

# SWEET WOMEN AND TOUGH MEN?

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## YOUNG MEN'S IDENTITIES AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS MASCULINITY IN CHILE

*“If a man is physically weak, but has a lot of money, he will still get the most beautiful women”*



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## ABSTRACT

This thesis discusses the concept of masculinity in Chile. It does this by outlining attitudes towards masculinity and examining how young Chilean men identify themselves in their role as men in today's society. Thus, the study aimed to frame the current view of masculinity in Chile by examining the study participants' views of what makes the "ideal man" in Chilean society. The purpose of this examination was to highlight not only the significance and consequence of gendered identification, but also how contemporary views of masculinity affect the lives of young Chilean men today. Qualitative interviews and group discussions with a constructionist stance guided data collection in the capital Santiago de Chile. The data showed a great desire to conform to societal norms in respect of behaviour and expectations. It also revealed that the identity of both men and women in contemporary Chile is highly gendered and contextualized; the norms in the present study are highly urbanised and different from those in rural areas. There seems to be a constant pressure of fulfilment and self-realization, yet bounded by traditional cultural norms that do not allow for change outside of the consoling sphere.

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### KEY WORDS:

Gender, masculinity, gendered roles, identity, attitudes, stereotypes.



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I discovered that Chile is an amazing country and I am thus most grateful for the opportunity to intern with Rimisp, the Latin American Center for Rural Development, and participate in the Rural Territorial Dynamics Program in 2011. Not only did it lead to amazing experiences and gains in knowledge, it also resulted in a published study which was a significant source of inspiration for this thesis. Besides my colleagues Ricardo Fuentealba and Benjamin Jara, all the other exceptionally talented people at RIMISP have all contributed to this work. Further invaluable elements were the guidance, support and “sparring” provided by the incredible Dr Julio Berdegué. At Lund University, Dr Susan Paulson, the supervisor of the internship has taught me so much that I do not even know where to begin to summarise her impact. Thank you for constantly making me see things from new perspectives!

All participants in the study made significant and valuable contributions. They were dedicated, interested and sincere. Thank you for taking time to explain your views on masculinity, gender issues and contemporary society in Chile. Thanks to all my newly found Chilean friends who helped me, supported me and guided me in Chilean etiquette. The latter was immensely important and I am here particularly thankful for the input of Vanesa Grbic. She always added laughter and enjoyment to my work.

To my fantastic friends in Sweden, heartfelt thanks for following my adventures and encouraging me in my times of doubt. Last, but certainly not least, a massive thanks to my wonderful family and my much loved fiancé for always supporting me, believing in me and letting me grow. You make me more than you know.

Karin Mårtensson

Lund, May 23<sup>rd</sup> 2012



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## 1. INTRODUCTION

### A NEW ERA OF MEN?

*“Mother Nature made us just the way we are”*. This quote from a previous study of the rural labour market in Chile inspired the present urban study and made me appreciate the differences in views and opinions based on contextual cultural circumstances. In particular, the essence “the way we are” caught my attention and I wanted to seek explanations to what it entails for and differ between men and women. Much as I like to believe the essence of the quoted statement, I believe that we, just as nature itself, are constantly changing and adapting and that this needs to be acknowledged, highlighted and recognised. Change is often expected to meet societal resistance. However, if we wish to develop, grow and improve, we need to adapt and accept arising changes that come with development.

In Chile, the current, ongoing social change is highly gendered. As regards expectations and new patterns of behaviour, it questions the role of primarily young adult men (Aguayo, 2010). The change entails a shift towards more liberalised views of gender roles and requires today’s young Chilean men to be different from their fathers. On the one hand, they are struggling between the eagerness to be “a real man” while still satisfying the historical models embodied in fathers’ and older men’s stereotypical perceptions of what is desirable in a man. On the other hand, they are at the centre of an ongoing sociocultural change which wants them to be humble, caring and equal with women. This change is also telling them that these new traits are more valuable today than being strong and macho. Today, a real man should also participate in the housework and childcare.

However, social changes require time. This is especially true where change relates to values that are deeply rooted in culture and in fact so inherited that they are presumed to be natural and biological. Thus, meeting the new expectations of contemporary society while still satisfying the expectations of previous generations is a great challenge facing Chile’s young adults. It entails struggling with conflicting societal institutions that want men to provide hands-on childcare, but which still do not provide paternity leave.



Chile's former collectivistic society is responding to new trends that, influenced by global changes that aim for a stronger group-concept while also encouraging individualism. Antony, one of the participants in this study, said: *"The fight is not with your surrounding; it is within yourself."* By this he meant that, instead of looking back or looking at the old social surroundings, the individual had to believe in himself/herself and seek happiness in a contemporary setting.

Another participant, Sergio, talked about gendered societal pressures and explained that: *"It [life] is just as hard for men as for women; everyone is playing the game that we are socially made to play, and the complexity of the game is equal for both men and women."* However, few of the participating women agreed with this. Instead, they claimed that they now not only have to be good mothers and wives, they also have to be successful at work while remaining beautiful, always considering their appearances. In many cases, the men in the study did not view the situation in the same way. This can be gauged from the statement on the front page: *"If a man is physically weak, but has a lot of money, he will still get the most beautiful women."* This indicates that financial success and superficialities such as getting "a beautiful woman" are still yardsticks of respect and status among men. The statement also illustrates one of the perceived differences between the roles of men and women, i.e. that a man has to be either strong or successful, while a woman has to be beautiful.

Gender is a social structure interconnected with identity. However, differing greatly from other social structures, it is related to our biology and physical qualities. The concepts of identity and biology are often regarded as being "equivalent". Such a view makes it easy to generalise gender into two fixed categories with certain attributes that apply to all men and all women (Connell, 2009). However, the perception of gender constantly reshapes in parallel with dynamic human structures and situations (ibid). They have historically evolved through the interaction of patterns of social constraints, behaviours and ingrained habits. They embrace different capabilities and competences and the structure or absence of various formal and informal institutions (Paulson, 2007). As men constitute one half of the gender, they need to be equally acknowledged not only in settings where women fare worse due to unequal power structures and antique social constitutions, but also in "functioning" societal settings.



Gender issues are ever present in social relations, and it is important to study gender as it influences all social behaviour and interaction.

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## PURPOSE AND RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The purpose of this thesis was to outline the attitudes of young Chilean men towards masculinity and how the social perception of masculinity affects their identity. Identity is an important part of gender as it comprises our thoughts on who and what we are based on either being men or women (Connell, 2009). The reason for studying masculinity is that it is very easy to always think about or refer to women when talking about gender. I specifically sought to highlight cultural expectations governing the role of the man, and how the participants in the study considered their societal role as men. The participants consisted primarily of young adult Chilean men in the capital of Santiago, and the purpose of this was to capture the people at the centre of the ongoing sociocultural change in Chile. A few women were also included in the study with the purpose of portraying the other side of the story. The results of the study are important for further investigation of masculinity worldwide, and hopefully, they also make an important contribution to gender research.

To facilitate the investigation, I structured the results around the first, overarching question;

- *What is the general sociocultural perception of masculinity in Chile today?*

The following research questions were additionally used for further analysis:

- *What are young Chilean men's attitudes towards their role as men?*
- *How are Chilean men's identity affected by the stereotypes and societal pressures against them?*

Elements involved in resolving inequalities affecting women, include the ability to address and understand the issues faced by men. By putting the challenges faced by men into a development context, we may keep contributing to knowledge and awareness about the consequences of gender inequalities. Acknowledging the situation for men, makes it easier to affect and change policies that have an impact on the gendered constraints faced by men. Examples include changing of policies that view reproductive work as women's and

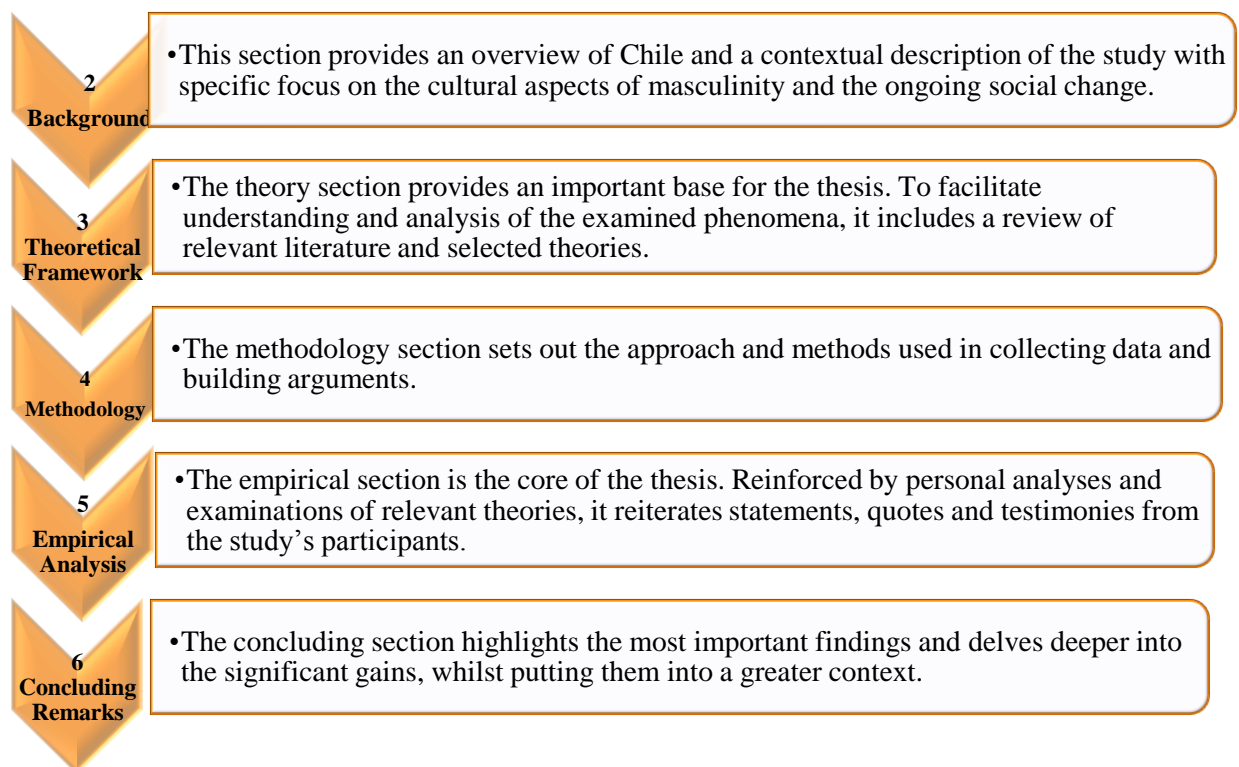




productive work as men's (Barker et al 2010). In Chile, there are no governmental policies dealing directly with issues of masculinity. However, there are various policies concerning children, families and gender equality – all of these targeting women's rights and the protection of women (Aguayo et al 2011). Integrating men into these policies would ease the burdens and domestic demands for women.

Note! Just as no gender study of women should exclude men, this study does not exclude women. Women are purposely and inevitably included in the study's results, and each research question inherently entailed some concurrence and comparison of men and women. This means that the participants were also asked to reflect on comparable situations for women, as well as asked questions concerning women. The participating women in the study were both asked about their views on their role as women, but first and foremost they were included in the study with the purpose of reflecting on their view of men's roles, what societal pressures men in particular experience, and what attitudes they as women bear towards men.

## DISPOSITION OF THESIS



## 2. BACKGROUND

*By sketching out reigning norms and trends in respect of gender and masculinity, the background section outlines the cultural context in Chile. The aim of this is to provide brief details of Chile and Santiago (where the study took place) while also facilitating understanding of the historical and cultural influences affecting the observed phenomena.*

### CULTURAL CONTEXT

Chile has a population of almost 17,000,000. With over 86 percent of the population living in cities or towns, it is said to be the most urbanised country in Latin America (McCarthy et al, 2009; INE, 2002). Santiago, the capital, is home to more than one third of Chile's people. Chile is famous for the variety of its climates and landscapes, with the world's driest desert Atacama in the north, and volcanoes, glaciers and alpine tundra in the south. The central valley, entailing the capital of Santiago, is the most densely populated and thanks to the fruitful, Mediterranean climate, a centre of agricultural production.

Chile is regarded as a stable and prosperous nation. Its economy is expanding and it was the first South American country to join the OECD (2010). Responsible for one third of the world's copper, Chile is the world's largest producer of that metal. Additionally, as a major exporter of (primarily) pork, salmon and wine, Chile's standing in the global economy has risen over the past decade. Chile is also the South American country with the least corruption. However, evidencing its struggle with major inequalities in income distribution, Chile also scores a Gini coefficient of 52.1 (World Bank, 2009<sup>1</sup>).

A culture of machismo is strongly rooted in Chilean society. Historically viewed as something admirable in men, it seems that most men now avoid admitting to being "macho". Several state led campaigns may have contributed to this when social policies for example have suggested that only a macho person would beat his wife, and this was compared to a small,

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<sup>1</sup> <http://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SI.POV.GINI>



insecure and non-manly person. A new ideal among men has slowly been shaped, and, as no one wants to be less of a man, most men claim not to be macho.

On the whole, social movements have proven to be efficient in Chile, and demonstrations and protests have gained a number of successes over the past decade (Clay, 2011). This might be one result of the historical political setbacks suffered by Chile (e.g. the military dictatorship from 1973 to 1990). Today, the population shows a clear division between supporters of the left and supporters of the right. By introducing liberal laws while also challenging conservative values, Chilean society is becoming increasingly open. The supporters of the left (previously adherents of the Allende administration, which was replaced by the Pinochet military junta) has once again started to rise.

The ongoing socioeconomic change is predominantly rooted in the political changes that followed the post-dictatorship move to democracy. However, it is also connected with the economic advances and successes that took place during the dictatorship and which still shape Chile's current economic climate. Said advances and successes were also the starting point for massive changes in the agricultural sector of the labour market, which started with an export-oriented production of cash crops such as fruits and luxury vegetables. At this time, many women were incorporated into the labour market, and, because a higher percentage of the population was "economically active", the economy made huge strides. Despite an unequal distribution of resources and wealth, this economic development saw the beginning of an increase in the options, access and liberties available to most Chileans. (McCarthy et al, 2009).

## GENDER AND MASCULINITY IN CHILE

Historically men have been titled to be the family provider and in charge of consumption needs and decision making, whereas women have been in charge of child caring and domestic work (Connell, 2009; Presser, 2010; Chant, 2002). Despite it being essential for human existence, such care and work is basically never assigned a value in the productive sector. As it does not directly bring in any money or contribute to cash flows, the current economic



system does not count it as remunerable work (Hoskyns & Rai, 2007). Men are not normally assigned a childcare role, however, changes are taking place here. For example, in Mexico, the ongoing “paternidad afectiva” [emotionally engaged fatherhood] project is acknowledged as being an important part in children’s development (Connell, 2009). “Papás por Siempre” [fathers forever] and “Amor de papá” [love of the father] are examples of similar programmes and projects in Chile (EME, 2011).

The more traditional and antique role of the man is still prevalent in Chilean society and affecting men to have a gainful employment in order to be able to provide for their families. In many cases, the man also has to be the strong defender and capable of performing physically hard work (Olavarría, 2001). Despite the massive entry of women into the labour market over the past two decades, policies continue to promote and presume a traditional family model of women still being the household’s primary caretaker. Men’s involvement in care is not encouraged and paternity leave has not been increased. Currently, such leave is restricted to five days in the first month (Aguayo et al 2011). Other examples of gendered disadvantages are that divorce was not allowed until 2005, and in cases of separation, the mother automatically gets custody of the children. The suicide rate for men is six times higher than that for women, yet Chile’s public health system presents numerous barriers for men seeking access to mental health services. Alcohol abuse is another major problem that is essentially own by men. Additionally, men are the main victims of violence and, at the same time overwhelmingly the perpetrators of domestic violence against women (ibid).

Changing social structures and habits takes a very long time. Chile is an interesting country for gender and masculinity studies as it is one of the most economically advanced and developed countries in Latin America but, at the same time, one of the most conservative, hierarchical and hegemonic as regards gender and gendered cultural traditions (Olavarría, 2001). Longstanding religious traditions and Catholic outlooks also influence current culture, norms and behaviour – especially those connected with gender as feminine norms [marianismo] used to be taught in school (Yeager, 2005). Particularly, the Catholic Church has shaped the view of the woman as the “Virgin Mary” (ibid).



Women are responsible for only half as much of the remunerable work as men (Connell, 2009) but are over-represented in domestic work (Chant, 2002). Being an economically advanced country with an old-fashioned gender order is conflicting in terms of development as equality between men and women, as well as equal access to resources and opportunities are prerequisites for development to continue and reach all levels of society (Sweetman, 2004; Momsen, 2004). Just as other inequalities, gender inequalities lead to unequal development in different sectors and, consequently, an overall loss in national performance. Countries in which human development is unequally distributed also exhibit high levels of gender inequality (UNDP<sup>2</sup>). The Gender Inequality Index for Chile is just as high, or higher, than that for other Latin American countries with far less human development (ibid). The reasons for this discrepancy are worth investigating.

### 3. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

#### LITERATURE REVIEW

*The literature review examines contemporary research and important studies by various researchers on gender and masculinity. The aim is to give a broad picture of the topic and facilitate an understanding of the wider context (both Chilean and worldwide). The literature was chosen with a view to promoting a deep understanding of masculinity issues while simultaneously avoiding any prejudices against men and any misapprehension that gender issues relate solely to women. Connell, the main source, is possibly the world's leading researcher in masculinity.*

#### GENDER = MEN AND WOMEN

In the 1970s, the women's movement for justice was the starting point of modern gender studies. It was spurred by most gender orders in the world benefitting men and disadvantaging women - a basic fact confirmed by a large amount research (Connell, 2009). In both

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<sup>2</sup> <http://hdr.undp.org/en/statistics/gii/>



scholarship and applied work, there has been a significant shift from the previous notion of “women and development” to “gender and development” (Ashley & Maxwell, 2001:396). Two important notions here are: 1) acknowledging that gender necessarily entails men and women and that efforts to encourage gendered opportunities and reduce gendered constraints must be made for both men and women; 2) recognising that far greater differences and inequalities exist among individuals and groups within the category of “women” and within the category of “men” than between the general categories themselves (Paulson, 2007).

Nonetheless, despite this development, there has been little focus on the situation for men. Not only women are affected by unfavourable gender relations. Gender constraints and socially constructed difficulties in societies all over the world affect both men and women, and many men suffer gendered violence and exploitation (Coldwell, 2009:173). In many parts of the world, men are encouraged to be tough and stoic from an early age; using violence and physical strength is acceptable and sometimes even encouraged for men (Connell, 2009). This does not make oppression, violence or pressures against women *less* important, but violence both against men and women, and both executed by men and women are based in gendered oppressions and expectations. Thus, men who, by being homosexual, feminine or physically weak, deviate from “dominant masculinity” are often subjected to psychological abuse, discrimination or violence (Mannon & Kemp, 2010).

Welsh (2010:300) encourages further studies in the field of “Masculinities and Development” with a focus on incorporating men, men’s identities and specific challenges for men into the gender analysis. Masculinity is a difficult concept to discuss due to conflicting points of view, limited awareness or application of existing research, and tremendous ideological resistance. For example, it is not possible to generalise the features of “all men”. Societal context shapes different types of masculinity. Thereto, we have learned from the problems of generalising all women. It is interesting to note that in many variables (income, education, wealth, life span, health, etc.) the range within the group of men tends to be larger than the range within the group of women (Paulson, 2007).

According to Jacobson (2002:IV); “*Men face major disadvantages due to their masculine roles, particularly in the destruction of human capital through communicable disease,*



*occupational injury, violence, substance abuse, and institutionalization. In the area of human capital accumulation, specifically in formal schooling, men also fare worse than women*". This is the effect of those societal pressures that push men to, for example, take more risks than women. In many cases, it is men who are expected to perform dangerous tasks at work. At the same time, women are protected and/or hindered from performing tasks that might be unsafe (Mårtensson, 2012). This reinforces the stereotype of "all" men being stronger tougher, and more persistent than women. Especially in societies such as Chile (where inherited, conservative, masculine practices predominate), men who do not fit into such stereotypical roles may face serious identity problems and social difficulties (Ballara, 2007).

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## MEN AND MASCULINITY

Men are also victims of patriarchy, gender-based violence, stereotypes and inequalities (Coldwell, 2009). Nonetheless, men are rarely seen as victims (and will not be portrayed as such in this thesis), but compared to women in exposed vulnerable settings, men are usually pointed at as perpetrators and "bad guys". This is perhaps particularly so in Latin America where "machismo" is still a part of social structures (Welsh, 2010). Historically, machismo embodies a concept of male toughness. More recently, the term has been used in connection with men who dominate and who are often condescending to others (men and women alike). The basic idea is that of a strong well-built tall man, stereotypically referred to as the "alpha male". However, in today's context, machismo is no longer solidly connected with appearance and physicality, but is rather a matter of attitudes and behaviour (Clay, 2011).

Machismo culture reinforces negative stereotypes against men and underpins the prejudices dictating how a "real" man should look and behave. If he fails to meet these expectations, he loses his legitimacy as a man and his social standing. He has to be able to provide for his woman and his family and must be strong, dominant, self-confident and successful (Cuesta, 2006). To be unemployed, physically weak or, even worse, to have a "feminine" side is both deplorable and appalling. *"...from a very early age, boys are pressurized into a brutal self-censorship process that forbids the development of sensitivity, the expression of feelings and emotions and the very human act of looking after and caring for others and ultimately for themselves"* (Welsh 2010:299). Welsh further declares that development work focused on



changing the social context of women will not be successful if unaccompanied by a focus on the role of men. As men are part of the problem of gender inequalities, men must also be part of the solution (Connell, 2005).

Courtenay (2000) argues that there is a general social construction of men as “the stronger sex”, which underlying implies that women are the weaker sex. If this is a general and accepted societal view, it affects the lives of all men and women in the society in question. From such a standpoint, achieving equal access and opportunities is presumably impossible. Even if stronger/weaker relates solely to physical attributes, it still affects everyday situations by shaping a general opinion and creating two polar opposites – weaker versus stronger. Courtenay (2000) further points out that many of today’s parents attempt to compensate for this by treating boys more gently. Nonetheless, the general attitude towards boys is still that they must be nurtured to be more resilient than girls. If society maintains this and expects men to be more resilient throughout their lives, men will consequently expose themselves to a wider range of risks.

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## THE CONCEPT OF MASCULINITY

*“Mass culture generally assumes there is a fixed, true masculinity beneath the ebb and flow of daily life. We hear of ‘real men’, natural man’, the ‘deep masculine’”* (Connell, 2005:45). Massive amount of research in sex-differences between men and women concerning psychological traits and mental capacities in fact reveals very few differences. Instead, what is found are social differences such as unequal incomes, unequal access to power, labour divisions and unequal childcare responsibilities – all justified by a belief in the existence of psychological differences (Connell, 2005).

According to Connell (2005) masculinity is not to be seen as an isolated object, but rather as an aspect of a larger structure. The truth is that there really is no single universal definition of masculinity. Instead, based on social factors and local dynamics, each context and social setting gives rise to its own definition. In the constant search for something concrete and figurative, most people simplify general or average behaviour and, constructing the “ideal” men and women, assign terms such as “masculine” and “feminine”.





International research has confirmed that gender orders construct multiple masculinities (Barker et al, 2010). Valdés and Olavarría (cited in Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005) show that, even in a culturally homogeneous country like Chile, there is no standardised masculinity and that patterns vary from class to class and between generations. Yet, even if there is no single definition of the term, there is still a widely spread normative recognition of masculinity as something heroic, tough and aggressive. This is probably based on the normative “ideal man”, a concept exaggerated by movies with heroic, tough men who bear little resemblance to “everyday men”. In fact, we know that most men are *not* like these “role models”. Thus, failing to meet this norm, are most men “unmasculine”? – (Connell, 2005) Furthermore, why is being called “feminine” or “like a woman” such a grave insult for men? Funk and Werhun (2011) investigate the implications of perceptions of “not being man enough”, how gender-role harassment significantly threatens a man’s sense of manhood and how this leads to cognitive obstruction and weakened self-control.

## THEORIES

*Using gender role theory, attitude theory and stereotypes and social identity theory I will be able to facilitate understanding of the collected data and analyse its deeper implications. Every theory is applicable to all of the research questions. The theories were chosen for their appropriateness in explaining gendered behaviour and the importance of social belonging. The latter greatly shape human identity and, in turn, affect human behaviour.*

## GENDER ROLE THEORY

*“Gender roles are those shared expectations that apply to individuals on the basis of their socially identified sex. According to this definition, people hold expectations about the behaviors that are appropriate to an individual because they identify the person as a member of the social category that consists of either females or males” (Eagly, 2000: 448). There is an assumed connection between behaviours and the sex of a person. In turn, each sex is socially ascribed certain attributes that then create its gender. Hence, the biological sex of a person immediately shapes expectations that separate males and females into men and women, and expect them to behave differently based on their sex. In this two-group categorisation, there is*



a tacit implication that the traits assigned to each sex are universal and apply to everyone within each group (Passer & Smith, 2004).

Gender roles are built on expectations not only of how people typically behave, but also of how they should behave. This is why gender roles are also called *descriptive norms* (Eagly, 2000). Many of those who have researched stereotypes and gender have found that a stereotypic way of behaving generally corresponds with a way of behaving that is perceived as desirable and a popular belief about the behaviour of the “ideal” man or woman. These findings imply that, to reach the ideal, many men and women strive to enhance the differences between the sexes. By doing what is commonly desirable and admirable, people gain approval. *“The most likely route to social approval in most situations and a smoothly functioning social interaction is to behave consistently with one’s gender role or at least to avoid strongly deviating from this role”* (Eagly, 2000:449). This reinforces gendered stereotypes. The roles are also important in “marital appropriateness” (Dasgupta & Basu, 2011). This latter study found that traditional femininity is associated with better marital status and that this, in turn, is associated with non-working women. Traditional views of marriage also encompass the Catholic traditions inherited by Chilean society (Yeager, 2005).

Gender roles are created during childhood when boys and girls learn “appropriate behaviour” from their family and the surroundings. This is a normal way of adapting to social settings, and it is natural for parents to transfer beliefs and values to their children. Gender role theory proposes that all gender differences are a product of socialisation and are thus not physical (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). In its turn, social role theory proposes that social structures are the forces that underlie gender differences. Determined by reigning context and local culture, these structures differ. Dasgupta and Basu explain that *“gender roles are never fixed; particularly in recent years, gender roles are supposedly undergoing rapid change under the globalized economy”* (2011:360). While describing the general sociocultural construction of masculinity in Chile today, this theory will be used primarily in relation to those social influences of “appropriate and expected” behaviours that are interpreted as biological traits.



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## ATTITUDE THEORY AND STEREOTYPES

“An attitude is a positive or negative evaluative reaction toward a stimulus, such as a person, action, object or concept.” (Tesser & Shaffer, cited in Passer & Smith, 2004:595). “Our attitudes help define our identity, guide our actions, and influence how we judge people.” (Maio & Olson, cited in Passer & Smith, 2004:595). This means that whether agreeing or disagreeing with something, we are still expressing an evaluative reaction. When this evaluation occurs, people respond with cognition, affection and/or certain behaviour. This cognition covers the responder’s thoughts, his/her affection (feelings or emotions), and behaviour/actions in respect of the object on which agreement or disagreement was expressed. In the creation of stereotypes, cognition is the underlying shaper. Hence, the cognitive response or thoughts to/about a person or a group are synonymous with the stereotypes for this group. Applying these theories, we can analyse the effects of the stereotyping evidenced by the men in the present study.

Stereotypes are descriptive, contextualised norms that, shared by a social or cultural group, reflect a general consensus. “A stereotype is defined as the attributes that an individual ascribes to a social group.” (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989:543-544). It embodies a tendency to judge people based on their perceived “group belonging” rather than on their personal features (Passer & Smith, 2004). Stereotypes or prejudices are likely to grow stronger if self-esteem is threatened or if there are other reasons to doubt one’s own social belonging (ibid). Here, to more closely examine the stereotypes reigning against men, I will use the concept of attitude theory, which according to Eagly and Mladinic (1989) is relevant for understanding this. A person’s cognitive thoughts or attitudes are connected with that person’s beliefs. These are usually positive or negative and thus have an evaluative function. Consequently, a person who evaluates something favourably is more likely to associate it with positive rather than negative attributes, and vice versa.

The gender roles present in each social context guide normative behaviour that reinforces existing stereotypes (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Gendered stereotypes are defined as “the attributes that people believe are more characteristic of one sex than the other” (ibid:545). ). One problem with socially ascribed gender attributes is that people of certain social groups



may endorse the expected behaviour as appropriate and “normal”. In turn, this strengthens the prejudices for each gender (Eagly, 2000). For example, if a man or a woman does not meet standardised expectations, he or she might be seen as deviating from the normal/accepted and, consequently, treated as an outsider. It may also be very hard to dare to differ from existing social norms. Additionally, the more entrenched that beliefs in gendered attributes become, the greater the common belief that they are biological.

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## SOCIAL IDENTITY THEORY

Identity theory aims at conceptualising the “self”. Self-categorisation forms identity by categorising and classifying the self in relation to other social categories (Stets & Burke, 2000). Ashforth and Mael (1989) argue that social identification is a perception of oneness with a group of persons and that it stems from categorisation of individuals. In order to create a feeling of social belonging (something that is very important for self-confidence and self-actualisation), people tend to classify themselves and others into various social categories. Examples here include organisations, memberships, religions, genders and age groups (Passer & Smith, 2004). The individual’s self-esteem is based on two components, namely, a personal identity and a group identity (ibid). Coleman (1988) describes this gain of social belonging as a social capital.

Social identification leads to action that harmonises with the identity of stereotypical perceptions of the self and others. Besides segmenting and ordering the social environment, a social identity also gives the individual a systematic means of defining others. *“A person is assigned the prototypical characteristics of the category to which he or she is classified”* (Ashforth & Mael, 1989:21). These characteristics are usually conditioned by social norms and could be a combination of different identities, and they do not necessarily echo reality. Instead, they are more a personal reflection of the person making the identification (oneself or others). A social identification is also a classification that enables the individual to define himself/herself in the social context and in relation to others. Social identity is merely about a role in a group and in relation to others, i.e. how people come to see themselves as members of one group or category. The pursuit of social belonging affects and governs behaviour that



reconfirms the identity of, and the belonging to, the group (Stets & Burke, 2000). Comparison with others is constant and continuously reaffirms self-esteem. This process affects personality and, consequently, behaviour. Consequently, action for individual gain is, ultimately, social capital, as they wouldn't gain success without a social effect (Coleman, 1988).

## OPERATIONALIZATION

The above theories were chosen to highlight the core of the study's empirical data and help analyse what was actually being said while determining its core meaning. Using the theories to examine statements and testimonies from different participants aids full appreciation of the research questions guiding the entire study. Gender role theory helps primarily in understanding the general sociocultural construction of masculinity in Chile today. Besides helping to understand the process of social identification among Chilean men and women, social identity theory will also link testimonies to what they reveal about the importance of belonging and social meaning. Attitude theory is constantly present as the empirical data presents the participants' views and opinions, from which, pros and cons arose while valuing things. Such valuation was done spontaneously by the participants, even when not requested. This illustrates the tendency to seek to comprehend social interactions by classify things as good or bad, better or worse, etc.

Attitude theory is also highly important for the second research question about the attitudes towards the role as men. Here, my participants described their views of societal roles and attitudes towards stereotypes and social expectations. The component about stereotypes is important as it condition daily behaviour in several ways. This conditioning is discussed in every section of the analysis. In the third research question regarding men's identity, stereotypes are merely used, along with social identity theory, in helping to understand the effects of the societal pressures that both men and women face.



With the following scheme I seek to show the flow of the analysis that begins with the 1<sup>st</sup>, most general research question, aiming at giving a background portrayal of the general construction of masculinity and gendered roles. Thereafter, it continues with the more specific 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> research questions. Each research question has emerged into different themes. These themes help in sorting and understanding the results. It is hoped that starting wide with the first, most general question, and continuing with an analysis that goes deeper into the more narrowly focused questions, aids the overall understanding. The theories outlined in this chapter are overarching and used to illustrate the themes under each research question. Some of the sources from the literature review will also recur in the analysis.

- RQ 1: *What is the general sociocultural perception of masculinity in Chile today?*

Themes:

- \* A god and desirable man
- \* Expectations on men and women
- \* Differences in expectations

- RQ 2: *What are young Chilean men's attitudes towards their role as men?*

Themes:

- \* Being a gentleman
- \* Macho men

- RQ 3: *How are Chilean men's identity affected by the stereotypes and societal pressures against them?*

Themes:

- \* Physical traits and appearance
- \* Effects on identity



## 4. METHODOLOGY

*The purpose of this section is to explain what data was collected, how it was collected and used, why this method was chosen and finally how the data is presented. The section also entails important explanations to the selection of participants, including the reasoning behind that particular sample. This is important as the results from the interviews form the core of the thesis.*

### RESEARCH DESIGN

Qualitative research is usually best suited to the investigation of social occasions and contexts where the aim is to explore and analyse the social behaviour of people (De Laine, 2000) and where the researcher tends to interact with the participants in the study. The choice of a qualitative research method here was natural. The goal was to acquire a deeper understanding of the participant's perceptions of masculinity, their attitudes towards this and how they identified themselves as men. A qualitative study leads to a deeper understanding of why and how. It also helps to capture subjective perception and individuals' points of view (Walkerdine et al 2002).

The study used an inductive bottom-up approach, meaning that data was collected without a previously formed supposition or theory that would govern the research (Mikkelsen, 2005). An inductive aim is usually linked with interpretivism that springs from the epistemological approach (Bryman, 2008). Adopting a constructionist stance, an ontological approach was thereto used. Consequently, the study aimed to describe the views of the participants using their own subjective reflections, thoughts and understandings (Mikkelsen, 2005). No answer could thus be right or wrong, as the participants create the social realities in the world around them.

The reason for choosing this open method was that I did not want to be tied to research or theory before starting my investigation. I feared that any other approach might influence neutrality at the interviews. Not having too much pre-knowledge makes it is easier to keep an open and neutral mind. Indeed, not starting to immediately analyse findings is perhaps the greatest advantage of such explorative approaches.



## COLLECTION OF DATA

### SOURCES OF DATA

The study was based primarily on qualitative data such as interviews, group discussions and observations. Data was collected from the main metropolitan region of Chile's capital, Santiago. Collection took place between October and December 2011 and was based on: sixteen interviews with men from different social sectors and work backgrounds; and, five interviews with women with different occupations, some of these jobs being socially considered more appropriate for men. Two of the interviews were performed in groups of three. One of these was a mix of one man and two women who all knew each other very well. The other comprised three men who did not know each other. Secondary data from a study on the same topic in a different area was also used. This secondary data included national statistics and qualitative interviews that I, together with colleagues at RIMISP/DTR<sup>3</sup>, collected in autumn 2011.

As the investigation was carried out in an urban area, there is an urban bias. This urban bias means that the same study in a rural area would most likely have given different results as regards perceptions of the role of the man and views of gender. However, the study's aims included gauging "urbanised opinions", assessing these latter from an urban perspective and additionally asking the urban sample what they believed the situation to be in rural areas. The changes in social structures referred to in the analysis are primarily under way in urban areas in Chile. However, it is important to remember that the results are not representative for all Chilean men. Bearing in mind the large social and economic differences also within urban areas in Chile, differences in opinions are most probable.

In order to ensure the correctness of expressions and meaning, the interview guide was translated in collaboration with a Chilean colleague. It was then piloted on two other

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<sup>3</sup> RIMISP – Latin American Center for Rural Development / DTR (RTD) Rural Territorial Dynamics Program.





colleagues (both men). Necessary changes were made after each of these pre-tests. Each interview was recorded and then fully transcribed, and two Chileans were hired to transcribe the interviews. These individuals were familiar with the language, local expressions and slang, but they had no connections with the study or the participants in any way.

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## PARTICIPANTS OF THE STUDY

The study participants were all chosen based on certain criteria (outlined below) and a purposive sample. The motive for this was to find men working in professions either dominated by men, or associated with women. The latter sample might possibly be subjected to societal pressures different from those faced by men working in typical “male” professions. Women were chosen based on reversed reasons. Distinction between these occupations is social constructions that have acquired a “true and natural” status in Chile. Examples of gendered labelled professions include construction, roadwork and childcare. There are basically no women in the first two of these and extremely few men in the third. To some extent, the participants came from a convenient sample, i.e. a sample that, based on accessibility, was available to the researcher. For example, persons of whom the researcher had knowledge and who satisfied the criteria. After a couple of interviews had been conducted, the sample “snowballed” (Bryman, 2008).

The main selection criteria were that the participants should have various things in common, i.e. men should be 20 to 35 years old and preferably work in either male dominated sectors or in sectors associated with women. The work criteria for the sample’s few women were the reverse of these. “Difference” was amongst the other criteria, such as different levels of income, different levels of education, different cultural, social and political backgrounds, different socioeconomic classes and different types of work<sup>4</sup>. All of these factors affect opinions and bear correlation with upbringing. These factors may also affect views of masculinity and the men’s views of themselves as men. The majority of the participants had, or were studying for, a university degree. All belonged to the urbanised “middle-class”. Thus,

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<sup>4</sup> A complete table of each participant’s attributes is given in Appendix II.

even if there were disparities within the group, it could still be seen as cohesive, especially if compared to a different context.

Intentionally, there was also the aim of examining people who did not live in a nuclear family. Some of the participants had steady partners, and others had children but were separated. The reason for this aim was the desire that participants should be “free” and thus view things from a personal and general perspective unaffected by major family considerations. Responses were not generalised but, in order to form a bigger picture and deeper understanding, compared and assessed. Some of the quotes are shown in original language in the appendix, as not all could be translated directly.<sup>5</sup> To maintain anonymity, all the participants’ names have been changed. In the text, the various statements and quotes are linked to the fake names assigned to the participants. Even if there is not a quote from every participant, each participant was of unique significance to the study and their voices are embedded in the complete analysis. There was no interview that was not relevant.

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## INTERVIEWS

Collecting data via interviews is an excellent way of interacting with participants, and according to Holstein and Gubrium (2004), the essence of qualitative research. An interview guide<sup>6</sup> was created and used as a base to cover certain topics. However, each interview situation was unique and the questions were asked differently and in a random order determined by the flow of the conversation. It was participatory as the researcher was as an integral part of the interview situation, guiding a two-way process rather than a one-way exchange of information. A non-hierarchical relationship was employed. This framed the perspective of the interviewee and, besides a high level of reciprocity between researcher and interviewee, entailed the developing of a rapport (Norfolk et al, 2007). In other words, there was “mutual” conversation in a relaxed setting where the researcher sought to inspire the interviewee with confidence and trust. This was very important to the study. The subject was,

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<sup>5</sup> Quotes in their original language are given in Appendix III.

<sup>6</sup> A complete report of the interview questions is given in Appendix I.



to some extent, sensitive and, above all else, new. Being a foreign woman investigating masculinity in a formerly conservative and chauvinistic country could have been troublesome in terms of interviewees not wanting to open up. However, no such trouble was experienced. Great trust was gained and interviewees seized on the offered support and encouragement.

## METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

Many factors could influence the data collection process and thereby jeopardise the study's reliability. The relationship between interviewer and interviewee is one such factor. While maintaining a professional distance, a certain level of conscious rapport building might be necessary. In the situations in question, it was felt that creating a relationship of trust should be given greater focus than strict neutrality and "traditional" professionalism. The researcher, a foreign outsider, was, after all, asking personal questions on a rarely discussed or considered topic that might be seen as both controversial and sensitive. Expecting interviewees to share private opinions and thoughts would not have been reasonable without an environment of trust having first been created. Similarly, questionnaires or the suchlike would not have been enough – the engendering of trust encouraged the interviewees to talk. Mikkelsen (2005) states that the trust between interviewer and interviewee should never be compromised. The ethical code and the obligations inherent in the researcher-respondent relationship must be maintained at all times.

Another factor to bear in mind when conducting this type of research is that the interviewees are inevitably influenced by their awareness that they are part of a study. Berg (2007) states that correspondents are always coloured by previous experiences, as well as by their opinions and knowledge of the subject. A desire to give a "correct" or "satisfactory" answer may compromise reliability. Influenced by a "social desirability bias", answers and behaviour may be modified (Passer & Smith, 2004), i.e. there is a "...*tendency to respond in a socially acceptable manner rather than according to how one truly feels or behaves*" (36). Silverman (1997) describes this phenomenon as the "halo-effect", self-glorification in order to look good or better. Such glorification can be deliberate or unwitting. Feeling that it occurred in the



present study, appropriate allowances were made in analysing the interviews. It was very often felt that interviewees tried to give what they believed was the “correct” answer or the one the researcher wanted to hear. To counteract this, more than one question was asked on the same issue and put in different ways and at different times in the interviews. It was also clearly explained beforehand that there were no right or wrong answers, that the researcher was only interested in the interviewees’ personal opinions and that the researcher was not looking to prove a hypothesis.

## 5. EMPIRICAL ANALYSIS

*This section seeks to draw a picture of the participants’ views of masculinity in Chile and their views of their roles as men. Reinforced with quotes and short stories from the participants, it mixes references to various theories and analyses of various points into a synthesis of all the observations and interviews. The section is sorted in accordance with the three research questions, as explained in the operationalization. All quotes and statements are the participants’ personal testimonies and expressions of feeling. Unless otherwise stated, they are not the researcher’s opinions or meant to portray an absolute truth. Rather, they are the realities perceived by the participants. Some of the quotes have been lifted out from the paragraphs to facilitate reading, but also to highlight the most illustrative, represented, controversial and/or noteworthy quotes.*

### WHAT IS THE GENERAL SOCIOCULTURAL PERCEPTION OF MASCULINITY IN CHILE TODAY?

#### THE ROLE OF THE GOOD AND DESIRABLE MAN

It is important to be a respectable and decent man in Chile. According to the participants, a good man is portrayed as considerate, responsible, committed, intelligent, sympathetic, reliable, pleasant, generous, and joyful. He should also have a high level of education and be a good employee. Having a good well-paid job is important. A sought-after profession (e.g. architect, engineer or doctor) is even better and valued more highly. “*Now days it is important to have a professional title, such as being doctor or engineer.*” (Fernando) Thus, there is general pressure for men to “make something of themselves” and have material possessions. On top of this, a man is expected to be a good father and a generally loving



person. Understandably, this is not very easy to achieve. However, despite the obstacles, it is still crucial in gaining respect as a man, something that is itself perceived as very important. All participants mentioned several of the abovementioned positive traits. To some extent, I believe that, for them, the traits went to make up the ideal man. Participants also claimed to personally have a number of these traits and it was very evident that the societal norms of what constitutes a good man are clear and that each man was trying to fulfil this role. Pablo said: *“I believe that the majority of Chilean men feel bad when they cannot fulfil this role, but I don’t know why.”* It was further explained to me that this role was more about obligations than options. It is simply what is expected of a man, whether he wants it or not. If a man did not fulfil this “obligation”, he would be a disappointment to others.

When the participants were asked to describe a good woman, they gave more or less the same attributes as for a good man. She too should be considerate, reliable, and pleasant. It was also explained that she should work. However, this was mentioned after giving all the other traits. For men, the profession was the first subject touched upon. It is apparent that professions are still more associated with men than women and that, despite the ongoing change, this association is deeply ingrained in men and women alike. Descriptive norms are as Eagly (2000) declared, hard to change. The association most likely springs from the traditional role of the wife in maintaining what Dasgupta & Basu (2010) in their research term a “marital quality”.

Antony declared that being a good person is important regardless if you are a man or a woman, and that the individual should always be good to others and to himself/herself. The core of this is responsibility. However, Sergio believed that responsibility was more a feature of women. He believed that men tend to be more irresponsible. He explained that, for example, a woman could not deny maternity because it is a sense inherent in all women. It was also explained that, in general, men have less responsibility in Chilean life. If he wants, a man can always escape the responsibilities of caring for children. As gender role theory suggests (Eagly, 2000), such thoughts result in both men and women being the targets of high expectations and a great deal of pressure. The suggestion that men are less responsible influences them to be less responsible, i.e. that is what is expected of them from a normative



perspective (ibid). However, Juan explained that there is a disadvantage in the above-mentioned aspect of being a man as he cannot choose when to have children even if he wants to.

For at least one woman in the study (Emilie), it was clear that being able to choose for herself and not being dependent on a man was of great importance, things that appeared to be limited options for women. Pedro stated that women are much less free to choose:

*“The good thing about being a man in the modern society is that we have the liberty to choose what role we want to have within the family. I believe that women have to face greater and more difficult decisions, and face greater consequences of the general discrimination.”*

This is probably an important observation as several participants mentioned the different freedom of choice for men and women. Even if several participants explained that a good man also has to participate in the household and help with the children, the main responsibility still falls on the mother. Fernanda:

*“Today one understands that the man helps out in the home, but it is not because it in fact is his obligation.”*

Sergio sought to explain that fathers have to participate by playing with the children, spending time with them and, for example, taking them to the Zoo. It is noticeable that the general social construction of parenthood still places most parental obligations on the mother. Even though fathers may participate more, mothers are the “responsible” ones and the main care providers. Many men see their role as just to be with and to play with the children. This reinforces the general social construction of traditional gender roles (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989).

The socially shaped gendered role for a woman is that she should always prioritise motherhood and take responsibility when men do not. This is because responsibility is perceived as being part of a woman’s nature. If this is in alignment with expected norms and behaviours, social identity theory posits that people in the society in question will identify



themselves with what is expected and inherit the associated attributes, as Stets and Burke (2000) explain. This is especially so if they believe that such identification is universal for everyone within their gender. In the Chilean context this may historically spring from the constitution of 1856:

*"Make of every woman, no matter how humble her condition, a good wife and mother and of every man an intelligent worker and honorable citizen."* (Yeager, 2005:211).

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## EXPECTATIONS ON MEN AND WOMEN IN CHILE

Both Chilean men and women struggle with societal expectations and pressures. Sergio claimed that the worst things with being a man are that *"he has the social weight to maintain the family economically"* and *"in general the woman always expects the man to take the initiative."* He saw that this statement also embodied a lack of freedom for the woman; she always has to wait for the man to take the initiative and suggest plans and courses of action. Indeed, Thomas stated that it is frowned upon for a woman to take the initiative and that the behaviours of Chilean men and women are greatly determined by social expectations such as this. This strengthens the historical stereotypes of man the provider and woman the main care provider, and as research shows, these stereotypical roles are still the status quo in Chile. This is probably connected with the lack of conditions helping women gain equal access to the labour market (Mårtensson, 2012) and a lack of formal institutions encouraging men to participate in childcare (SERNAM<sup>7</sup>).

In the household, the man is expected to be the financial provider. Yet, society expects women to start families. Fernanda stated that it is regarded as strange if a woman does not have a man and a child by 30. Men claimed that, by 30, they are expected to have a good job, be successful, have a family and, preferably, already a child. Does this mean that equally

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<sup>7</sup> <http://portal.sernam.cl/>



much is expected of women and men? Fernanda explained: *“I think that everything in life is much simpler for men. In reality, life is much more difficult for women.”* Juan disagreed:

*“A pretty woman with nice breasts and a nice ass, she finds a moneyed man and doesn’t have to work anymore in her life.”*

Fernanda responded by claiming that a woman has to be excellent at work, in the house, in the family, as mothers, as professionals and as a woman. *“She is expected to be a lady at the table and a whore in bed.”* Expectations like these reinforce the prejudices on women to be kind, polite and well behaved on the one hand but, on the other, some sort of sexual goddesses. Women have to fulfil both these “polar” roles so that they can please men. This view springs from the traditional role of the “marianismo” – the innocent, beautiful Virgin Mary as Yeager (2010) explains. Cristian confirmed this pressure: *“For a woman, the pressure to be beautiful is much stronger than it is for a man.”*

Applying attitude theory, these expectations, when labelled as positive or negative, acquire values. As outlined by Eagly and Mladinic (1989), the expectations are then not stated simply as facts, but weighed as “better” or “worse”, which complicates outcomes. A woman is valued on her performance in the expected traits and then, based on people’s attitudes, is “worth” more or less as a woman. Another example is that both men and women have to be intellectually strong. As such strength is now a gateway to money, it is more important than physical strength. It appeared as the intellect was more important for men, while appearance and beauty was more important for women. These attributes have positive and negative poles, each of which elicits certain emotions (Passer & Smith, 2004). For example, for a man, earning a lot of money is both important and a sign and guarantee of success – he can get a beautiful woman. Furthermore, a woman needs to combine being beautiful with being a good mother and, preferably, have a good education and a respectable profession.

Cristian further explained that, in rural areas, traditional roles are much stronger than they are in Santiago; the woman is still the housewife and the man the authoritarian provider. In rural areas, mothers do not usually have high levels of education. Additionally, Conservative thinking and a Catholic view of life are, according to Cristian, very common among the least





privileged. But the interesting thing is that, apart from the religious outlook and the authoritarian division, this “lifestyle” is no different in the richest urban families – women simply choose not to study because there is no need to. Instead, while their husbands are working, they stay at home to take care of the children, the house and themselves. Jorge stated that, in the upper social classes, it is seen as culturally bad for women to work. They do not need to, and not having to work, or having the freedom not to work, is a sign of high class.

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### WHAT ARE DIFFERENCES IN EXPECTATIONS BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN?

Pablo claimed that each gender had to satisfy the same requirements to qualify as “good”. He believed that, except for the obvious (visible) biological differences, men and women did not differ in any other way. This is a controversial but interesting statement, although in complete alignment with what Connell (2005) posits when he declares that, in reality, there is no proof of differences between men and women in mental capacities and psychological abilities. However, societal expectations are still different. For a woman, the general expectation is still that she should get married and be a mother. Even though there is a general expectation that women should also have a professional work, this expectation is greater for men. Fernanda claimed that:

*“In reality, men have to be more successful than women.”*

She continued: *“I understand that they [people in general] have higher expectations on men to be professionals than women. Because of this, the most demanding occupations are masculine.”* If men are expected to be successful, the pressure to be successful is higher because of the social anticipation. Men will then identify themselves with the anticipation, and be identified by women in the same way (Stets & Burke, 2000).

Pedro agreed that there was this expectation. However, he opined that, besides having to be professionals, men also have the pressure to start a family and become good fathers: *“There is no explicit difference in what is expected of men and women. However, there is a subliminal difference as regards what is expected of each gender.”* People may generally state that the pressures faced by men and women are the same, yet these same people have different



thoughts about what is expected of men and women as individuals. Manuel explained that, as regards behaviour, the social pressures faced by men and women were very different: *“If a woman goes out with ten men, it is frowned upon. That is not the conduct of a good woman. However, if a man goes out with many women, he is almost to be respected.”* Jorge explained: *“In general, women accept a man seeing many women. However, men don’t tolerate that women sees other men. It is almost taboo.”*

The labour market presents another example of differences in societal pressures. Even though there has been a gendered change in the Chilean labour market and more women are working today than 20 years ago, women are expected to become professionals while still being mothers and responsible for the household. As long as this gendered expectation is socially accepted, the situation will not change. Change is hindered by the suppositions not only that men must be more successful in their work and have better jobs, but also that they must earn more. Pablo claimed:

*“It is a societal apprehension that if the man earns less than the woman, still, in fact, the man will feel bad because of this.”*

Nonetheless, while the home and children are ultimately the woman’s responsibilities, the man *has* to work. Otherwise, he is seen as lazy and unsuccessful. Not working is not necessarily seen as a bad thing for a woman (Thomas). This illustrates prejudices that impact on men and women as worker and mother respectively. Manuel provided a good example when he sought to explain the sharing of the burden of childcare:

*“I am a present father, I always see my son. I pay for his school, everything. I always travel, because he lives in the south of Chile. I travel once a month to see him.”*

For him, this situation was neither peculiar nor incorrect. That the mother of his child had primary responsibility for providing care was not only socially inherited, but also entirely “legitimate” in Chile. This makes behavioural change even more complicated.



Why are these social attributes still present in well-developed Chile, where everyone states that men and women are equal and the same? Evidently, there is a mixture of pressures. Women face the pressure of finding a good profession so that they are not financially dependent on men. However, this pressure exists alongside the paradoxical pressure for men to provide for the family financially while women retain primary responsibility for childcare. Cristian concluded: *“It is much easier being a man.”* The reason for this he declared was that:

*“It is like the man always has much more liberty to choose and is less criticized in different aspects.”*

David agreed that almost everything in Chilean life is much simpler for men. Franco explained that the reasons for this are the responsibilities assigned to women. Even if it is the man who has to make decisions, making decisions is not the hard part. What is hard is having to submit to decisions made by another person. Again, this is connected to traditional values of gender roles (Dasgupta & Basu, 2011) and social identity which categorize the rights for men and women (Ashforth & Mael, 1989).

## WHAT ARE YOUNG CHILEAN MEN’S ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEIR ROLE AS MEN?

### GENTLEMEN...

Being a gentleman – *caballero* – is extremely important in Chilean society and all the interviewees highlighted the importance of this. There were only a few differences of opinion as regarded what it actually entailed. Most interviewees stated that it entailed behaving well not only towards women but also towards everyone in your surroundings. Sergio described it as: *“Being a gentleman is showing education and respect, to be polite and pleasant.”* Diego stated that it entailed ensuring the wellbeing of those around you ahead of your own wellbeing. Pablo opined that a gentleman: *“has a beautiful personality”* and that *“being a gentleman is like a gift to the other person.”*



Sergio explained being a gentleman as something learnt not only from formal schooling, but also from life. However, this is also related to socioeconomic status. He further explained that a person with a high level of education was not necessarily a gentleman. Being a gentleman springs from social behaviour and behaving well is a sign of social class. Anyone who does not behave like a gentleman is perceived as coming from a lower social status and thus unaware of how to behave well. This is deeply rooted in Chilean society. It affects people's behaviour and, in turn, shapes the ideal of good behaviour. José stated: *“To be a gentleman is simply a societal norm.”* Maria explained her view on gentlemanliness out of a woman's perspective and to her the most important was that her partner would treat her as an equal and as an example letting her pay half of the bill at a restaurant:

*“To me, this means being a gentleman, because he respects that I also have my own salary.”*

When the interviewees described what, for them, made an ideal person (or man), their descriptions almost always corresponded with their views of what made a gentleman. Thus, behaving well is clearly of great importance. I believe that this implicitly extends to being seen as a man of good social standing. The impression was gained that, for some interviewees, being perceived as a gentleman was more important than actually believing per se in the pertaining traits. This is because being a gentleman is such a great part of Chilean society and culture and hence, appearing as a gentleman is an immensely important part of social identity.

Antony explained that gentlemanly behaviour is learnt from an early age, that it is essential and a deeply rooted custom. Thus, the traits are learned from childhood and inherited with positive attitudes. Non-conforming behaviour is regarded negatively. Nonetheless, the question arises whether being a gentleman is, in fact, good behaviour or a type of machismo that harbours some resentment for women. Cristian opined that being a gentleman is a way of maintaining machismo in modern Chilean society and a way for men to execute power over women. Emilio, on the other hand, thought that being a gentleman was directed solidly at women, and that men should *“show the feminine beauty respect.”* Thomas was on the same track when stating: *“You cannot treat a man the same way as you treat a woman. Obviously,*



*you have to treat the woman with more delicacy, more tenderness, but not the man.*” Jorge explained: *“Gentlemanliness satisfies cultural female expectations.”* He also highlighted that women had to be treated differently than men.

The above evidences are what Pedro would call machismo, but of a reverse, “positive” kind. He was of the opinion that if gentlemanly behaviour was directed solidly at women, it was a type of machismo. However, if directed at everyone, it was just a way of being polite and well behaved and, consequently, there was no point in labelling it as “gentlemanly”. Franco shared this point of view and stated:

*“To be a gentleman is also to mark out the difference between men and women. Therefore, being a gentleman also means being macho.”*

He said that gentlemanliness remains from previous generations that were far more macho. But José believed that this is about to change: *“There has been a general change of thinking in Chile, as the generation changed. The mentality changed, due to the fight for equality that women fought for.”* He explained further that machismo used to be an ordinary custom in Chile, taught over generations, but today basically only remaining in the older generation and in rural areas. He claimed that the mentality of people within Santiago is much more open. Félix agreed that the mentality has changed and explained:

*“The man having to open the door for the woman, and close it after her, is what used to be called being a gentleman, but today that is being macho.”*

These statements show the changes in attitudes among the younger generation, and important reflections about earlier costumes and habits.

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### ...OR MACHO MEN?

A man not behaving as a gentleman was vividly described as being “machista” (macho). A macho man is seen as someone who behaves poorly, and being macho is regarded very negatively. Sergio said that “machoness” is a sign of insecurity - when a man does not reach his potential as a man, he gets frightened by this. Thomas said that a machista is a person



“*who pulls you down*” or, for example, a man that does not allow a woman to be better or more successful than him. Emilie stated that it is a man who does not consider the capacities of other people and who regards others as being of less value than himself. Fernando described that a macho man: “*Thinks that a woman is less than a man.*” A machista was vividly described as intolerant and disrespectful. Diego believed that this behaviour springs from the formerly very Catholic Chile, and he believed that the bible teaches chauvinistic behaviour and, for that reason, Chileans have learnt this behaviour over several generations.

However, Pedro did not think that this behaviour is far from that of the gentleman. Although a macho man believes he is superior to women, and that he has more rights, he also has more obligations such as opening doors for women and paying bills. He too believed that the concept of being a gentleman springs from this and that it is just a new way of being macho. Nonetheless, women are regarded as inferior, more vulnerable and requiring protection. Jorge thought that machismo springs from: “*The fear of feeling inferior in comparison to women.*” Francisca confirmed this: “*No man likes to feel less than a woman; they always want to feel better.*”

He explained that, as a man, you are taught from an early age that women are more vulnerable, sensitive and less intelligent. Therefore, they need to be taken care of [by men]. If a situation arises where a woman proves to be *more* intelligent, or does not need protection, or financial support, etc., this presents an instant problem for the man’s identity as his self-esteem may be harmed. In this situation, in order to increase self-esteem (for himself as well as for the entire group of men), the man may resort to prejudices that are derogatory to women (Passer & Smith, 2004). In such a case, a macho person would probably use physical power to subordinate others and maintain the “top position”. As Coleman (1988) argued, such behaviour is also linked to a social capital that macho men feel they must encompass in order to be proper and respectable. A fear of feeling inferior has strong links with attitudes that see women as the weaker sex, according to Eagly & Mladinic (1989). Describing women as more vulnerable is perhaps a synonym for the idea of them in fact being weaker? However, I believe this description may be very deeply rooted and socially institutionalised.



Consequently, the participants (at least the majority) did not see the idea of women being more vulnerable as something negative or linked to machismo.

Some participants cited being *señoritas* as a “counter concept” for women. However, the core is the same, i.e. being generally polite and respectful to people regardless of whether they are men or women. Emilie explained that:

*“Being a señorita means that we naturally have to be feminine, preoccupied with the way we are just as much as with how we appear.”*

The sudden focus and concern about appearance, led me to conclude that this concerns women more than men. For a woman to be a señorita, she not only has to behave well, she also has to look good. Manuel stated that a señorita “*always dresses well, consider her looks, and is pleasant.*” He further claimed that a woman who is not a señorita does not care about her looks. It is important to note the differences this entails for men and women in terms of social expectations and pressures, and interesting to analyse what it actually entails. The social expectation that women should look good appears to infiltrate the expected behaviour of women. If a woman does not take care of her looks, she is labelled as not being a señorita, and that label carries negative attributes, as Ashforth and Mael (1989) have argued. Here, the stereotypes are extremely strong. One consequence of this is the negative labelling of anyone that does not fit into the “positive description”. That is why it is so important for women to fit into the señorita category and thus avoid the negative attributes attracted by a “non-conforming” appearance (ibid).

## HOW ARE CHILEAN MEN’S IDENTITY AFFECTED BY THE STEREOTYPES AND SOCIETAL PRESSURES AGAINST THEM?

### PHYSICAL TRAITS AND APPEARANCE

The study’s examination of societal pressures indicated that it is now more accepted for a man to show sensitivity and vulnerability than it used to be. Today, it is not perceived as a



weakness, but rather as tenderness, which according to several of the participants, is a good quality in men. They also stated that this has not always been the case and that, today, as women look for men who will also be good fathers, tenderness and sweetness are recognised as important traits. David explained that a man may have the right to show weakness today, but that, because of all the historical stereotypes, it does not mean that they will dare to show sensitivity. As Welsh (2010) established, men are in general during the upbringing taught a “sensitive censorship”, which sets up conflict when ongoing sociocultural change leads to the younger generations having to struggle with historical stereotypes and new expectations.

Cristian explained that, already from childhood, men suffered much less pressure: *“If I wanted to go out and have fun, it was never a problem for my family. However, if my older sister wanted to go out, it was a problem because of the idea of having to protect women.”* Without noticing the discrepancy between reality and discourse, Thomas explained that:

*“Today, there is no difference in how boys and girls are treated during childhood, or, obviously you would play harder with boys than girls. Girls you would treat... more softly, because they are girls.”*

He continued to explain that this is due to girls being more sensitive than boys. To him, this was neither strange nor debatable. It was simply natural. Although he stated that there were no differences, the above clear differences in treatment are probably so inherited that they pass unnoticed and continue to enforce the already present social identity (Stets & Burke, 2000). This reinforces the stereotypes of girls being more sensitive and vulnerable than boys, but perhaps worse, it also strengthens the stereotype of men being tougher and thus required to withstand harsher treatment (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989). Manuel stated:

*“A man needs to protect his woman because the woman is more vulnerable.”*

Evidently, as toughness is a trait learnt from early childhood, a man who is not “tough enough” will feel less of a man. This is just as Courtenay (2000) claims when stating that men are usually portrayed as the stronger sex. One effect of this is that men will generally be treated in a tough manner and a man who cannot take such treatment is perceived as less of a





man. This will most likely affect his identity, while being in conflict with what Mahalik (et al, 2007) describes “normative male behaviour.” The same applies to women who risk being treated in an overly sensitive way or having their supposed vulnerability used as an opportunity for exploitation. Fatal consequences such as violence and other forms of abuse may result where there is confrontation with men’s feelings of inferiority. The idea of being the “ideal-man” referred to by Connell (2005) (the tough and stoic hero) is probably the source to these statements.

Physical appearance proved to be an important consideration and Sergio claimed that caring for looks and appearance is important for both men and women but more openly acceptable for women. Although, over the past decade, men have developed a new interest in their appearance:

*“The primary vision of masculinity does not allow such interest.”*

Sergio continued by stating that this is connected to looking better and feeling better, but that it also regards: *“tearing down the traditional barriers to lose a little fear of what masculinity is originally associated with.”* This is a positive step in the ongoing social changes. These have led not only to more women coming into the labour market, but also to encouraging (or, at least, not discouraging) men to take care of their appearance. Cristian said: *“The first contact you have with a person is through the appearance...”* However, in the long run, it is the inside that matters. Pedro thought: *“It is more acceptable for women to take care of their looks, but it is equally important for men.”* He explained that because, traditionally, it had been important for women to take care of their appearance, it was also more acceptable. He also explained that it is no longer necessary to be physically strong, and today only a matter about health and looks. Manuel stated:

*“A woman always has to be presentable and well-dressed. A man can go around dressed in shorts and a pullover but for a woman that would be seen as bad.”*

These testimonies once again highlight the importance of a woman’s appearance and how this connects with both attitudes and social identities (Passer & Smith, 2004).



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## EFFECTS ON IDENTITY

In Chile, there is great overall pressure on both men and women to constantly improve and achieve excellence. A number of the participants mentioned the need to be brilliant, improve and achieve continuous personal development. This was often mentioned in conjunction with being happy, as if success at work automatically brings happiness in life. Pablo explained:

*“Everyone, men and women alike, needs to achieve their maximum potential in everything – in physical terms, in intellectual terms, in spiritual terms, in emotional terms, in familial terms, in social terms.”*

Fransisca also explained that you constantly have to keep educating yourself, and Maria thereto confirmed that: *“Especially here in Chile, there is a social pressure to always want and have more.”* She further explained that people are in general not happy until they have a house, a car, a dog and a family – and all of this next to a great job. These pressures are of an extreme nature and impose stress on every person trying to achieve them. In many cases, this stress can result in a positive outcome and excellent personal achievements. However, not everyone understands what is required or has what it takes to succeed to his or her maximum. Pressures like this may create false ideas of capabilities and possibilities and result in disappointment that harms the identities of those that, for different reasons, cannot reach their potential (Passer & Smith, 2004).

The identity of Chilean men and women is strongly linked to their education and work. *“Today, without an education you are nothing.”* (Fransisca). To have a good and respectable job is immensely important, and thereto a good education, preferably from a respectable university, is also prerequisite. A public university education needs to be a good one, otherwise, it is a matter to be kept rather quiet. A degree from a good public university, on the other hand, is likely to gain high respect thanks to the assumed intelligence of the possessor. Entry for such a degree is usually conditional on good grades and performances in a major application procedure.

Franco explained that there is a close connection between intelligence and wealth: a good education means a financially secure life. He further explained that a person without an



education could still succeed provided he has great intelligence and is able to generate great ideas. This again links back to the pressure to be intelligent *and* productive in order to earn money, as having money is perceived as a great sign of success. Intelligent and less intelligent people carry clear positive versus, respectively, negative labelling of attitudes (Passer & Smith, 2004). Emilie explained that there is competition in society to constantly improve in order to be accepted and that, with a professional title you can keep developing yourself and learn more: *“One always has to keep learning more, because the world is constantly changing and the expectations thereto.”*

If looking into the labour market, Manuel explained that people who had no education could not find work (this was mentioned by several of the participants). He then explained that such people had to work in supermarkets, do roadwork, work in construction or work as drivers in public transport, without realizing that these sectors are the largest in urban areas of Chile. In rural areas, people who have no education work in agriculture (again the largest sector). There is a large division of people into those that have education and those that do not. The major differences between the salaries of those with a university education and those without echo this division (MIDEPLAN, 2009).

Franco claimed that women naturally have a maternal instinct that makes them better able to relate to children and thereto better at working with patient care. He explained that men, on the other hand, were better as regards speed, adrenaline and action. Félix was on the same track with claiming: *“The competitiveness is much stronger in men than in women, because of testosterone.”* However, Franco also said:

*“Some women also work very quick, are very intelligent and can, therefore, compete perfectly with a man. I think the main difference in a man’s favour is the strength. For a woman, it is the way she treats people.”*

Underlying, this statement exhibits the prejudice that women are not entirely as good or capable as men, but that they have other qualities, predominantly linked to motherhood. This strengthens the attributes of women as mothers, and hence the stereotypes that women, owing



to their sensitivity, are less suited to physically tough work. Just as Ashforth and Mael (1989) claim, a person is usually assigned the tasks characteristically associated with her/his “category”. This, in turn, is based on the attributes assigned to that gendered category (Eagly & Mladinic, 1989).

Fernando thought that: *“It is because of society that there are jobs that are perceived as more appropriate for men and other for women.”* Félix agreed: *“Today there are even nannies that are men, but it is clearly more appropriate for women, like being a nursery teacher. There will not be a man working in a nursery school with small kids.”*

José explained: *“Women can be mechanics or managers of a company. Today the young generation learn to see the capacities of the person instead of the gender”.* Maria confirmed this and claimed: *“Today there are women working with large, heavy machines, and there is no problem. We all have the same capacities.”* However, Juan admitted *“it doesn’t look good for the woman”* if she works in a typical male profession such as construction or roadwork. His words echoed that there are social and cultural attributes pressuring what women should and should not do. These link back to the pressure to be a beautiful señorita and not lose femininity by becoming stronger and working in masculine labour. A physically strong woman is perceived as controversial, something that is in conflict with nature or, in reality, Chilean culture. She is, therefore, portrayed negatively (Eagly, 2000). Jorge explained:

*“A woman who wants to work in construction has to make sacrifices. She will lose her traditional aesthetics because she will start to look more like a man.”*





*This picture shows a typical roadwork scene in an urban area of Chile. The “men working” (Hombres trabajando) sign is correct. There are only men here, implicitly saying that there is no room for women.*

As shown, it is socially important for women to remain feminine. But the reality today is that in fact, more and more women are seeking employment in areas previously dominated by men. Will men feel less like men if women start competing in the areas previously assigned solidly to them, or is it just based in a belief that women cannot do this? Is this why women are not encouraged and in fact, discouraged to seek employment in physical work or work that are labelled as masculine? Again, social identity and “being where one belongs” (Coleman, 1988) have proven to be highly important in Chile. Pedro suggested one possible reason for these new trends:

*”I think that women are ‘masculinising’ themselves in a masculine world.”*

This makes me wonder, if the opposite is happening to men. Perhaps it is all a matter of adaptation to new circumstances and eras. Perhaps this in fact means that both men and women are meeting in the middle, ending up with sharing the burden of both productive and domestic work. According to the participants, both men and women, sharing the burden of domestic work is at least important to declare, regardless if it is actually a reality or a desire to be “politically correct”. Simultaneously, to declare that women are equally capable as men in



all types of work was vividly stressed by both men and women. Yet, regarding men as primary caretakers, working with children, or having the main responsibility within the household, very few believed in equal abilities. Do Chilean men have to start proving that they too can take care of children, in a society that does not believe so, in order to actually be able to participate? And then waiting for the institutional changes supporting men's increasing role in the household. Just as women once started cross the barriers to the labour market, proving that they also could. If society would change the social idea of men not being suitable for childcare, perhaps in fact men will slowly change their opinions.



*The picture shows a woman in the mining industry, part of a new national initiative to employ more women in this sector – at present an area completely dominated by men.*

## 6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

### NEW GENDER ROLES AND SOCIAL CHANGE

There is a constant reproduction of images of gender through identification with historical, traditional and catholic roles in Chile. This reproduction makes stereotypes remain and increase difficulties for men in finding their roles in contemporary society. As Eagly (2000) explained, our shared expectations shape the existing gender roles, and when society changes it affects reigning cultural traditions and impacts on self-concepts. The attitudes towards gender roles and masculinity are not united for the sample of this study, and presumably not in the rest of Chile, but we can conclude that the ongoing sociocultural change is affecting and changing the current gender roles. As these roles also affect behaviours, habits and norms are deeply ingrained in daily routines which create internal conflicts when people's identity is questioned. One conclusion is that this discrepancy is more present among the young urban



generation of Chilean men than among women. The results of the study showed that the pressures on men have risen as they realize that they are not indispensable and also have to consider their appearance and meet expectations from women. This may end up in a positive competition at the work place as well as in the household, where men to a larger extent have to participate today. However, it may also create conflicts on the path when both men and women strive to reach the ideals by enhancing the differences between the sexes (Eagly, 2000), and working against a potential conformity. The process is still too young to be commonly accepted as desirable and admirable.

Normative discourse determine what is “normal” and shape conflicting societal pressures between different institutions like the state, social groups, men and women, global influences, and previous generations (Mahalik et al, 2007). The conflicts arises when people explore new territories motivated by individual forces, yet have to stay within the safe and traditional boundaries of what is labelled acceptable and commune. Staying within the well known boundaries seems vividly important in Chile, and despite the outwardly positive attitudes for changes among the young urban generation, negative attitudes toward major differences or controversial ideas seemed pervasive. For example, success is encouraged and recommended, as long as it takes place within the recognized periphery. According to cultural studies by for example Hofstede, Chile is known for its dependency on collectivistic norms with low degree of individualism<sup>8</sup>. Standing out from the crowd is not admirable. Particularly interesting is, according to this cultural analysis, that Chile scores very high on the level where inhabitants feel threatened by unknown situations, and to cope with this, they create beliefs and institutions that avoid new circumstances. This enforces the difficulties even more for the young urban generation of men trying to adapt to new influences, while struggling with inherited values that, if they disappear, will leave them with less power due to new circumstances. Thus, the change will only come once the individuals of the society are accepting it. Despite the traditions of conventionality and traditionalism in Chile, I believe

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<sup>8</sup> <http://geert-hofstede.com/chile.html>





that the change is forming a growing individual urbanism versus the previous “familism”, including a growing importance of a universal city life contra the family.

The importance of social identity emerges as highly significant in Chilean society. It was constantly restated that norms and traditions was authentic for everyone, implicitly meaning that deviating from the norms was vastly associated with something negative. It appeared as more important with conformity to the collective, than exploring new areas like men working with childcare and women in construction. It also appeared as immensely important to maintain the traditional gendered roles particularly not to loose the beautiful señoritas that women have been labelled historically. Perhaps this is rooted in fear for men of loosing identity if women “masculinise” themselves. However, I believe that a major source to the change actually springs from the Chilean women, who in fact to a larger extent than men are deviating from previous traditions and gendered identities, by entering men’s sectors. I experienced that women by proving their capabilities in the labour market, have started to demanding more household participation by men, and concurrently this have lead to men exploring formerly unknown areas. Finally, despite some negative opinions about “masculine” women, I still sensed a gradual erosion of gender stereotypes.

## GENDER OR CLASS?

A final conclusion about the issue with gentleman versus machismo, is that it seemed to be a matter of social class rather than an issue about gender. As the participants declared, it is a matter of behaving educated and respectful, which is correlated to high social standard. It also derived that poorer families hardly prioritize to learn these behaviours and hence, not to behave like a gentleman is a sign of lower social status. Therefore, there is a division between those that can afford a university education and the rest that have to work in “un-skilled” jobs, i.e, not requiring a higher education. To identify oneself with being a gentleman is hence a sign of status. But while the urban men associate the rural men with lower status [the general level of education in rural areas is much lower than in urban areas] and more widespread





machismo, rural men have countered with calling the urban men weak, feminine and unmasculine (Mårtensson, 2012).

Social pressures and expectations are high on both men and women, and perhaps still more for women, but the highest pressures are probably on those that cannot reach their full potential due to external circumstances and lack of opportunities and access. Regardless if they are men or women, they will still be looked at negatively as they are not able to earn lots of money, get beautiful women and behave like gentlemen. Just as declared earlier by Welsh (2010), development will not be successful without including the perspectives of both men and women. But let's not forget about the importance of economical conditions that help individuals – regardless if men or women – to achieve, succeed and grasp opportunities.

## A FINAL REFLECTION

I was astonished by all the results concerning women. I asked questions to both men and women about men, but somehow the discussions always included more or equally much about women. Moreover, I was surprised by the statements that life is so much easier for men, as I initially thought that having to be the family's financial provider would be a major stressor. I am though primarily positively stunned that my investigation about masculinity resulted in covering this much data about women. If all gender studies about women could include the same amount of data about men, perhaps gender studies would make huge progress in outcomes. Again, research as well as development work have to be accompanied by the focus of both genders in order to be successful.

Finally, I wish to stress that the study covered a small sample within the urban Santiago and thus, I cannot draw conclusions regarding all Chilean man, which I neither intend to do, in spite a slightly extended vocabulary in the conclusion.



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## APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I - INTERVIEW GUIDE

*The questions in the guide are approximate, and were not asked in a specific order, but depending on each interview situation. Nor were all questions used at every occasion. The guide is presented in both English and Spanish as the all interviews were conducted in Spanish. Full transcriptions including audio to all interviews are available.*

Could you list some good qualities of a good man and a good woman?

(What qualities make up an admired man in Chile?) (What is an ideal man?)

What is the best and the worst with being a man?

¿Podrías mencionar cuales serían las características de un buen hombre?

(¿Qué cualidades hacen a un hombre admirado en Chile?) (Que es un hombre ideal?)

¿Y de una buena mujer?

¿Qué es lo mejor y lo peor de ser hombre?

What masculine expectations did you experience as a young boy?

What masculine expectations did you experience as a teenager?

What expectations are there on you now as a man?

What happens if someone doesn't meet the expectations?

¿Qué expectativas tenía tu entorno sobre ti cuando eras niño (en cuanto al género masculino)?

¿Qué expectativas tenía tu entorno sobre ti cuando eras adolescente (en cuanto al género masculino)?

¿Qué expectativas hay puestas en ti ahora (en cuanto al género masculino)?

¿Qué pasa si un hombre no cumple con las expectativas del resto?

Is it important to be a gentleman?

Does a man need to protect "his" woman? Or being able to protect? Be able to provide for?

If a man is not able to provide for or protect, what implications do you think this might have?

¿Es importante ser caballero? ¿Por qué?

¿Es necesario que un hombre proteja a "su mujer"? ¿O que el hombre sea capaz de protegerla? ¿Y mantenerla económicamente?

Si un hombre no es capaz de proteger a su mujer, ni tampoco mantenerla, ¿qué consecuencias crees que esto pueda tener?

Can a man show weakness? Why/why not?

Can a women?

¿Puede un hombre mostrar debilidad física y/o mental? ¿Por qué / por qué no?

¿Puede una mujer mostrar debilidad física y/o mental? ¿Por qué / por qué no?

Is it important for a man to be physically strong?

Is it important with appearance for men? How is it for women?

¿Es importante para un hombre ser físicamente fuerte?

Para los hombres, ¿es importante cuidar su apariencia? ¿Y para las mujeres?



What are the differences between social and cultural pressures on men and women?

Which group suffers the most constraints on their life choices and expressions?

¿Cuáles son las diferencias entre las presiones sociales y culturales de hombres y mujeres?

¿Qué grupo sufre las mayores restricciones en sus opciones de vida y expresiones?

Do you believe there are certain types of work that are more appropriate for men based on that they are men?

Do you believe there are certain types of work that are more appropriate for women based on that they are women?

¿Piensas que hay tipos de trabajo que son apropiados para los hombres (sobre la base de que son hombres, género masculino)?

¿Piensas que hay tipos de trabajo que son apropiados para las mujeres (sobre la base de que son mujeres, género femenino)?

Are there any physical differences between men and women?

Are there any inherent/natural differences between men and women in terms of their intellect, talent, capacity for work, etc.?

If so, are these differences affecting their respective labour or participation in the labour market?

¿Hay diferencias físicas entre hombres y mujeres?

¿Hay alguna diferencia intrínseca entre hombres y mujeres en términos de su intelecto, talento, capacidad de trabajo, etc?

Si es así, ¿Estas diferencias afectan sus respectivos trabajos o la participación en el mercado laboral?

Can you think of any situation where a man have to behave in a certain way, or is expected to behave in a certain way?

Dress in a certain way? For women?

¿Se te ocurre alguna situación en la que un hombre tenga que comportarse de una determinada manera, o que se espere a que se comporte de cierta manera?

¿Vestido de una determinada manera?

¿Y para las mujeres?

What is Machista?

¿Qué significa machista? ¿Qué es ser machista?





## APPENDIX II- PARTICIPANTS OF THE STUDY

*With this table I briefly describe the attributes to each participant that made me chose them for the study. The participants have different backgrounds and as already described, I aspired to acquire diversity amongst them. For this reason, their testimonies are also different. When I pose quotes or statements, I do not mean to “smudge” anyone or in any other way portray them as bad. Their statements are based on their age, life experience, background, education and general opinions and the difference in these also shape the dynamic and depth of the result. It certainly does not mean that anyone is more right or wrong than the other.*

\*A Bachelor degree in Chile is equivalent to 5 years of University studies.

Interview Date	Name	Age	Occupation, education, attributes	Civil status
15 November 2011	Carmen	28	Working as a middle-school teacher. Bachelor degree.*	Single
15 November 2011	Fernanda	29	Working as a lawyer. Bachelor degree.	Steady partner
15 November 2011	Juan	31	Working as business advisor. Bachelor degree.	Steady partner
16 November 2011	Diego	32	Self-employed with song-writing, singing and touring with his band. Bachelor degree.	Separated, 1 child
16 November 2011	Antony	29	Working as a chef seasonally abroad. Bachelor degree.	Single
17 November 2011	Pablo	33	Working as a fitness trainer and gym owner. Bachelor degree.	Married
17 November 2011	Sergio	32	Working in business and with sales and import. Bachelor degree.	Single
17 November 2011	Emilio	25	Working in services on a cruise ship.	Single
18 November 2011	Emilie	22	Studying to become pre-school teacher. Have studied 1 year in the Police Academy.	Single
18 November 2011	Thomas	20	Studying to become engineer. Working in the interim at an electronics industry.	Single
22 November 2011	Pedro	29	Working as researcher and statistical analysts. Graduate degree.	Married
23 November 2011	Cristian	25	Self-employed as a cultural and historical guide in Santiago. Graduate degree.	Single
23 November 2011	David	26	Working as a teacher in Spanish and pedagogic. Bachelor degree.	Steady partner



23 November 2011	Franco	28	Working as a nurse. Use to work as a firefighter. 2 bachelor degrees.	Single
24 November 2011	Manuel	34	Working as captain in the Chilean Army. Equivalent army education.	Separated, 1 child
30 November 2011	Jorge	30	University teacher at Santiago's most respected public University, Universidad de Chile. Graduate degree.	Single
30 November 2011	Fernando	24	Working at a call centre. Technical High School.	Single
30 November 2011	Felíx	23	Working with digital communication. Bachelor degree.	Single
30 November 2011	Jose	30	Working with international business and export. Bachelor degree.	Single
19 December 2011	Fransisca	33	Working as electrician. Bachelor degree.	Separated, 2 children
19 December 2011	Maria	26	Working as an armed guardian in a Bank. Education until last year of secondary school.	Married



## APPENDIX III- QUOTES IN ORIGINAL LANGUAGE

*The purpose with this appendix is to maintain some of the quotes in original language as direct translations are sometimes impossible to make without changing the meaning. Instead, I have translated the quotes into how one as similar as possible would express the same thing in English. By portraying the most complicated quotes in original language, I can still show what was actually said.*

<b>Name of the interviewee</b>	<b>Quotes in original language; Chilean Spanish</b>	<b>My translation into the context in English</b>
Antony	<i>La lucha no es con el entorno, es contigo mismo, para crecer, independiente de lo que haya alrededor tuyo.</i>	The fight is not with your surrounding; it's within yourself!
Sergio	<i>en términos de que un hombre puede ser muy, muy físicamente débil, pero con mucho dinero y va, va a tener las mujeres más bonitas.</i>	If a man is physically weak, but has a lot of money, he will still get the most beautiful women.
Pedro	<i>Lo bueno de ser hombre es que tenemos más libertad para elegir, elegir que rol tomamos en la familia en la sociedad moderna, siento que las mujeres tiene que afrontar mayores, o sea, decisiones más difíciles, y afrontar consecuencias mayores de la discriminación general.</i>	The good thing about being a man in the modern society is that we have the liberty to choose what role we want to have within the family. I believe that women have to face greater and more difficult decisions, and face greater consequences of the general discrimination.
Fernanda	<i>ahora se entiende el hombre que ayuda en la casa, no es que en realidad es su deber</i>	Today one understands that the man helps out in the home, but it is not because it in fact is his obligation.
Fernanda	<i>yo entiendo que tienen mucho más expectativas profesionales con los hombres que con las mujeres, por eso también las carreras mas densas son mayormente masculinas</i>	I understand that they [people in general] have higher expectations on men to be professionals than women. Because of this, the most demanding occupations are masculine.
Pedro	<i>no había una diferencia explícita pero si había una diferencia muy subliminal en cuanto a lo que se esperaba de cada uno</i>	There is no explicit difference in expectation on men and women, but there is a subliminal what is expected of each.
Manuel	<i>por ejemplo, una mujer pololea con diez hombres, es mal visto, porque la mujer es, no es una buena mujer, y el hombre que anda con hartas mujeres</i>	If a woman goes out with ten men, it is frowned upon. That is not the conduct of a good woman. However, if a man goes out with many women, he is almost to be



	<i>es como ah el más encachado.</i>	respected.
Cristian	<i>siempre es como que el hombre tiene mucha más libertad en desarrollarse y es mucho menos criticado en diferentes aspectos</i>	It is like the man always has much more liberty to choose and is less criticized in different aspects.
Maria	<i>Para mí eso era ser caballero, porque respetaba que yo también ganara mi sueldo.</i>	To me, this means being a gentleman, because he respects that I also have my own salary.
Franco	<i>Es que ser caballero, es también marcar la diferencia con las mujeres. Por lo tanto, ser caballero yo creo que también es ser machista.</i>	To be a gentleman is also to mark out the difference between men and women. Therefore, being a gentleman also means being macho.
Emilie	<i>ser señorita, o sea, nosotras por esencia tenemos que ser femininas, preocupadas por tanto por nuestra forma de ser como forma de también aparentar.</i>	Being a señorita means that we naturally have to be feminine, preoccupied with the way we are just as much as with how we appear.
Thomas	<i>es que ahora no hay diferencia, por ejemplo, a mí me trataron igual que... o sea, obviamente al hombre le toca más duro que a una mujer. A una mujer la tratan más... más suave... más... porque es mujer.</i>	today there is no difference in how boys and girls are treated during childhood, or, obviously you would play harder with the boy than the girl. The girl you would treat... more soft, because she is a girl.
Emilie	<i>siempre uno tiene que estar informándose, porque el mundo cambia constantemente y las expectativas va cambiando</i>	One always has to keep learning more, because the world is constantly changing and the expectations thereto.
Franco	<i>Hay mujeres que también son muy rápidas para trabajar, son muy inteligentes, entonces pueden competir perfectamente con un hombre. Yo creo que las principales diferencias a favor del hombre, es la fuerza, y a favor de la mujer es el trato que le da a la gente.</i>	Some women also work very quick, are very intelligent and can, therefore, compete perfectly with a man. I think the main difference in a man's favour is the strength. For a woman, it is the way she treats people.
José	<i>En Chile habido un cambio como generacional de pensamiento, como que ha cambiado la generación, ha cambiado la mentalidad, o sea, el, el tema como la igualdad en lo que ha</i>	There has been a general change of thinking in Chile, as the generation changed. The mentality changed, due to the fight for equality that women fought for.



	<i>luchado la mujer.</i>	
Felíx	<i>si bien ahora hay nanos que son hombres, pero eso es netamente más apropiado para la mujer, alguien que sea una parvularia. No va a haber un hombre que sea un parvulario con niños chicos o cosas así.</i>	Today there are even nannies that are men, but it is clearly more appropriate for women, like being a nursery teacher. There will not be a man working in a nursery school with small kids.
Jorge	<i>Un mujer que quiere trabajar en la construcción, va a tener que sacrificar un costo probablemente estético, estético en términos tradicionales, porque se va a empezar a parecer a los hombres.</i>	A woman who wants to work in construction has to make sacrifices. She will lose her traditional aesthetics because she will start to look more like a man.

