe de una unidad familiar y responde por ella ante el mundo exterior. Es decir confirma su virilidad y se inserta definitivamente en los ejes doméstico y público.

Sin embargo, el espacio doméstico es un terreno difícil debido a que el hogar está bajo el control de las mujeres (madre o esposa.) A pesar de que los varones retienen la autoridad última, sobre todo en lo que concierne a temas relacionados con el espacio público, la casa misma (especialmente la cocina) se define como femenina y es administrada por las mujeres. Además, la autoridad del varón sobre la esposa y los hijos es uno de los pilares en que se asienta la definición de masculinidad y el código de relaciones que debería regir la esfera doméstica. Sin embargo este es un aspecto que está sometido a constante negociación entre varones y mujeres. Ello porque la casa es femenina y dentro de ella el hombre es menos importante. De este modo, la autoridad masculina en el hogar está bastante limitada por la capacidad de negociación femenina, la alta valoración que se le concede a la mujer como madre y como compañera igualmente capaz de contribuir con recursos y prestigio al proyecto familiar y por la tendencia a la igualdad en las relaciones de género.

Finalmente, la paternidad es bastante contradictoria debido a dos factores: las ambigüedades de la masculinidad y los cambios en curso en la institución familiar y en las relaciones entre los géneros. Las ambigüedades de la paternidad se derivan del hecho de que los varones pueden no reconocer a los hijos que engendran. De este modo, coexiste una gran idealización de la paternidad con amplias oportunidades para rehusar aceptar la filiación de los hijos concebidos fuera de uniones estables y/o para cumplir muy parcialmente con los deberes de proveedor. Ello se expresa las fuertes y constantes críticas al padre ausente que atraviesan el discurso sobre la paternidad (Fuller, 2005).

Las nuevas demandas se pueden resumir en dos puntos: participar en la crianza de modo activo y establecer relaciones más cercanas y horizontales con los hijos y con la esposa. A pesar de que los varones pueden estar de acuerdo con la legitimidad de estas demandas, ellas están en tensión con la división sexual del trabajo que les exige gastar tiempo fuera del hogar y con la misma definición de la casa que se considera como un lugar femenino. Las relaciones más horizontales, por otro lado, cuestionan su posición de autoridad en la familia y, en última instancia, su masculinidad.

El eje público está constituido por la política y, sobre todo, por el trabajo. Este último es el núcleo fundamental de la identidad masculina

adulta. Ingresar al ámbito laboral significa alcanzar la condición de adulto, constituye una precondición para poder establecer una familia y es la principal fuente de reconocimiento social para los hombres. La organización de las relaciones entre los géneros atribuye a los varones el privilegio y el deber de acumular bienes y prestigio en los ámbitos productivo y político para transferirlos a sus familias y para contribuir al bien común. Esta posición legitima la superioridad y autoridad del varón porque se supone que la supervivencia del grupo familiar y de la sociedad en su conjunto depende de sus esfuerzos.

Pero el trabajo es inherentemente contradictorio porque, aunque es indispensable para la constitución de la identidad masculina, es una responsabilidad y un deber que contrastan con la libertad individual y los ideales viriles. Más aún, a menudo las exigencias del mundo laboral se oponen con las demandas de la familia. Todo varón debe mantener sus relaciones con los varones de su grupo de edad a fin de obtener los bienes simbólicos y materiales que llevará a la familia: Ello implica que disponga de parte de los recursos que produce en gastos asociados a mantener su red de amigos o sus relaciones de trabajo. Así, el consumo de alcohol con los amigos y colegas es una forma de socialidad masculina indispensable para poder ganar y conservar su lugar en este circuito. Ello es una fuente constante de tensiones.

Pienso que los elementos presentados arriba nos permiten entender de manera más sutil al llamado machismo. ¿Cómo es posible ser responsable y seductor?; ¿Cómo coexisten el autoritarismo con el sentido de sacrificio y la actitud crítica frente a los privilegios masculinos? Ello se debería a que la virilidad y la hombría (ejes doméstico y público), se basan en principios éticos diferentes y, a menudo, opuestos. Así, desde el punto de vista viril un varón debe probar que es fuerte, sexualmente activo y heterosexual. Pero, si un varón se centra en los ideales de la virilidad puede convertirse en un marginal. Desde el punto de vista de la hombría debe insertarse en los ámbitos doméstico y exterior. De acuerdo con los valores domésticos debe ser responsable por y frente a otros y ser padre es su más alto logro y lo que da sentido a su proyecto de vida. No obstante, si descuida su polo viril y se sumerge demasiado en el mundo doméstico corre el riesgo de feminizarse. Por ejemplo, un varón que cumpliera totalmente con las demandas de ser un buen esposo y padre tendría problemas para cumplir con las exigencias de su

trabajo y sus pares lo acusarían de ser dominado por su esposa.

Por otro lado, la oposición entre el espacio doméstico (femenino) y el espacio público se expresa en la coexistencia de dos discursos paralelos, el doméstico que acentúa la complementariedad reciprocidad y solidaridad del proyecto conyugal, y el masculino que enfatiza la prioridad masculina, el monopolio del mundo externo, la solidaridad entre varones y la hostilidad entre lo masculino y lo femenino. Este contrapunto entre discursos que muchas veces se oponen es uno de los libretos más importantes de la identidad masculina. Así, la identidad masculina está cruzada por demandas que se contraponen pero que no pueden ser ignoradas porque todos estos ejes son constitutivos de ella. Cada varón vive de manera diferente esta paradoja. Es posible que privilegie un aspecto y se caracterice por ser el buen padre, el macho agresivo y conquistador o el hombre de bien. Pero esta tensión estará presente en las vidas de todos ellos.

Es posible distinguir ciertas peculiaridades, ciertos énfasis que se relacionan especialmente con la importancia que adjudican a los diferentes ejes constitutivos de la masculinidad y con el estilo de relaciones de géneros que predominan en la vida familiar y sexual. Puede decirse que quienes enfatizan los valores viriles, el eje natural, se acercan al arquetipo del guerrero o el macho. Aquellos que privilegian el eje doméstico se aproximan al modelo del patriarca que provee por lo suyos pero reclama una posición de mando en el hogar y privilegios en la esfera pública. Finalmente vemos aparecer un estilo multifacético, proteico, que intenta responder a las demandas en conflicto de los tres ejes de la masculinidad y a sus cuestionamientos actuales sin tener una respuesta definida. Sería un estilo emergente, más flexible pero también más ansioso.

Lo más probable es que los varones vivan estas contradicciones de manera cotidiana y permanente sin que ello implique que optan definitivamente por un estilo masculino u otro. Es decir, el padre dedicado y amoroso tendrá que establecer un equilibrio entre su necesidad de circular entre sus pares, invertir largas horas de su vida en el trabajo y su deseo de tonificar su virilidad a través de conquistas amorosas.

¿Cambios en las identidades masculinas?

En las diversas investigaciones que realicé sobre masculinidad en el medio urbano encontré que los peruanos de hoy, sobre todo los jóvenes, definen al machismo como una expresión de la inseguridad de los jóvenes respecto a su propia *virilidad* o a su capacidad de obtener el reconocimiento de sus pares, como el abuso de poder masculino o como una reacción irracional contra las demandas de igualdad de la mujer y su temor de ser desplazados por ellas. De este modo, ellos definen al machismo como la expresión de los aspectos más débiles o controvertidos de lo masculino en tanto que sus versiones pública y doméstica se asocian a los valores más elevados y a la "*hombría*". El verdadero hombre, -opuesto al macho irresponsable- sería aquel que cumple con sus deberes públicos y domésticos

Por otro lado, la moral sexual tradicional que adjudicaba a los varones el control de la sexualidad femenina y suponía que ellos monopolizaban los ámbitos laboral y político parece estar en franco retroceso. La mayoría de los varones de hoy considera que la esfera pública es un espacio en el cual, los varones y las mujeres tienen los mismos derechos. Paralelamente están ocurriendo giros en la sensibilidad erótica de las nuevas generaciones que llevan a que los jóvenes acepten que, en la actualidad, no es posible ejercer los controles sobre las mujeres que se consideraban "normales" en las generaciones precedentes. Más aun, ellos rechazan crecientemente la separación entre sexo y afectos que caracterizó muchas de las prácticas sexuales de las generaciones precedentes (Arias y Aramburu, 2000; Olavarria et al., 2005).

Uno de los puntos nodales de la experiencia paterna hoy día, por lo menos para las poblaciones urbanas que atraviesan rápidos cambios sociales y culturales, es el desfase entre la teoría de la nueva paternidad y una práctica entrecruzada por contradicciones. Ella podría resumirse en la dificultad, por no decir imposibilidad, de cumplir con el ideal paterno debido a que, a pesar de la creciente valoración de los afectos y la comunicación y de las actuales demandas de mayor cercanía y participación, el lugar del varón sigue perteneciendo al ámbito público, su actuación dentro de la familia se mide en primer lugar por su capacidad de proveer y la figura del padre se identifica con la del

patriarca que detenta el poder y el saber. De este modo, para los varones responder a las nuevas demandas supondría cuestionar por las bases de su identidad masculina y de su lugar (de privilegio) en la sociedad.

En conclusión, sugiero que el discurso sobre el machismo sería una manera de elaborar la naturaleza contradictoria de la identidad masculina y su incapacidad de responder a las demandas contrapuestas que se le imponen. Este habría sido difundido a través de muchas fuentes: la industria cultural mexicana de los años 40 y 50, el etnocentrismo de los países del norte (sobre todo los Estados Unidos de América) para quienes el migrante latino representa al otro incivilizado la protesta femenina frente a los privilegios masculinos, la inseguridad de los varones frente a la masculinidad hegemónica, y, finalmente, la crítica de los varones y mujeres actuales frente a un modelo de relaciones de género basado en la jerarquía racial étnica y de género que ha perdido legitimidad. En suma el machismo es, “bueno para pensar” y la masculinidad es “difícil de vivir” para los hombres y para las mujeres.

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“This is exactly what this study is all about and it is happening right in front of me!” Using Participatory action research to awaken a sense of injustice within a privileged institution

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“This is exactly what this study is all about and it is happening right in front of me!” Using Participatory action research to awaken a sense of injustice within a privileged institution

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Abstract

Rockport is an elite, all boys, day school in the northeast United States. It educates mostly white, wealthy, young men. Student researchers, faculty researchers and I collaborated to study bullying at Rockport using an approach to research known as participatory action research (PAR). In the process we also gained a better understanding of how privilege, especially gendered privilege, was socialized and (re)produced. The participatory research spaces that emerged in our project - grounded in the experiences of students, teachers, and administrators - facilitated critical awareness of self and context that Deutsch (2006) referred to as "awaking the sense of injustice." Over the course of a year, our research at Rockport collected data of local consequence and in doing so, built institutional momentum that has since become a school-wide and ongoing initiative to address bullying. As a result, this work was a form of counter-hegemonic action.

Keywords: participatory action research, counter-hegemonic action, privilege, private schools

Rockport is an elite, all boys, day school in the northeast United States. It educates mostly white, wealthy, young men. Elite private schools have traditionally been and continue to be gatekeepers to the upper class as well as a type of inheritance transferred to children by their wealthy families; what Shapiro (2004) called “head-start assets” because they give individuals a non-meritorious lead in the race to get ahead. Cookson and Persell (1985) noted in their extensive studies of elite schools that a culture of cruelty and bullying was commonly observed among the boys. Indeed, educating for power and privilege have long held the tradition of cultivating particular types of “ruling” masculinities (Gathorne-Hardy, 1978). Thus, private education is one fundamental contributor to the American upper class that deserves closer scrutiny. Furthermore, how the maintenance and reproduction of economic privilege is connected with other privileges, particularly masculine privilege, also deserves study.

Of the United States, Peshkin (2001) recognized the “national proclivity, such as it is, favors pulling up those who suffer competitive disadvantages, rather than diminishing the advantages of the advantaged” (p. 122). He wondered of elite schools if, “Is it fair? Is it just? Is it good? that we have such schools that lie a chasm beyond those that most American children attend?” (p. 126). He worried prep school students too often transformed “their advantage into a shield of indifference by means of which they ignore or deny the unfairness of inequality. To do so would be to live a comfortable life while sanctioning the hardship of others” (Peshkin 2001, p. 125). In response, Peshkin (2001) argued for private institutions that promoted values reflecting the common good, “Their education need not give or promise solutions to problems, but it should leave them knowing that the suffering of the least of us is an intolerable indignity, a war being lost that should be seen as the best of all wars to win, the war for the common good” (p. 125). Together with four seniors and four faculty members, we collaboratively conducted research to examine types of bullying at Rockport and its connection with hegemonic masculinity and privilege. Through an approach to research known as participatory action research (PAR), we attempted to create spaces where “common

good” was the foundation from which we proceeded. While we did not have specific ideas for action when the project began, it was our intention to facilitate change inside the Rockport community around the issues of bullying, masculinity and ultimately privilege.

In a 1946 special issue of the Journal of Social Issues entitled “Action and Research: A Challenge,” [Russell \(1946\)](#) identified social science as “oil for the lamps of democracy” while [Lippit \(1946, p. 58\)](#) wrote specifically of a method he felt was strongly conducive to the health of our democracy:

There is a third approach to measurement which in the future we believe will be seen more and more as a basic aspect of democratic group life. This is a situation where one of the methods of change of group life being used is the training of the group members, or a sub-group of the group, in techniques of studying and evaluating its own group processes. For group members to participate in the objective role of fact finding has been found to be one of the most effective attitude changing techniques.

[Lippit](#) described what we call today participatory action research (PAR). Indeed, PAR is grounded in a long tradition of social psychological research dating back to the origins of the field and now links researchers across countries and disciplines ([Torre et al., 2012](#)). It is an epistemological and methodological approach to the social sciences that questions and reimagines who the experts are. At its core, this approach facilitates the critical use of research in collaboration with community members to better understand and improve their own communities; creating opportunities for democratic participation at every phase of research. Collaboratively the research team reads theory and other relevant literature, develops methods, collects the data, analyzes the data, and organizes actions or interventions that are suggested by the findings. PAR is linked to critical theories such as feminist standpoint, critical race and queer theories and therefore is research explicitly in alliance with those who are marginalized. ([Cammarota & Fine, 2008](#); [Fine & Torre, 2004](#); [Torre & Ayala, 2009](#)).

While most participatory scholarship studies with those who are disadvantaged, a wave of scholarship has recently emerged using PAR

to directly study privilege with those individuals and inside those institutions that are most structurally advantaged (see Kuriloff, Reichert, Stoudt & Ravitch, 2009; Stoudt, Kuriloff, Reichert & Ravitch, 2010). The Rockport Bullying Study is one illustration of the critical study of privilege bridged with PAR (see Stoudt, 2006, 2007, 2009; Stoudt, et al., 2010).

Deutsch (1974, p. 61) examined what it meant to “awaken a sense of injustice” in those who are given structural advantages and argued that the social sciences too often focus on the victims rather than the victimizers:

It has been a too common assumption of victimizers (even those of good will), as well as of many social scientists, that the social pathology has been in the ghetto rather than in those who have built the walls to surround it, that the disadvantaged are the ones who need to be changed rather than the people and the institutions who have kept the disadvantaged in a submerged position.

The victim/victimizer distinction (perhaps more apt the privileged/oppressed or the advantaged/disadvantaged distinction) cannot be studied as a simple dichotomy and instead is intersectional and contextual. The list of privileges that accrue to most of the students of Rockport, at minimum, include being White, wealthy, boys attending an elite private school. Researching people and institutions that are privileged may seem counterintuitive for justice scholars. The students of Rockport are the benefactors of social structures set up for them to succeed. However, as Deutsch reminds us, privilege is not examined enough and in fact, the absence of this critical gaze helps to make normal, invisible, and natural the social structures that advantage a few at the cost of many. There is much at stake for all of us, as Peshkin (2001) argued, when those who benefit from others disadvantages remain unaware of their systemic connection to injustice and its larger implications.

This article will illustrate the ways in which participatory research was a transformative process for the students and faculty involved at Rockport. It was a project that provided opportunities for developing a sense of injustice and ethic of responsibility. In the next section I will

briefly describe six transformative moments in the research: defining the contours of bullying, naming bullying as civilized oppression, denaturalizing the presence of civilized oppression, shifting the gaze towards systemic injustice, acknowledging uncomfortable emotions, and developing a responsibility for community change. I will conclude with thoughts about using PAR towards counter-hegemonic action in privileged contexts.

The Rockport Bullying Study

The Rockport Bullying Study involved a student and faculty research team made up of two White teachers named Mary and Sara, two White college counselors named Jill and Greg as well as four senior White boys named Paul, Steve, John, and Dave. The work described in this article lasted one school year, August to June. Together, the student and faculty researchers set out to examine the ways that bullying was performed at Rockport, its socio-emotional connection to masculine privilege, and ultimately how it contributed to civilized oppression (Harvey, 1999) within and beyond Rockport.

We crafted a research design that could analyze bullying as a cultural phenomenon across levels of status within the school through a survey for students and in depth interviews for faculty. The student researchers identified four types of verbal and physical bullying, which they defined broadly as ridiculing/teasing, bullying/intimidation, hazing/initiations, and fighting/physical violence. They created an instrument using a range of closed and open-ended questions designed to address the complex and relational experiences of bullying at Rockport. They collected a sample of 96 classmates in 9th through 12th grade. Faculty researchers then developed an interview protocol based on the student researchers' broad conceptual understanding of bullying. The faculty research team conducted semistructured interviews with 10 colleagues (7 males and 3 females; 8 teachers and 2 administrators). In addition, faculty interviewees were asked to react to some of the data collected by student researchers.

The student and faculty researchers then worked with me to collaboratively analyze the multiple layers of data they collected. This article will explore the conversations student and faculty researchers had as they grappled with these layers of data and their own experiences as victims, victimizers, and witnesses to bullying. Labels in parentheses are included throughout the text to help readers identify from where the quotes were derived: SR=student researcher; FR=faculty researchers; AD=administrators.

Defining the Contours of Bullying: The student researchers led the development of our conceptual and methodological framework. We began with several informal discussions of their experiences with bullying at Rockport and what seemed from an outsider's perspective as a masculine culture of cruelty among the boys. Based on our discussions, we decided to develop a short survey that students could fill out quickly at lunch, in advisory groups or other free time throughout the school day.

The student researchers created the first draft of our survey. In the email to which it was attached, Steve (SR) wrote, "Paul and I came up with a rough draft of a survey...we worked on the definition of *this* "bullying"." Constructing the survey was an exercise in explicitly defining our theory in practice. Steve's mention of "this 'bullying'" in parentheses (italics added) seemed parentheses (italics added) seemed to suggest a tension in their use of the word bullying, possibly with finding a definition that accurately matched their experiences at Rockport. The majority of the questions in this first draft represented the victim's perspective of bullying. Though certainly a rough draft, the questions revealed the student researchers were interested in if and to what extent bullying occurred, what its causes and effects were, and also if bullying led to negative or hurtful experiences. Furthermore, while most of the original questions in the draft were written as traditionally scaled items, the student researchers did include a few open-ended questions suggesting the potential need for mixed methods. Our first draft had significant theoretical and methodological implications. Once highlighted, these elements became guiding markers for further dialogue, dialogue, reflection and future drafts.

The second draft of our survey was longer and more conceptually complicated. Steve (SR) wrote, “I touched a little on [bullying] being verbal or physical...” Including both verbal and physical positioned us to think beyond the most overt types of bullying such as “playground fighting” towards identifying a continuum of behaviors. Questions were added to help us, as Steve (SR) explained, “Completely understand the survey taker's role in [bullying].” Their original survey focused mostly on “the victim.” In the second draft other perspectives were accounted for. The addition of “getting a laugh” or “putting someone down” in the new definition implied a connection between audience, standpoint and social power. As Steve (SR) suggested, “the audience does matter. I added a question at the end touching on the survey-taker as an ‘observer.’” Also, “To understand the role of the observer more, this question was added: Do you laugh or show signs of approval of this behavior when you are an observer of it?” In addition, “to get a better understanding on whether this survey taker is the prey or the predator (if that makes sense) I added a quantitative question stating that ‘I intimidate others.’” Steve (SR) explained that the students’ additions allowed us to “touch on the subject as a victim, predator, and an observer.” Though survey items remained rough, the theoretical intent of the questions was gaining sophistication.

After the second draft, we took the assumptions of our emerging theory and our second draft to a social psychology class taught at Rockport to get their comments and suggestions. The classroom feedback to our survey challenged us to think critically about it in ways we had not anticipated. In our discussion, evidence emerged that what we were studying may exist beyond the individual students and their peer relationships. As one student suggested, “As far as the verbal abuse and stuff like that I really think that a lot of teachers, not all of them but I think a lot of teachers kind of think ‘boys will be boys’ attitude and these adolescents will work it out on their own.” Paul (SR) agreed and added, “It becomes an accepted like part of the class that it is almost becomes awkward for the teacher to call him out on it.... Like there are definitely times in class when it has gotten over the line.” Together they implied that teachers can help to facilitate the “verbal abuse” that occurs between the students. That a school or classroom culture can potentially

exist that is tolerant of “verbal abuse” and is sustained by the hegemonic gender ideologies that “boys will be boys.” Therefore, in the final survey draft, we addressed bullying beyond the student by asking if and to what extent the institution, culture, ideology or others in the community helped contribute to bullying.

Our work represented the gradual expansion from victim to victim/perpetrator/witness of a broad spectrum of masculine-oriented bullying behaviors that are embedded and enacted by individuals and the culture. Our theory and instrument progressed collaboratively over time. The final draft of our instrument and underlying theory represented a broadened conceptualization of bullying (ridiculing/teasing, bullying/intimidation, hazing/initiations and fighting/physical violence), an emphasis on positionality in that there were likely at least three different experiential standpoints (victim, perpetrator, witness); and an understanding that bullying may potentially be part of a culture, an ideology and even facilitated by faculty.

Naming Bullying as Civilized Oppression: Our initiative to study bullying emerged locally out of previous research with faculty where it became apparent many young men were struggling with an aggressive, traditionally masculine school culture. Bullying was a highly relevant research topic within the school walls that straddled multiple, sometimes competing interests. As a result, the study helped to awaken for students and faculty the broad, sometimes hidden, often normalized ways that bullying was performed at Rockport. The study also held strong implications for the pursuit of social justice as we revealed the socio-political capacity of bullying to exclude and censure, to impose power and build hierarchy, and reproduce privilege.

Acts of bullying at Rockport were often neither arbitrary nor neutral. Take, for example, the representations of masculinity, sexuality, and class in Dave’s (SR) quote:

Waking up in the morning and coming to Rockport has so many added pressures besides making sure that all of your homework is done. On top of the demands that the teachers put on you, the students subconsciously put pressures on other students. Pressures that include making sure your tie is not considered a gay tie because of its coloring, or that the car you are getting out of is up to the standards of a [local wealthy] community. On a dress down day there is the added pressure of wearing a certain pair of jeans because they won't be considered tough enough, or the saying on your sweatshirt is as gay as the pink tie you wore two days ago.

In our data, we found these values were too often reproduced through teasing, ridiculing, joking, hazing, fighting and a host of other subtle interactions throughout the school day. At the institutional level, bullying was connected to a highly competitive culture focused on elite college admittance and a mission to educate for privilege and power where preparing boys to thrive in competitive, capitalistic environments may necessitate becoming comfortable with social aggression. At the interpersonal level, bullying for students was an expression of masculinity that conveyed power, established hierarchy, and at the same time was often connected with friendship and camaraderie. The homophobic (“you’re so gay”) and sexist (“you’re a girl”) ridicule could at the same time define normality, create a moment of bonding among friends, and establish a hierarchy of who’s in and who’s out.

In practice, this tended to represent what Cudd (2006) suggested are the foundations to oppression and what Harvey (1999) described as civilized oppression. As both recipients and representatives of their institution, bullying was often used by students and sometimes faculty to police the “acceptable” hegemonic boundaries of Rockport (and the larger culture) in ways that potentially reproduced, made invisible, normalized and justified structural privileges. For example, Greg (FR) explained:

I mean it sounds not like a revelation and all but I guess to me initially it was. I guess someplace early on you have to dispel the notion that bullying is just physical. Because I think if we asked anybody 9 out of 10 people are going to say there is no bullying. I've never seen anybody pushed out into the Avenue...because the subtleness here and it's so intrinsic in our culture here that people say they don't recognize it as bullying. I didn't until we started having this conversation but yeah it is.

Bullying was not a break in the culture of Rockport but an expression of it; emerging out of and then also contributing back to a strong local hegemonic institutional community, a larger hegemonic culture, and ultimately the continuing reproduction of oppressive structures. This made the study of bullying at Rockport an important topic to pursue in the name of social justice.

Denaturalizing the Presence of Civilized Oppression: To name or contest bullying as a practice of privilege was risky within Rockport. The faculty researchers strongly agreed that “speaking out against the school or against whatever wrong has been done to you is such a risk on so many different levels.” Mary (FR) admitted, “We are really prevented from speaking to each other” to the point where “we totally give up.” The system can shrink its community members into isolated spaces such as with Sara (FR) who explained, “Basically I just focus on what is going on in my classroom now....The only way I get involved in school issues any more is if I'm doing something like this study.” The institution tends to reproduce status quo unless the considerable barriers that exist among students and faculty to voice concerns and act upon those concerns are lifted or opened.

Opportunities throughout our work to awaken a sense of injustice at Rockport occurred in fragile, protected spaces – from the very framing of the project, to co-creating the survey instrument and interview protocol, to collecting and analyzing the data, to writing reports and presenting in front of local audiences. PAR, working within the confines of the institution, opened up new avenues to talk about under-spoken issues and bridge the desires of community members who wished to effect needed change.

Our collaborative research also challenged community members to confront and develop further their common, sometimes mistaken, often buried assumptions in ways that were meaningful. Take for example, the dialogue below of the youth researchers using the data to discuss the way race was present at their school:

Dave (FR): Actually the thing that was real interesting about that - I don't know if it is

bad to say or something - I interviewed an African-American kid and he didn't label himself as African-American and I thought that was really weird. It's like such a small group of kids at Rockport that are that.

Brett: I think that is an interesting point because especially as White people we assume that the label [is always salient] –

John (SR): I also think from the standard that we don't get much [from the data] that there's race involved. Not too many stories of race being a big issue.

Brett: I felt that there were a lot of race issues that surprised me. Race where it was joking around...where it was calling someone "midnight" [referencing a quote from the data].

Paul (SR): Yeah

Steve (SR): And also the jokes further confirm that it is acceptable.

In these participatory spaces, the student researchers confronted those pieces of the data that conflicted with their own standpoints. In the discourse above, Dave (SR) thought it was unusual that a student of color did not self identify as African American. John (SR) was not sure we were receiving important data on race. This created a moment to pry open race, as students were closing up the issue; the research also created an opportunity to engage with some of the assumptions they were holding about White invisibility or Whiteness as the assumed standard.

PAR in privileged contexts can become a lesson in civics, of democracy, of social responsibility, and reform. It can create a space to help us engage with the unspoken, speak what is off limits, make room for unresolved conflict, criticize the standard, and re-imagine social consciousness. PAR can do this but will not inherently do this without a firm grounding in a social justice ethic. The youth we partnered with

hold a substantial, inherited stake in the racialized, classed, and gendered structures of power and knowledge production. Economic and social structures have been set up for them to win. Their schools do not suffer from under funding as many public schools do. As a result, I worried about colluding with and reproducing privilege to the extent I was unsuccessful at: setting an expectation that we would talk about race/ethnicity, class, gender, and sexual identity (among others); drawing connections between or encouraging further discussion around these issues even when they did not emerge organically; pushing against the tendency of our conversations to reduce the importance of these issues; and even “teaching” them at necessary times about some of these issues. In other words, it is important for PAR researchers studying privilege to, “find ways to retain a critical, counterhegemonic presence in the research” (Hurtado & Stewart, 1997, p. 309-310).

Shifting the Gaze towards Systemic Injustice: The advantages gained from private schooling, class, and other institutional privileges (e.g. gender, race, sexual identity) can be masked by a false sense of merit; a sense of earned and therefore justified (expected) success linked to one’s personal attributes without recognizing how ones’ institutionalized advantages are linked with others’ disadvantages. Mary (FR) observed false merit, elitism, and entitlement among students at Rockport, “They always put down community college...It is so elitist. Our boys are so unaware of the fact that the reason they have all these amazing choices is that they have been handed so many advantages. If we were judging on merit they'd be damn lucky to be at community college.” Sara (FR) also observed the elitism of students in comparison to public schools, “They believe they are so much higher up than the public schools or anybody around here that they feel like the [college] competition for them are these kids in their classes.”

As a business, the Rockport markets itself in relationship to other schools; competing private schools but also with public schools. Private schools gain privilege by distinguishing themselves from the “less superior” education of the masses. Mike (AD) explained some of the differences, for example, the type of confidence a private school education cultivates in students:

One of the things I once heard an employer say, he said like he could always tell independent schools - not college - but independent school kids from public school kids because at 24 years old they are hired and they are participating in meetings. Not because they're arrogant but because it's confidence. There is an expectation that you want to hear my voice you want to hear my opinions you want to hear what I have to say.

From Mike's (AD) perspective, the differences drawn between what is cultivated in private schools as compared to, for example, urban public schools are not just a matter of better education but also differing values, "I wouldn't go teach in the inner city for long term...because I wouldn't be comfortable in it. It would be a constant social battle with me trying to take values which I think are important and most likely work with those kids who generally come from different backgrounds."

The research created dialogue within the research group and then more broadly among students, faculty, and administrators about the normalized dominant institutional assumptions, about the embodiment of relational power and hierarchy, about intersectional identities and about the importance of context. The longitudinal and intensive nature of this work created spaces for the co-researchers (students and faculty) to gain a critical awareness of their systemic relationship to Rockport and the ways they were not only victims but also observers and contributors to it; developing (even if short lived) a sense of responsibility and systemic connectedness.

John (SR) made reference to the elitism cultivated at Rockport as compared "to like public school;" however, through our research he began to contest a sense of distorted values:

On a basic level I think it is sort of that we - the Rockport School - is set at an elevation of high moral standards and it belongs to that idea that these aren't like special people with high moral standards they are just everyday people like doing what everybody else does. It is the same exact type of people ...to like public school.

The pervasiveness of bullying at Rockport made John (SR) question the privileged distinction so often made between pubic school and private school students. PAR created reflective spaces that helped John (SR) challenge the dominant institutional assumptions he and his peers were taught. What he concluded was, “these aren’t like special people with high moral standards they are just everyday people like doing what everybody else does. It is the same exact type of people.” Though only a moment, one hopes that John’s (SR) “scope of justice” expanded because of our collaborative work. The student researchers began with bullying lifted from the interpersonal dynamics and it took them to an understanding of structures, ideological practices, and unintended damage within and beyond Rockport.

What we heard from both student and faculty researchers was an increased awareness of not just others’ experiences but also their own experiences. That they are within a pervasive culture of bullying at Rockport but also contribute to that culture. The line between victim, victimizer, and witness grew blurry as the role of the bystander morphed into collusion and the ways they enacted bullying became clearer. What seemed like “just a joke” was recast as unjust. For example, Steve (SR) conveyed, “I think the fact that most people recognize misbehavior amongst their peers is surprising and it seems like it has deeply affected them at some point or another in their high school career. I know like obviously this is how I am teasing.” And, after many hours of examining data suggesting that faculty and administrators both bullied students and also contributed to reproducing the hegemonic environment – the faculty researchers acknowledged that bullying was not only a student issue but it was everyone’s issue.

Jill (FR): Right, it's a whole school thing.

Sara (FR): It's a whole school culture thing.

Jill (FR): From headmaster on down... it is systemic.

The move from student level (and the deficit oriented assumptions that often are linked) to multiple levels of interwoven relationships supported within an institutional culture is an important counter-hegemonic step; a step that started with the research design and the con-

ceptualization of bullying. It avoids reifying what has been status quo as well as resting the burden entirely on the backs of the least powerful individuals of the institution to either change or make change. The study awakened a sense of systemic injustice by working to prevent allowing community members to feel off the hook, to assume that it is someone else's problem; it facilitated the acknowledgment of one's contribution to the system.

Acknowledging Uncomfortable Emotions: Shifting the analysis from bad boys to school culture and structural injustice can facilitate the acknowledgment of one's contribution to the system. However, moving to systemic explanations where community members each share responsibility in the reproduction of, for example, school bullying can be emotionally distressing. Emotions like shame, distress, anger, and empathy can contribute powerfully to institutional change but also can sidetrack change and facilitate the reproduction of institutional privilege. In PAR within privileged settings, it is important to recognize and manage the awakening of uncomfortable emotions that will emerge as a result of personal and institutional reflection.

In the same sequence where faculty researchers agreed that bullying is "a whole school culture thing," Mary (FR) came to the conclusion that Rockport was a bad place - "this place is rotten" - founded on many bad values:

My daughter watched her cousins go through here and her thesis about this was that the place is completely rotten. The people -that there are a bunch of rich drug addicts who are mean to each other and are completely rotten and I'm not sure she is entirely wrong. I love the school, I love the students but I remember when I first started teaching here in Lower School thinking this place was built on so many rotten assumptions about race and religion and class that I don't know that you can clean it up. It's like a toxic waste dump.

The task of taking on a systemic issue within an institution can be daunting, particularly when the co-researchers' main professional concerns and energies lie elsewhere (e.g. teachers are concerned with teaching; students are concerned with getting into college). The

uncomfortable feelings that arise from sharing the weight of responsibility - particularly for those students whose privileged advantages may have kept them unaware of their connections to other's disadvantages - can generate a mending of, avoidance from, or reaction against their sense of culpability. In addition, dispersing culpability throughout the institution can outline a web of damage that appears too large and comprehensive for any small group of students and faculty to mend. Each of these, paradoxically, can work against motivation for counter-hegemonic change.

When dialogue forces individuals to critically confront their own values and assumptions, Callan (2004) argued they will experience moral distress and necessarily so if citizens in a democracy are to be successfully educated. Boler (1999) would agree and further add that the “rules of emotional conduct and expression function to uphold the dominant culture’s hierarchies and values” not necessarily in forceful or violent ways “but by engineering our ‘consent’ to this control” (p. xvii). She warned educators to be weary of a false sense of passive empathy and to embrace a “pedagogy of the discomfort” because emotional uneasiness, moral ambiguity, positional conflicts, and other forms of distress that are too quickly resolved (as is the tendency) can inhibit those very moments when personal moral insights and a sense of active empathy are most likely to develop. The engaged and supportive spaces created in participatory research collectives are able to draw attention to and facilitate a critical discussion around moral distress; a process, if successful, that avoids flattening the politics of emotion while also a sense that change is both a responsibility and a possibility.

Developing a Responsibility for Community Change: Conducting participatory action research in a closed institution provided an opportunity for the research process to collect important information while exposing or disrupting common assumptions held throughout the community. We heard from a male faculty member who for example said, “I probably spent more time thinking about this issue [bullying] in the last five days than I have in the whole time I’ve been here. I’m already thinking what can I do in my classroom, how can I add this to the things that I wish to impart to my students.”

Sharing data collected from the student survey served as an intervention even when the results were not that surprising. When faced with the data revealing high percentages of hazing and fighting in sports related contexts, the athletic director replied:

The locker room is probably the most secluded and private area. It's almost their sanctuary... The athletic teams doesn't surprise me, it truly doesn't surprise me for various reasons because that's more the good ole boys network and also because it's an off campus type of thing. It's tough...but those statistics tell me we need to be more aware of what is going on in the locker.

Data can make important contributions to exposing the “silent” habits of an institution, even if only small, like increased locker-room awareness.

The faculty researchers in particular seemed to articulate that the project, in both the process and outcomes, was a worthwhile learning experience. Mary (FR) reminded the group, “And faculty said, ‘I could be the bully and not even know it.’” Later in the discussion, Greg (FR) described the interview process “as a valuable experience in itself.” Sara (FR) also later concluded, “I really think the fact of me just doing this study has made me so much more aware of what I say, how I say it.”

Faculty researchers such as Sara (FR) were able to transfer lessons from this work into their daily practices. Sara (FR) described her awakening to the subtle ways students bullied each other in her class, “I thought, this is exactly what this study is all about and it is happening right in front of me. I mean it was just amazing.” And yet, “It also made me feel guilty because...I know that there is stuff that happens like that all the time but I'm just grading papers, I'm filtering and I'm ignoring.” Learning from the research and then applying it in the classroom illustrates the potential of PAR to organically change the institution by re-imagining ways to interact within the community.

While these learning experiences in a closed institution like Rockport were themselves a type of counter-hegemonic action, both the student and faculty researchers gained a sense of responsibility to share their research with the rest of Rockport. For example, Sara (FR) thought they should be “presenting what comes out of this study either at the beginning of faculty meetings next year or something. Just to show

people listen, this is what kids have said that we are doing as faculty. [And] this is what our faculty had said about ourselves."

The project first helped the researchers and then the community members at large begin envisioning ways to interrupt some of the destructive practices the study uncovered across the school. "The Rockport Peer Interaction Study: Eat or Be Eaten" and "The White Noise of Teasing at Rockport School" were the titles of two presentations, one given by student researchers and the other by faculty researchers that summarized the year's work. In these presentations, they imagined alternatives and outlined possibilities for intervention. Student researchers suggested such initiatives as "developing awareness and emotional intelligence in students" and a "town hall meeting" since "our data suggests that teasing/ridiculing is something that all of us have experienced or participated in to varying degrees." They also reminded adults that "demeaning comments do in fact come from the teachers themselves from time to time" and asked "teachers to be more aware when teasing/ridiculing goes too far."

Faculty researchers also imagined alternatives and outlined possibilities for intervention. Faculty researchers coauthored a letter in response to the student researchers, which they read aloud as part of a presentation. Their letter promised to begin identifying and utilizing the complimentary institutional spaces already set up "such as Peer Leadership Counseling, Town Meetings, and our Upper School Advisory Program." They agreed "to intervene through various initiatives within our community" including raising "the issue publicly in order to make students and faculty aware of the debate" and developing "methods of sensitizing the Rockport School community regarding this issue."

The process of PAR at Rockport was not without critique (Stoudt, 2007, 2008). However, over the course of a year, the student and faculty researchers collected compelling data of local consequence and in doing so, built institutional momentum that has since become a school-wide and longitudinal initiative to address bullying. Additional presentations were made internally at Rockport and at other conferences nationally and internationally. New faculty and students joined the Upper School project, while the Lower and Middle Schools developed research teams of their own to begin examining bullying. New threads of institutional

conversation – such as critical dialogue about bullying, privilege, and masculinity - have become legitimate avenues for inquiry among students, faculty, and administrators at Rockport.

The Pursuit of Counter - Hegemonic Action in a Elite School

The Good: I have used PAR to work with several elite private single-sex and co-ed schools in addition to Rockport. The details, concerns, and challenges vary but it has become increasingly clear that it *is* possible to conduct counter-hegemonic, school-oriented research *with* students and faculty within such institutions. While there are certainly necessary and important advantages to understanding structural privilege from the critical perspective of those most negatively effected by it, this article offers evidence that there are also important gains had by collecting data to understand privileged statuses on their own terms as lived identities and functional institutions. The work I discuss in this article represents the potential for rather then the realization of successful research inside elite private schools; potential that, to me, rests firmly on an epistemological approach committed to partnering with the community in research.

Gaventa and Cornwall (2006) argued that, “Countering power involves using and producing knowledge in a way that affects popular awareness and consciousnesses of the issues which affect their lives” (p. 72). Our initiative to study bullying emerged locally from my ongoing research with Rockport faculty on issues relevant to students, faculty and administrators. Had our work not been conducted inside the institution with community members from the institution on a topic that was institutionally interesting, it is doubtful whether such intimate access would have been granted or our work well received. Nor was it likely had I not established a close relationship with the school offering both sincere interest and honest critique of their institutional experiences. In other words, opportunities for counter-hegemonic action cannot easily exist without cultivating the necessary relationships within on topics of institutional import.

Rockport was a strongly political environment that seemed to have increasingly shrinking spaces to voice concerns and initiate needed change. The practice of our methods, at least temporarily, re-opened or

established new spaces from where voices could be heard. We approached our work assuming that knowledge was socio-historically contextual; heavily dependent on the cultural methods researchers used and the social interactions in which they engaged. As a result, our collaborative approach to methodology was not an afterthought or only a means to an outcome. Instead, our work was a series of deliberate and co-constructed tools that helped us create ongoing formal and informal spaces to uncover knowledge. We incorporated multiple methods from multiple standpoints from multiple institutional levels so as to provide opportunities to appreciate the school as systemic, heterogeneous and political. By partnering with students and faculty, the process of our research was used as a way to collect important information while also offering relevant occasions for vertical and lateral dialogue that could be both critical and potentially contribute to socially conscious action.

Arthur & Davison (2000) argued that a critical citizenship education, “not only enables individuals to develop the knowledge, understanding and behaviors necessary for participation in democracy, but which also empowers individuals by developing in them levels of criticality in order that they might question, critique, debate and even take a leadership role in proposing alternative models of the structures and process of democracy” (p. 11). The co-researchers and I attempted to actively model democratic relationships in which we provided spaces to listen, engage in dialogue, and respect the intersectional importance of heterogeneous identities within the institution. Through heterogeneous identities within the institution. Through the data I heard from my co-researchers a sense of common and shared experience they had with the participants in the study; a recognition of common standpoint and possibly even a sense of solidarity with others. Conducting PAR facilitated a type of “civic friendship”; a “a public way of relating to one another as citizens, where we are not only civil in our discourse but we worked positively to overcome mutual suspicion and hostility by bothering to try to understand something of our own and our fellow citizen’s deepest moral motivations” (Blacker, 2003, p. 249).

Lapayese (2003) suggested, “Critical global citizenship education expects teachers and students to challenge dominant ideologies, disassemble hierarchies of power, and question curricula and pedagogy”

(p. 500). Our collaborative approach to research allowed us to facilitate dialogue locally with relevance globally among students, faculty and administrators about the normalized dominant institutional assumptions, about the embodiment of relational power and hierarchy, about intersectional identities and about the importance of context. Although our work at Rockport attempted to establish egalitarian spaces for “civic friendships,” they were not absent of interpersonal and emotional tension. The relationship cultivated between the co-researchers and I helped us to navigate these experiences in ways that might have been closed if more mainstream and detached approaches had been used.

Partnering with community members of elite schools like Rockport to research their institution is a version of critical citizenship education. PAR is a radical type of pedagogy; an opportunity to perform critical citizenship locally towards goals greater than oneself or even one’s institution. Using PAR to co-conduct research with an elite school like Rockport can contribute to social justice by helping promote social responsibility among students, faculty and administrators. The research process created spaces to interrogate and challenge their own institutional and personal practices. The work provided a forum to co-construct a more complicated understanding of privilege, gender politics, school violence, race relationships and other critical topics that has the potential to inform future internal policy, curriculum or programmatic change. Although it is uncertain whether PAR will lead to further long-term sustainable action at Rockport, the actual process of conducting PAR over time, in and of itself, was an effective version of counter-hegemonic action.

The Grey: More democratic avenues of participation that can contribute to a repositioned sense of expertise and new knowledge can be beneficial; it can also however, be a highly lucrative and deceptively controlling enterprise (Cooke & Korhari, 2006). It is not surprising then that some corporate and educational pursuits have begun to capitalize on larger historical trends of “participation” and as a result, I worry that PAR is fast becoming distorted in unfortunate ways. Sankaran (2005) warned us that, “developmentalists, experts, academicians and entrepreneurs have recently gone on a rampage to co-opt P(A)R.” (p. 32). reviewing the prominent action research literature of 2004-2006, Dick (2006) wondered how much of the “proliferation of labels for processes

which resemble action research” are “consultants and academics establishing a brand” (p. 452). Critiques have emerged suggesting that international development work using PAR sponsored by powerful organizations like the World Bank are just advanced forms of colonization and tyranny (Cooke & Korhari, 2006). As a method, the main tenants of PAR have a lot going for them. Inclusive collaboration in the process of systematic inquiry can lead to useful information that improves decision-making, problem-solving, and future action. But, to what aim: to make money, increase productivity, improve management application? PAR can just as easily collude with hegemony as expose it. I believe it is in the assumptions, desires and philosophies that lie in discourse with “participation”, “action” and “research” where a worthwhile framework to examine privilege towards counter-hegemonic action can be built.

The seduction of normalcy that masks the culturally damaging consequences of structural privileges and the ease with which the privileges are hidden, create spaces of very subtle reproduction (Harding, 2004a). Meritocracy myths, discourses of privilege, peer disciplining, and institutional ideologies are just some of the many subtle forces that help to socialize as “normal” the unequal distribution of cultural and economic resources (Harvey, 1999). Because these unearned advantages are easily explained away or invisible (forgotten/hidden/avoidable) and all involved have a vested interest in its continuation, conducting research in and with privileged educational institutions can be disorienting and distorting.

As a white, middle class, heterosexual male from suburban United States, I also have been socialized to find difficulty in recognizing privilege (my own and others’). It is easy to be seduced, for example, by the seemingly unproblematic context of a well funded private school like Rockport. The teachers are highly qualified, often paid above average and have a great deal of pedagogical freedom.

The students generally take their education very seriously and appear strongly connected with their peers and teachers. There is a certain public politeness that is often performed; what Ottley (2007) has a “culture of friendliness” which stands in contrast to the more ambiguous, less obvious “culture of cruelty” our research evidence uncovered. The campuses are often aesthetically pleasing with extensive

libraries. There are small student-teacher ratios per classroom. Some of the parents and alumni are well known and/or powerful. Many parents are active in their child's education. All parents seem to be focused intently on scholarship. On the surface at least, privileged schools and their students, faculty and administration, can appear to represent the best of educational practices; the type of learning experiences we would like to offer all children. These observations are not entirely illusions; private schools like Rockport and those who occupy them have much in their favor.

Of course when asked, the students, faculty, and administration can identify many areas at school they find frustrating, would like change, or are concerned about. Many of these involve ways they feel the school could be better, ways in which they feel victimized, or are treated unfairly. But, from the standpoint of people and institutions of privilege, "better" "victim" and "unfair" are value judgments unlikely to take into account larger questions of inequality, social injustice, and their relationship to it. Most of the boys are unaware of their privileges; they often do not identify themselves as white, or heterosexual, or male or even wealthy as much they identify as human (average, normal), particularly in a very homogenous single sexed environment where major differences are seldom confronted. As adolescents in high school they, like many of their faculty and administrators, have a strong interest in themselves and their institution; focused on the immediacy of their/its success.

PAR is often cited as solving contextually relevant problems; the collaborative pursuit of evidence based, emancipatory action ([Reason & Bradbury, 2006](#)). But when using PAR to study with privilege one must ask, "relevant" or "emancipatory" for whom? Not all research is research worth taking and not all action is action worth taking. In schools like Rockport, working to co-identify "problems" in quest of making the school "better" can lead to developing initiatives that do little more than reproduce or even enhance the students' and institution's already abundant privileges. For example, what if I collaborated with Rockport, using PAR to inform programs designed to improve the academic success of "struggling"? The students at Rockport already have a great deal of access to academic assistance and will have access to higher education despite their academic performances (100% of the senior students during this study were accepted to at least one college).

argue that social scientists should conduct work and devote resources to privileged institutions if this is the type of research and action likely to emerge.

I interpret the practice of PAR as an epistemology with strong social justice values; a way of systematically asking what is knowledge, where does knowledge lie, and how can it be used to make more just communities? However, my experience around private schools has suggested a tendency towards PAR as a methodology (“participation” “action” “research”) generally absent of its radical ethical standpoints. This poses a particular dilemma for PAR researchers interested in counter-hegemonic research in elite schools. PAR strives toward an inclusive, democratic practice of research where spaces are created to enhance the voices of community members and power dynamics are repositioned to lessen hierarchy. But, democratic research pursuits in elite private schools without also liberal values anchoring those pursuits (critical values that will not necessarily emerge organically within the context) are in jeopardy of colluding with rather than resisting oppressive structures. A group discussion with boys at an elite Midwestern United States private school once again confirmed this very common possibility; White students very cerebrally making points of “working harder”, “reverse racism” “not seeing race” and “athletic scholarships for students of color” in response to an African American sharing his feeling of isolation and freshman year experiences with racism. Nell Noddings admitted that “people may converge on a conclusion that affirms their mutual caring but is morally deplorable when the interests of others are considered” (Callan, 2004, p. 205). Mouffe (2000) calls this the “democratic paradox” and points out that while democratic pursuits strive for participation, majority rule and equality; liberal pursuits strive for human rights, liberty, and principles. She argues that this is a necessary and irreducible tension; a paradox to work from rather than to fix.

Some might suggest this tension is reducible through “objective” research. At a recent conference, a headmaster who is heavily engaged in teacher research was asked a controversial question about gender from the audience. He responded by saying that it is not a question that he and his teachers need to answer in advance because it will be born out of the research. For this headmaster of a southern boarding school

are seen as emerging out of the research have political use to him and his school because backlash from parents, alumni and donors is less likely. While it is certainly true that many answers can emerge from research, not all answers can and finding where the distinction lies is important to PAR.

In the pursuit of objectivity, social scientists have mistakenly used research to make claims about what is normal, who deserves rights, and how limited resources should be allocated. In so doing they hide their values inside the data points; values that have tended to benefit those with privilege. The pre World War II “mental hygiene” movement made norms of “healthy” habits through scientific justification. These unacknowledged values were rooted in cultural privileges which ultimately served to pathologize, blame, and condemn the behaviors of marginalized and oppressed communities (Boler, 1999; Joyce, 1995). And years later, Martin Luther King similarly critiqued psychologists, arguing that their standards for psychological health and well-being too often meant adjusting to or coping with a faulty and unjust society (Turiel, 2002, p. 283). More recently, researchers advocating for gay rights have attempted to illustrate that, for example, the adopted children and committed relationships of gay individuals are no different than “others;” but this line of research helps to reify “others” as normal or culturally desirable:

There are costs to using psychological claims in support of human rights. Most fundamentally, they treat absolute and inalienable human rights as if they were contingent on the psychological experiences and capacities of an oppressed group (As assessed by experts who present evidence on its behalf). Because experts disagree, public and legal discourse about human rights issues then degenerates into arguments about sampling methodologies, testing procedures, and control groups, all of which are irrelevant to the rights issue at stake....Arguments about similarity and difference, or about psychological health or harm, obfuscate the key ethical principle of equal human rights for all (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 2004, p. 188).

Social justice discourse is a philosophical argument about what we rightfully deserve as humans to live with dignity and health; it assumes a current state of disadvantage, social and economic inequality, or unequal access to privileges for some (or most). Human rights exist as benchmarks to social justice; they are value judgments of what “should” and “should not” be. They cannot be falsified or justified through social scientific research but are present whenever research is undertaken.

“If, in interest of objectivity, we ignore the political implications of our work, we are certain to legitimate and reproduce the prejudices of the social contexts in which our research takes place.” (Cole & Steward, 2001, p. 304). PAR, like every other approach to research, is not value neutral. However, unlike most mainstream approaches, many PAR researchers for social justice not only embrace their values but considers them necessary; working towards what Donna Haraway calls “strong objectivity” (Haraway, 1988). Researching privilege or privileged contexts in ways that avoid contributing to larger inequality requires an approach that makes explicit the political “values in play” and devotes time to examining the assumptions behind words such as “problem”, “victim”, and “better.” Although it is always implicitly present, traditional research can often avoid explicitly asking larger questions about what it means to live in a just world. PAR researchers are not afforded the same “luxury” because social action, reform, or change are foundational to PAR and inseparable from ideas of justice. As Wersch (1998) explained, “the telos may be dimly held or vaguely apprehended but they nonetheless provide the grounds on which to advocate different forms of education, different forms of therapeutic intervention, different forms of inquiry, different forms of government” (p. 36-37).

PAR is best suited for studying privilege when ideas of social justice are clear, underlying values and assumptions are explicit, and illusions of contextual neutrality are resisted by paying close attention to power and politics. I believe the study of intersecting privileges - defined broadly (e.g. gender, race, class, sexual orientation, country, religion, name a few) - and the institutions that help reproduce structural privileges are vital pieces of a larger social justice movement. But, there is an odd marriage between social justice research and working *in* and *with* elite private schools. As one headmaster told me, “We as administrators are trying to encourage a revolution, which is an odd

thing to do!” Another Headmaster wondered, “Are we asking students to change for a system that won’t.” The work in this article, even though it was situated inside an elite American school, was positioned, like Harding (2004a) suggested, to begin “from the everyday lives of oppressed groups, rather than from the conceptual frameworks of the dominant social institutions” (p. 68). It was in the interest of the marginalized, oppressed and exploited this work was undertaken, and it was they I wished to hold the work and myself accountable to. As the facilitator of PAR at Rockport, had my values been different so would have been the research.

The lack of critical awareness, invisibility of problems, or the appearance of normalcy is a part of the private school’s privilege. The standpoints and convictions I carry with me into Rockport served as an important counter hegemonic field guide. They helped me navigate through the “normal” fog to see toward what I considered were “acceptable” ends. In the framework of PAR they can be flexible and accommodating, but only so far. It was my job to create spaces ripe for safe dialogue, I needed to remain open and responsive to new knowledge, but it was also my job to represent critical voices and alternative perspectives that might otherwise not emerged organically.

PAR in privileged contexts can gather important community centered data that facilitates greater institutional awareness. For the student co-researchers it can also become a lesson in civics, of democracy, of social responsibility, and reform. For students, faculty, and administrators it can create a space to help us engage with the unspoken, speak what is off limits, make room for unresolved conflict, criticize the standard, and re-imagine social consciousness. PAR *can* do this, but I do not think it will inherently do this without a firm grounding in its tradition of radical ethics for social justice.

Conclusion

The collaborative research spaces -- anchored by the voices of other students, teachers, and administrators; of cultural processes and institutional ideologies; of mission statements and parental hopes -- provided the ingredients for a new, more critical awareness of self and context. The use of PAR attempted to develop what [Deutsch \(2006\)](#) referred to as “awaking the sense of injustice.” Over the course of a year, the student and faculty researchers at Rockport collected compelling data of local consequence and in doing so, built institutional momentum that has since become a school-wide and ongoing initiative to address bullying.

Our methods at Rockport created participatory spaces that developed relationships and critical discussions across hierarchical school membership; they opened new, viable outlets to communicate and voice concerns about issues rarely discussed. At its worst, our work has been resisted, overlooked, or co-opted in ways that maintained or improved the institution’s overall privilege. At our best, we examined ideas of justice, diversity, and cosmopolitanism; we held a curiosity, appreciation, and humbleness for the institution’s complexities and gained a critical, self-reflective, systemic awareness of our own relationship to the institution’s cultural reproduction. Our participatory research had, in depth and breath, “participatory reach.” We heard from the voices of a large percentage of the Rockport community (students, faculty, and administration) in ways that ranged from short conversations to deep ongoing dialogue. As a result, this work conducted inside a closed institution like Rockport – though fleeting - was a form of counter-hegemonic action.

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Modelos de Atractivo Masculinos en la Adolescencia

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Attractiveness male models in adolescence

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Abstract

Hegemonic masculinity persists in our societies through different mechanisms. Gender violence is one such example and it is manifested in various areas of daily life. Several contributions to the study of masculinities and sexual relationships are deterministic and do not go depth into the social causes of this violence. In this article we will show evidences of how attractiveness male models have a social nature. In that sense, these socialization processes that link desire to aggressiveness and violence explain the persistence of this social problem. Co-educational approaches should take evidence from this research line into account in order to provide responses that overcome the negative effects of hegemonic masculinity.

Keywords: attraction models, socialization, violence, new masculinities, prevention

Modelos de atractivo masculinos en la adolescencia

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Abstract

La masculinidad hegemónica persiste en nuestra sociedad a través de diferentes mecanismos. La violencia de género es un ejemplo de ello y se manifiesta en distintos ámbitos de la vida cotidiana. Algunas aportaciones sobre el estudio de las masculinidades y las relaciones afectivas y sexuales son deterministas y no profundizan en las causas sociales de esta violencia. En el presente artículo se mostraran evidencias de como los modelos de atractivo masculinos tienen una vertiente social. La socialización que vincula deseo con agresividad y violencia explican el porqué de la persistencia de esta problemática social. Los planteamientos coeducativos que tengan en cuenta las evidencias de esta línea de investigación podrán aportar propuestas de superación de los efectivos negativos del modelo de masculinidad hegemónica.

Palabras clave: modelos de atractivo, socialización, violencia, nuevas masculinidades, prevención

Las relaciones afectivo-sexuales y los modelos de atractivo de los y las adolescentes en la actualidad están más condicionados que nunca por diferentes agentes socializadores (Gómez, 2004). La familia y la escuela tienen un peso importante en el proceso de socialización pero adoptan un mayor peso otros agentes como los medios de comunicación y los grupos de iguales (Kelly y Donohew, 1999). De modo que en nuestras elecciones y deseos tienen incidencia diferentes aspectos que conforman nuestra vida social. En este sentido existe una extensa literatura desde el ámbito de la psicología o la biología que ponen de relieve que el atractivo está condicionado directamente por nuestra naturaleza, es decir por el código genético (Grammer y Thornhill, 1994; Johnston et al., 2001). De todos modos, en los últimos años, se ha desarrollado una línea de investigación que constata la base social de los modelos de atractivo, es decir su fundamentación en las interacciones y estímulos que se van concretando en nuestra vida social (Duque, 2006, 2007; Valls, Puigvert y Duque, 2008; Flecha, Pulido y Christou, 2011).

En el atractivo masculino, los modelos que han tenido éxito se han ido definiendo de forma generalizada a través de un tipo de masculinidad que ha sido el imperante, el modelo de masculinidad hegemónica (Connell, 2005, 2006; Kimmel, 1996, 2000). Ello ha significado que en ocasiones se haya considerado que el hombre que despierta deseo es el agresivo, el violento, el que desprecia y es insolidario. Este tipo de asociación en determinados casos ha permitido legitimar ciertas conductas en los hombres y considerarlas como irremediables (Sternberg, 2000). Pero la investigación social en este campo desmiente este tipo de argumentos demostrando que existe diversidad de modelos de hombres y que éstos también pueden despertar atractivo (Gilmore, 1994).

En el presente artículo profundizaremos en los modelos atractivos masculinos en la adolescencia, cuáles tienen un mayor peso y cuáles están rompiendo con el estereotipo tradicional de la masculinidad hegemónica. Analizaremos en detalle la influencia de los procesos de socialización en la definición de estos modelos, incidiendo en como se concretan en espacios de socialización como los centros educativos. En la primera parte realizaremos una revisión de la literatura científica y de

las investigaciones que abordan desde diferentes perspectivas los modelos de atracción. A continuación describiremos la metodología utilizada en el proyecto de investigación en el que se enmarca este artículo: Models d'atracció dels i les adolescents. Contribucions des de la socialització preventiva de la violència de gènere subvencionado por el Institut Català de les Dones en el año 2007. Posteriormente se describirán algunos de los resultados obtenidos en el proyecto incidiendo en los modelos de atractivo de los chicos adolescentes. Para finalizar se presentan una serie de conclusiones que intentan sintetizar la relevancia de abordar los modelos de atractivo en la adolescencia como forma de promover una socialización libre de violencia.

El atractivo: ¿De origen social o biológico?

Desde la psicología (Sternberg, 2000) y también desde la sociología (Beck y Beck-Gernsheim, 1998) no se han realizado explicaciones elaboradas alrededor del amor y el atractivo, es decir no se ofrecen evidencias científicas que expliquen contrastadamente por qué deseamos y consideramos atractivas unas personas y no otras y cuál es el motivo que nos conduce a iniciar una relación, ya sea esporádica o estable con dichas personas. En ocasiones, como señala Jesús Gómez (2004), se utilizan argumentaciones fundamentadas en la irracionalidad que no permiten entender, por ejemplo, porqué se da el enamoramiento o el deseo hacia hombres que desprecian y maltratan a los demás, sobretodo a las mujeres. Ello es debido a lo que hemos mencionado anteriormente a la atribución irracional que se otorga al amor, a la elección y la atracción (Beck y Beck-Gernsheim, 1998, p. 350):

El amor sucede, cae como un rayo o se apaga siguiendo leyes no abiertas a la intervención individual, ni al control social.

Otro de los autores que desde la sociología han abordado esta temática es Giddens (1995) que hace una diferenciación por tipología de hombres atribuyendo determinadas características a cada uno de ellos. De esta forma Giddens contribuye a reproducir la doble moral porque considera

que el “hombre bueno” y el “hombre sexy” no pueden ir unidos. Previamente autores como Ortega y Gasset (1964) ya habían planteado que la atracción era algo irremediable e imposible de controlar, de esta forma legitimaba también que los procesos de elección en las relaciones afectivas y sexuales no tuvieran trascendencia.

Este tipo de concreciones que se efectúan desde las ciencias sociales están condicionadas por una larga tradicional biologicista que atribuye exclusivamente la atracción sexual y el deseo a aspectos genéticos. A continuación presentaremos algunas de estas aproximaciones que plantean diferentes motivos por los cuales las personas nos sentimos atraídas por otras o consideremos que tienen un mayor atractivo.

En algunas investigaciones plantean que las mujeres sienten un mayor deseo sexual por los hombres cuando están en periodo de ovulación y señalan que este interés sobretodo se manifiesta en el marco de relaciones fuera de la pareja, es decir extra conyugales. Los análisis demostraban que las mujeres con unos altos índices de fertilidad y que confesaban una atracción sexual menor con su pareja tenían un mayor deseo a mantener relaciones fuera de ella (Pillsworth y Haselton, 2006). Por otro lado, con respecto al análisis exclusivo del atractivo, existen investigaciones que señalan que la elección de las mujeres heterosexuales está condicionada por la simetría facial de los hombres. En este sentido la tendencia que mostraba dicho estudio es que las mujeres prefieren hombres con caras simétricas aunque también se añade que la grandeza en el rostro aporta elementos de atractivo sexual secundarios a dichos hombres (Grammer y Thornhill, 1994). En esta línea se han mantenido otras investigaciones sobre el atractivo masculino, es decir enfatizando mucho el papel que tienen el rostro y su simetría (Johnston et al., 2001). En esta ocasión añaden una variable adicional que hace referencia a la menstruación de la mujer. Este elemento aparece como un condicionante cuando se les muestra a las mujeres imágenes de diferentes hombres y expresan su opinión. En este sentido se constata que sus preferencias respecto al atractivo masculino se modifican en períodos de alto riesgo menstrual.

Desde otra perspectiva, la psicológica, también se ofrecen explicaciones alrededor del amor y el atractivo que no incorporan la socialización como un elemento explicativo. Sternberg (2000) es uno de los máximos exponentes de esta línea por sus conocidas teorías de la

atracción.

En este sentido, cabe señalar la teoría de la reactancia que parte de una premisa clave: la base natural del deseo hacia una persona difícil de conseguir. Este análisis parte de que la forma de actuar humana en este ámbito sigue estas premisas y que si se consigue a posteriori tener esta relación también resulta de lo más natural acabar con ella. Con esta teoría se legitiman muchas de las situaciones relacionadas con el atractivo que se dan en las relaciones afectivo-sexuales actuales. Por ejemplo, las relaciones de pareja en las que se empieza la convivencia y al poco tiempo de convivir llega la separación. Desde esta teoría se plantea que el deseo y el atractivo desaparecen cuando las personas ya han conseguido la relación que buscaban.

Jesús Gómez (2004) desmiente todos estos argumentos en sus análisis del amor en la sociedad del riesgo. Él argumenta que es la escasez de diálogo y la pérdida de sentido lo que provoca que la pasión desparezca y la atracción hacia tu cónyuge y/o pareja se desvanezca. De esta forma es muy contrario a la teoría de la reactancia porque imposibilita que exista una transformación en las relaciones afectivo-sexuales y las condiciona a un determinismo que se traduce en insatisfacción personal. Siguiendo otras investigaciones en la línea de Sternberg, se asegura que el atractivo hacia las personas de las que nos enamoramos va despareciendo fraguándose un sentimiento posterior de familiaridad (Yela y Sangrador, 2001). Para Gómez (2004, p. 25) eso es sinónimo de doble moral y ofrece argumentos sobre ello:

Habría que determinar a quiénes deseamos para relaciones esporádicas, para “noches locas”, y a quiénes elegimos para estabilizarnos. Si ambas no coinciden, entonces debemos reflexionar profundamente sobre ello y, entre otras cosas, entender por qué expresiones tan habituales como “qué bueno o buena está” o “qué atractiva o atractivo” es, no son, tan fáciles de asociar con personas con las que realizar un proyecto de vida estable.

En la siguiente sección partiremos de esta aproximación teórica para presentar cuál es el análisis que se ha efectuado sobre el atractivo masculino. Paralelamente también se describirán algunos de los resultados obtenidos por investigaciones que han ahondado en el tema, sin considerar los procesos de socialización como factores explicativos.

Modelos de atractivo y masculinidades

El modelo de atractivo masculino que ha tenido un gran calado en nuestra sociedad es el que representa las características propias de la masculinidad hegemónica (Connell, 2005; Duque, 2006; Gómez, 2004; Valls, Puigvert y Duque, 2008). De forma histórica se ha ido asociando el atractivo masculino con la fuerza y el poder, pero como constatan diferentes investigaciones el vínculo va más allá y el atractivo se articula en los hombres y chicos que pueden llegar a despreciar, maltratar y abusar de las mujeres (CREA, 2005; Ríos y Christou, 2010). De todas formas cabe señalar que existen otros estudios que demuestran que no en todas las culturas existe la asociación mencionada previamente. En estos casos se demuestra cómo hombres con características maternales o pacíficas son bien valorados y tienen éxito a nivel de atractivo en sus sociedades (Gilmore, 1994; Mead, 1982).

De ahora en adelante queremos profundizar en el modelo de atractivo vinculado a la violencia porque consideramos que es esencial para entender porque persiste en la sociedad actual, en diferentes edades y estratos sociales, la violencia contra las mujeres (Instituto de la Mujer, 2012). Por ejemplo, existe una investigación internacional que analiza cuáles son las motivaciones de las mujeres jóvenes a la hora de elegir el chico con el que tener una cita, dicha investigación se titula: Young Women 's Dating Behavior: Why not date a nice guy? (McDaniel, 2005). Si bien es cierto que dicho estudio aporta un conocimiento importante sobre cuáles son estas motivaciones que hacen que se elija un tipo de chico y no otro, deja de lado el por qué se tienen estas motivaciones, en qué emociones se basan y qué es lo que potencia que se tengan estas emociones y no otras. La investigación analiza las razones que llevan a que las chicas jóvenes prefieran citarse con un chico con unas características de personalidad determinadas y que esto guarda relación con las motivaciones que tienen para citarse con el nice guy (buen chico) o el jerk guy (chico idiota). Para elaborar el trabajo de campo utilizaron una técnica de recogida de datos basada en pasar cuestionarios a las chicas que constaban de tres partes diferentes. La primera de ellas requería señalar diez razones para citarse con un chico, la segunda parte proponía dos escenas de una cita cada una con un prototipo de chico (el chico "guapo" y el chico "sexy" y divertido) y la

tercera pide señalar diez rasgos de personalidad para el chico guapo y diez más por el chico divertido y sexy. Se observaba que la respuesta a la pregunta que indicaba el título no estaba determinada por un solo factor, y que dependía de varias variables, pero los resultados parecían indicar que las jóvenes equiparan el "nice guy" como aquel que es físicamente atractivo, divertido, fuerte, seguro de sí mismo, romántico, excitante, y que las amigas los ven con buenos ojos, pero que si se percibe como un chico dulce y guapo que tiene el peligro de convertirse en demasiado bueno ("too nice, loser guy" - demasiado bueno, perdedor). Las jóvenes en general presentan que el chico sexy es la pareja de citas que buscan, especialmente en la fase experimental, y están dispuestas a conocer más sus rasgos de personalidad una vez que las amigas le han confirmado su percepción. De todas formas en numerosas ocasiones las chicas acaban escogiendo el jerck guy porque es el que tiene más éxito y no se acaba convirtiendo en un perdedor como el chico bueno.

Desde otra perspectiva más centrada en el análisis del discurso y de los medios encontramos la investigación de Fernández de Quero (2005). El autor plantea como la mercantilización de la sexualidad a través del cine crea modelos a partir de los cuales podemos guiar nuestras conductas y acciones. Él constata que si hacemos un recorrido por la historia del cine, vemos como este plantea cuáles son los roles de género, los mitos sexuales, el comportamiento en las relaciones afectivas y sexuales, el ideal de hombre y de mujer y las motivaciones en torno al deseo sexual. El autor expone que el cine de Hollywood presenta un modelo masculino muy concreto que podría definirse como: hombre viril, héroe solitario, una persona que afronta el peligro con temor y con una capacidad de reacción agresiva y violenta considerable, un hombre que sostiene el dolor y la tortura, con una dureza emocional que le impide llorar y mostrar sus sentimientos. Suelen ser hombres fuertes físicamente, seductores, débiles ante los encantos femeninos, protectores de los más débiles, patriotas y defensores de los valores occidentales. Se trata de un modelo agresivo y competitivo.

Cómo hemos señalado al inicio de este apartado esta atractivo masculino vinculado a la agresividad no se debe a ningún determinismo biológico. La socialización ha sido el proceso que a lo largo de la historia ha llevado a que existiera esta asociación (Gómez, 2004). De

todos modos existen investigaciones recientes que señalan que existen nuevas masculinidades, alejadas del modelo hegemónico”, que si despiertan atractivo pero que a menudo resultan invisibilizadas. Dichos estudios concluyen la necesidad de utilizar un lenguaje que de valor a estos chicos y hombres de modo que se vincule igualdad con atractivo (Portell y Pulido, 2012; CREA-UB, 2006-2008).

Metodología

En el marco del proyecto Models d’atracció dels i les adolescents. Contribucions des de la socialització preventiva de la violència de gènere subvencionado por el Institut Català de les Dones de la Generalitat de Catalunya (2007) hemos desarrollado un trabajo de campo con el objetivo de recoger las percepciones y voces de los y las adolescentes sobre las personas que les atraen y los valores y modelos a los que responden estas personas, así como la posible vinculación entre estos modelos y la violencia de género. A la vez, intentando conocer los aspectos sobre los que debemos incidir y cómo debemos desarrollar actuaciones que potencien modelos de atractivo democrático.

El proyecto está centrado en las percepciones, interpretaciones y vivencias de los chicos y las chicas desde sus voces en primera persona. Por este motivo, hemos seleccionado una muestra de 73 chicos y chicas jóvenes, entre 12 y 18 años.

El trabajo de campo realizado es de tipo cualitativo, con una orientación comunicativa crítica. Esta orientación comunicativa crítica se basa en la reflexión y en la intersubjetividad (Gómez, Puigvert y Flecha, 2011). Parte de las bases teóricas y principios metodológicos validados por la parte científica internacional y la Comisión Europea (Comisión Europea, 2010) y, que a diferencia de otros planteamientos, propone la superación del desnivel metodológico entre los sujetos investigados e investigadores, generando conocimiento a través de la creación de un diálogo intersubjetivo. De esta manera se evita el tratamiento distanciado de la información y posibles interpretaciones erróneas (Gómez et al., 2006).

Hemos utilizado dos técnicas de recogida de información: relatos comunicativos de vida cotidiana, y grupos de discusión comunicativos. En estas técnicas se han tratado los siguientes temas relacionados con

los objetivos principales del proyecto: Definición de los modelos de atractivo, construcción de los modelos de atractivo, relaciones afectivo-sexuales y conocimiento de situaciones de violencia de género. En el presente artículo nos centramos sobretodo en la definición y construcción de los modelos de atractivo masculinos, concretados durante la adolescencia en las edades que hemos especificado anteriormente.

Resultados

Los resultados obtenidos en el análisis de la realidad nos corroboran algunas de las investigaciones previas en este ámbito (Gómez, 2004; Duque, 2006; Valls, Puigvert y Duque, 2008; CREA-UB, 2005, CREA-UB, 2006). Se constatan que entre los adolescentes existe un modelo de atractivo masculino exclusor en el que, por un lado, la “maldad” se considera atractiva y, por el otro lado, la “bondad” se percibe como aburrida. Al igual que anteriores estudios hemos podido identificar que en la mayoría de ocasiones no se dan explicaciones sociales, se atribuye a aspectos físicos de los chicos. Pero si profundizamos sobre los comentarios, sobretodo de las chicas, constatamos que el deseo se despierta ante aquellos chicos que pueden llegar a despreciarlas o ignorarlas.

En la siguientes citas observamos como cuándo se le pregunta a un grupo de chicas cuál es el chico que tiene más éxito en la clase, o en el instituto, ellas responden con seguridad el “gamberro” y el “chulo”. De modo que el modelo de atractivo con mayor impacto no se asocia con los valores de igualdad y solidaridad, todo lo contrario. Una de las chicas participantes en el grupo de discusión manifiesta que ello sobretodo es debido a que estos chicos se convierten el centro de atención. En ocasiones acaban destruyendo la convivencia en el centro o en el aula, pero consiguen despertar interés – atractivo- en sus compañeras.

Pero normalmente así en general, que creéis que atrae más?

A: El gamberro

C: El chulo.

D: El chulo

Y porque?

A: Porque es la moda. Porque esta ahora eso y es a lo que todo el mundo va.

C: Es porque se hace notar, a ver tu con un chaval que no habla en clase, y no sé que y un chaval gamberro, que esta así en medio de clase y así, pues llama mucho más la atención el otro.

Existen ocasiones donde los propios adolescentes son conscientes del punto de partida que hemos estado describiendo a lo largo del artículo y en el inicio de este apartado. En la siguiente cita vemos como son los propios chicos quienes afirman que a las chicas les gustan más los chicos que les tratan mal. Este tipo de afirmaciones nos indica lo urgente que resulta hacer un giro en la dinámica del atractivo masculino. Si aquellos chicos que no resultan atractivos, como veremos más adelante, continúan siendo los buenos, es decir las nuevas masculinidades, surgen la necesidad de dotarles de atractivo porque si no la dinámica que está sucediendo es que acaben por decir tratar también mal a las chicas.

¿Pero a las tías les gusta?, ¿Es el más feo del cole, pero a las tías les gusta?

B: Sí

A: Claro, porque las trata mal

¿Por qué? Y a las tías les gustan que las traten mal?

(...)

A: Y la chavala es gilipollas, y vuelvo con él porque mira...

(Grupo de discusión masculino)

Los más populares son los más guapos digamos o las más cabronas. (Grupos de discusión masculino)

Como hemos señalado anteriormente la bondad no se asocia al atractivo masculino, al contrario. Las palabras que utilizan las chicas para describir estos chicos son muy diversas pero siguen una línea parecida: cansinos, tontos, aburrido, agobio, etc. Ninguno de estos adjetivos dota de valor y deseo a los chicos que no son gamberros y en cambio sí tratan bien a las personas y están abiertos al diálogo. En la siguiente cita se puede comprobar un ejemplo de ello en uno de los grupos mixtos que se realizaron en el marco del proyecto:

A: A veces cansa

(Ríen)

B: Si es tan bueno de esos que dices...también me llegarían a agobiar

A: Que siempre te de la razón y todo eso..

C: Un chico tiene que tener su carácter, tampoco tiene que estar...

B: Por mucho que te quiera...

Pero jo estic dient que sigui bó, eh?

A: Ya, pero es que hay tíos que de buenos que son, que parecen tontos. (Grupo de discusión mixto)

De modo que estos chicos se convierten en aquellos que menos se prefieren para iniciar una relación. Lo deseable en este sentido no es un chico entregado y que trate bien a las chicas. Si esto sucede de esta forma las chicas acaban aborreciendo a estos chicos y sintiéndose incómodas con su presencia.

Y un chico que es muy bueno, este típico que dices es un buenazo, que estás con él y siempre hace lo que tu quieras, lo que tu digas... ¿creéis que eso atrae o es como aburrido?

A: Aburrido.

B: Es un agobio.

A: A ver, un agobio...

B: Es un agobio.

C: A mi, a mi...es que depende, no me importa tampoco, ¿sabes?, pero es que algunas veces...

D: Es que es un agobio (Grupo de discusión femenino)

El resultado de este proceso de dotación de atractivo a los chicos “malos” es la reproducción de la doble moral. Ya habíamos señalado en la revisión de la literatura que algunos autores, como Giddens (1995), afirmaban que era imposible asociar “hombre sexy” con “hombre bueno”. En la siguiente cita se puede comprobar como se trata de una situación instaurada debido a los procesos de socialización en los que no se dota de atractivo a la bondad. En este caso la bondad se vincula a la amistad, un valor que no despierta tampoco deseo en los y las jóvenes. El propio Jesús Gómez (2004) manifiesta que es necesario frenar esta espiral y empezar a ofrecer una imagen atractiva y pasional de los amigos y amigas.

¿Y ese chico que es así súper bueno, que siempre hacéis lo que tu quieras, que te deja escoger a ti, y así, creéis que gusta, lo veis es atractivo?

A: Es un buen amigo.

(Grupo de discusión femenino)

Aún y esta tendencia manifestada en las palabras de los propios chicos y chicas, existe también elementos transformadores que permiten vislumbrar un cambio de dinámica. Es importante, como señalan algunas de las aportaciones en coeducación más actuales y referenciadas (Oliver, Soler y Flecha, 2009; Aubert et al., 2004), potenciar las dinámicas transformadoras y hacerlas más visibles para romper con el modelo hegemónico imperante.

El rechazo hacia los chicos que tratan mal a las chicas o tienen una actitud prepotente y agresiva es una realidad que también apareció después del análisis del trabajo de campo. Muchas chicas son contundentes ante estos chicos y deciden mantenerse al margen de iniciar una relación afectivo-sexual. En ocasiones utilizan adjetivos que ridiculizan mucho las actitudes negativas de estos chicos que representan el modelo de masculinidad hegemónica.

A: A mí me importa mucho, porque odio los tíos chulos y machistas.....en serio

(...)

A: Si un tío es gilipollas nunca me liaría con él¹.

(Grupo de discusión femenino)

A parte del rechazo hacia los chicos que responden al modelo hegemónico, se han identificado también casos en el que las chicas manifiestan sus intereses, relacionados con el atractivo, que están cercanos a valores positivos y alejados de la violencia de género. Por ejemplo, en la siguiente cita podemos comprobar como se valora la bondad como un elemento deseable en los chicos. En esta ocasión vemos como se combinan dos aspectos que consideremos cruciales para que las nuevas masculinidades sean valoradas: el atractivo físico y los valores igualitarios. Ambos aspectos no tienen por qué estar reñidos si en el proceso de socialización van acompañados. Las afirmaciones que veremos a continuación permiten superar la doble moral, mencionada previamente en el presente artículo:

Sí atractivo, de cualquier forma, cuando a tú te dicen un chico atractivo. ¿En qué pensáis?

A: Guapo

B: Atractivo por dentro y por fuera, por las dos cosas. Guapo y también buena persona

C: Pero más por dentro que por fuera, no importa tanto ya

A: A mí también lo de fuera me importa tú....Quiero decir

C: Hombre sí, pero tampoco es tan importante. Llega un momento que lo más importante o sea ...Es importante a primera vista, pero después cuando lo conoces ya no ...

A: Pero es inevitable...las cosas te entran por la vista ... quieras o no.

C: Primero te entra por la vista, pero después lo conoces y te mola bien, sino pues no².

(Grupo de discusión femenino)

Siguiendo en esta línea, algunos de los chicos participantes en la investigación nos informan que ellos sienten que tienen éxito y gustan cuando tratan solidariamente a las chicas. Si bien son conscientes que este tipo de actitud conlleva iniciar una amistad con la chica, no renuncian a que ello también se pueda traducir en una relación y en algunos casos termina pasando. Visibilizar que este tipo de situaciones son posibles es una forma de desmentir las teorías ligadas al atractivo que hemos visto en la sección de revisión de la literatura científica. Y constatar, como están haciendo algunas investigaciones recientes (Giner, 2011), que amistad, pasión y atractivo no son incompatibles.

¿Y vosotros cuando os sentís que gustáis más a las tías?,

¿Cuándo? ¿Cuándo os comportéis de una determinada manera?, ¿cuándo ayudáis una tía, cuándo pasáis?

B: Cuando estás con ella, y les ayuda

A: Cuando les haces reír les gusta

B: Que les ayudes y les trates bien, sí les gusta.

¿Pero saldrían contigo o más cómo un amigo?

B: Claro

A: Más cómo amigo, pero al final acabando gustando

(Grupo de discusión masculino)

Las evidencias que hemos presentado sobre el atractivo masculino desde la voz de las y los adolescentes nos marcan unas tendencias a considerar. Primeramente el fuerte arraigo que tiene la vinculación entre el modelo de masculinidad hegemónica y el atractivo, seguidamente la ausencia de deseo manifestada por las chicas hacia los chicos que se comportan igualitariamente y que se les considera amigos. Por otro lado, existen algunas situaciones donde ambas dinámicas se rompen en las que las chicas rechazan y hablan sin deseo de los chicos agresivos y que las desprecian. También se constata una valoración hacia los chicos igualitarios vinculados, en este caso, el atractivo físico. Estos resultados ofrecen oportunidades valiosas para plantear medidas coeducativas efectivas. En el siguiente apartado profundizaremos más sobre ello.

Conclusiones

Como hemos podido ver a lo largo de todo el artículo, el análisis de los modelos de atractivo masculinos nos ayuda a entender con mayor profundidad los fundamentos de la violencia de género. De modo que investigaciones de estas características, como las presentadas aquí, nos ofrecen la oportunidad de corroborar la naturaleza social del atractivo y la posibilidad de poder transformar situaciones marcadas por la atracción hacia la violencia.

Algunas administraciones públicas y entidades sociales ya se han hecho eco de resultados de investigaciones que van en esta línea (Valls, Puigvert y Duque, 2008; Oliver, Soler y Flecha, 2009). Afirman la importancia de concretar medidas coeducativas que consideren las masculinidades y los modelos de atractivo como dos elementos centrales. A parte desde los planteamientos teóricos coeducativos también se insiste en esta línea, que pone de relieve por un lado incorporar las nuevas masculinidades, y por el otro, los aspectos referentes al deseo y las relaciones afectivas y sexuales (Aubert et al., 2004, p. 104):

No basta con rechazar el modelo masculino hegemónico desde la coeducación sino también de promover la transmisión de otros nuevos. (...) La educación afectiva y sexual debe profundizar en las bases de nuestra intimidad, en lo que consideramos y en lo que

aprendemos en todos los ámbitos sobre lo que es amor, sexualidad y deseo.

De modo que si la coeducación sigue en la línea de considerar dichos resultados y evita caer en debates estériles sobre los juegos infantiles o los colores destinados para los niños y para niñas, estará dando grandes pasos para la igualdad en los centros educativos y en la sociedad en general. Permitirá, tal y como plantean **Jesús Gómez (2004)** y **Elena Duque (2006)**, unas relaciones más libres, igualitarias y carentes de violencia.

Notas

¹ **Traducción propia:** A mi m'importa molt, perquè odio els tios xulus i masclistes.....en serio (...)Si un tio és gilipollas mai em liaria amb ell...

² **Traducción propia:**

Sí, atractiu de qualsevol manera, quan tu et diuen un noi atractiu. El què penseu?

Guapo

Atractiu per dintre per fora, per les dues coses. Guapo i també bona persona

Però més per dintre que per fora, no importa tant ya

A mi també lo de fora m' importa tu..vull dir

Home sí, però tampoc es tant important. Arriba un moment que lo més important o sigui... és important a primera vista, però després quan el coneixes ja no...

Però és inevitable les coses t'entren per la vista... vulguis o no.

Primer t'entra per la vista, però després el coneixes i et mola bé, sinó pos no

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Chicos y chicas en relación: Materiales de coeducación y masculinidades para la educación secundaria

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Reviews (I)

Compairé, J., Abril, P., Salcedo, M., & Grupo ORFEU, masculinitats i coeducació. (2011). *Chicos y chicas en relación: Materiales de coeducación y masculinidades para la educación secundaria*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Estudios e investigaciones recientes muestran un aumento de la tendencia a la masculinidad más tradicional entre chicos y jóvenes. Una masculinidad que se conoce como hegemónica y que responde a la correlación entre un ideal cultural concreto de ser hombre y un poder institucional que lo ha legitimado, desestimando otros tipos de masculinidades.

Por otro lado, sabemos que la adolescencia es la etapa en la que se desarrolla el proceso de construcción de la masculinidad en los chicos, quienes en este periodo cuentan con un elevado arraigo a los estereotipos de género. Además sufren la presión social de la familia, de los medios de comunicación y del grupo de iguales, entre otros.

Ante esta realidad, se manifiesta la necesidad de intervenir desde el ámbito educativo con prácticas basadas en la coeducación. Así pues, lejos de reproducir estereotipos, se precisa la coeducación, entendida como aquella educación que respeta la diferencia, otorgando el mismo valor a las aportaciones de los hombres y a las de las mujeres. Por tanto, se trata de una coeducación que, más allá de la mera crítica al androcentrismo, incluye la perspectiva de las diferentes formas que existen de ser hombre con la intención de avanzar hacia posiciones igualitarias.

Atendiendo a estas consideraciones, debemos superar planteamientos sexistas y procurar que la coeducación sea una realidad en los centros

educativos de la sociedad de la información. Es necesario que se tenga en cuenta a nivel curricular, incluyéndola en el proyecto educativo de centro, con una intervención sistematizada e intencionada, y que más allá de la escuela mixta, garantice la igualdad entre sexos.

Con este objetivo, los autores de este libro nos presentan una compilación de materiales didácticos para trabajar en el aula la perspectiva de género con chicos y chicas de 2º ciclo de la ESO. Dichos autores son miembros del grupo *Orfeu, masculinitats i coeducació*, creado en el año 2008 con el propósito de impulsar entre los profesores (hombres) la reflexión sobre la relación entre la construcción de la propia masculinidad y su actividad educadora.

De este modo, el libro permite ampliar los modelos de masculinidad para ayudar al alumnado en la construcción de un proyecto personal de transformación orientado a nuevas identidades masculinas. Se trata de un material pensado para ser trabajado en el aula con el grupo clase. Consta de 30 módulos, organizados (en función del nivel de profundidad) en los siguientes apartados: *El género nos influye; La transformación es posible, y Proyecto personal de transformación*. Cada apartado cuenta con 10 módulos y en cada uno de éstos encontramos dos partes: una dirigida al profesorado (donde se recogen orientaciones para poder desarrollar la actividad en el aula) y, la otra, al alumnado (se trata del material preparado y listo para fotocopiar).

Si nos centramos en cada uno de los apartados, cabe destacar que el primero está orientado a que el alumnado tome conciencia de la influencia que tiene el género, entendido desde una perspectiva de construcción social, sobre nuestras vidas. En este primer módulo, también se analiza la influencia de los medios de comunicación sobre los modelos de masculinidad y feminidad.

En el segundo apartado, se presentan actividades que pretenden conseguir que los chicos y las chicas puedan someter a crítica y cuestionarse los preceptos de género y que descubran que existe la posibilidad de transformarlos. Se plantea un trabajo que parte de juegos de rol, de debates, de técnicas como la entrevista y de talleres, entre otros, para que el alumnado tome conciencia de las contradicciones, la evolución y las variaciones de estos mandatos.

En el tercer y último apartado, el más comprometido según los autores, se intenta que los chicos y las chicas sean capaces de superar la

opresión que puede suponer el género en la identificación de sus necesidades y deseos. Para lograr este proyecto personal de transformación se propone trabajar a partir de habilidades sociales como la autoconfianza, la assertividad, la corresponsabilidad o la empatía, entre otras.

Así pues, a través de las acciones coeducativas presentadas en este libro, y partiendo de la interacción con el entorno, la educación emocional y la reflexión, se aboga por una educación integral de los chicos y chicas. Una educación que supere estereotipos de género, que permita dejar atrás una masculinidad tradicional y hegemónica y que dé paso a nuevas masculinidades o masculinidades alternativas, que suponen modelos más igualitarios, saludables y sostenibles.

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Debating masculinity

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Review

Armengol, J. M., & Carabí, À. (2009). *Debating masculinity*. Harriman, Tenn: Men's Studies Press.

El principio de los estudios de masculinidad tienen como inspiración los movimientos feministas que destacan el concepto de género y como la sociedad se organiza en torno a él. Los autores consideran que los estudios de masculinidad afectan a diferentes ámbitos de estudio. Entienden que sus inicios se encuentran en el campo de la psicología, y que, a partir de este campo de estudio, se extienden rápidamente a otros ámbitos de las ciencias sociales.

Esta es la premisa de la que parten los editores de este libro, Àngels Carabí y Josep M. Armengol. En este volumen presentan el concepto de masculinidad a partir de las aportaciones de destacados autores de diferentes campos de estudio como la Sociología, la Antropología, Psicología, la teoría filmica y literaria, las perspectivas Queer, los estudios culturales, estudios islámicos y la perspectiva de la biología evolucionista.

El libro nace del trabajo de dos investigaciones sobre masculinidad llevadas a cabo desde la Universidad de Barcelona (dirigidas por Àngels Carabí), con el objetivo de analizar el concepto de masculinidad desde diferentes perspectivas académicas y así poder presentar modelos de masculinidad más igualitarios tanto para mujeres como para hombres.

El contenido del libro se presenta, en su mayoría, en formato de entrevistas con los diferentes autores, que analizarán el concepto de masculinidad a partir de preguntas realizadas por personas del equipo investigador de los proyectos. También se adjunta un DVD que contiene fragmentos de estas entrevistas a algunos de los diferentes autores.

Desde la sociología Michael Kimmel presenta la masculinidad y la analiza a partir de sus orígenes. Destaca la vinculación entre la violencia de género y la masculinidad hegemónica, y la necesidad de algunos hombres por cambiar el modelo de masculinidad hacia un modelo más igualitario. También destaca las fuertes influencias que los estudios de masculinidad reciben de los estudios feministas y de los estudios gays.

David Gilmore analiza la masculinidad desde la antropología y muestra la masculinidad en diferentes sociedades del mundo. Considera que la masculinidad se fundamenta en torno a tres conceptos como “protección” de la familia, “provisión” de recursos a los suyos y “potencia” reproductiva. Gilmore entiende que la demostración constante de hombría por parte de algunos hombres responde a un sentimiento de inseguridad.

Desde la perspectiva de los estudios de literatura comparada y estudios filmicos, Krin Gabbard considera que los filmes que se presentan desde los grandes estudios de Estados Unidos de América mantienen un papel crucial en la formación de los modelos de género, a la vez que pueden presentar modelos alternativos de masculinidad.

Respecto a estudios de centrados en la literatura, David Leverenz, recomienda una relectura de las obras de los principales escritores estadounidenses y revisar sus representaciones de la masculinidad. Entiende que esta revisión permitirá desarmar el concepto de masculinidad que considera poco consistente.

Las perspectivas Queer, tal y como presenta Carolyn Dinshaw, entienden que los estudios de masculinidad se alimentan de los estudios de género, feministas, Queer y gays. Entiende que estudios importantes de masculinidad parten de estudios gays y lésbicos. También considera que los estudios feministas siguen siendo indispensables a la vez que analiza los conceptos como “estudios de la mujer” y “estudios de género”.

Desde los estudios sobre “raza y masculinidad” David L. Eng presenta como se cuestiona el modelo hegemónico de hombre blanco heterosexual desde el mundo asiático. Analiza el estereotipo de hombre blanco asiático y como diferentes autores y autoras cuestionan de forma crítica estos estereotipos.

Linda Jones analiza la masculinidad desde los estudios islámicos a partir del análisis de la masculinidad en personajes históricos como Mahoma y la cultura islámica en general. A la vez analiza la configuración de la masculinidad islámica desde un punto de vista histórico analizando el primer momento de contacto del islam con occidente.

La biología evolucionista parte de la observación de diferencias entre machos y hembras. Así Patricia Adair Gowaty muestra como la biología no es la causa única de diferenciación sexual, entendiendo que la sociedad y el entorno se unen a la genética. Entiende que no existe un gen que defina la masculinidad y la feminidad, y analiza como la desde la biología se puede contribuir a la lucha feminista.

Finalmente, Lynne Segal analiza la masculinidad desde la psicología. Entiende que los diferentes estudios sobre masculinidad parten de lo que ella llama “crisis de masculinidad”. Expone que el aumento de estudios sobre masculinidad no solo no afectará de forma negativa a los estudios feministas, sino que ayudará a beneficiar a los estudios de género en general. Segal también explica que considera que el concepto de masculinidad igualitaria se encuentra en peligro por la creciente instauración de masculinidades violentas y militaristas. También considera que los hombres son víctimas de la violencia fruto de la masculinidad hegemónica.

El volumen acaba con un epílogo en el que se presenta un diálogo entre Segal y miembros del equipo investigador de los dos proyectos en los que se basa este volumen, en el que se analizan de forma genérica temas como el feminismo, las masculinidades, las emociones de los hombres y su importancia en la lucha por la igualdad de género, así como el amor entre hombres.