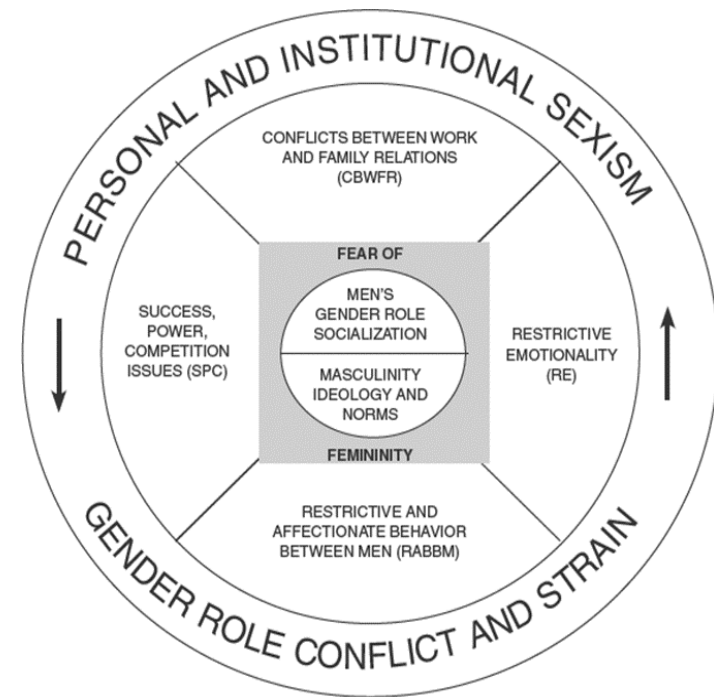


Tema 6

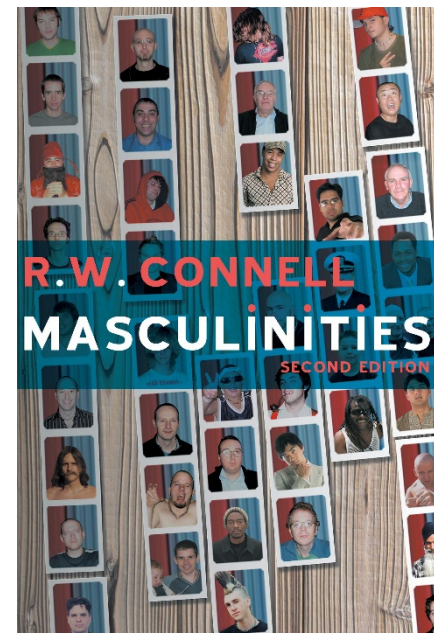
Hombres y masculinidades

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Curso 2022-2023
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Cuestiones fundamentales que queremos responder en este tema:

- **¿Qué son los estudios sobre “masculinidades”?**
- **Masculinidad hegemónica** (Raewyn Connell)
- **4 características del “real man”** (Brannon)
- **6 rasgos de la masculinidad hegemónica** (O’Neil)
- **Masculinidad precaria** (Jennifer Bosson y Joseph Vandello)
- **Masculinidad inclusiva** (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)
- **Masculinidad híbrida** (Michael Messner, Demetrakis Demetriou)
- **Caring Masculinities** (Karla Elliott)
- **Manhood acts** (Schrock y Schwalbe)
- **Ejemplos de algunos estudios sobre masculinidades**



- **Qué son los estudios sobre masculinidades**

- **Qué consideramos que significa ser hombre** en diferentes culturas, en diferentes momentos y dentro de diferentes grupos (Kimmel). **Y qué consecuencias sobre los propios hombres** tienen esas experiencias.
- No hablamos de “masculinidad” en singular sino de “**masculinidades**”...
- Como el resto de normas o roles de género, la masculinidad es una **construcción social** (las masculinidades son socialmente producidas, fluidas y contingentes).
- Se inscriben plenamente en los estudios de género y feministas

Raewyn Connell <http://www.raewynconnell.net/>

Michael Kimmel <http://www.michaelkimmel.com/>

Michael Kaufman <http://michaelkaufman.com/>

Michael Messner <http://www.michaelmessner.org/>

Jennifer Bosson <http://psychology.usf.edu/faculty/jbosson/>

Joseph Vandello <http://psychology.usf.edu/faculty/vandello/>

Eric Anderson <http://ericandersonphd.com/>

Mark McCormack

Joseph Pleck https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Joseph_Pleck

Jim O'Neil <https://james-oneil.uconn.edu/biography/>

Ronald F. Levant <https://www.drronaldlevant.com/>

J. R. Mahalik

- Son enfoques teóricos que pertenecen al denominado “**gender role strain paradigm**” o al “**social constructionism**”

“Gender role strain paradigm” Pleck (1995) https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Joseph-Pleck/publication/232603411_The_gender_role_strain_paradigm_An_update/links/0deec5159bf8ba919f000000/The-gender-role-strain-paradigm-An-update.pdf

Pleck distingue tres aspectos básicos dentro del “gender role strain paradigm”:

- Discrepancy strain
- Trauma strain
- Dysfunction strain

Implicit in these propositions are three broader ideas about how cultural standards for masculinity, as implemented in gender socialization, have potentially negative effects on individual males. The first idea is that a significant proportion of males exhibit long-term failure to fulfill male role expectations. The resulting disjuncture between these expectations and these males’ characteristics leads to low self-esteem and other negative psychological consequences. This dynamic is “gender role discrepancy” or “incongruity.”

Second, even if male role expectations are successfully fulfilled, the socialization process leading to this fulfillment is traumatic, or the fulfillment itself is traumatic, with long-term negative side effects. This is the “gender role trauma” argument.

And the third theoretical notion is that the successful fulfillment of male role expectations can have negative consequences because many of the characteristics viewed as desirable or acceptable in men (e.g., low level of family participation) have inherent negative side effects, either for males themselves or for others. This is the “gender role dysfunction” argument.

¿Qué es la masculinidad?

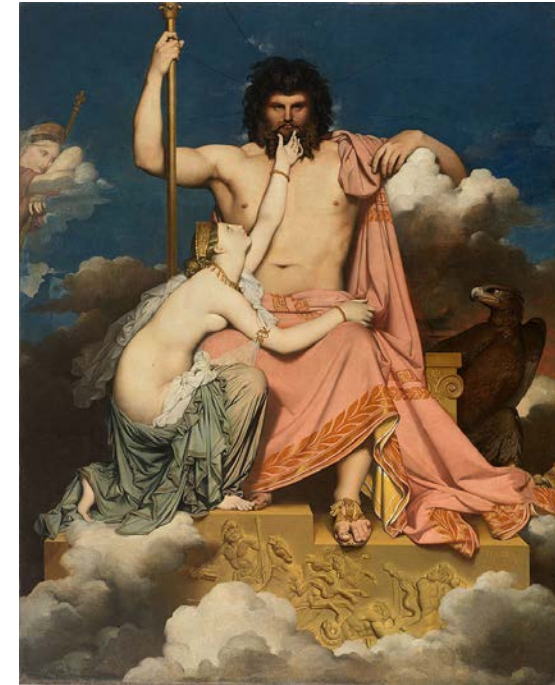
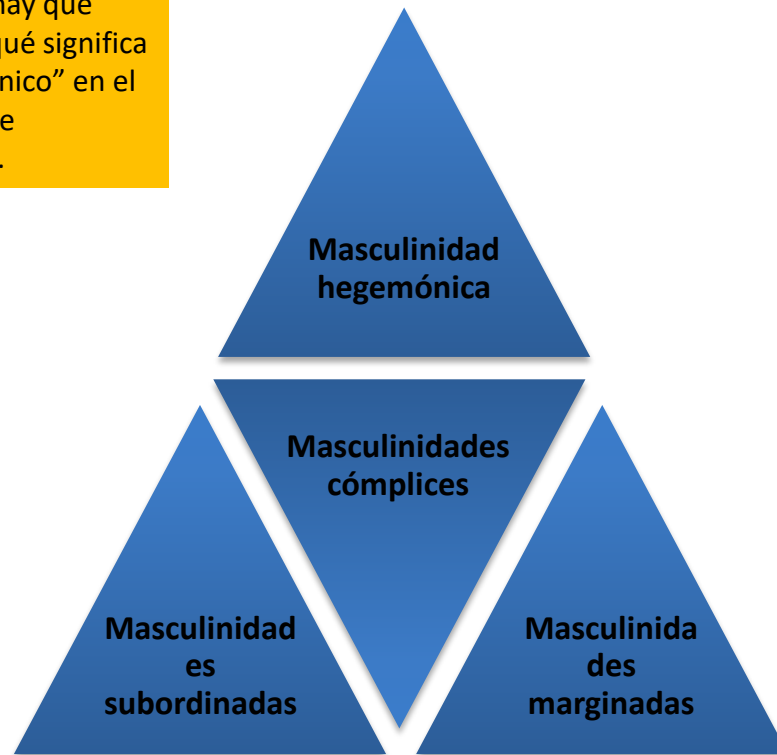


• Masculinidad hegemónica (Raewyn Connell)

- Masculinidad de referencia.
- Prácticas y normas que legitiman a ese tipo de masculinidad como la dominante socialmente, quedando subordinadas a ella tanto las mujeres como otro tipo de masculinidades
- Inspirado en la idea de “hegemonía cultural” de **Antonio Gramsci**



Primero hay que explicar qué significa “hegemónico” en el sentido de Gramsci...



← Véanse págs. 76-81 de R. Connell (2005): ***Masculinities***, 2ª edición, University of California Press.

R. W. Connell y W. Messerschmidt (2005): “Hegemonic masculinity. Rethinking the Concept”, *Gender & Society*, 19(6), 829-859

<http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/0891243205278639>

Ejemplo de ideal de masculinidad hegemónica y de “gender role discrepancy”:

In an important sense there is only one complete unblushing male in America: a young, married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual Protestant father of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight, and height, and a recent record in sports. Every American male tends to look out upon the world from this perspective, this constituting one sense in which one can speak of a common value system in America. Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself—during moments at least—as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior. (p. 128)

Erving Goffman (1963)



- **4 características del “real man” de Brannon (citadas por M. Kimmel):**

- “Masculinity ideology” (Pleck)
- Masculinidad tradicional
- Masculinidad hegemónica

- **4 características del “real man” de Brannon (citadas por M. Kimmel):**
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- Dinero y poder (dominar, controlar, tener éxito a toda costa...)
- Estoicismo, “ser un pilar” (no mostrar vulnerabilidad...)
- “Vivir peligrosamente”, amor al riesgo,...

- “Masculinity ideology” (Pleck)
- Masculinidad tradicional
- Masculinidad hegemónica

El intento de cumplir con estos requisitos para probar la masculinidad a veces significa traicionar al “verdadero hombre” (verdadera persona)

For example, Brannon (1976) described four themes that act as prescriptive and proscriptive norms for how a man should behave: (i) ‘No sissy stuff’ – men should not appear feminine; (ii) ‘Be a big wheel,’ – gain dominance and power through status; (iii) ‘The sturdy oak,’ – be strong, independent and unemotional; and (iv) ‘Give ‘em hell,’ – take risks, seek out violence and be adventurous.

• 6 rasgos de la masculinidad hegemónica (six patterns of men's gender-role conflict) según O'Neil:

Operational definitions of the six patterns of gender-role conflict shown in Figure 1 were developed from previous theoretical literature (O'Neil, 1981a,b, 1982). The six patterns are defined below:

1. *Restrictive emotionality*—having difficulty expressing one's feelings or denying others their rights to emotional expressiveness.
2. *Homophobia*—having fear of homosexuals or fear of being a homosexual including beliefs, myths, and stereotypes about gay people.
3. *Control*—to regulate, restrain, or to have others or situations under one's command. *Power*—to obtain authority, influence, or ascendancy over others. *Competition*—striving against others to win or gain something.
4. *Restricted sexual and affectionate behavior*—having limited ways of expressing one's sexuality and affection to others.
5. *Obsession with achievement and success*—having a disturbing and persistent preoccupation with work, accomplishment and eminence as a means of substantiating and demonstrating value.
6. *Health care problems*—having difficulties maintaining positive health care in terms of diet, exercise, relaxation, stress, and a healthy life style.

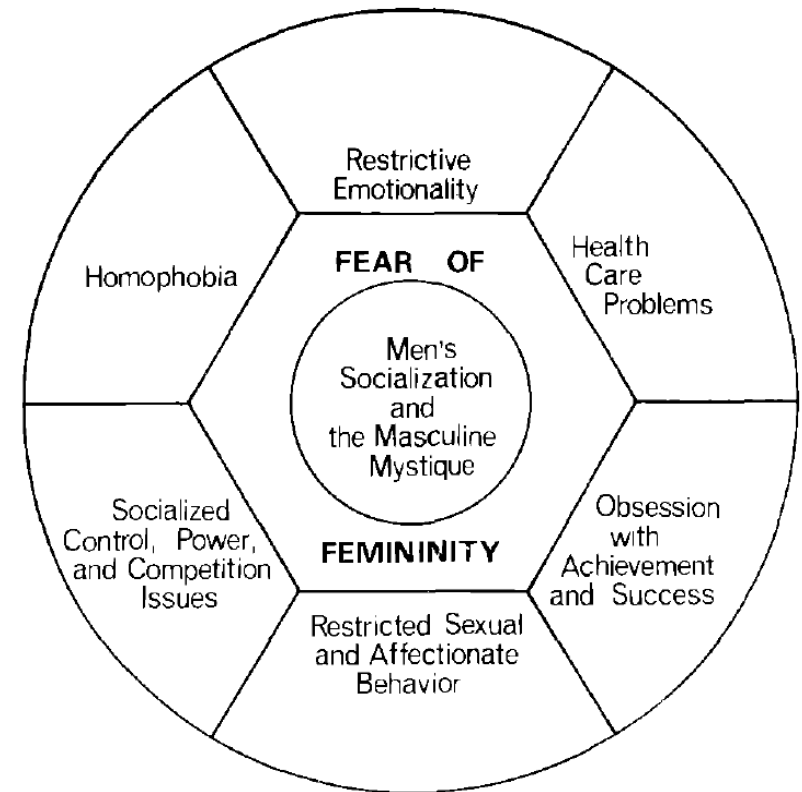


Fig. 1. Six patterns of gender-role conflict and strain emanating from men's socialization and their fear of femininity. (From Solomon & Levy, 1982, p. 7).

• **Levant et al (2010)** established **seven dimensions** of hegemonic male role norms:

- restrictive emotionality
- self-reliance through mechanical skills
- negativity toward sexual minorities
- avoidance of femininity
- importance of sex
- Toughness
- dominance.

- **Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI).** Mahalik et al. (2003)

Desarrollado por Mahalik y compañía, intenta medir el constructo “conformidad con la masculinidad hegemónica”. El CMNI pretende ser una medida cognitiva, afectiva y comportamental de **la conformidad** con la ideología dominante de masculinidad (en sociedades occidentales, como la de EEUU).

Como pasa a menudo, la escala inicial tiene muchos ítems, y posteriormente se ofrecen versiones de la misma con menos ítems, que son más fáciles de introducir en cuestionarios.

En el caso de la **Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI)** existen tres versiones:

- CMNI-94
- CMNI-46
- CMNI-22

Este instrumento considera **11 dimensiones** de conformidad con la masculinidad dominante, que dan lugar a 11 sub-escalas: Winning, Emotional Control, Risk Taking, Violence, Power Over Women, Dominance, Playboy, Self-Reliance, Primacy of Work, Disdain for homosexuality, Pursuit of Status.

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-94 (CMNI-94)

1. It is best to keep your emotions hidden
2. In general, I will do anything to win
3. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners
4. If there is going to be violence, I find a way to avoid it
5. It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual
6. In general, I must get my way
7. Trying to be important is the greatest waste of time
8. I am often absorbed in my work
9. I will only be satisfied when women are equal to men
10. I hate asking for help
11. Taking dangerous risks helps me to prove myself
12. In general, I do not expend a lot of energy trying to win at things
13. An emotional bond with a partner is the best part of sex
14. I should take every opportunity to show my feelings
15. I believe that violence is never justified
16. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing
17. In general, I do not like risky situations
18. I should be in charge
19. Feelings are important to show
20. I feel miserable when work occupies all my [attention](#)
21. I feel best about my relationships with women when we are equals
22. Winning is not my first priority
23. I make sure that people think I am heterosexual
24. I enjoy taking risks
25. I am disgusted by any kind of violence
26. I would hate to be important
27. I [love](#) to explore my feelings with others
28. If I could, I would date a lot of different people
29. I ask for help when I need it
30. My work is the most important part of my life
31. Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing
32. I never take chances
33. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship
34. I like fighting
35. I treat women as equals
36. I bring up my feelings when talking to others
37. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay
38. I only get romantically involved with one person
39. I don't [mind](#) losing
40. I take risks
41. I never do things to be an important person
42. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay
43. I never share my feelings
44. Sometimes violent [action](#) is necessary
45. Asking for help is a sign of failure
46. In general, I control the women in my life
47. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners
48. It is important for me to win
49. I don't like giving all my [attention](#) to work
50. I feel uncomfortable when others see me as important
51. It would be awful if people thought I was gay
52. I like to talk about my feelings
53. I never ask for help
54. More often than not, losing does not bother me
55. It is foolish to take risks
56. Work is not the most important thing in my life
57. Men and women should respect each other as equals
58. Long term relationships are better than casual sexual encounters
59. Having status is not very important to me
60. I frequently put myself in risky situations
61. Women should be subservient to men
62. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary
63. I like having gay friends
64. I feel good when work is my first priority
65. I tend to keep my feelings to myself
66. Emotional involvement should be avoided when having sex
67. Winning is not important to me
68. Violence is almost never justified
69. I am comfortable trying to get my way
70. I am happiest when I'm risking danger
71. Men should not have power over women
72. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time
73. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay
74. I am not ashamed to ask for help
75. The best feeling in the world comes from winning
76. Work comes first
77. I tend to share my feelings
78. I like emotional involvement in a romantic relationship
79. No matter what the situation I would never act violently
80. If someone thought I was gay, I would not argue with them about it
81. Things tend to be better when men are in charge
82. I prefer to be safe and careful
83. A person shouldn't get tied down to dating just one person
84. I tend to invest my energy in things other than work
85. It bothers me when I have to ask for help
86. I [love](#) it when men are in charge of women
87. It feels good to be important
88. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings
89. I work hard to win
90. I would only be satisfied with sex if there was an emotional bond
91. I try to avoid being perceived as gay
92. I hate any kind of risk
93. I prefer to stay unemotional
94. I make sure people do as I say

Items are scored on a Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating stronger adherence to that particular masculine norm.

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (CMNI-46)

Emotional Control

- 13r. I bring up my feelings when talking to others.
- 18. I never share my feelings.
- 25r. I like to talk about my feelings.
- 32. I tend to keep my feelings to myself.
- 40r. I tend to share my feelings.
- 45. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings.

Winning

- 1. In general, I will do anything to win.
- 7r. Winning is not my first priority.
- 15r. I don't mind losing.
- 22. It is important for me to win.
- 27r. More often than not, losing does not bother me.
- 33r. Winning is not important to me.

Playboy

- 2. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners.
- 12r. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship.
- 21. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners.
- 36. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time.

Violence

- 4r. I believe that violence is never justified.
- 9r. I am disgusted by any kind of violence.
- 19. Sometimes violent action is necessary.
- 30. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary.
- 34r. Violence is almost never justified.
- 41r. No matter what the situation I would never act violently.

Self-Reliance

- 3. I hate asking for help.
- 10r. I ask for help when I need it.
- 26. I never ask for help.
- 38r. I am not ashamed to ask for help.
- 43. It bothers me when I have to ask for help.

Risk-Taking

- 6r. In general, I do not like risky situations.
- 8. I enjoy taking risks.
- 16. I take risks.
- 28. I frequently put myself in risky situations.
- 35. I am happiest when I'm risking danger.

Power Over Women

- 20. In general, I control the women in my life.
- 9. Women should be subservient to men.
- 42. Things tend to be better when men are in charge.
- 44. I love it when men are in charge of women.

Primacy of Work

- 11. My work is the most important part of my life.
- 23r. I don't like giving all my attention to work.
- 31. I feel good when work is my first priority.
- 39. Work comes first.

Heterosexual Self-Presentation

- 5r. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing.
- 14. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay.
- 17r. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay.
- 24. It would be awful if people thought I was gay.
- 37. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay.
- 46. I try to avoid being perceived as gay.

Items are scored on a Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating stronger adherence to that particular masculine norm.

• Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-22 (CMNI-22)

We used the Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory (CMNI-22) to assess masculinity. This represents an abbreviated version of the original 94-item CMNI that was designed to measure cognitive, behavioral, and affective conformity to dominant masculine ideologies (Mahalik et al., 2003). The CMNI-22 uses the two highest loading items for each of the 11 factors from the original CMNI study and has a correlation of 0.92 with the full version of the questionnaire (Rochlen, McKelley, Suizzo, & Scaringi, 2008), which had scale reliability scores ranging from 0.44 (pursuit of status) to 0.81 (playboy). The inventory asks respondents to think about their own actions, feelings, and beliefs and indicate how much they personally agree or disagree with each of 22 statements which are scored from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 3 (*strongly agree*). Some examples of pairs of statements correspond to 11 factors:

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/322544031_The_Influence_of_Masculine_Norms_and_Occupational_Factors_on_Mental_Health_Evidence_From_the_Baseline_of_the_Australian_Longitudinal_Study_on_Male_Health

CMNI - 22

The following items contain a series of statements about how men might think, feel or behave. The statements are designed to measure attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors associated with both traditional and non-traditional masculine gender roles.

Thinking about your own actions, feelings and beliefs, please indicate how much **you personally agree or disagree with each statement** by circling **SD** for "Strongly Disagree", **D** for "Disagree", **A** for "Agree", or **SA** for "Strongly agree" to the right of the statement. There are no correct or wrong answers to the items. You should give the responses that most accurately describe your personal actions, feelings and beliefs. It is best if you respond with your first impression when answering.

CMNI-22

A mayor puntuación más tradicional o hegemónica la masculinidad.

Hay que **invertir** las preguntas: **3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17 y 20**

1.	My work is the most important part of my life	SD	D	A	SA
2.	I make sure people do as I say	SD	D	A	SA
3.	In general, I do not like risky situations	SD	D	A	SA
4.	It would be awful if someone thought I was gay	SD	D	A	SA
5.	I love it when men are in charge of women	SD	D	A	SA
6.	I like to talk about my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
7.	I would feel good if I had many sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
8.	It is important to me that people think I am heterosexual	SD	D	A	SA
9.	I believe that violence is never justified	SD	D	A	SA
10.	I tend to share my feelings	SD	D	A	SA
11.	I should be in charge	SD	D	A	SA
12.	I would hate to be important	SD	D	A	SA
13.	Sometimes violent action is necessary	SD	D	A	SA
14.	I don't like giving all my attention to work	SD	D	A	SA
15.	More often than not, losing does not bother me	SD	D	A	SA
16.	If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners	SD	D	A	SA
17.	I never do things to be an important person	SD	D	A	SA
18.	I never ask for help	SD	D	A	SA
19.	I enjoy taking risks	SD	D	A	SA
20.	Men and women should respect each other as equals	SD	D	A	SA
21.	Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing	SD	D	A	SA
22.	It bothers me when I have to ask for help	SD	D	A	SA

To score the CMNI-22: (a) score Strongly Disagree items as 0, Disagree as 1, Agree as 2, and Strongly Agree as 3; (b) recode the scoring of 9 items (i.e., 3, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 17, 20) as 0 = 3, 1 = 2, 2 = 1, 3 = 0; then (c) sum the 22 items. Higher scores reflect greater conformity to traditional masculine norms.

When computing reliability, I encourage researchers to consider using theta, a special case of alpha for multidimensionality, instead of alpha. I recommend that because the 22 item scale is derived from the two highest loading items on 11 distinct factors. For information on theta see Helms, J. E., Henze, K. T., Sass T. L., & Mifsud, V. A. (2006). Treating Cronbach's alpha reliability as data in nonpsychometric substantive applied research. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 34, 630-660.

CMNI-22

1. Winning
2. Emotional Control
3. Risk Taking
4. Violence
5. Power Over Women
6. Dominance
7. Playboy
8. Self-Reliance
9. Primacy of Work
10. Disdain for homosexuality
11. Pursuit of Status

1. Mi trabajo es la parte más importante de mi vida.
2. Me aseguro de que la gente haga lo que yo digo.
3. En general, no me gustan las situaciones arriesgadas.
4. Sería horrible si la gente pensase que soy gay.
5. Me encanta cuando los hombres están al mando de las mujeres.
6. Me gusta hablar de mis sentimientos.
7. Me sentiría bien si tuviera muchas parejas sexuales.
8. Me importa mucho que la gente piense que soy heterosexual.
9. Creo que la violencia nunca está justificada.
10. Tiendo a compartir mis sentimientos.
11. Yo debería estar al mando.
12. Yo odiaría ser importante.
13. La acción violenta es necesaria a veces.
14. No me gusta dedicar toda mi atención al trabajo.
15. La mayoría de las veces, no me importa perder.
16. Si pudiera, cambiaría a menudo de pareja sexual.
17. Nunca hago nada para llegar a ser importante.
18. Jamás pido ayuda.
19. Me gusta arriesgarme.
20. Los hombres y las mujeres deben respetarse como iguales.
21. El mejor sentimiento del mundo viene de ganar.
22. Me molesta cuando tengo que pedir ayuda.

- **Masculinidad precaria** (Jennifer Bosson y Joseph Vandello)

Según este enfoque, para muchos hombres su estatus masculino (su hombría) es algo resbaladizo, tenue y frágil. En concreto, señalan tres aspectos básicos que caracterizarían esa hombría precaria:

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En algunos casos, este hecho puede dar lugar a una importante variedad de **comportamientos o estados negativos**:

- Conductas agresivas (como la violencia de género,...), asunción de riesgos, homofobia, estrés...
- Evitación de comportamientos y acciones que en principio serían beneficiosos para la persona (evitar usar ropa y objetos que se asocien a lo femenino; evitar manifestar gustos, actitudes o comportamientos que recuerden a lo femenino; ocultar los sentimientos, no mostrarse vulnerable, no cumplir los tratamientos médicos...
- No implicarse en el cuidado de los hijos pequeños, evitar el uso de las medidas de conciliación...

- **Masculinidad inclusiva** (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

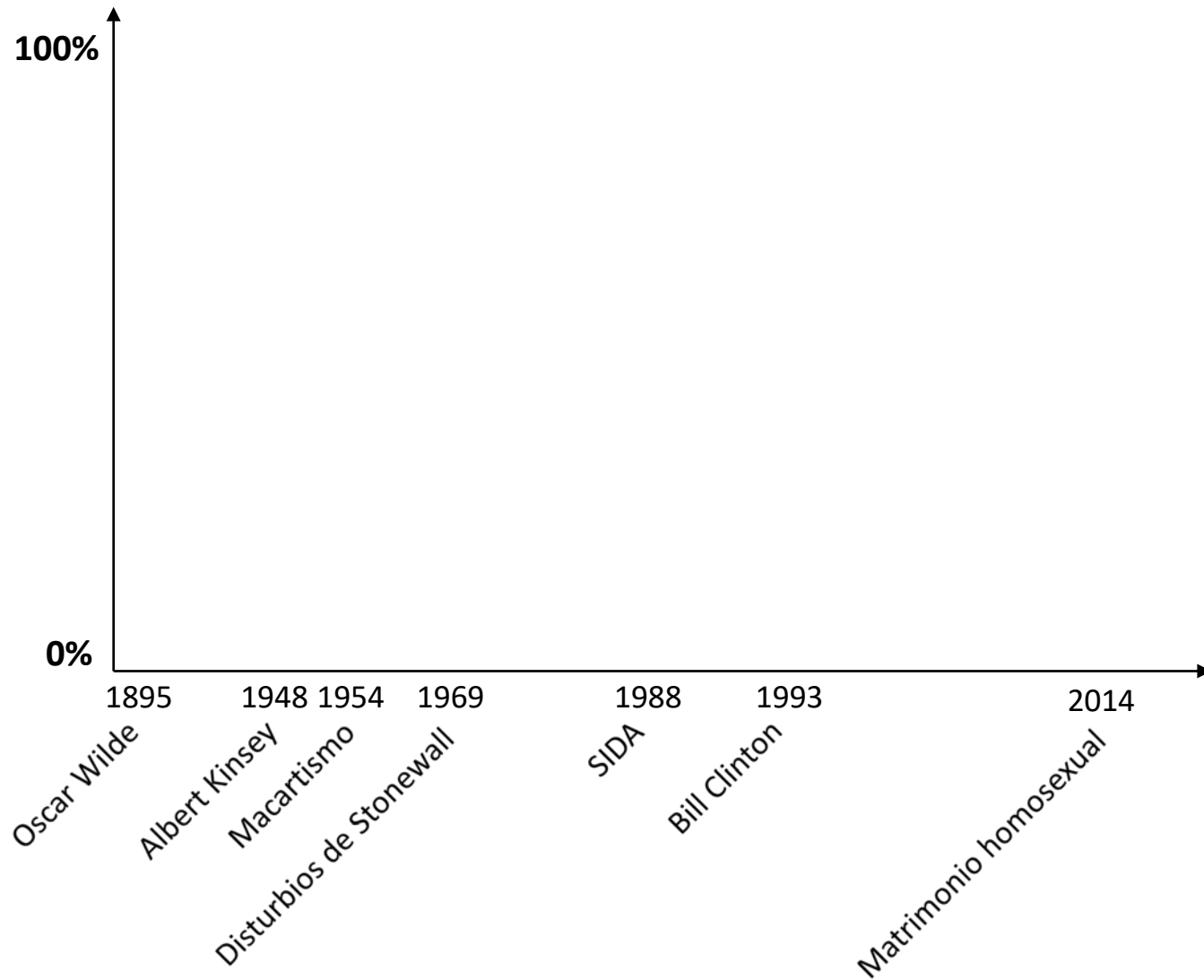
- E. Anderson pone el énfasis no tanto en el “temor a ser visto femenino” sino a “ser visto homosexual”
- Distinción entre:
 - **Grado de homofobia** (rechazo, prejuicios hacia las personas homosexuales)
 - **Grado en que se tiene conciencia de que** (estructuralmente) **existe un porcentaje de la población que es homosexual**
- La combinación de un alto grado de homofobia y de un alto grado de conciencia acerca de que la homosexualidad existe da lugar a la “**homohisteria**”

M. McCormack y E. Anderson (2014): “Homohysteria: Definitions, Context and Intersectionality, Sex Roles, 71, 152–158
<file:///C:/Users/user/Downloads/2014Homohysteriaresponse.pdf>

E. Anderson y M. McCormack (2016): “Inclusive Masculinity Theory: overview, reflection and refinement”, Journal of Gender Studies. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/309441585_Inclusive_Masculinity_Theory_overview_reflection_and_refinement

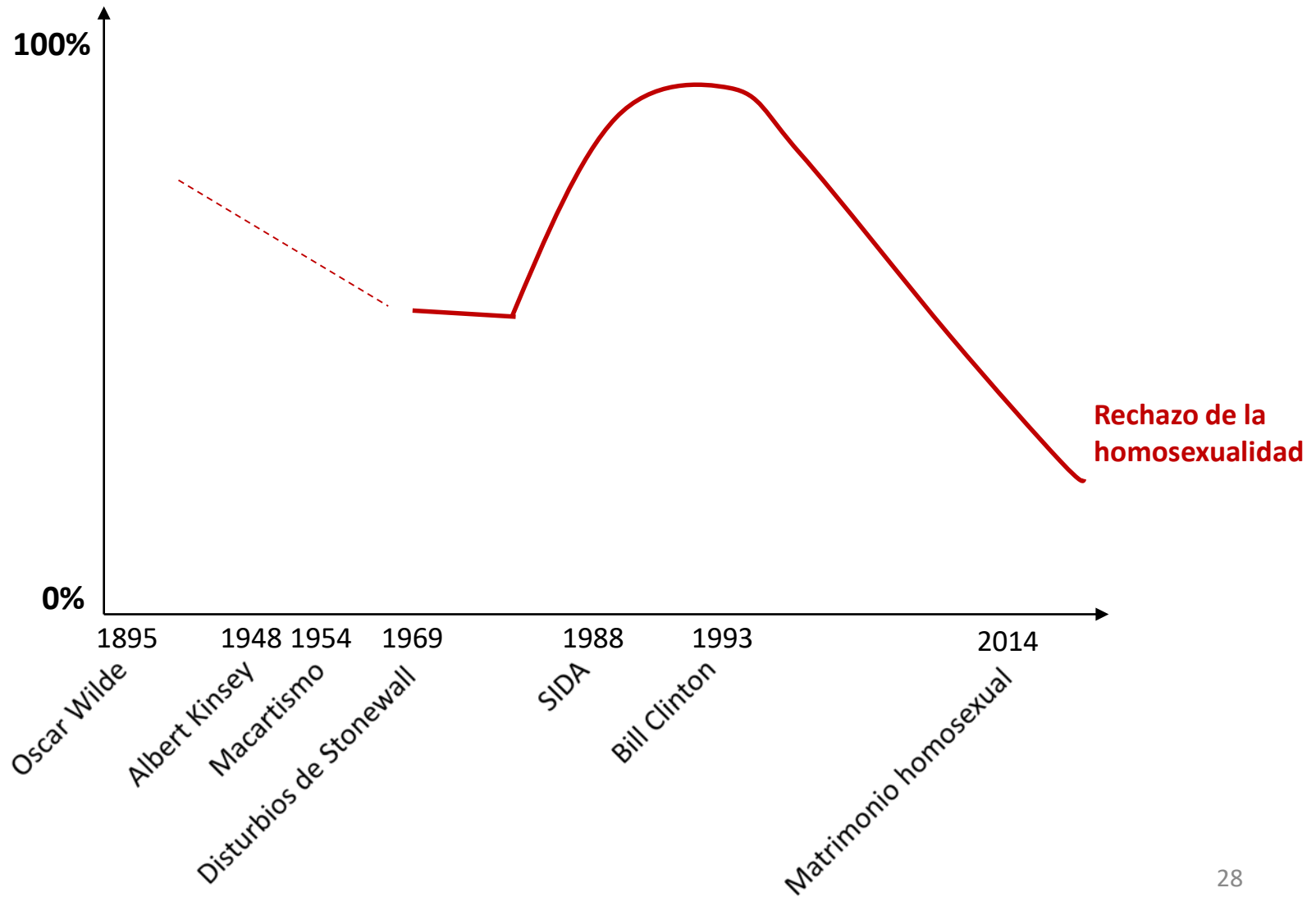
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



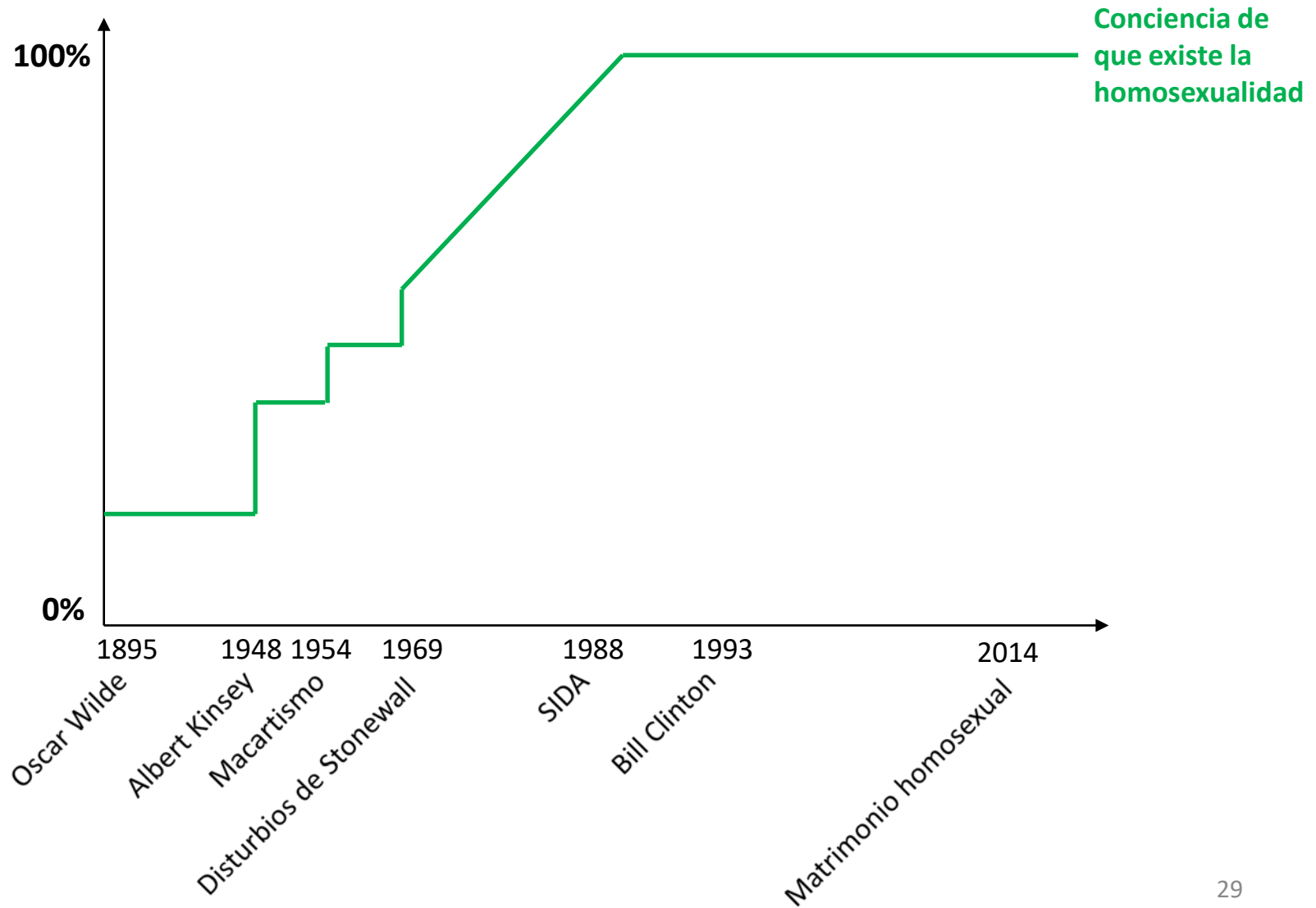
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



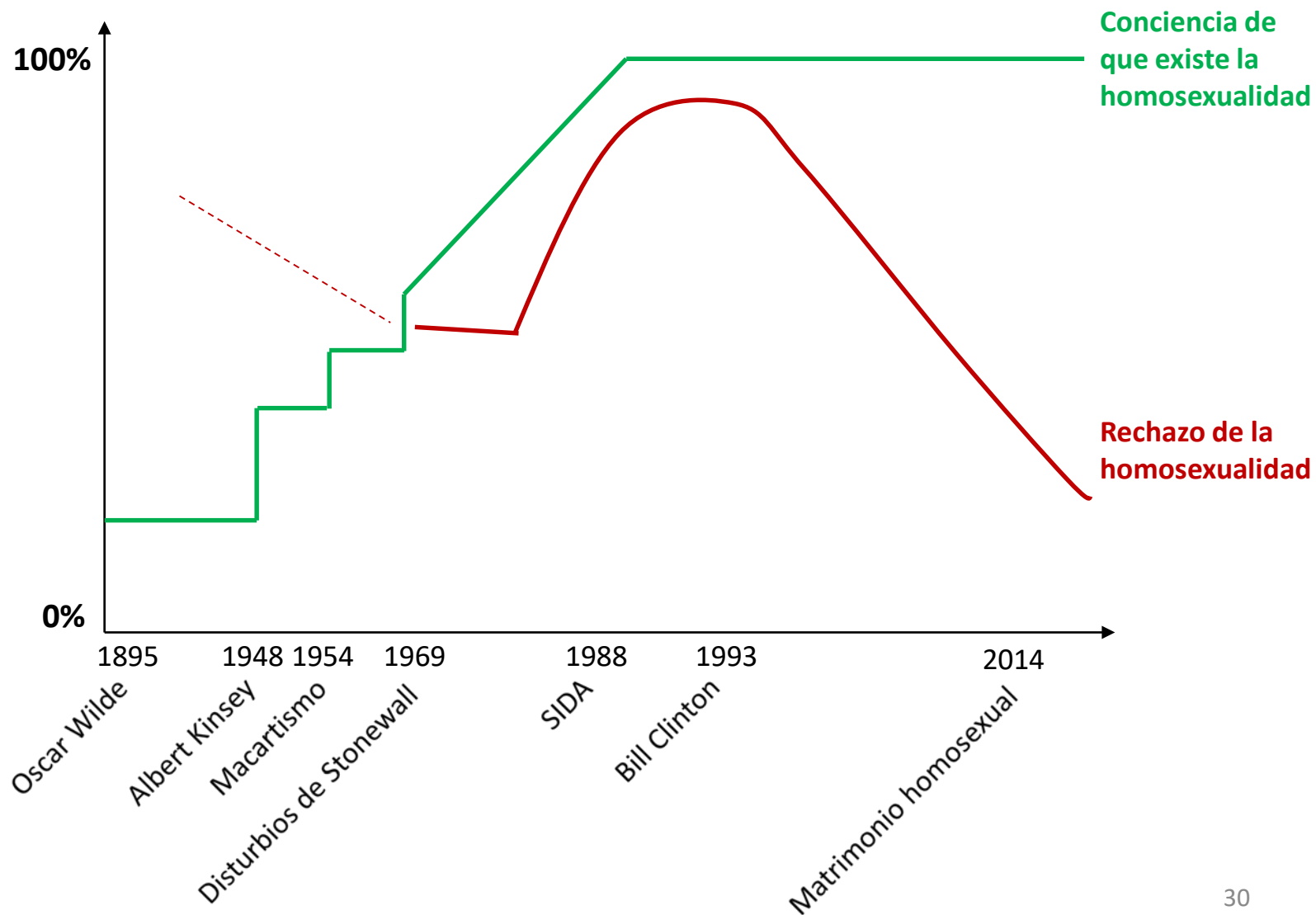
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



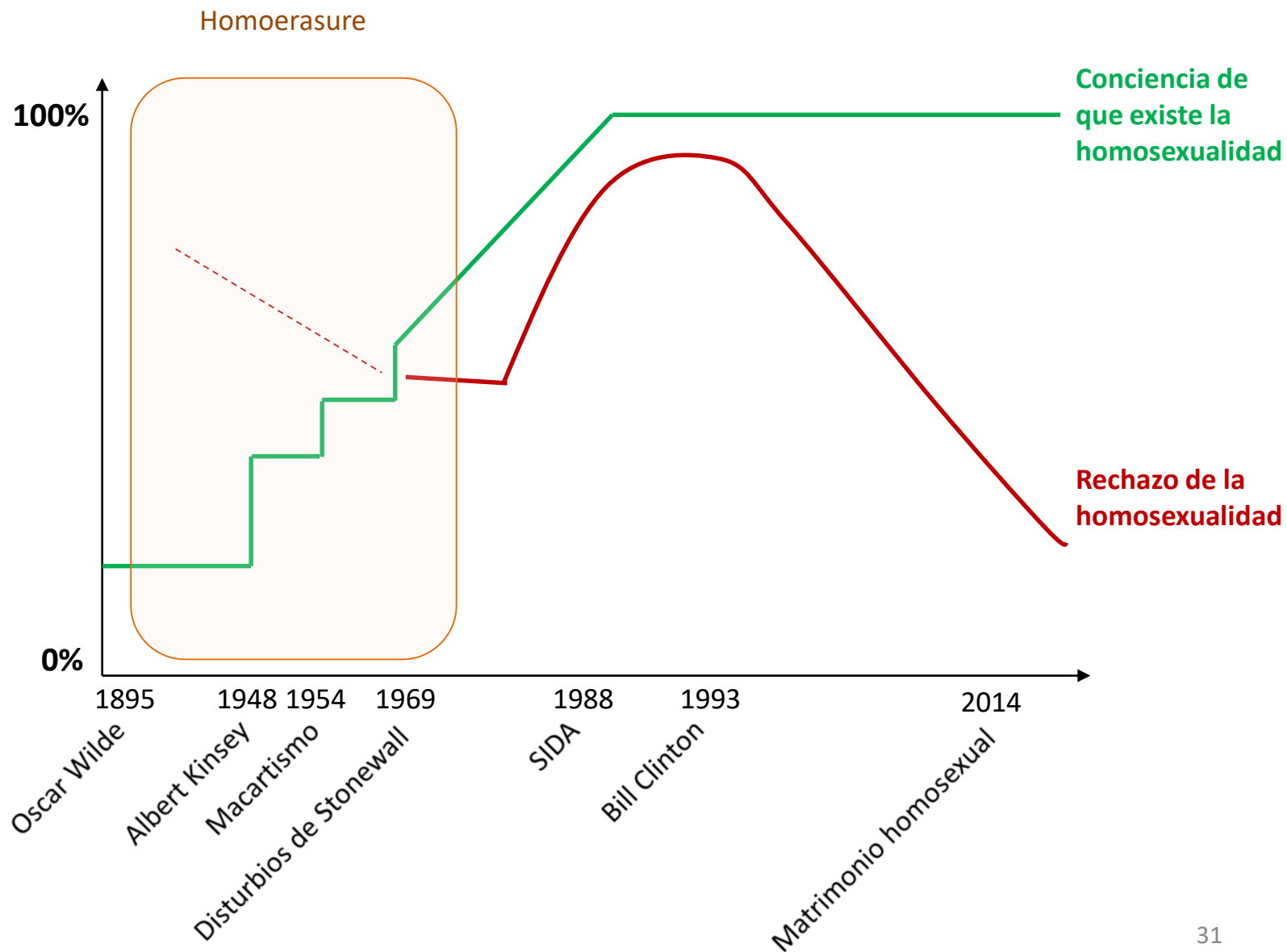
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



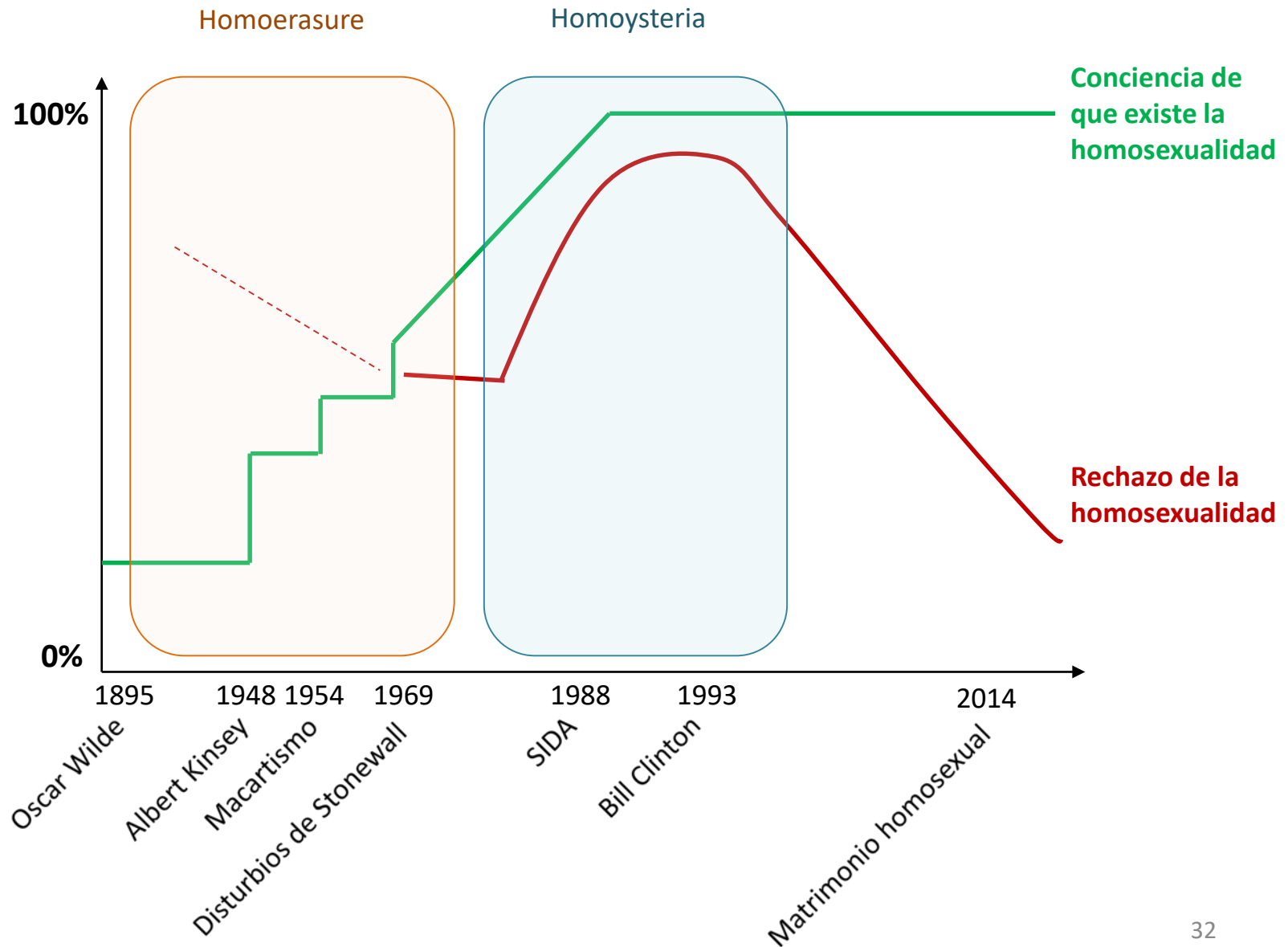
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



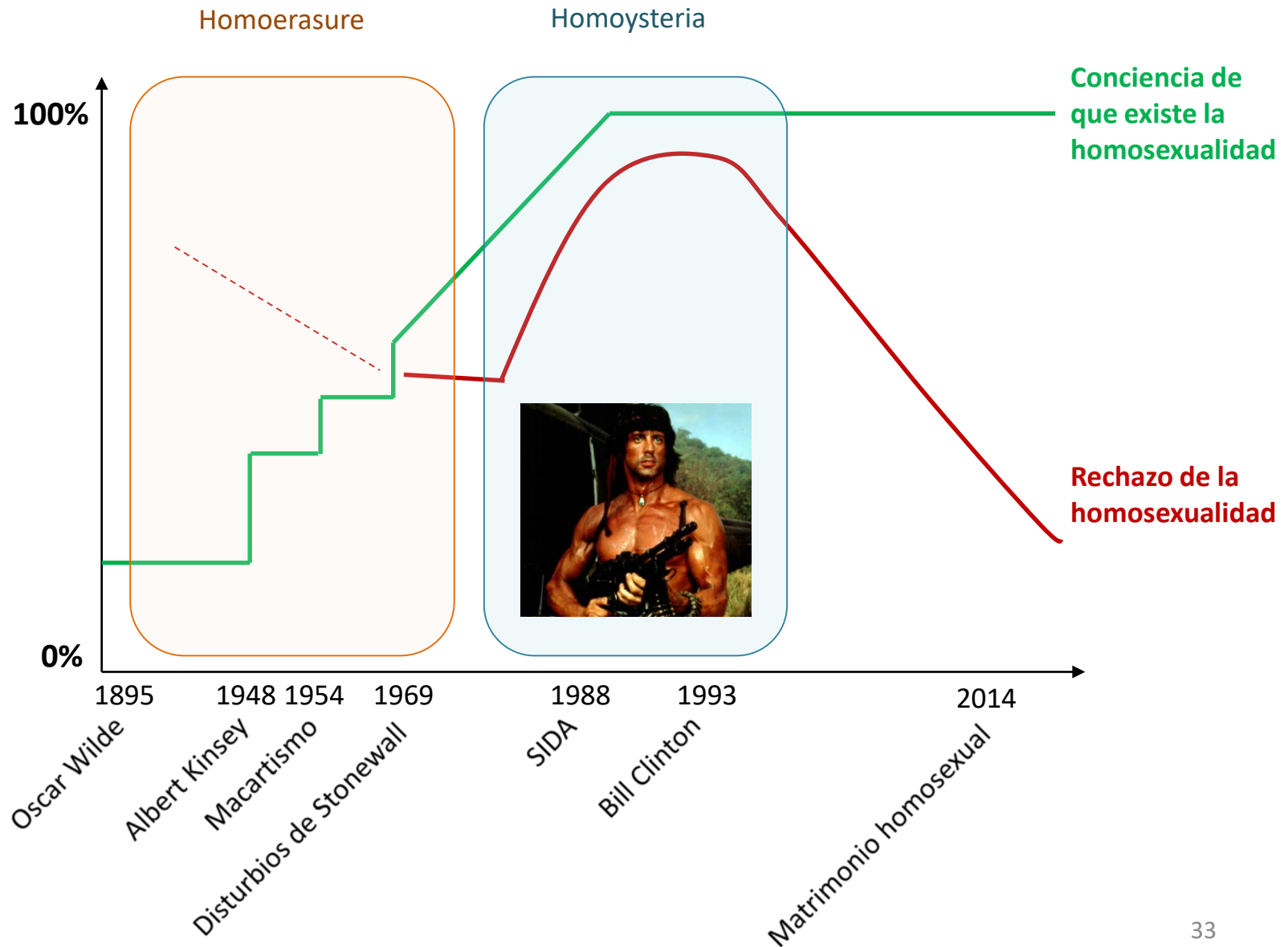
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



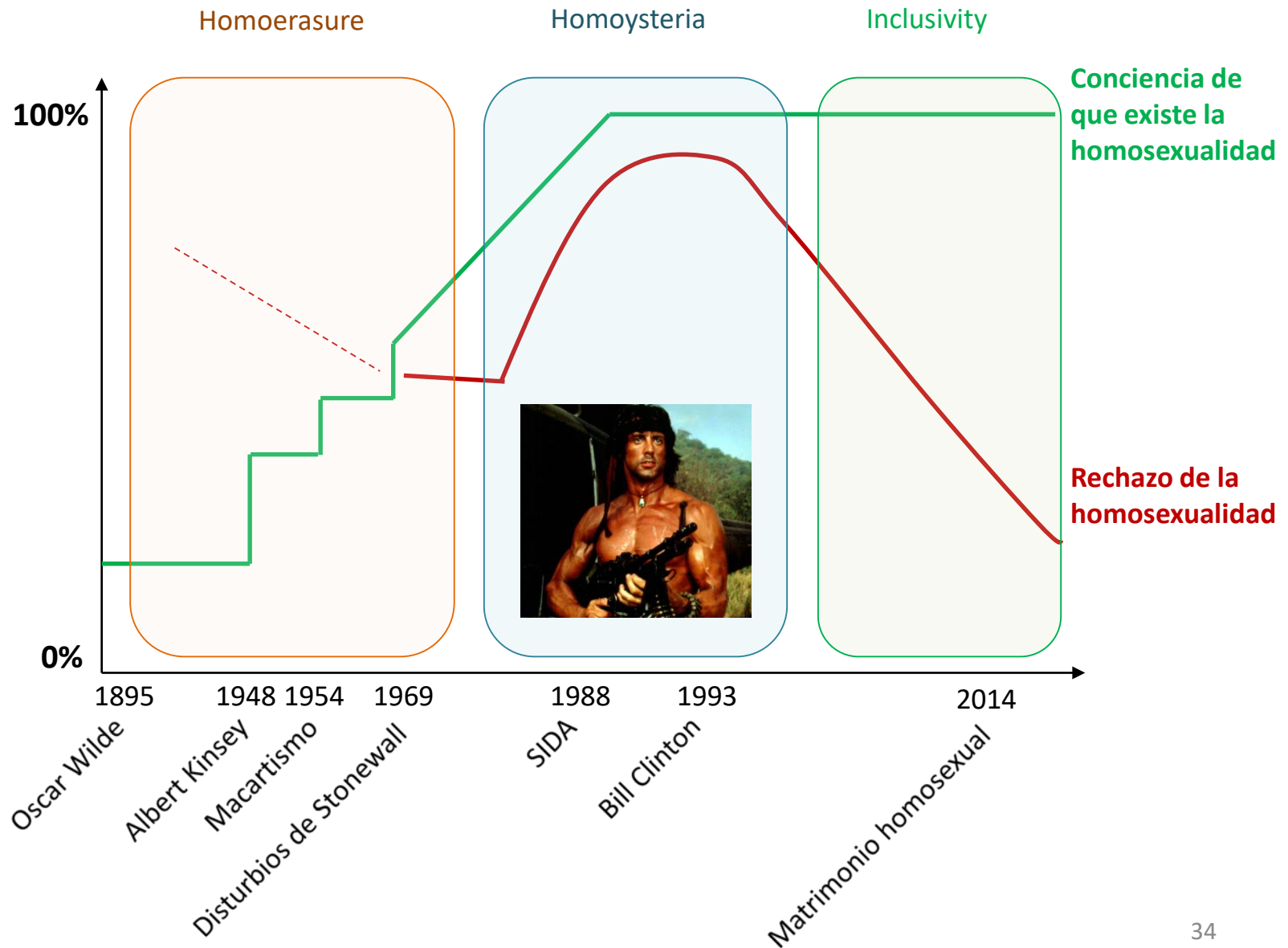
Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



Masculinidad inclusiva (Eric Anderson y Mark McCormack)

Tres fases:



- **Masculinidad híbrida** (Michael Messner, Demetrakis Demetriou,...)

“Hybrid masculinities” refer to the selective incorporation of elements of identity typically associated with various marginalized and subordinated masculinities and – at times – femininities into privileged men’s gender performances and identities.



Tristan Bridges and C. J. Pascoe (2014): “Hybrid Masculinities: New Directions in the Sociology of Men and Masculinities”, *Sociology Compass* 8/3 : 246–258

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/260911917_Hybrid_Masculinities_New_Directions_in_the_Sociology_of_Men_and_Masculinities

• **Caring Masculinities** (Karla Elliott; Elli Scambor) <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1097184X15576203>

A space has emerged for theorizing “caring masculinities,” as the concept has increasingly become a focus of **European critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM)**. In this article, I present a practice-based framework of the concept.

I propose that **caring masculinities are masculine identities that reject domination and its associated traits and embrace values of care such as positive emotion, interdependence, and relationality**. I suggest that these caring masculinities constitute a critical form of men’s engagement and involvement in gender equality and offer the potential of sustained social change for men and gender relations. I draw on CSMM and feminist care theory to construct the framework proposed here. In doing so, I offer a feminist exploration of how masculinities might be reworked into identities of care rather than domination.



(...) Caring masculinities can be seen as a gender equality intervention that seeks to integrate values and practices of care and interdependence, traditionally though not unescapably associated with women, into masculine identities.

(...) The **rejection of domination**, a characteristic so integral to traditional hegemonic masculinity, is of central importance to this model of caring masculinities

I propose that caring masculinities can be seen as masculine identities that exclude domination and embrace the affective, relational, emotional, and interdependent qualities of care identified by feminist theorists of care.

(...) Caring masculinities are, furthermore, **a critical form of men’s engagement in gender equality** because doing care work requires men to resist hegemonic masculinity and to adopt values and characteristics of care that are antithetical to hegemonic masculinity.

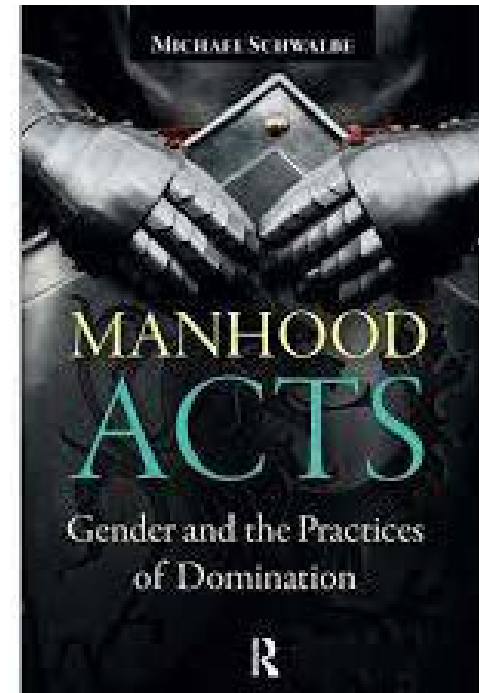
(...) In my model, caring masculinities as a gender equality strategy revolve around the incorporation of values and practices of care and interdependence identified by feminist theorists of care into masculine identities.

- **Manhood acts** (Schrock y Schwalbe, 2009) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/27800079>

Es un enfoque basado en el interaccionismo simbólico, en particular en el **enfoque dramático** de Goffman. Se trata de analizar cómo los varones “actúan” la masculinidad; cómo hacen el performance. Qué prácticas desarrollan. Cómo actúan la virilidad y cómo hacen para intentar conseguir el respeto de los demás.

- ¿Cómo aprenden los hombres a desempeñar la masculinidad?
- ¿Cómo y por qué varían esos actos (esas actuaciones)?
- ¿Cómo esas actuaciones de la virilidad reproducen la desigualdad de género?

Para que un varón concreto aproveche los beneficios derivados de pertenecer a un grupo (de género) dominante, no basta con “ser” un hombre, él mismo debe presentarse a los otros como un tipo particular de ser social: un hombre. Ser un hombre es algo que se desempeña, que se actúa.



Ejemplo de investigación en la que hemos empleado una escala de masculinidad tradicional/hegemónica

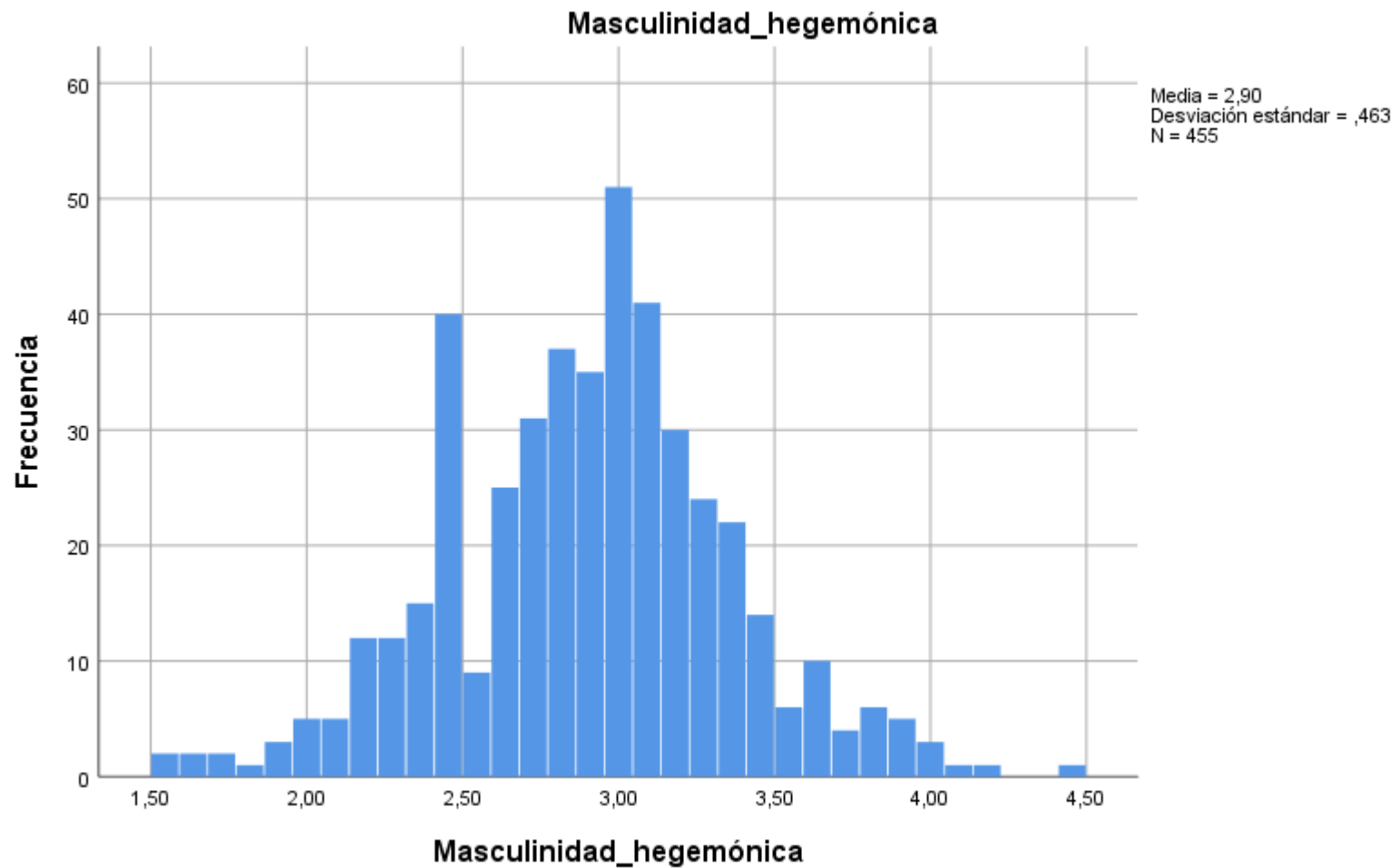
- Muestra: 455 varones asalariados, 25-45 años, residentes en España.
 - Mayo 2021
 - Cuestionario online
-
- Para medir la masculinidad tradicional/hegemónica utilizamos el **Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-22** de Burns y Mahalik (2008)
 - Escala de **1-6**. (una puntuación mayor indica una masculinidad más tradicional)

CMNI-22

1. **Winning**
2. **Emotional Control**
3. **Risk Taking**
4. **Violence**
5. **Power Over**
6. **Dominance**
7. **Playboy**
8. **Self-Reliance**
9. **Primacy of Work**
10. **Disdain for homosexuality**
11. **Pursuit of Status**

1. **Mi trabajo es la parte más importante de mi vida.**
2. **Me aseguro de que la gente haga lo que yo digo.**
3. **En general, no me gustan las situaciones arriesgadas.**
4. **Sería horrible si la gente pensase que soy gay.**
5. **Me encanta cuando los hombres están al mando de las mujeres.**
6. **Me gusta hablar de mis sentimientos.**
7. **Me sentiría bien si tuviera muchas parejas sexuales.**
8. **Me importa mucho que la gente piense que soy heterosexual.**
9. **Creo que la violencia nunca está justificada.**
10. **Tiendo a compartir mis sentimientos.**
11. **Yo debería estar al mando.**
12. **Yo odiaría ser importante.**
13. **La acción violenta es necesaria a veces.**
14. **No me gusta dedicar toda mi atención al trabajo.**
15. **La mayoría de las veces, no me importa perder.**
16. **Si pudiera, cambiaría a menudo de pareja sexual.**
17. **Nunca hago nada para llegar a ser importante.**
18. **Jamás pido ayuda.**
19. **Me gusta arriesgarme.**
20. **Los hombres y las mujeres deben respetarse como iguales.**
21. **El mejor sentimiento del mundo viene de ganar.**
22. **Me molesta cuando tengo que pedir ayuda.**

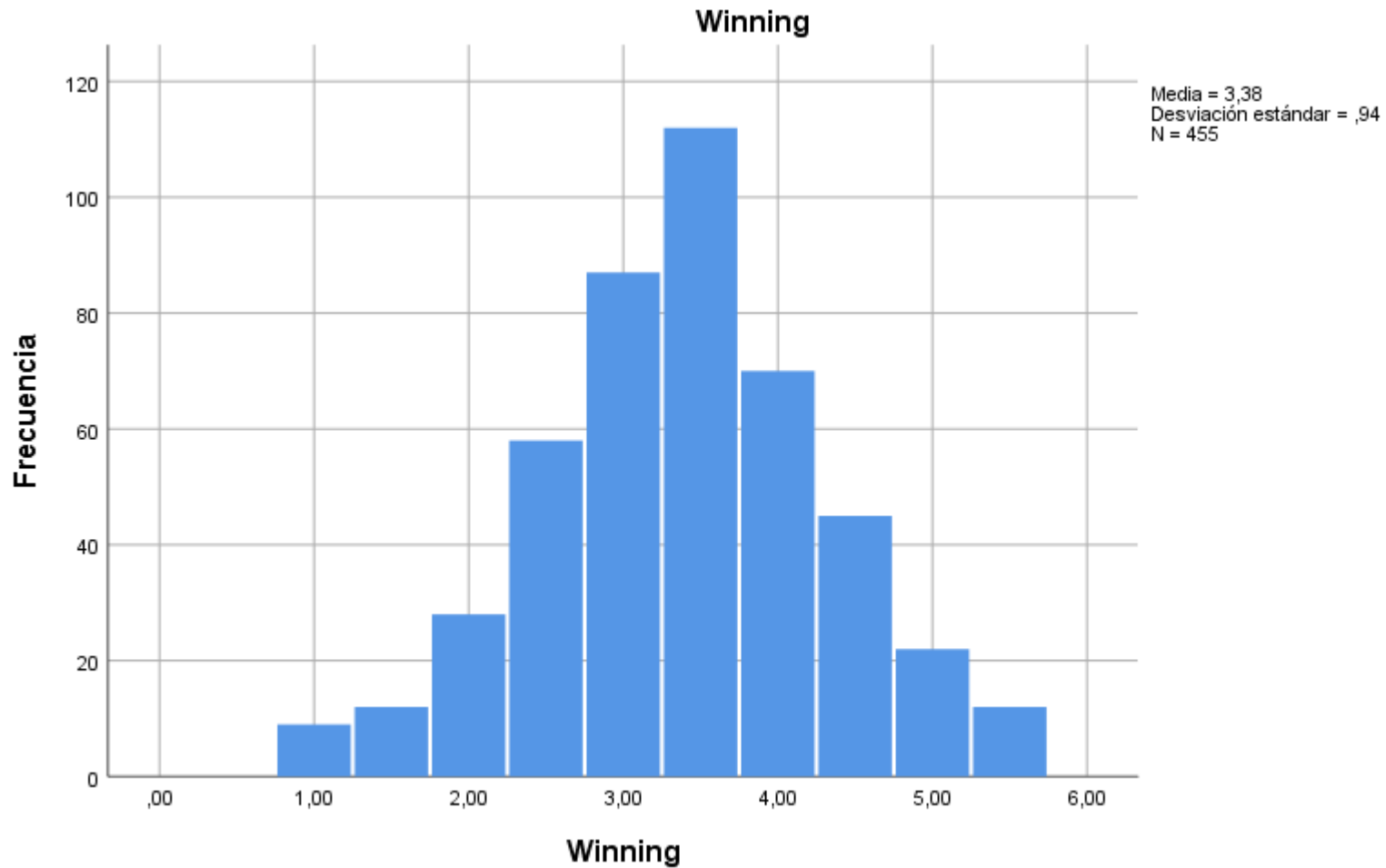
Masculinidad hegemónica



Winning

La mayoría de las veces, no me importa perder (R)

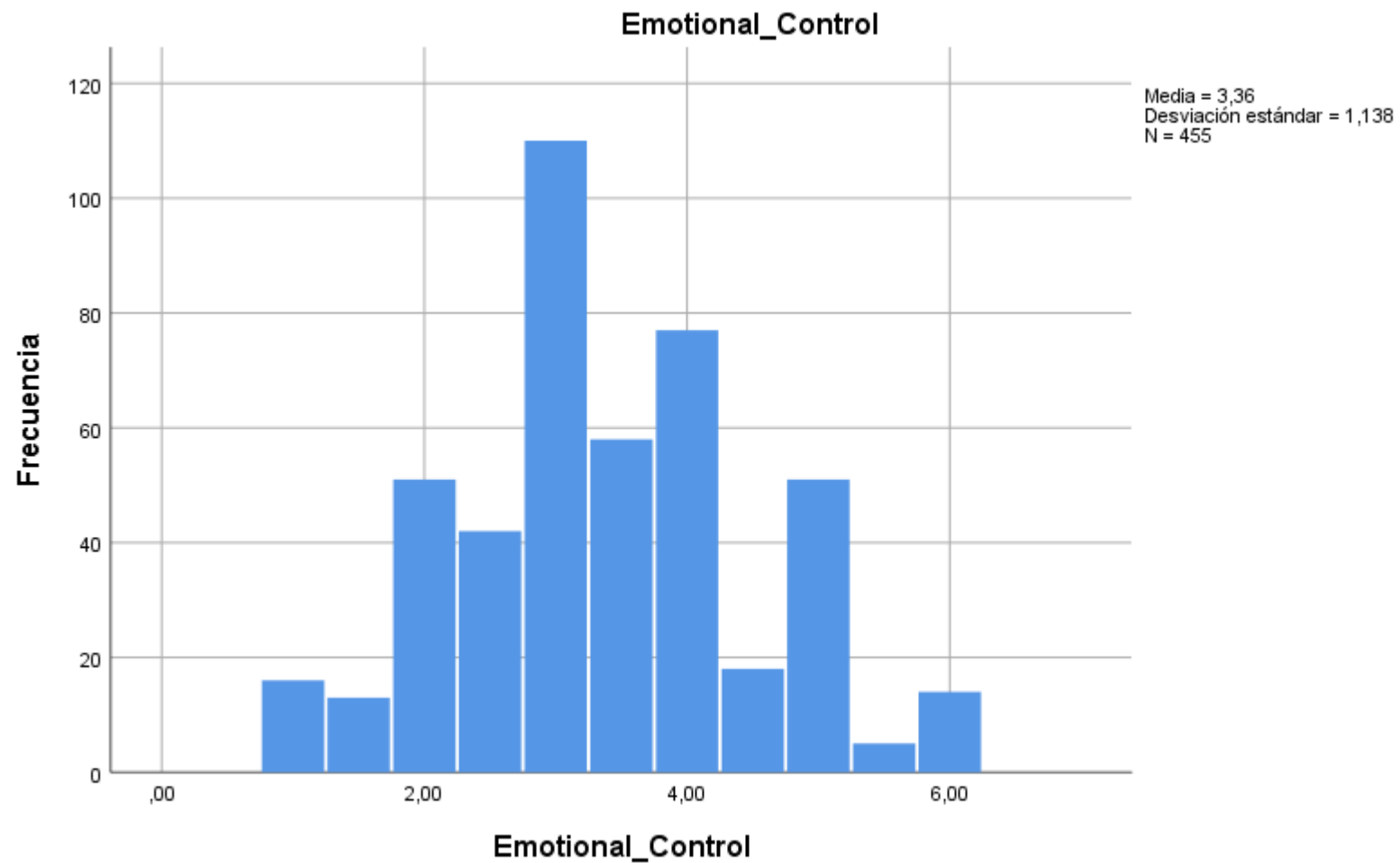
El mejor sentimiento del mundo viene de ganar



Emotional Control

Me gusta hablar de mis sentimientos (R)

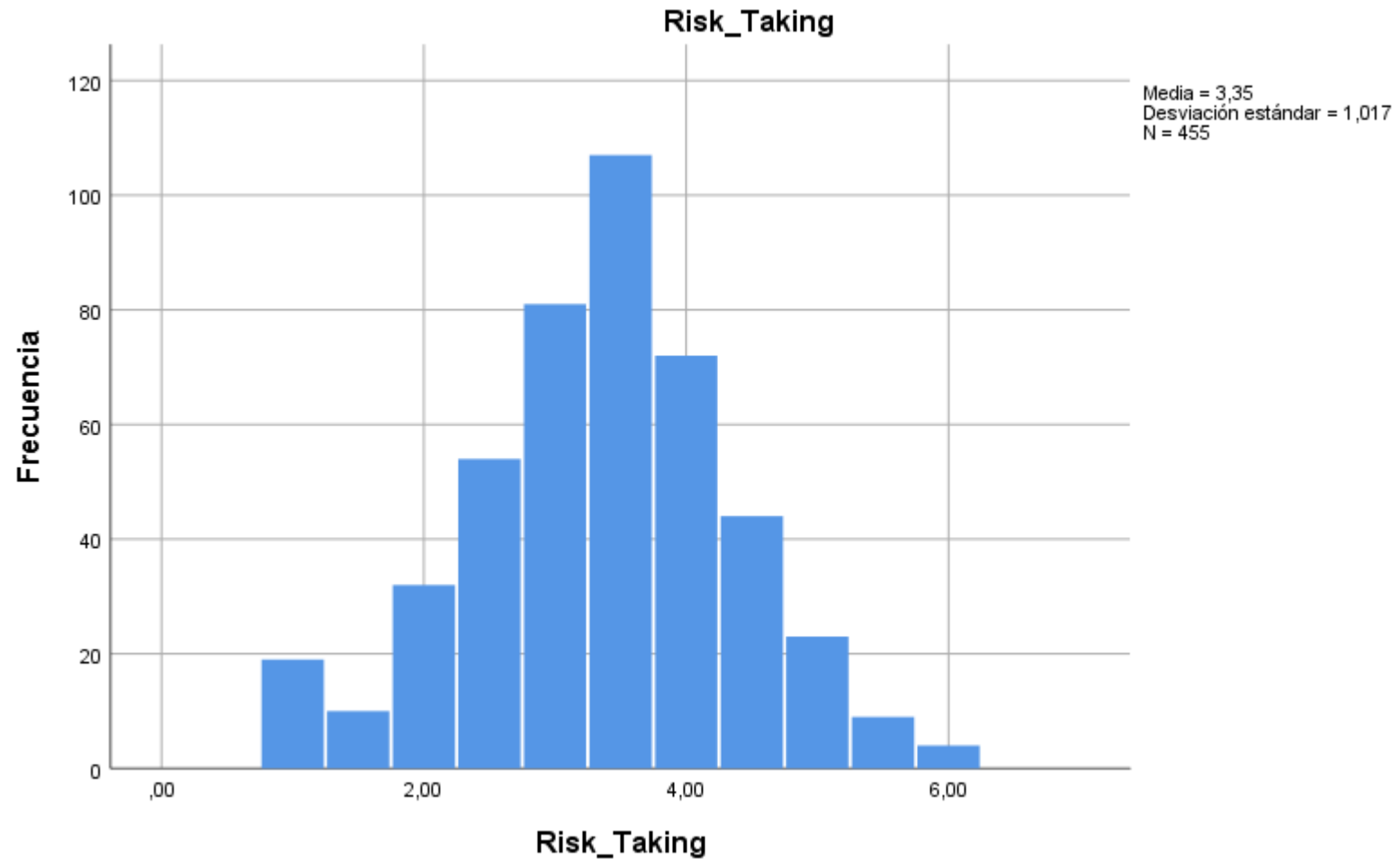
Tiendo a compartir mis sentimientos (R)



Risk Taking

En general, no me gustan las situaciones arriesgadas (R)

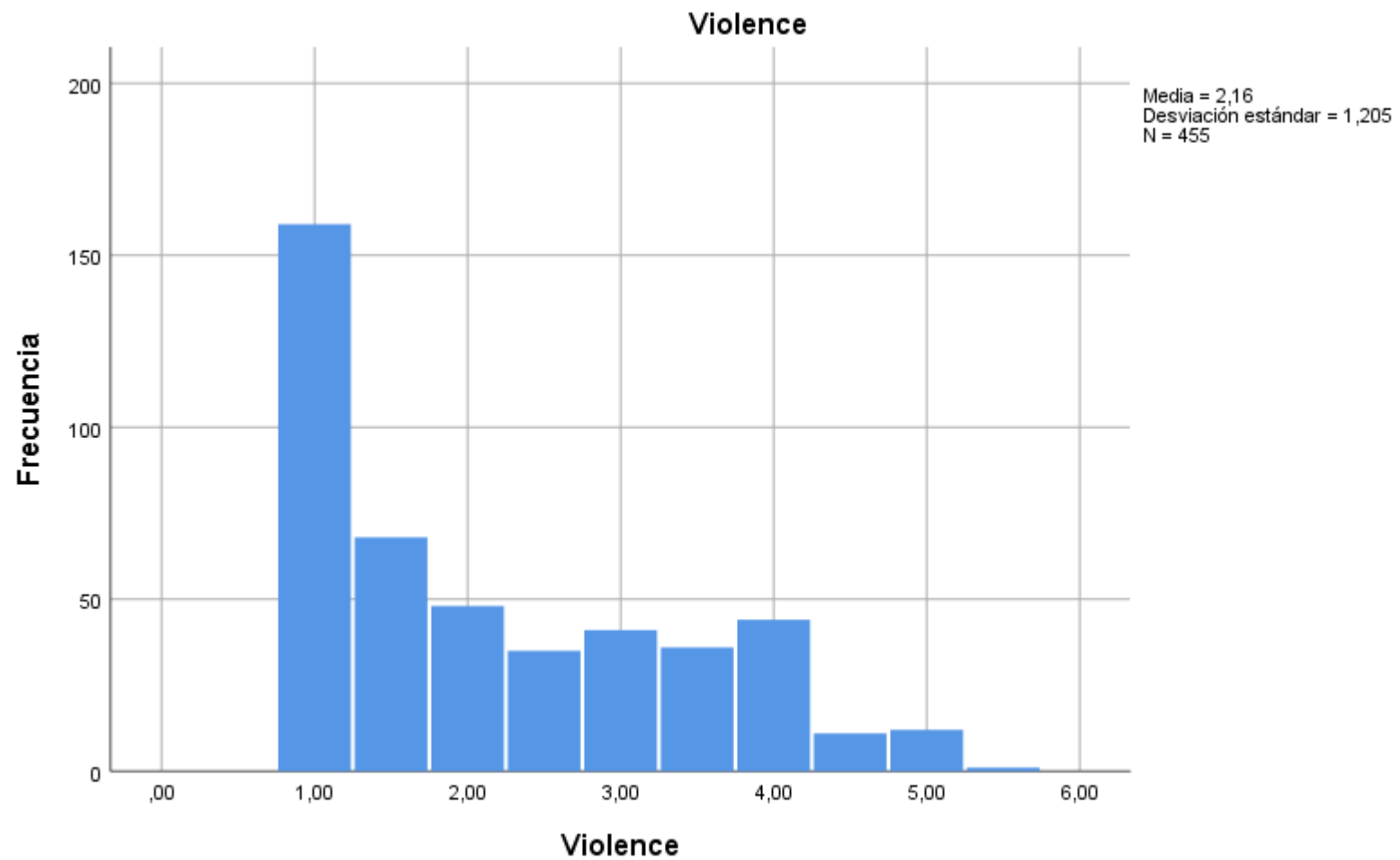
Me gusta arriesgarme



Violence

Creo que la violencia nunca está justificada (R)

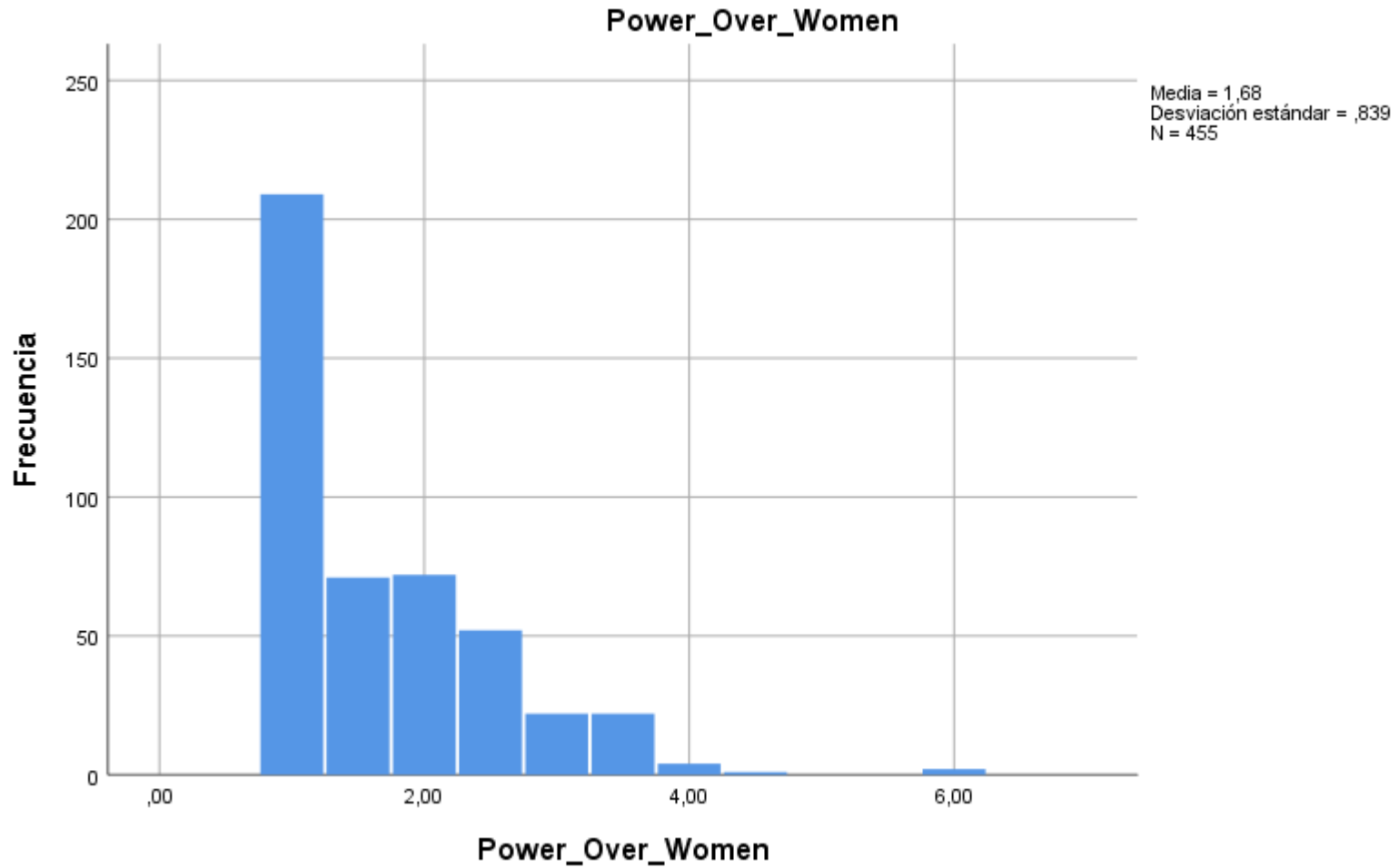
La acción violenta es necesaria a veces



Power Over Women

Me encanta cuando los hombres están al mando de las mujeres

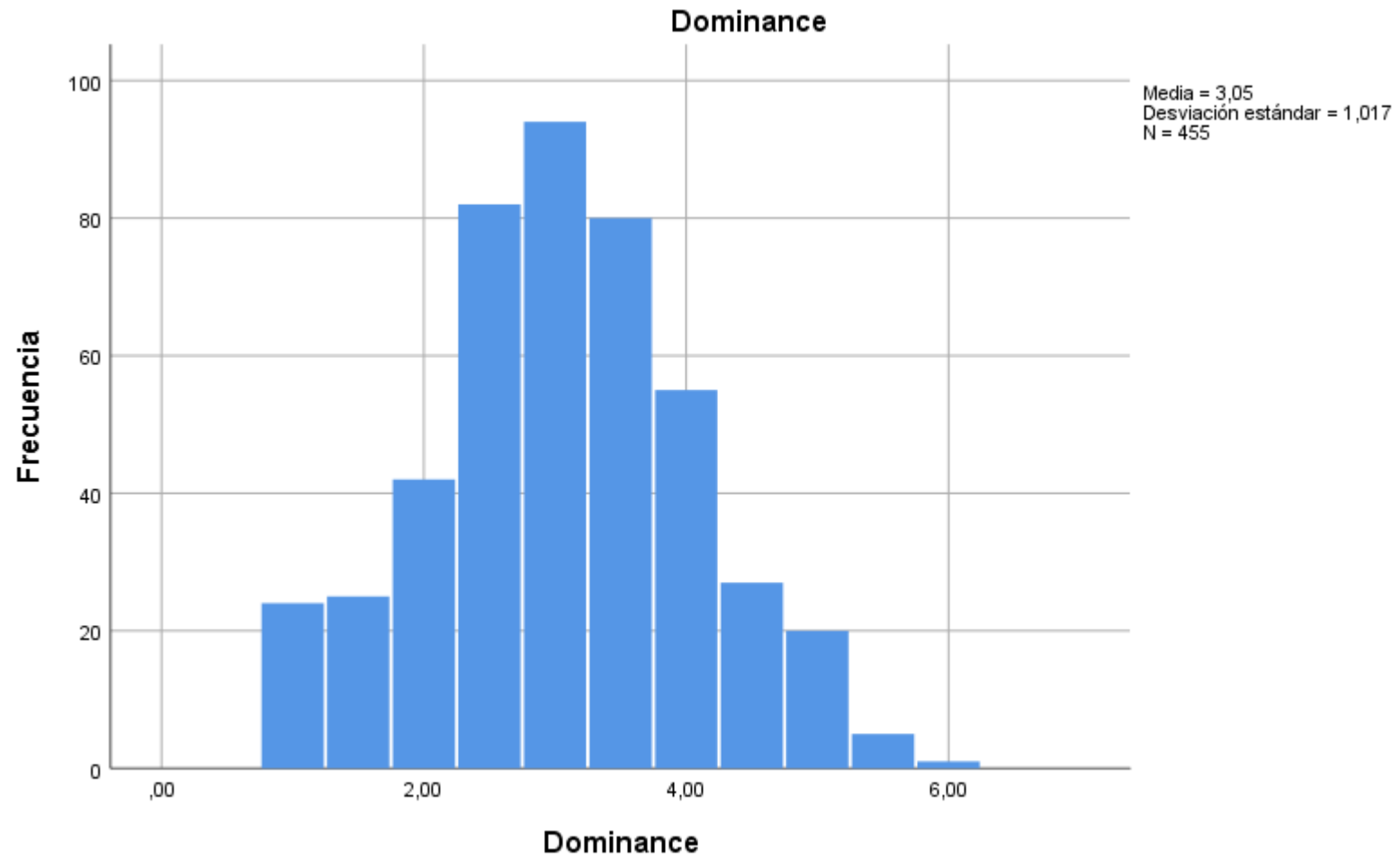
Los hombres y las mujeres deben respetarse como iguales (R)



Dominance

Me aseguro de que la gente haga lo que yo digo

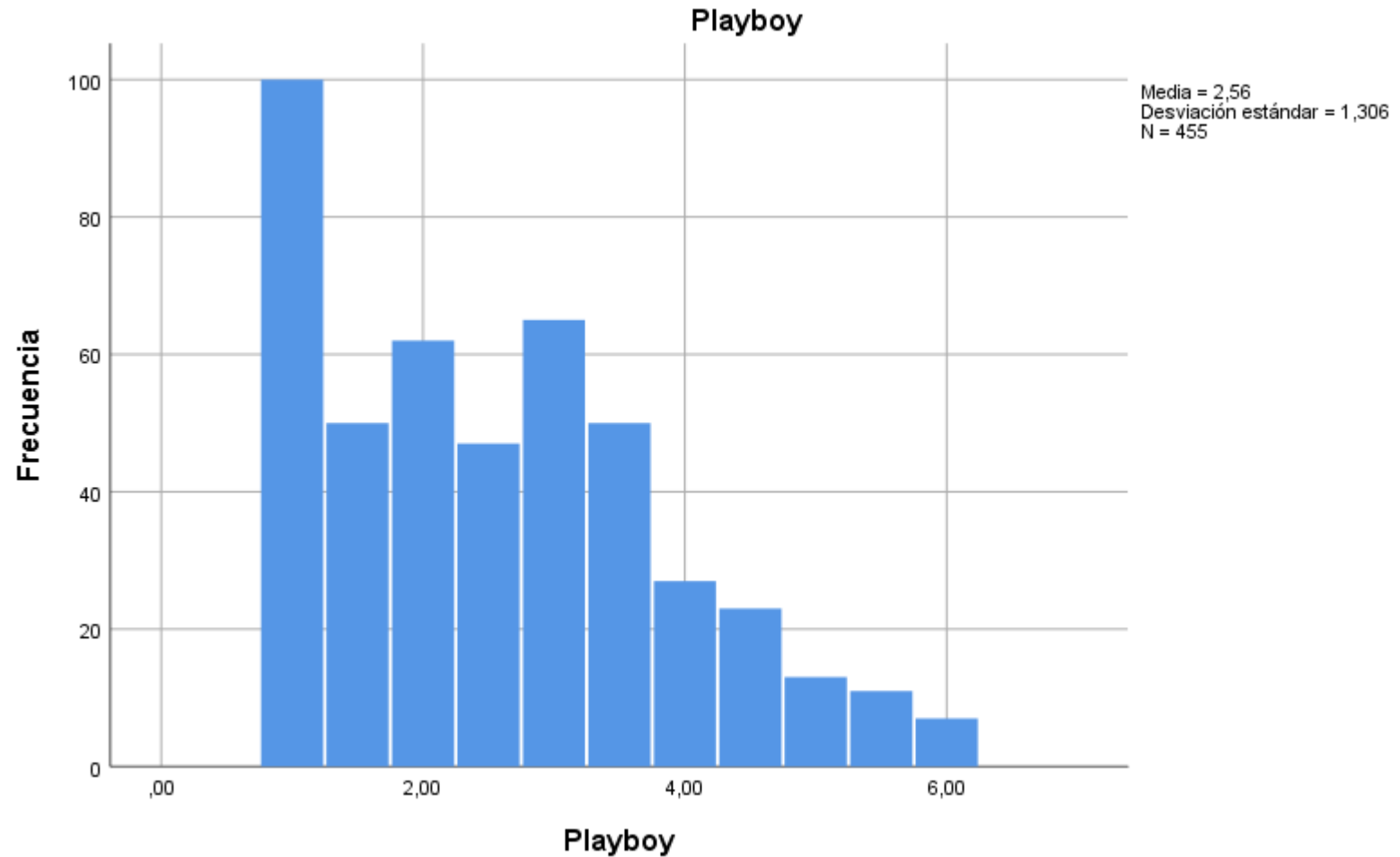
Yo debería estar al mando



Playboy

Me sentiría bien si tuviera muchas parejas sexuales

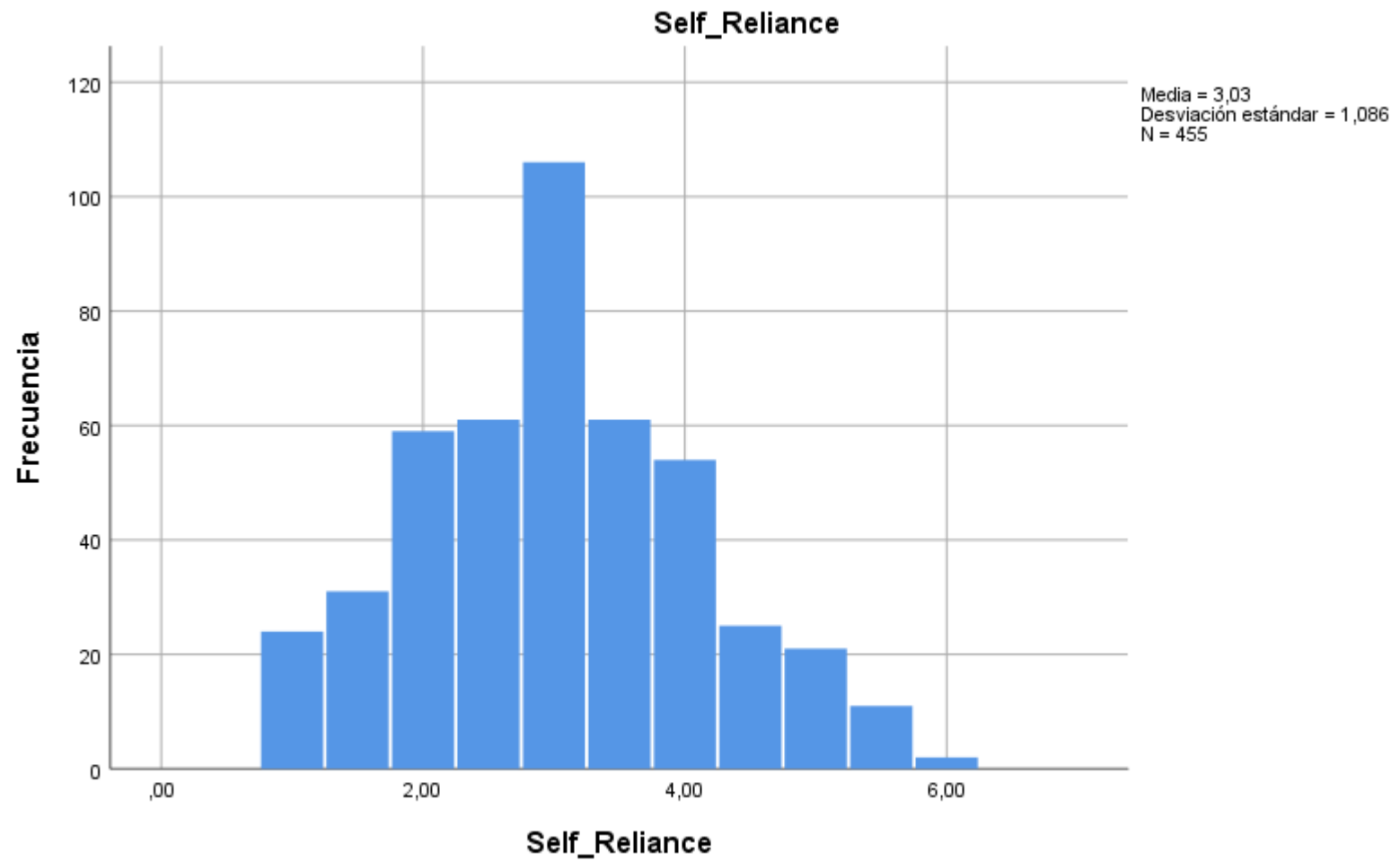
Si pudiera, cambiaría a menudo de pareja sexual



Self-Reliance

Jamás pido ayuda

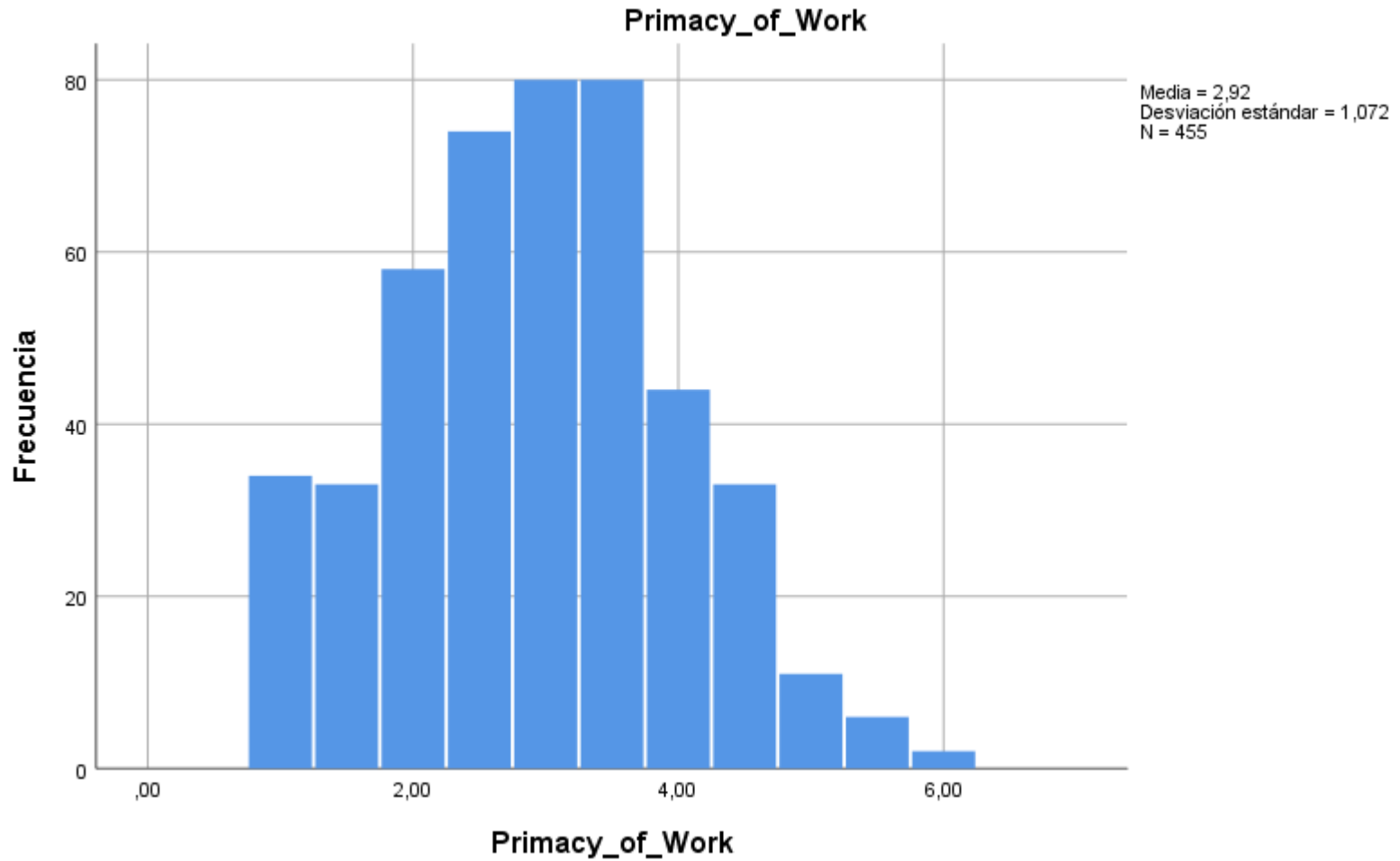
Me molesta cuando tengo que pedir ayuda



Primacy of Work

Mi trabajo es la parte más importante de mi vida

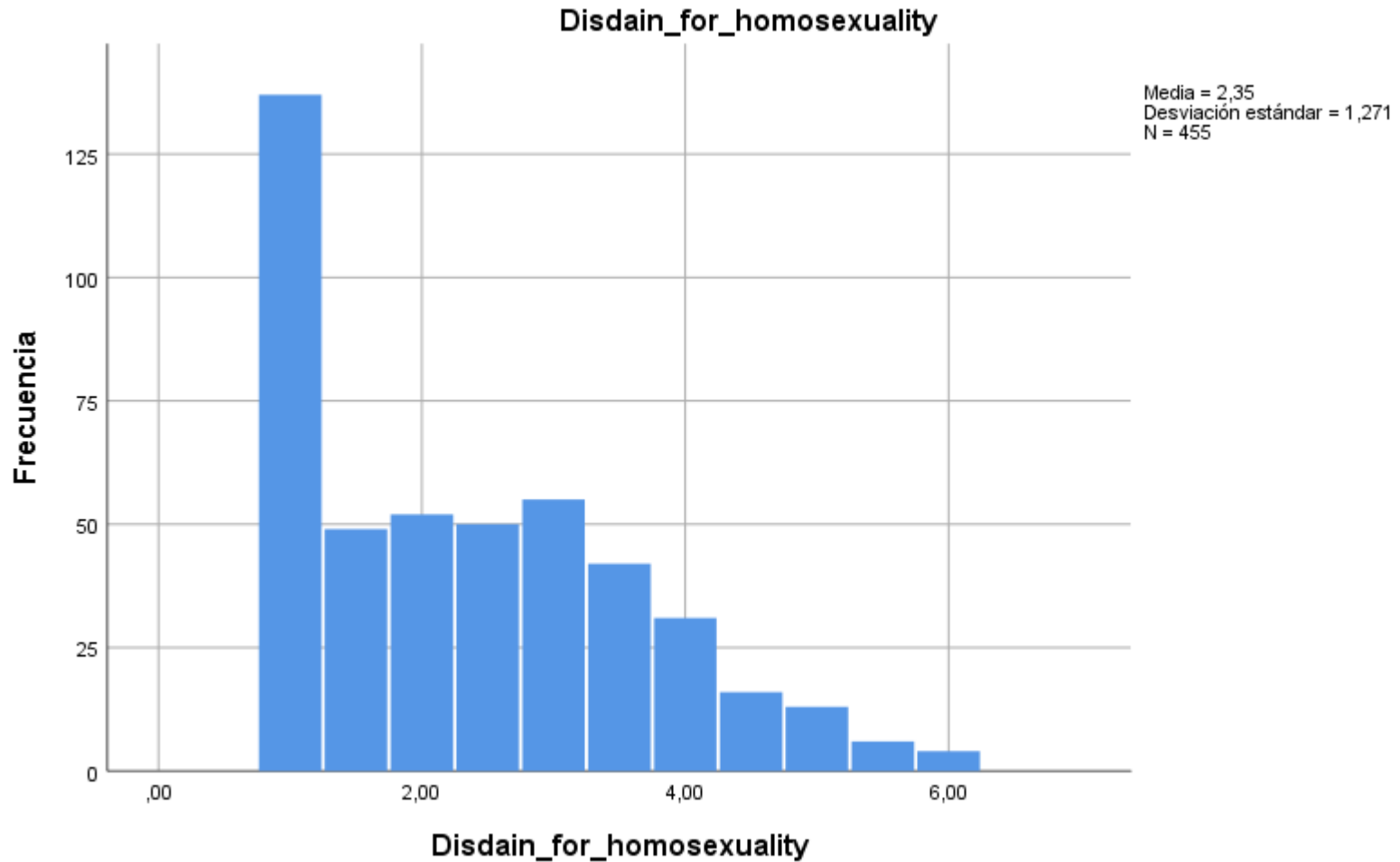
No me gusta dedicar toda mi atención al trabajo (R)



Disdain for homosexuality

Sería horrible si la gente pensase que soy gay

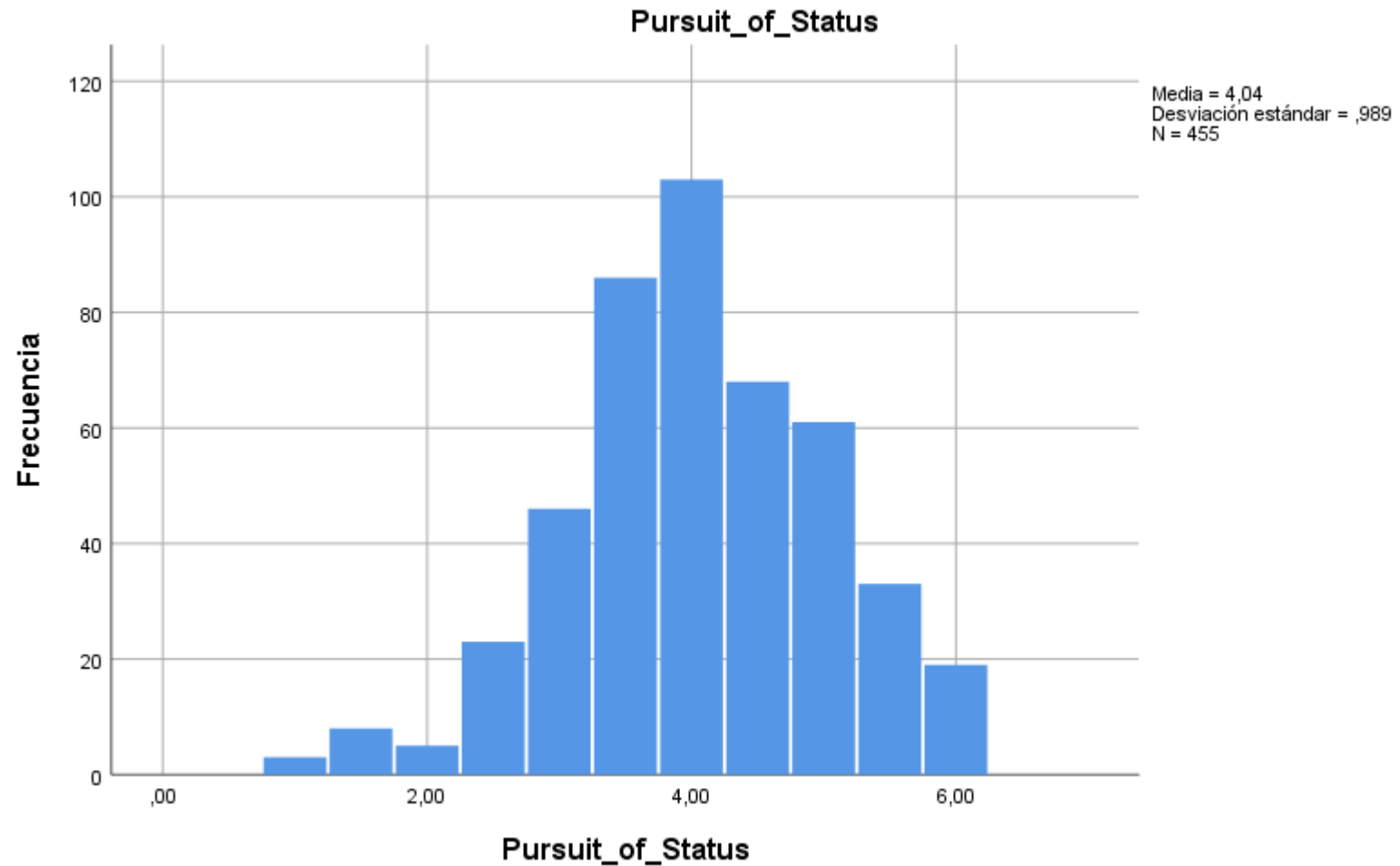
Me importa mucho que la gente piense que soy heterosexual



Pursuit of Status

Yo odiaría ser importante (R)

Nunca hago nada para llegar a ser importante (R)



¿Se relaciona la masculinidad hegemónica con alguna otra variable recogida en la encuesta?

Actitudes favorables a la implicación del padre

21. ¿En qué medida estaría de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de estas afirmaciones? (Por favor, conteste con sinceridad)

De 1="Completamente en desacuerdo" a 6="Completamente de acuerdo"	Completa mente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Algo en desacuerdo	Algo de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Completa mente de acuerdo
21b. Un hombre puede estar tan capacitado como una mujer para cuidar de su bebé y conectar emocionalmente con él	1	2	3	4	5	6
21d. Los hombres deberían utilizar tanto como las mujeres las medidas de conciliación de la vida familiar y laboral que ofrecen las empresas	1	2	3	4	5	6
21f. Hay muchos hombres que van a utilizar los permisos de paternidad (cada vez más largos) para estar de vacaciones y no tanto para cuidar de sus bebés (R)	1	2	3	4	5	6
21i. La participación activa en el cuidado infantil debería desempeñar un papel importante en la autorrealización de los hombres como padres	1	2	3	4	5	6

Escala ideológica

18. Cuando se habla de ideología política se utilizan normalmente las expresiones izquierda y derecha. En la siguiente escala de ideología política, que abarca desde 0 (muy a la izquierda) a 10 (muy a la derecha), ¿en qué casilla se situaría usted?

Muy a la izquierda →	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	← Muy a la derecha
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Autoestima baja

22. ¿En qué medida estaría de acuerdo o en desacuerdo con cada una de estas afirmaciones? (Por favor, conteste con sinceridad)

De 1="Completamente en desacuerdo" a 6="Completamente de acuerdo"	Completa mente en desacuerdo	Bastante en desacuerdo	Algo en desacuerdo	Algo de acuerdo	Bastante de acuerdo	Completa mente de acuerdo
22a. Me siento una persona tan valiosa como las otras (R)	1	2	3	4	5	6
22b. Generalmente me inclino a pensar que soy un fracaso	1	2	3	4	5	6
22c. Creo que tengo algunas cualidades buenas (R)	1	2	3	4	5	6
22d. Soy capaz de hacer las cosas tan bien como los demás (R)	1	2	3	4	5	6
22e. Creo que no tengo mucho de lo que estar orgulloso/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
22f. Tengo una actitud positiva hacia mí mismo/a (R)	1	2	3	4	5	6
22g. En general me siento satisfecho conmigo mismo/a (R)	1	2	3	4	5	6
22h. Me gustaría tener más respeto por mí mismo/a	1	2	3	4	5	6
22i. Realmente me siento inútil en algunas ocasiones	1	2	3	4	5	6
22j. A veces pienso que no sirvo para nada	1	2	3	4	5	6

Correlaciones

		Masculinidad _hegemónica	Actitudes favorables a la implicación del padre	Escala ideológica	Autoestima baja
Masculinidad hegemónica	Correlación de Pearson	1	-,317 **	,179 **	,206 **
	Sig. (bilateral)		,000	,000	,000
	N	455	455	455	455
Actitud_Favorable_implicación_padre	Correlación de Pearson	-,317 **	1	-,159 **	-,225 **
	Sig. (bilateral)	,000		,001	,000
	N	455	455	455	455
P24ltbgtCuandosehabla	Correlación de Pearson	,179 **	-,159 **	1	-,082
	Sig. (bilateral)	,000	,001		,081
	N	455	455	455	455
Autoestima_Baja	Correlación de Pearson	,206 **	-,225 **	-,082	1
	Sig. (bilateral)	,000	,000	,081	
	N	455	455	455	455

** . La correlación es significativa en el nivel 0,01 (bilateral).

2º Masculinidad y uso problemático de la pornografía

Borgogna, N. C.; McDermott, R. C.; Berry, A. T.; y Browning, B. R. (2020): “**Masculinity and Problematic Pornography Viewing: The Moderating Role of Self-Esteem**”, *Psychology of Men & Masculinities*, 21(1), 81–94.

<https://psycnet.apa.org/record/2019-25331-001>

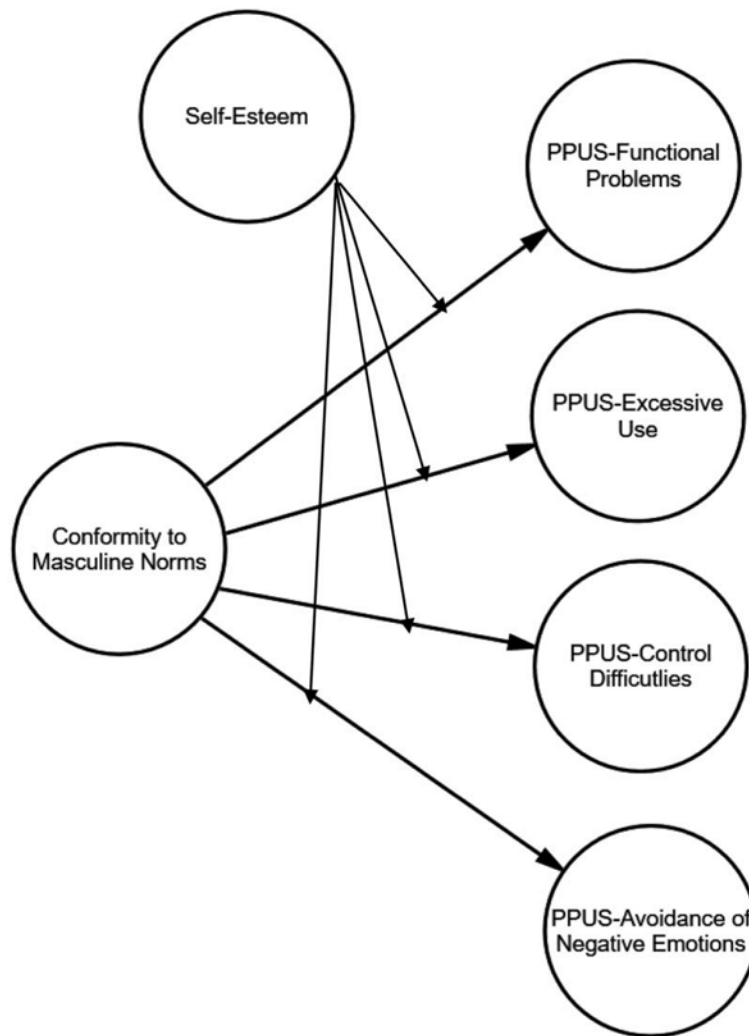


Figure 1. Conceptual model of the moderating effect of self-esteem on the associations between men's conformity to masculine role norms and problematic pornography viewing. Although conformity to masculine role norms is represented in this figure as a single latent variable, this is solely for readability. The actual model tested the combined contributions of each masculine role norm as predictors of problematic pornography domains. Furthermore, for readability, disturbance terms, covariances, and covariates are not pictured.

Problematic Pornography Use Scale (PPUS)

The Problematic Pornography Use Scale (Kor et al., 2014) is a 12-item measure of four dimensions of problematic pornography viewing.

Factor 1 – Distress and functional problems (22.3%, Cronbach alpha = .91)

Using pornography has created significant problems in my personal relationships with other people, in social situations, at work or in other important aspects of my life
I risked or put in jeopardy a significant relationship, place of employment, educational or career opportunity because of the use of pornographic materials
I continued using pornography despite the danger of harming myself physically (for example: difficulty getting an erection due to extensive use, difficulty reaching an orgasm in ways that do not include pornography)

Factor 2 – Excessive use (21.8%, Cronbach alpha = .86)

I often think about pornography
I spend too much time being involved in thoughts about pornography
I spend too much time planning to and using pornography

Factor 3 – Control difficulties (21.4%, Cronbach alpha = .75)

I feel I cannot stop watching pornography
I have been unsuccessful in my efforts to reduce or control the frequency I use pornography in my life
I keep on watching pornographic materials even though I intend to stop

Factor 4 – Use for escape/avoid negative emotions (13.7%, Cronbach alpha = .93)

I use pornographic materials to escape my grief or to free myself from negative feelings
I watch pornographic materials when am feeling despondent
I have used pornography while experiencing unpleasant or difficult feelings (for example: depression, sorrow, anxiety, boredom, restlessness, shame or nervousness)

Items are scored on a Likert-type scale (1 *never true* to 6 *almost always true*).

<https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S030646031400029X?via%3Dihub>

Conformity to Masculine Norms Inventory-46 (CMNI-46)

Emotional Control

- 13r. I bring up my feelings when talking to others.
- 18. I never share my feelings.
- 25r. I like to talk about my feelings.
- 32. I tend to keep my feelings to myself.
- 40r. I tend to share my feelings.
- 45. I hate it when people ask me to talk about my feelings.

Winning

- 1. In general, I will do anything to win.
- 7r. Winning is not my first priority.
- 15r. I don't mind losing.
- 22. It is important for me to win.
- 27r. More often than not, losing does not bother me.
- 33r. Winning is not important to me.

Playboy

- 2. If I could, I would frequently change sexual partners.
- 12r. I would only have sex if I was in a committed relationship.
- 21. I would feel good if I had many sexual partners.
- 36. It would be enjoyable to date more than one person at a time.

Violence

- 4r. I believe that violence is never justified.
- 9r. I am disgusted by any kind of violence.
- 19. Sometimes violent action is necessary.
- 30. I am willing to get into a physical fight if necessary.
- 34r. Violence is almost never justified.
- 41r. No matter what the situation I would never act violently.

Self-Reliance

- 3. I hate asking for help.
- 10r. I ask for help when I need it.
- 26. I never ask for help.
- 38r. I am not ashamed to ask for help.
- 43. It bothers me when I have to ask for help.

Risk-Taking

- 6r. In general, I do not like risky situations.
- 8. I enjoy taking risks.
- 16. I take risks.
- 28. I frequently put myself in risky situations.
- 35. I am happiest when I'm risking danger.

Power Over Women

- 20. In general, I control the women in my life.
- 9. Women should be subservient to men.
- 42. Things tend to be better when men are in charge.
- 44. I love it when men are in charge of women.

Primacy of Work

- 11. My work is the most important part of my life.
- 23r. I don't like giving all my attention to work.
- 31. I feel good when work is my first priority.
- 39. Work comes first.

Heterosexual Self-Presentation

- 5r. Being thought of as gay is not a bad thing.
- 14. I would be furious if someone thought I was gay.
- 17r. It would not bother me at all if someone thought I was gay.
- 24. It would be awful if people thought I was gay.
- 37. I would feel uncomfortable if someone thought I was gay.
- 46. I try to avoid being perceived as gay.

Items are scored on a Likert scale from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*), with higher scores indicating stronger adherence to that particular masculine norm.

Self-Liking/Self-Competence Scale → Self-Liking subscale

The Self-Liking/Self-Competence Scale is a 20-item self-report measure of self-esteem (Tafarodi & Swann, 1995). For convenience, we specifically used the 10-item Self-Liking subscale (“I feel good about who I am,”) as our measure.

1. (SC–p) Owing to my capabilities, I have much potential.
2. (SL–p) I feel comfortable about myself.
3. (SC–n) I don’t succeed at much.
4. (SC–p) I have done well in life so far.
5. (SC–p) I perform very well at a number of things.
6. (SL–n) It is often unpleasant for me to think about myself.
7. (SL–n) I tend to devalue myself.
8. (SL–p) I focus on my strengths.
9. (SL–n) I feel worthless at times.
10. (SC–p) I am a capable person.
11. (SC–n) I do not have much to be proud of.
12. (SL–p) I’m secure in my sense of self-worth.
13. (SL–p) I like myself.
14. (SL–n) I do not have enough respect for myself.
15. (SC–p) I am talented.
16. (SL–p) I feel good about who I am.
17. (SC–n) I am not very competent.
18. (SL–n) I have a negative attitude toward myself.
19. (SC–n) I deal poorly with challenges.
20. (SC–n) I perform inadequately in many important situations.

Questions consist of positively and negatively worded items on a **5-point Likert scale** from *strongly disagree* to *strongly agree*.

https://www.researchgate.net/publication/14544894_Self-Linking_and_Self-Competence_as_Dimensions_of_Global_Self-Esteem_Initial_Validation_of_a_Measure

Table 1
Demographics of the Sample

Demographics	Men (<i>n</i> = 520)	
Race		
White or Caucasian	67.3%	
Black/African American	15.4%	
Hispanic/Latino(a)	6.0%	
Asian American/Middle Eastern	8.2%	
Native American/Pacific Islander	0.8%	
Other/Multiracial	2.3%	
Sexual orientation		
Heterosexual	83.1%	
Homosexual	8.7%	
Bisexual	5.2%	
Questioning	1.7%	
Other sexual minority	1.3%	
Relationship status		
Single	51.3%	
Casually dating	11.9%	
Seriously dating	21.9%	
Engaged/Married	12.1%	
Separated/Divorced	1.5%	
Widower	0.8%	
Other	0.4%	
Highest level of education		
High school	72.3%	
Associates/Technical	9.8%	
Bachelors	11.9%	
Masters	3.3%	
Doctorate/Professional	2.5%	
Religion		
Christian	62.7%	
Agnostic/Atheist	23.3%	
Hindu	1.3%	
Muslim	3.5%	
Jewish	1.2%	
Buddhist	1.9%	
Other	6.0%	
Missing/Did not respond	0.2%	
	<i>M (SD)</i>	Range
Age	25.46 (11.99)	18–80
Age of first pornography viewing	13.39 (2.92)	4–30
Pornography viewing frequency	3.35 (1.29)	1–5

Table 3

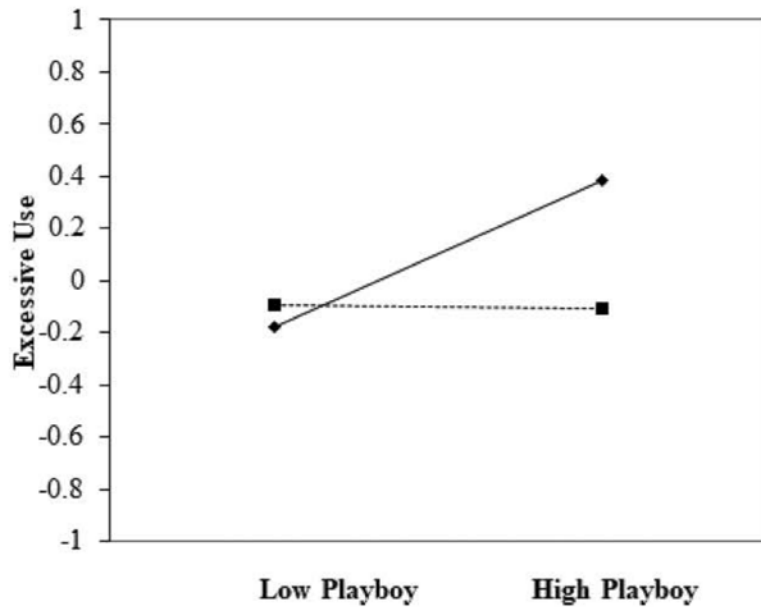
Standardized and Unstandardized Structural Model Results^a

Predictor variables →	Criterion variables	<i>B</i>	<i>SE</i>	β	95% CI
Power Over Women →	Functional Problems	.53	.16	.25***	[.20, .84]
Power Over Women →	Excessive Use	.44	.14	.21***	[.20, .76]
Power Over Women →	Control Difficulties	.46	.14	.20***	[.17, .73]
Power Over Women →	Avoidance of Negative Emotions	.59	.17	.21***	[.28, .96]
Self-Reliance →	Functional Problems	.16	.13	.10	[−.12, .39]
Self-Reliance →	Excessive Use	.08	.11	.05	[−.10, .30]
Self-Reliance →	Control Difficulties	.09	.14	.05	[−.16, .33]
Self-Reliance →	Avoidance of Negative Emotions	.21	.15	.10	[−.05, .51]
Winning →	Functional Problems	−.21	.10	−.12*	[−.40, −.01]
Winning →	Excessive Use	−.06	.09	−.03	[−.24, .13]
Winning →	Control Difficulties	−.11	.12	−.06	[−.35, .12]
Winning →	Avoidance of Negative Emotions	−.25	.13	−.11*	[−.51, −.02]
Playboy →	Functional Problems	.04	.08	.03	[−.12, .16]
Playboy →	Excessive Use	.13	.07	.11*	[.01, .28]
Playboy →	Control Difficulties	.06	.08	.05	[−.08, .23]
Playboy →	Avoidance of Negative Emotions	.08	.09	.05	[−.05, .27]
Emotional Control →	Functional Problems	−.29	.11	−.19**	[−.52, −.07]
Emotional Control →	Excessive Use	−.21	.09	−.14*	[−.38, −.04]
Emotional Control →	Control Difficulties	−.27	.11	−.16**	[−.48, −.07]
Emotional Control →	Avoidance of Negative Emotions	−.29	.12	−.14*	[−.55, −.06]
Self-Esteem →	Functional Problems	−.08	.08	−.07	[−.08, .57]
Self-Esteem →	Excessive Use	−.10	.06	−.08	[−.29, .18]
Self-Esteem →	Control Difficulties	−.13	.07	−.09	[−.43, .13]
Self-Esteem →	Avoidance of Negative Emotions	−.30	.09	−.19***	[−.46, −.13]

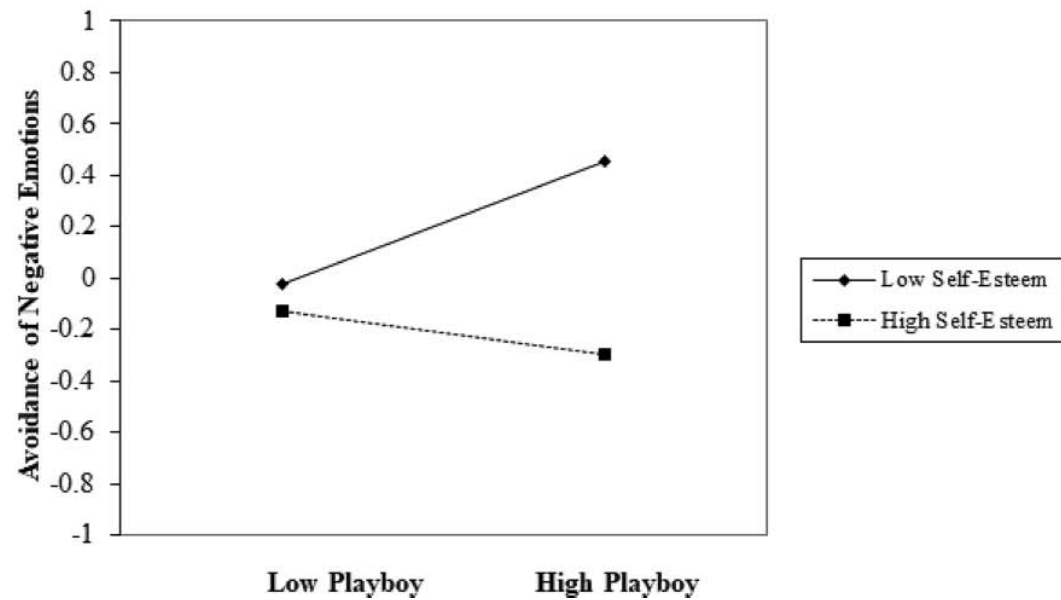
Note. *B* = unstandardized regression coefficient; β = standardized regression coefficient; CI = confidence interval. Boldface indicates significant path.

^a A separate model generated with parcels on the self-esteem, winning, and emotional control factors demonstrated the same results with superior fit (though accounted for less variance in the interactions). Contact Nicholas C. Borgogna for information regarding additional models tested.

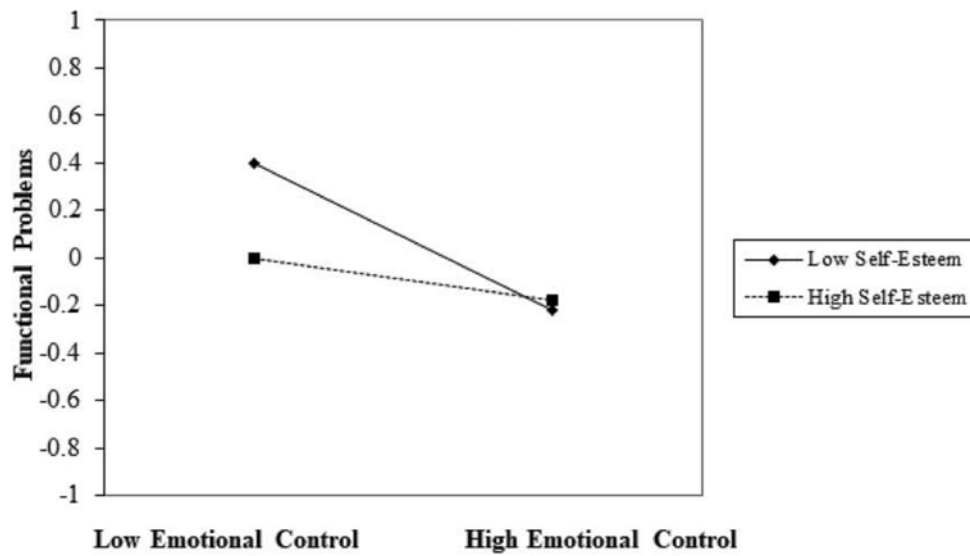
* $p < .05$. ** $p < .01$. *** $p < .001$.



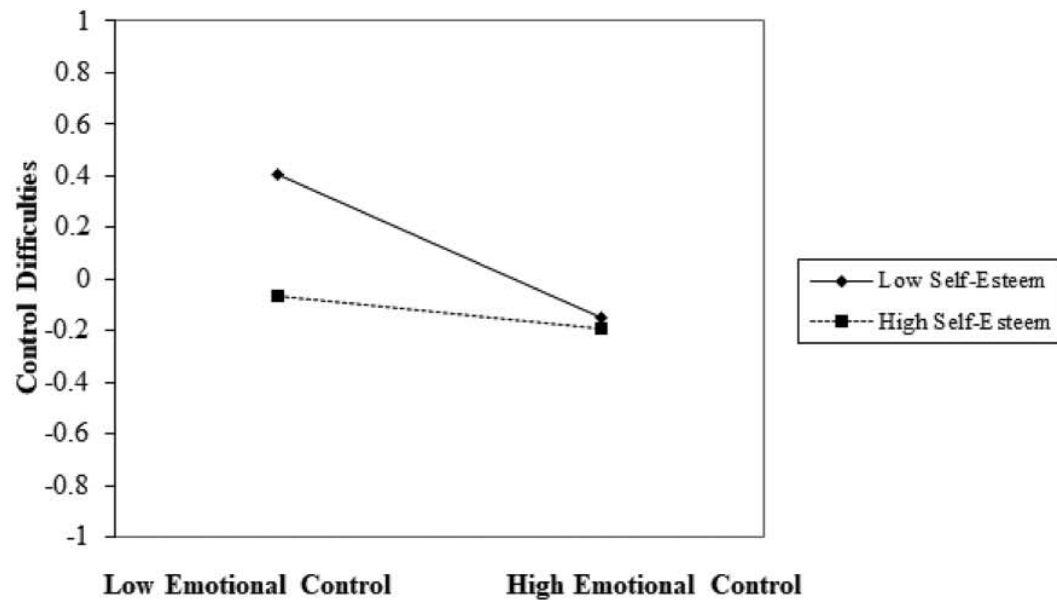
Conformity to masculine norms



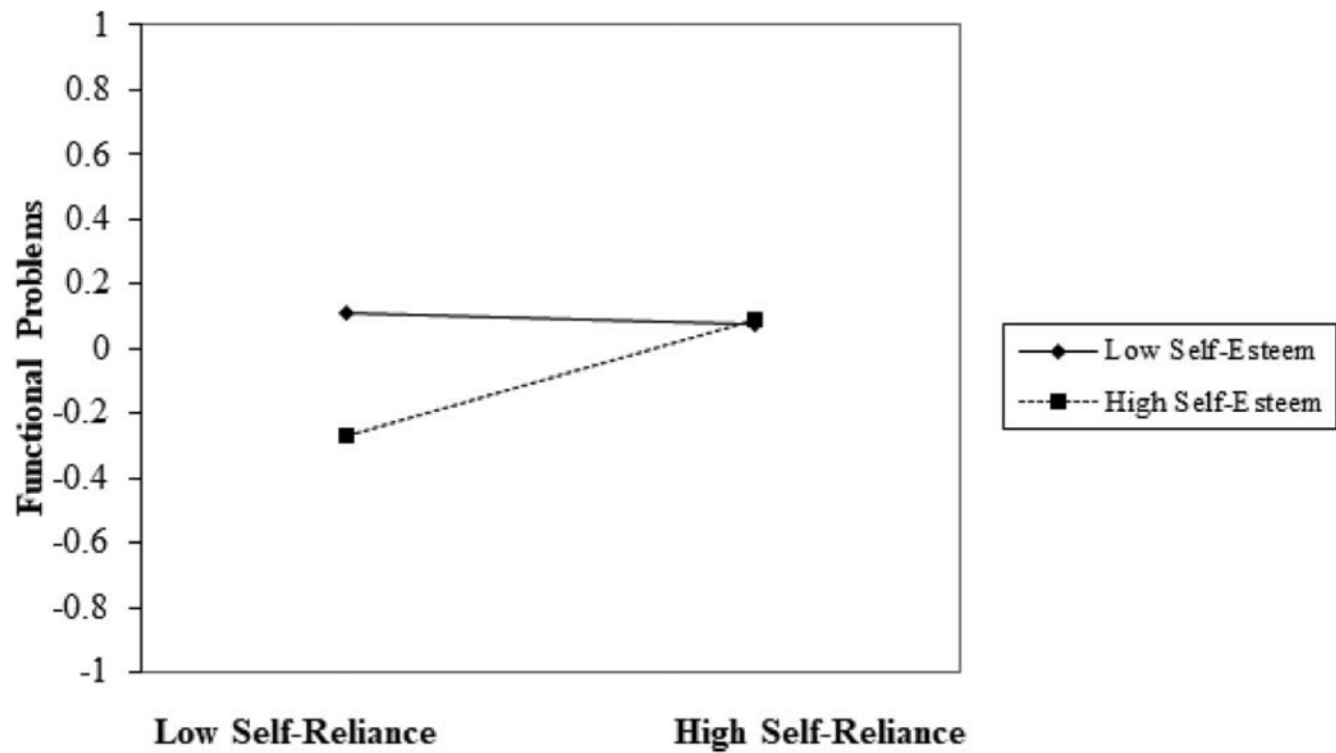
Conformity to masculine norms



Conformity to masculine norms



Conformity to masculine norms



Conformity to masculine norms

ANEXOS

Charla de Ritxar Bacete

<https://factorhuma.org/es/area-socios/webinars/58928-area-socios/webinars/14206-ritxar-bacete-transicion-de-los-hombres-hacia-el-s-xxi-modelos-androgynos-en-las-organizaciones>

Págs. 76-81 de R. W. Connell (2005):
Masculinities, 2^o edition, University of
 California Press.

Relations among Masculinities: Hegemony, Subordination, Complicity, Marginalization

With growing recognition of the interplay between gender, race and class it has become common to recognize multiple masculinities: black as well as white, working-class as well as middle-class. This is welcome, but it risks another kind of oversimplification. It is easy in this framework to think that there is *a* black masculinity or *a* working-class masculinity.

To recognize more than one kind of masculinity is only a first step. We have to examine the relations between them. Further, we have to unpack the milieux of class and race and scrutinize the gender relations operating within them. There are, after all, gay black men and effeminate factory hands, not to mention middle-class rapists and cross-dressing bourgeois.

A focus on the gender relations among men is necessary to keep the analysis dynamic, to prevent the acknowledgement of multiple masculinities collapsing into a character typology, as happened with Fromm and the *Authoritarian Personality* research. 'Hegemonic masculinity' is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable.

A focus on relations also offers a gain in realism. Recognizing multiple masculinities, especially in an individualist culture such as the United States, risks taking them for alternative lifestyles, a matter of consumer choice. A relational approach makes it easier to recognize the hard compulsions under which gender configurations are formed, the bitterness as well as the pleasure in gendered experience.

With these guidelines, let us consider the practices and relations that construct the main patterns of masculinity in the current Western gender order.

Hegemony

The concept of 'hegemony', deriving from Antonio Gramsci's analysis of class relations, refers to the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life. At any given time, one form of masculinity rather than others is culturally exalted. Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.¹⁵

This is not to say that the most visible bearers of hegemonic masculinity are always the most powerful people. They may be exemplars, such as film actors, or even fantasy figures, such as film characters. Individual holders of institutional power or great wealth may be far from the hegemonic pattern in their personal lives. (Thus a male member of a prominent business dynasty was a key figure in the gay/transvestite social scene in Sydney in the 1950s, because of his wealth and the protection this gave in the cold-war climate of political and police harassment.)¹⁶

Nevertheless, hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual. So the top levels of business, the military and government provide a fairly convincing *corporate* display of masculinity, still very little shaken by feminist women or dissenting men. It is the successful claim to authority, more than direct violence, that is the mark of hegemony (though violence often underpins or supports authority).

I stress that hegemonic masculinity embodies a 'currently accepted' strategy. When conditions for the defence of patriarchy change, the bases for the dominance of a particular masculinity are eroded. New groups may challenge old solutions and construct a new hegemony. The dominance of *any* group of men may be challenged by women. Hegemony, then, is a historically mobile relation. Its ebb and flow is a key element of the picture

of masculinity proposed in this book. I will examine its long-term history in Chapter 8 and recent contestations in Chapters 9 and 10.

Subordination

Hegemony relates to cultural dominance in the society as a whole. Within that overall framework there are specific gender relations of dominance and subordination between groups of men.

The most important case in contemporary European/American society is the dominance of heterosexual men and the subordination of homosexual men. This is much more than a cultural stigmatization of homosexuality or gay identity. Gay men are subordinated to straight men by an array of quite material practices.

These practices were listed in early Gay Liberation texts such as Dennis Altman's *Homosexual: Oppression and Liberation*. They have been documented at length in studies such as the NSW Anti-Discrimination Board's 1982 report *Discrimination and Homosexuality*. They are still a matter of everyday experience for homosexual men. They include political and cultural exclusion, cultural abuse (in the United States gay men have now become the main symbolic target of the religious right), legal violence (such as imprisonment under sodomy statutes), street violence (ranging from intimidation to murder), economic discrimination and personal boycotts. It is not surprising that an Australian working-class man, reflecting on his experience of coming out in a homophobic culture, would remark:

You know, I didn't totally realize what it was to be gay. I mean it's a bastard of a life.¹⁷

Oppression positions homosexual masculinities at the bottom of a gender hierarchy among men. Gayness, in patriarchal ideology, is the repository of whatever is symbolically expelled from hegemonic masculinity, the items ranging from fastidious taste in home decoration to receptive anal pleasure. Hence, from the point of view of hegemonic masculinity, gayness is easily assimilated to femininity. And hence – in the view of some gay theorists – the ferocity of homophobic attacks.

Gay masculinity is the most conspicuous, but it is not the only subordinated masculinity. Some heterosexual men and boys too are expelled from the circle of legitimacy. The process is marked by a rich vocabulary of abuse: wimp, milksop, nerd, turkey, sissy, lily liver, jellyfish, yellowbelly, candy ass, ladyfinger, pushover, cookie pusher, cream puff, motherfucker, pantywaist, mother's boy, four-eyes, ear-'ole, dweeb, geek, Milquetoast, Cedric, and so on. Here too the symbolic blurring with femininity is obvious.

Complicity

Normative definitions of masculinity, as I have noted, face the problem that not many men actually meet the normative standards. This point applies to hegemonic masculinity. The number of men rigorously practising the hegemonic pattern in its entirety may be quite small. Yet the majority of men gain from its hegemony, since they benefit from the patriarchal dividend, the advantage men in general gain from the overall subordination of women.

As Chapter 1 showed, accounts of masculinity have generally concerned themselves with syndromes and types, not with numbers. Yet in thinking about the dynamics of society as a whole, numbers matter. Sexual politics is mass politics, and strategic thinking needs to be concerned with where the masses of people are. If a large number of men have some connection with the hegemonic project but do not embody hegemonic masculinity, we need a way of theorizing their specific situation.

This can be done by recognizing another relationship among groups of men, the relationship of complicity with the hegemonic project. Masculinities constructed in ways that realize the patriarchal dividend, without the tensions or risks of being the front-line troops of patriarchy, are complicit in this sense.

It is tempting to treat them simply as slacker versions of hegemonic masculinity – the difference between the men who cheer football matches on TV and those who run out into the mud and the tackles themselves. But there is often something more definite and carefully crafted than that. Marriage, fatherhood and community life often involve extensive compromises with women rather than naked domination or an uncontested display of authority.¹⁸ A great many men who draw the patriarchal dividend

also respect their wives and mothers, are never violent towards women, do their accustomed share of the housework, bring home the family wage, and can easily convince themselves that feminists must be bra-burning extremists.

Marginalization

Hegemony, subordination and complicity, as just defined, are relations internal to the gender order. The interplay of gender with other structures such as class and race creates further relationships between masculinities.

In Chapter 2 I noted how new information technology became a vehicle for redefining middle-class masculinities at a time when the meaning of labour for working-class men was in contention. This is not a question of a fixed middle-class masculinity confronting a fixed working-class masculinity. Both are being reshaped, by a social dynamic in which class and gender relations are simultaneously in play.

Race relations may also become an integral part of the dynamic between masculinities. In a white-supremacist context, black masculinities play symbolic roles for white gender construction. For instance, black sporting stars become exemplars of masculine toughness, while the fantasy figure of the black rapist plays an important role in sexual politics among whites, a role much exploited by right-wing politics in the United States. Conversely, hegemonic masculinity among whites sustains the institutional oppression and physical terror that have framed the making of masculinities in black communities.

Robert Staples's discussion of internal colonialism in *Black Masculinity* shows the effect of class and race relations at the same time. As he argues, the level of violence among black men in the United States can only be understood through the changing place of the black labour force in American capitalism and the violent means used to control it. Massive unemployment and urban poverty now powerfully interact with institutional racism in the shaping of black masculinity.¹⁹

Though the term is not ideal, I cannot improve on 'marginalization' to refer to the relations between the masculinities in dominant and subordinated classes or ethnic groups. Marginalization is always relative to the *authorization* of the hegemonic

masculinity of the dominant group. Thus, in the United States, particular black athletes may be exemplars for hegemonic masculinity. But the fame and wealth of individual stars has no trickle-down effect; it does not yield social authority to black men generally.

The relation of marginalization and authorization may also exist between subordinated masculinities. A striking example is the arrest and conviction of Oscar Wilde, one of the first men caught in the net of modern anti-homosexual legislation. Wilde was trapped because of his connections with homosexual working-class youths, a practice unchallenged until his legal battle with a wealthy aristocrat, the Marquess of Queensberry, made him vulnerable.²⁰

These two types of relationship – hegemony, domination/subordination and complicity on the one hand, marginalization/authorization on the other – provide a framework in which we can analyse specific masculinities. (This is a sparse framework, but social theory should be hardworking.) I emphasize that terms such as 'hegemonic masculinity' and 'marginalized masculinities' name not fixed character types but configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships. Any theory of masculinity worth having must give an account of this process of change.

Historical Dynamics, Violence and Crisis Tendencies

To recognize gender as a social pattern requires us to see it as a product of history, and also as a *producer* of history. In Chapter 2 I defined gender practice as onto-formative, as constituting reality, and it is a crucial part of this idea that social reality is dynamic in time. We habitually think of the social as less real than the biological, what changes as less real than what stays the same. But there is a colossal reality to history. It is the modality of human life, precisely what defines us as human. No other species produces and lives in history, replacing organic evolution with radically new determinants of change.

To recognize masculinity and femininity as historical, then, is not to suggest they are flimsy or trivial. It is to locate them firmly in the world of social agency. And it raises a string of questions about their historicity.