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What is left after they are gone?

**A study of the “crisis of masculinity” in Bolivian men as an effect
of their female partners migrating to Spain**

By

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“La mayor exportación boliviana es el amor de madre”

The biggest Bolivian export is mothers’ love

Manuel Monroy Chazarreta, *el Papiirri* (2008)

ABSTRACT

Over the past twenty years the study of masculinities has been vastly explored and Latin America has produced a great quantity of research that has developed the construction of masculinities. This research explored the “crisis of masculinity” in Bolivian men as a result of their female partners migrating to Spain, in order to improve their economic situation. Furthermore, in order to grasp the contested concept (“crisis of masculinity”), Connell’s hegemonic model of masculinity was used as theoretical background.

The high flow of Bolivian women migrants has signified that a vast percentage of their male partners who have stayed behind have had to adopt new tasks and roles within the household. In this study the men interviewed have taken over domestic chores, as well as taking charge of their families’ wellbeing and having to balance domestic life with their working and social life. This situation has brought upon changes in their family structure, which have had an impact in the way they perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others (i.e. their peer groups, their female partner abroad, their children, neighbours’, among others). Therefore, this study strived to gain insight on how “the crisis of masculinity”, as a consequence of changes in the family structures, constructs and guides the way Bolivian men consolidate their masculinity and how this changes. In order to achieve this, the methodology undertaken was qualitative research that used semi-structured interviews.

The uniqueness and usefulness of this study resides in the fact that this is perhaps the first study that explores the field of migration and family sensitivities in Bolivia and, therefore, fills in a gap in Bolivian research and hopes to provide a stepping point for furthering research in the area.

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I would like to dedicate this work to all of the families that have a loved one far away.

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INTRODUCTION

In the current globalized period that the world faces, society has undergone many changes (Ferrer, 1997). It can be said that no individual is exempt from globalization; therefore, it is an inescapable reality for societies and also for individuals which has greatly impacted different areas, especially the economic sphere (ibid). A consequence of this process and a product of the major contrast between rich and poor countries, can be reflected in the high level of migrations (ACOBCE, 2007).

Bolivia is a developing country and has suffered economic instability for several years: this has led its population to suffer economic/financial constraints that feed into poverty and the lack of opportunities. These elements are some of the main causes that encourage many people in Bolivia to leave everything (i.e. loved ones, families, friends, traditions, customs, entire lives) in pursuit of better opportunities, even though this means losing their culture, settling for jobs where they are clearly over qualified, enduring discrimination, etc.

A study conducted by ACOBE¹ “*Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia- España. Association for Spanish- Bolivian Cooperation*”(2007) in Spain, showed that there is a higher percentage of migration amongst Bolivian women than men. This is associated with the high demand for female workers in the domestic field. As a follow up to this study, in 2008 AMIBE² “*Asociación de Migrantes Bolivia-España. Association of Migrants Bolivia-Spain*” applied

¹ ACOBE, “Asociación de Cooperación Bolivia España. Association for Spanish-Bolivian Cooperation”

² AMIBE, “Asociación de Migrantes Bolivia-España. Association of Migrants Bolivia-Spain”

another study to analyse the situation of Bolivian families who have a member that has migrated to Spain. The study showed that even though the financial situation of the families improved, the emotional loss and trauma experienced increased. There are no further studies that explore this issue and it must be emphasized that a factor that contributes to the lack of research in the area is the fact that many studies have mainly focused on women, on their perspective in migration, the discrimination they suffer, among others (Cortés 2005; Quispe 2009; Cazes 1993; Lagarde 1990).

Consequently, the “scarcity” of epistemological material induced the researcher to take an interest in this subject, since, firstly, there is a lack of evidence of research conducted in the area of masculinities and migration making this topic unexplored. Secondly, the lack of research in regards to what happens to the families that are left behind, more specifically, there is no research conducted in Bolivia that explores the situation of the male partners that have stayed behind while their partners migrated. This is of great interest, as female migration has led to important changes in the family structure and in the roles men have had to adopt as a result of staying at “home”. Thirdly, voicing and making visible the experiences of this marginalized population, could “awaken” interest in the scientific community allowing the general population to have an understanding of what happens to the men who, due to different circumstances, mostly financial, have had to take into their scope a dual role: the one of being fathers and the other of being “mothers” of their household. Lastly, Bolivia, as a diverse and pluricultural country that is going through structural changes in its society, could benefit from this type of research and analysis in order to “alert” about probable future consequences of the migratory effects, as elements that de-structure hundreds of families.

Consequently, finding preliminary elements that can help predict changes in Bolivian society can provide more efficient ways to tackle them.

Therefore, this study took steps to fill a gap in the research on masculinities in Bolivian men who have gone through a re-structuring in their lives as a consequence of the migration of their partners. It is hoped that the outcomes will be beneficial for the specific society in question, allowing the generation of precise knowledge that can be used to understand and tackle the problem and providing a stepping point for future research, as a result of the new information delivered.

In order to take forward the research, contacting individuals that “filled” the requirements was vital. A first contact was made with the Association AMIBE via email to enquire if they would be willing to participate in the study and prepared to provide access to Bolivian men who attended the association and that currently lived the situation depicted above. With the agreed consent of the association, the mapping of the study took place and along with it the aims that it would pursue, to enable some understanding and enlightenment of the problem in question.

Aims

The general aim of this research is to understand how the “crisis of masculinity” is manifested in Bolivian men that stay “home” (Bolivia), while their women partners migrate to Spain to generate income via labour market participation.

This study gathered data regarding the personal experiences and perceptions of Bolivian men, and how they ‘cope’ with changes in their personal life produced by the migration of their partners. These men confront several modifications which seem to have an effect in their families/homes, in their personal life and in their masculinity and also produce changes in their financial situation as a consequence of migration. Then, from this, some research questions that guided this project are: What changes are produced in Bolivian men’s personal life as a result of a restructure in their families/homes? Do these changes determine changes in their masculinity? Will the change in men’s role restructure a new masculinity?

This research used Connell’s Hegemonic Masculinity as its main theoretical foundation. This framework has been widely used throughout studies conducted in Latin America offering a structured element of individual and collective identities (Andrade, 2001; Fuller, 2001; Gutmann, 1996; Hopman, 2002; Valdés y Olavarría, 1997; Ochoa, 2002). An assumption is made that men strive to “fit in” this model, which offers a series of predetermined “characteristics” that supply identity, affective, behavioural and value guidelines that men follow and reproduce socially (i.e. being heterosexual, being strong, not showing emotions, providing for their family, etc).

CONTEXTUALISING MASCULINITIES

The study of masculinities has raised the attention of many scholars over the past thirty years. Extensive research and arguments in the topic started building up in the 1980's and the empirical work done included studies of men in gender relations. Also, which is the appropriate perspective to take when talking about masculinities has been widely discussed and this debate arises from the difficulty that the topic poses in itself (Connell, 2005).

With the intense development in knowledge in the area and the considerable value in findings and applied research in the field, new understandings, methods, approaches and groups are being studied. According to Connell (2005), the large growth of research has produced an ever-growing library of knowledge that comes from descriptive studies; however, the irony is that there does not seem to be a corresponding growth of general ideas about men and masculinities. This illustrates the difficulty there is in thinking about masculinities as “one” thing that applies to “one” type of men. Therefore, when discussing masculinity, it must be highlighted that masculinity is a “large umbrella” that has been extended to many diverse areas (Beynon, 2002). The complexity of it lies in the impossibility of arriving at one common definition.

When talking about what it is to be masculine, Kahn (2009) suggests that we are dealing with a hypothetical construct, therefore, there are no physical aspects that can be used to grasp and view the concept under a microscope. This lack of “materialization” makes it difficult to put down into words the conceptualization of “being masculine” or in other terms, masculinity.

A way of minimizing this definition problem or the way masculinities are understood is by specifying the meaning that is being taken when conducting research. Connell (1995) suggested that specifying the biological, cognitive, affective components that are being taken along with the learned and expressive aspects of masculinity is important. Therefore, in order to study masculinities, researchers take upon the task of explaining the concept that entails and makes it. In order to try and explain non directly measurable items and to arrive at hypothetical constructs, researchers rely on experiences, attitudes, beliefs and cultural-historical-socio-economical attributes that interact and compound the construct in itself (Viveros, 2001). Beynon (2002) also argued that arriving at a definition is linked to cultural meanings that change across time. And supporting this idea of cultural influences, Winch (1958) claimed that in order to understand meaningful behaviour of individuals in society, it is vital to have an understanding of their own language and the individuals own understanding of social rules. This is to have an understanding from the individuals own “world” and to gain insight using their “language”.

Following the idea that human beings’ behaviour and actions are determined by their social context, it is naïve to sustain that it is possible to have a unique or universal definition of masculinity that compromises or takes into consideration all the forms and ideas of being masculine into one single idea. Therefore, the fact that in social sciences the researcher resembles the subject of study; this in itself poses a difficulty when it comes to defining the construct at stake accordingly. As Connell (1995) stated, following a sociological issue raised by Max Weber, there is an impossibility of stepping outside of oneself in order to study masculinities. Stating this, the simple fact of the social sciences studying and dealing with

human beings makes the study of masculinities far from an easy and straightforward task. Furthermore, another aspect that contributes to the complexity of the study of masculinities relates to the different perspectives it has and its applicability to diverse research areas (i.e. education, violence, health sectors, etc.). One of the views that has provided a stepping point in order to have a better understanding of the construct is feminism. Research in masculinity has followed the feminist approach as well as being influenced by feminists who seek to understand and empower the voice of women and others who are marginalized. It has managed to “put gender on the map” (Kahn, 2009:6). While feminist research has mainly focused on the study of women’s experiences, by acknowledging the powerless and or less advantaged groups in society (ie. women regarding: race, age, religion, work, among others) they have provided a great insight into understanding and viewing society in a critical way. And according to Hopman (2002) analysis in feminist research has provided many different sources and tools to evaluate belief systems, ideas and different perspectives and approaches.

Feminists have also supported the idea that there are several advantages to being “outside” or marginalized, and the most important gain of being the underdog is that it provides a singular way of viewing society. As Becker (1967) suggested, the “underdog” has a better view of society, because he can view it in a critical manner, therefore making his understanding of society more appropriate. Similarly, studies in masculinities have not tried to confront feminist movements. On the contrary, they do not view feminism as antagonist and they share common points regarding the “fight” for equality and the construction of a theoretical explanation that will allow change in society and will provide the “construction” of an equal identity. Another point to take into consideration is that there are several types of feminism;

but it is Radical feminism that will be considered briefly as it is the stepping point of Connell's Hegemonic model.

Radical feminists believe that gender has an impact in all human activities as it influences all aspects of an individual's life, helping human beings make sense of the world (Kahn, 2009). As their name suggests, they strive for radical changes in society in order to construct a new society that views its individuals as equal (Lagarde, 1990). The latter author also claims that gender has been viewed from a masculinity epistemology, this is a system of knowledge that makes the masculine perspective the base on which values are promoted universally and goes on stating that this epistemology promotes masculine needs. Then, it is this idea of having a system that feeds the masculine perspective that radical feminists reject and demand that the view of looking at society and understanding the world must be done in a transformative way, where the reconstruction of cultural beliefs, institutions and systems is an ongoing process.

Another contested concept that feeds this "masculine" system of knowledge that has been taken up by feminism is patriarchy. This concept is understood as a social system that is ruled by men (Kaufman, 1987) and in patriarchal cultures, that are male dominated, male identified and male centered, the cultural institutions are made dominant because of a low representation of women. An example of a patriarchal system is expressed in Bolivian statistics that show that women in rural areas are less likely to go to higher education in relation to men (Guaygua, 2010). Patriarchal societies give great importance and visibility to men's activities and their ways of being in comparison to women's subjectivity which is

viewed as inferior and therefore, they are marginalized (de Barbieri, 1990). Male driven societies seem to “normalize” and rarely question or stigmatize what men do (Olavarría, 2002).

The patriarchal system is strongly linked to what McIntosh (1993) calls privilege (cited in Kahn, 2009). “Privilege is an unearned social granting of a route to accessing cultural resources” (cited in Kahn, 2009:26). McIntosh emphasises the fact that patriarchal societies work with male privileges that establish hierarchical relationships and therefore, discriminates people who do not benefit from it. Also, alongside with privilege comes the understanding of the concept of entitlement. Kimmel (1987) suggested that male privilege provides the power to lead men to believe that certain resources in society belong to them undoubtedly. This attitude can be seen in preconceived ideas that are established in societies where individuals do not question certain behaviour because that is the way they have always been.

In patriarchal societies, power plays a major role. On this, the feminist standpoint theory has tried to offer some understanding by acknowledging that comprehending the social position from which an individual comes from helps gain understanding of the results of having certain privileges (Murphy, 2004). Criticism of the feminist theory has suggested that it wrongly assumes that men are passive when accepting and gaining benefit from their advantageous position. However, in reality, men are not identical and they react differently, therefore this cannot be universal. Another criticism is the contradiction they have regarding the perception of reality. They sustain that only women can truly understand what reality is.

But according to this theory, reality cannot be objective because it is defined by different positions of power (Benton, 2001).

Work on Masculinities

As mentioned earlier, debate has surrounded the issue of whether or not it is possible to arrive at a clear definition of what it means to be a man. As a consequence, this has led to difficulties in defining the term and controversies have been raised regarding how to perceive it, whether as “masculinity” or as “masculinities”.

Regarding this dilemma, Seidler (2006) affirms that:

“To use masculinity would be reductionist as there does not exist one single masculinity. Its construction presents itself in different ways (...) Masculinities include a much wider and plural dimension to account for the abundance of masculinities. In each culture there are learnt codes and mechanisms which explain the multiple ‘formulae of how to be a man’ and therefore allow for the formation of different ideologies of masculinities (...) the task of men is to define the particular masculinities that have been developed” (Ibid:32).

This definition offers a plurality of masculinities, however “it is useful to understand the connections between masculinities and the distribution and effects of power and resistance among the different forms of masculinity” (Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000:11). From this, it is possible to have a greater understanding and to better contextualize the effects of culture,

class, economy, and age, amongst others, in regards to the performance of masculinities, which due to their relationships, generate hierarchy.

Furthermore, according to Greig, Kimmel & Lang (2000), the existence of several masculinities provide three schools of thought that define masculinity. The first one is referred to as Biological Determinism or Essentialist³. The second and most commonly used in social sciences is the Social and Cultural Construction. And the third is the perspective of Masculinity as a Discourse of Power. Greig, Kimmel & Lang (2000) base their studies on the latter perspective.

The Social and Cultural theory, in contrast to the biological theory does not view masculinity as a natural and biological creation but as a construction that understands gender as a production of society and culture (Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000). This theory follows a basic principle of feminism, of women's movements and subsequently, of policies and practices of the Gender and Development policies of the United Nations.

³ Even though sociology has moved beyond this perspective, it is acknowledged that some studies consider it. The Biological Determinism or Essentialist theory affirms that masculinity is in the nature of men. Therefore it helps to explain and legitimise the differences between genres and it also explains the inequalities between men and women. "This perspective views what is masculine as the genre which is in the lead due to the genetic predisposition to aggression (in contrast with feminine passivity), physical force (as opposed to the weakness of femininity) and the sexual impulse (as opposed to the sexual reserve of femininity)" (Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000:6).

This exploration still seeks to explain men and their behaviour in terms of their masculinity, but a masculinity which is defined as an embodiment of the cultural norm and social pressures that help to determine the roles, rights, responsibilities and relations that are available to and imposed upon men, in contrast to women (Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000:8).

This theory differentiates between sex and gender and focuses its attention on gender that is understood as social and cultural beliefs about the ways individuals think about themselves (Olavarría, 2002). Consequently, in gender, different cultures put their expectations regarding the way that men should act, believe, behave, think, etc (Connell, 2005). This Social and Cultural theory conveys several different approaches. One of them, considered for its emphasis on social expectations is the Global approach. This approach sustains that individuals in society work and perform following a set of rules that are intrinsically set by their social context and are expected to be complied with by the social members (Connell, 2005).

Furthermore, Kimmel (1987) suggests the blueprint for manhood that offers four guidelines from which men are measured. The first “no sissy stuff”, supports the idea that men do not do what women do. The second point “be a big wheel”, emphasises the need to feel always in control. This can also be strongly related to status and wealth. The third guideline “the sturdy oak”, focuses on being independent and in control. This means that emotions are not acceptable as they are not seen as reliable. And finally, “give’em hell”, which is linked to being “brave”, “risk taker”, “bold”, even though sometimes certain attitudes one adopts are incongruent with one’s personal interests, thoughts and values.

One concern that these different approaches have raised is the way that they apply the concept of social roles. By stating that men should act in a certain way and not focusing on what men really are, there is a reinforcement of the ideal of masculinity and the marginalization of whoever does not fit this ideal (Connell, 1995). Consequently, the real problem lies in the fact that men do not fit the gender role stereotype, because this elevates the questioning of whether these men are considered to be outcasts.

Connell (1995), suggests that in a hegemonic masculinity, gender role stereotypes represent an idealized masculinity, but this does not mean that it is a true reflection.

The third theory of masculinities as a Discourse of Power helps understand what is meant by hegemonic masculinity. This hegemonic perspective is the one that rules the western culture, and it is the one that reproduces values that are misogynist, homophobic, racist and of social, political and economic discrimination (Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000).

This perspective claims power of man over woman and of man over other men:

“Misogyny, homophobia, racism and class/status-based discrimination are all implicated in a ‘politics of masculinity’ that is developed and deployed by men to claim power over women, and by some men to claim power over other men” (Ibid: 10).

From the statements offered above it is possible to see how gender identity, especially masculine, responds in public life and how power relationships are gradually introduced into the collective and ideal masculine model of a hegemonic masculinity. This theory continues

to uphold that all dimensions of being a man are affected by the social position which he holds (Olavarria, 2001a).

Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was devised by R. W. Connell in order to understand how men make sense of their masculinity and also to comprehend the relationship between patriarchy and privilege. The concept was first proposed by Connell in the article “Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity” (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985) in which the model offered a diversity of masculinities and also used feminist theories of patriarchy to relate and understand masculinities and power (Connell, 2005).

Connell’s Hegemonic Masculinity was in a first stage understood as a pattern of certain and specific practices that give men authority over women. The concept embodied all the qualities that the ideal man should possess, and was strongly related to historical change and social settings. Connell (2005) distinguished four types of relationships in the hegemonic model, each one feeding into the hierarchy system: Firstly, the dominant masculinities which is related to the idealized way of being a man and is associated with strength, wealth, power, aggressiveness, competition and heterosexuality. Secondly, the complicit masculinities which support dominant masculinities, and share many aspects of the latter. Men that follow this type of masculinity do not always gain from patriarchy, however, they obtain some kind of benefit by being an accomplice to it (Kahn, 2009). The third type of hegemonic masculinities is referred to as marginalized masculinities and implies groups of men that do not fit in the model of the dominant group, therefore they are marginalized. The reason for

not fitting in with the dominant group is because they have constructed an identity towards a group that is not dominant (Connell, 2005). Finally, there is the subordinate masculinities which are viewed as denigrated ways of masculinity (ibid).

According to this perspective, it is in the social action that individuals' behaviour accomplish sense and value. And it signifies that the idea of the "perfect/ideal" man varies according to different meanings that are set culturally, therefore, it is a concept that is under constant change and development (Connell, 2005). This relativism confirms the claims of many scholars mentioned earlier that one single masculinity cannot take under its "wings" all the different types of masculinity. This model places emphasis on power relationships and on dominance in order to maintain the patriarchal system. From this point of view, a way of understanding masculinities as power, is from the feminist standpoint theory. According to this theory men are assigned a role of subjects and women are referred to as objects (Changfoot, 2004, cited in Kahn, 2009).

As mentioned before, this model follows the lead of radical feminism regarding the fact that people act in certain ways that give importance and reinforce male privilege. This support goes unquestioned and generates an idealization of what it is to be a man. According to this conception, individuals will conform and support the idealized version of masculinity, even if they do not agree with it, in order to maintain the system of patriarchy. This implies a reinforcement of the idealized characteristics, perceived as the "right" way to be a man, where there is a subordination of women and marginalization of men who do not fit in the model of the ideal masculinity (Kahn 2009, Connell 2005, Demetriou 2001).

In addition, this model supports the idea that all men have something to gain from the patriarchal structure, however, the privileges obtained differ from men to men (Connell, 2005). Thus, it can be understood that “masculinity” to the extent that the term can be briefly defined at all, is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practice through which men and women engage and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture (Tellería, 2000). So, taking into consideration that male identification is the way in which men assume a “way” of being, of living and of doing things, the hegemonic model allows men to achieve this.

Since the introduction of the concept to the academic arena, its use has served as guidance for much research and it is important to take it into consideration in order to be able to theorize gender and power relations and to have a better consideration of the effectiveness of masculinities in the legitimation of the gender order.

In order to explain the hegemonic model, Tellería (2000) devised a metaphor to illustrate it. Masculinity is symbolized as a “table” which is sustained by four legs. Each leg is linked to one another and constructs some of the “preconceived ideas” of masculinity; these legs provide stability to the table. The first leg, “to be heterosexual”. This statement is privileged in societies where heterosexuality is viewed as the norm. Then, to achieve this attitude publicly, men are pressurized into showing themselves as being “macho”, with the capacity of having a woman partner, constructing and producing a family. This attitude is compulsive due to the great need of being valued as heterosexuals and therefore to be accepted by

society. The second leg, “to be homophobic”, refers to the fear of homosexuality and the wrong belief that homosexuality is a perverse and unnatural practice and attitude. Tellería’s (2000) third leg, “to take part of a misogynist practice”, supports the attitude of despising women or underestimating them and viewing them as weak and fragile. Finally, the fourth leg, “to be educated in a sexist way”, refers to the fact that the social process of education and communication has a high content of messages that make a differentiation and discrimination of genders. This is due to the stereotype of roles such as the belief of having specific attitudes and practices that are exclusively for women and other activities and attitudes that are only for men. Any transgression of these generates suspicion and social punishment (Tellería, 2000).

It has to be acknowledged that these preconceived ideas that sustain the hegemonic masculinity do not allow the possibility of transgression. They are strongly related to one another and they have a strong impact in men’s lives. The challenge in studying masculinities lies in the way the term is taken on board, and the unique significance individuals give to the way of being men. It can be said that “breaking the table” is necessary to obtain different attitudes.

Regarding the usefulness of Connell’s Hegemonic Masculinity model, much debate and criticism has revolved around the line that the concept presents a dichotomous view of sex-gender. According to Demetriou (2001), this position seems to leave little space for studies that involve transsexuals. To this accusation, Connell suggests the concept of “complicit

masculinity” that refers to men who do not act in the way that is pre-determined by the hegemonic model (Connell, 2005).

It has also been suggested that the concept is too ambiguous therefore presenting confusion over who really fits the category of the hegemonically masculine man. To this, Demetriou (2001), proposed that a hybridization should take place in order to combine elements and go beyond cultural demands to attain a reconfiguration of the concept.

As a reply to this argument and in an attempt to salvage the contested concept, Connell (2005) suggests the re-formulation of the concept taking into account four aspects. The first one is to include a wider understanding of gender hierarchy and to approach the study of masculinities in a holistic way, interrelating femininities and masculinities. The second aspect is to approach hegemonic masculinities from a geographic point of view, analyzing it from a local level, which refers to face-to-face and immediate interaction. The third aspect is social embodiment, that is referred to the representation and meaning that is given to men’s bodies. To fully comprehend this, Connell (2005) suggests that “it must be understood that bodies are both objects of social practice and agents in social practice” (Ibid:851). Finally, the different dynamics and complexity of masculinities are subject to change throughout time. So, cultural and geographical contexts have a great influence in the making of men (Connell, 2005).

Crisis of masculinity

Regarding what has been called as the “crisis of masculinity” by scholars (Connell, 2005; Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000; Seidler, 2006) there is a recognition that men, as a particular social group in society, have problems which have materialized themselves and posed themselves as crisis for men (Jefferson, 2002; MacInnes, 2001, cited in Kahn, 2009). It has been suggested (Valdés, 1997) that men, as a social group, are going through severe changes in their lives and with their surroundings. Changes, mainly in the economy and values, are responsible for modifications in their behaviour. According to Olavarría (2001), these changes are not necessarily perceived by men and their families and therefore they are not internalized and understood as problems that have a direct effect on them. On the contrary, they are viewed as something external. The rupture between the public and private space, referring to the introduction of women to the public sphere, has been a gradual process that has affected the “authority” of men and has made less effective their “control” over “their” women (Olavarría, 2001a:93).

It has been established by researchers that important changes in the social, economic and ideological area have raised reactions in men that do not meet the cultural attributes that have been assigned to them (Viveros, 2001). On this, many researchers recognise several areas that contribute to this “crisis”, however, when talking about the causes and solutions of this crisis, there is a tendency to disagree (Kahn, 2009).

Amongst the identified areas in crisis, problems are displayed in three main areas of men’s life. In the education field, research has demonstrated that men are less likely to get admitted

to college than women and if admitted they are less likely to complete a degree (Kahn, 2009). This has been related to several indicators, one of them being that when faced with problems, men are less likely to ask for help (Olavarría, 2001b). This latter aspect is very relevant to the present study, as it supports the lack of a social arena where men can display and express their feelings.

In addition, another issue that puts in jeopardy men's identity is related to violence. There are many problems of violence that relate to men and to others. Being violent and having an aggressive nature has been linked to the way men should be. This has aroused difficulties when coming to view violent behaviour as defiant behaviour (Kahn, 2009). Precisely because men, under the hegemonic model, have been associated with traits that depict and congratulate strength and aggressive behaviour, it is difficult to be critical about these traits and define them as erroneous (Valdes, 2001). There is a fine line between what is acceptable in terms of showing how strong and powerful a man is and falling into an abusive person (Connell, 2005). The latter has provoked an awakening when conducting research and establishing public policies regarding domestic violence and violence against other men (Olavarría, 2002).

Furthermore, this aspect strongly affects and influences men's health, which also poses itself as a crisis space. Violence has a negative outcome in their health, and internal well being. This later point has been measured by the fact that men do not seek medical or therapeutic help (Kahn, 2009). In addition, it has been discussed that men tend to take more risks, jeopardizing their well being (Olavarría, 2001b).

The work sphere and consequently the “provider” role has also caused crisis, this aspect is very much linked with feelings of power, domination and control. Research has demonstrated that under the hegemonic model, men have a strong sense of being their families’ providers and therefore, they take as their responsibility the subsistence of the families’ wellbeing (Gutmann, 1996). The great responsibility they have towards their family leads them to possess a remarkable power in decision making as head of their families. This sense of responsibility has a historical background as it is a mandate that comes from their own families and personal history and comes along with limitations that oblige men to succeed in this task: leaving no space for failure (Olavarría, 2001b). Then, any kind of collapse, such as loss of jobs or not having savings, leads to a feeling of impotence and uselessness and the incapacity of men to be “good” providers. Women’s more active involvement in the work environment and their increasing role as providers feeds the arena from where the crisis rises (Adam, 2002).

It has also been suggested that the various problems that men are experiencing are due to several issues regarding how they understand masculinity and how it is understood by the culture to which they belong. Several lines of thought (i.e. the essentialist explanation, the psychosocial explanation, social constructionist explanation) have tried to explain this crisis (Kahn, 2009). However, even though these lines differ in some aspects, they all seem to agree that society has certain gender role expectations. These expectations are rigid and it is this characteristic that has provoked a de-feminization of men. This means that society has separated all qualities that are viewed as feminine from men’s lives (i.e. sensitivity, showing

emotions, seeking help, talking about their feelings, assuming their weaknesses, fragility, amongst others) and has made difficult the natural development of roles (Valdés, 1997).

Considering this, and adding to it the great changes that the world has gone through, it is obvious that many men feel in conflict. In recent years, women have entered the public arena and although there is no total equality in terms of authority, positions and wages, there seems to be more balance in the work area. Also, as mentioned before, there are more women with university degrees providing access to higher level professional jobs. The fact that more women have entered the working environment, has de-structured many pre-determined ideas which, as a result, alarm men and their construction of identity. Also, taking into consideration Connell's (2005) idea of diversity in masculinities and the historical and cultural influences, it is important to consider that there are many ways in which men construct their personal experience of masculinity, following their cultural norms and their own expectations about masculinity.

METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Even though there is an incredible large amount of growing descriptive research in masculinities, research that focuses on the “crisis of masculinity” in Bolivian men is very limited.

Traditionally, Latin-American studies have focused on studying the social construction of masculinities under the hegemonic model (Fuller, 2001; Olavarría, 2001b). According to the model, there are certain traits that men should have and follow them. Also, studies of masculinity surrounding the “macho” conception (Gutmann, 1996), or regarding power relationships taking into consideration the role of patriarchy, domination and parenthood (Olavarría, 2001b; Fuller, 2001) have predominated. However, very little has been done regarding the production and negotiation of masculinities, especially in relation to how men are affected by the feminization of some chores traditionally done by men. And more so, questions regarding how men feel by having to assume roles that are “socially” thought of as feminine, and having to experience a shift of power in relation to being the head of the family or the financial provider remain unanswered.

In order to obtain some insight, new perspectives and possible solutions to the research questions that guide this project, the present work undertook primary social research, focusing on a sociological perspective. Primary research was conducted in order to obtain some knowledge that could be considered valuable due to the lack of information in the field of the project.

In addition, by disclosing the research questions this project offered the possibility to make visible and give voice to Bolivian men who are going through personal changes in their life and it allowed the expression of their thoughts regarding their feelings. It must be taken into consideration that for many of the men that participated in this project, this study was the first time they had spoken openly about their feelings and experiences. A contributing factor to this issue is the lack of social space for men to express themselves freely.

This research followed a qualitative methodology that entails “research which is undertaken using an unstructured research approach with a small number of carefully selected individuals to produce non-quantifiable insights into behaviour, motivations and attitudes” (Wilson, 2003: 335). The main focus of this type of methodology is to seek the way individuals experience the world. Also, it enables one to describe findings making use of the exact linguistic terms used by the researched. Furthermore, this type of research allows the observation of phenomena in its natural settings, where the researcher does not have the need to intentionally provoke situations (Hernández, Fernández y Baptista, 1998). By utilizing this methodology, the researcher wanted to highlight the participants’ involvement, by giving importance to voicing their experience, trying to obtain understanding from the participants’ point of view and perspective, and trying to make sense of the participants’ meanings. Above all, this methodology enabled the researcher to offer some “new” knowledge and insights on the topic in question.

Participants

The research study used a sample population of Bolivian men. More specifically, male partners that stayed behind in Bolivia while their female partners migrated to Spain. The semi-structured interviews were conducted through the ACOBE and their representatives in Bolivia, AMIBE.

The population was selected from the data that AMIBE offered and the study initially was going to be conducted with ten Bolivian men. However, due to cancelations, it was only possible to work with eight men. Due to the sample characteristics, accessing participants was left to the gatekeeper, therefore, the research used a purposive sampling rather than a probabilistic one. This means that the participants were accessed because they met the specific criteria that the objectives of this study seek (Bryman, 2008).

Interviewing and Setting

Interviewing is one of the most attractive and employed methods used in qualitative research. The reason for this resides in the flexibility of the method which can be accommodated into the researcher's personal life (Bryman, 2008). This specific research made use of qualitative semi- structured interviews. For this purpose, the researcher worked with a list of questions related to specific topics that were covered. The first step was to create an interview guide which covered the topics that were asked in the research questions and was used with flexibility, ensuring that they were not used in a rigid format. The questionnaire guide was made up of open questions (See Appendix 1). The main aim in using semi-structured interviews was to obtain a greater in-depth perception of the participants' point of view. Each

interview had a duration of around twenty minutes. Using open questions enabled the interviewees to give “their own answers, uncontaminated by research priorities” (Farral et al, 1997: 4). Then, utilizing a gatekeeper in La Paz, Bolivia who enabled the adequate contacts to be made between the researcher and the participants, it was possible to commence the task of telephoning each participant selected.

In a first stage, a first approach was made to the participants by the gatekeeper to arrange an adequate time and date that was suitable for them. Then, in a second stage, the researcher started the interviewing process. Each interview was made via telephone using the internet based programme Skype, and each participant was contacted by this method that includes a web camera which minimized the geographical distance issue. Although all the participants selected were familiar with the Skype programme, as this is the way they communicate with their partners, some seemed to feel anxiety at first. Nevertheless, this obstacle was quickly overcome and the interviews continued their course unimpeded. This method of interviewing was chosen because the researcher was in Glasgow, while the interviewees were in La Paz, Bolivia.

Each interview was recorded and all the information obtained (in Spanish) was transcribed and then translated into English. Throughout this process the researcher made use of techniques that minimised translation-related problems, such as trying to translate the discourse as closely as possible to the original and trying not to lose the meaning that the participants expressed. The implications of this will be discussed later.

As the interviews were made via telephone, the researcher paid special attention to the setting of the interview in order to obtain good quality recordings. This point is of great importance, as it is vital when it comes to transcribing and analyzing the data and arriving at the conclusions (Bryman, 2008).

According to Purdon and Thomas (1994), the main attraction of this type of interview is the fact that data can be collected from geographically scattered samples and it is a cheap and quick way of obtaining information. However, an issue that arises is whether this mode of collecting data is reliable when it comes to gathering sensitive data. Individuals might feel wary about answering sensitive questions that involve “exposing” themselves or talking about private and potentially embarrassing topics. This point, regarding sensitive topics, has been the subject of debate and according to Purdon and Thomas (1994), it comes across in any form of interviews, and is not restricted to telephone interviews. It must be mentioned that telephone interviews are considered a practical and appropriate method of research in qualitative studies. When studying women who had been victims of domestic violence, Lee (2003) observed that telephone interviews proved effective, as many of the women could not leave home to participate in face to face interviews. Also, Galvin (2005) found this method beneficial when conducting research with disabled individuals (cited in Liamputtong, 2007). In this particular study, the researcher found that it was difficult to obtain straight forward answers and found that most of the men would sometimes lose the course of the question and wander onto something else; however this latter aspect also produced important data that was used in the research.

Regarding the setting for the interviews, these were the office installations of the organization AMIBE in La Paz, Bolivia. This is where the men involved in the research went in order to be interviewed by the researcher who worked and performed the telephone interviews from Glasgow, Scotland. The work setting tried to meet as far as possible the quality requirements by choosing quiet interview area, free of disturbances that might affect the recording.

It must be mentioned that a negative point of this methodology is the fact that sometimes the communication suffered some delays, interfering in the fluidity of the conversation. Nevertheless, this did not present itself as a major inconvenience and it was possible to proceed with the work without major consequences.

In terms of the recruitment process, the participants were selected from contacts made with the organisation mentioned, as they engage in support work with the specific population required for the research. Since the participants were accessed through a well established organisation (AMIBE), other male individuals that do not engage with the association were not included in the study.

Moreover, as the participants of the research are native Spanish speakers, the approach to the different stages of the research (recruitment, consent, application of interviews) was conducted in Spanish. This aspect is supported by the fact that the researcher is a native Spanish speaker and is fluent in English. As for the data obtained, it was treated with anonymity and the participants were fully informed of the different procedures of the

research and were assured that the information collected (recordings and transcripts) would be kept anonymous at all times and would only be disclosed with their consent.

Some problems encountered

While undertaking this study, the researcher faced some difficulties that challenged the research but also posed themselves as positive factors that fed into the researcher's "learning process".

The lack of face-to-face contact, made difficult the task of picking up signs of distress when exploring vulnerable and sensitive topics. One of the drawbacks of this method of data gathering is that some important information that can be attained from body language and gestures was not accessible to the researcher, and therefore lost. It must be acknowledged that the inability to obtain some information (i.e from non verbal attitudes, body language) cannot be perceived through a telephone interview, inhibiting the ability to build a proper rapport with the interviewees. This latter point could in itself pose limitations and restrictions on the research. Nevertheless, in the interview process, the researcher found herself learning from previous interviews. In this way, when it came to the fourth interview, the building up of rapport was more easily achieved and with greater confidence than in the first interviews, as well as probing questions. Also, the experience of the first interviews gave the researcher more appropriate tools and ways to retrieve information of a personal nature, such as asking questions about trust and fidelity in the men's relationship. Therefore, the researcher experienced, for the first time, how working in "the field" can provide many beneficial outcomes and gain experience that can be used in future work.

Besides, the researcher's judgment was important when conducting the interviews, and taking into account certain important reactions that could be indicators of distress in the participants, i.e. avoiding the question, changing the subject, jumping to other topics, not answering the question, silences, etc. proved to be challenging. For example, when the question about what it meant for the interviewees to be a man was asked, one of the interviewees refused to answer:

P. Qué cualidades asocia con ser hombre en Bolivia?

R. no le entiendo(...) no, no, no le entiendo la verdad(...)

Q.what qualities do you associate with being a man in Bolivia?

A.I don't understand (...)no, no. no I don't really understand(...)

(Pedro, 37)

Shortly after this a technical problem caused the call to end prematurely. Now, it has to be considered that this is a difficult question for anyone to answer, and especially when asked in the interview, it meant that the interviewee had to construct on the spot a meaning of it. Perhaps the researcher should have taken more care in the way she formulated it. Perhaps asking: is it better to be a man or a woman? would have received a better understanding and interpretation from the men interviewed. Also, the researcher, by not simplifying the question, failed to take into account the different backgrounds of the men involved. Therefore, asking questions in a simpler manner would have been more beneficial to obtain more concise answers.

Perhaps this also contributed to making the situation uncomfortable for the interviewee, who did not answer and eventually the transmission of the call was cut off for a few minutes. Also, the non-response could be associated to the lack of operationalisation of the term, making the concept a difficult one to grasp.

In addition, another limitation was raised by the fact that the research was only conducted with a small sample, therefore, the researcher was not able to generalize the outcomes of the research to all the male Bolivian population, but had to limit the findings to the specific sample studied.

Moreover, the information obtained in this research falls under a sensitive nature, as it seeks to disclose information that is “intimate, discreditable or incriminating” (Renzetti, 1993). The scrutiny, with which this study presumes to unravel men’s personal experiences, can be perceived by the researched as too personal to disclose. About sensitive research, Wellings (2000:256) states “if it requires disclosure of behaviours or attitudes which would normally be kept private and personal, which might result in offence or lead to social censure or disapproval, and/or which might cause the respondent discomfort to express (...)” (cited in Liamputtong, 2007:5). Therefore, as this study explored “masculinities”, it is obvious that some questions relating to information of a personal nature were sought, such as issues related to personal experiences (i.e. separation from their partners, dealing with new roles, coping with being a single parent, experiences of loneliness, difficulties in adapting to new roles and patterns in everyday life, amongst others).

An interesting point to consider from this is the fact that for many individuals, talking about sensitive issues in research can be their first experience in engaging in deep conversations. The participants get the chance to talk about matters that in other circumstances they would probably not disclose to anyone (Robertson, 2000; Dunlap et al 1990; Hess, 2006; cited in Liamputtong, 2007). So, a very important point to recognize is the fact that for most of the participants involved, this study was their first experience in engaging in deep conversations and opening themselves to talk about such personal aspects of their lives. The interviews gave the participants the chance to talk about matters that in other circumstances they would probably not disclose to anyone.

A clear illustration of this follows:

P. Qué opina de este tipo de estudios sobre hombres?

R. Pienso que es importante (...) por el hecho de ser hombres creen que todo lo pueden hacer, conozco a muchos hombres que están en mi posición pero no tuvieron el mismo apoyo, y veo que en el mismo hecho el día del padre por ejemplo, al padre no se reconoce la labor que hacen ellos, se desahogan y hacen sus actividades por separado de la familia, es muy necesario que los demás hombres puedan enterarse y las familias para salir adelante.

Q. What do you think of this type of study on men?

A. I think it is important (...) by the fact that men believe that they can do everything just by being men, I know many men who are in my position but did not have the same support, and I see that the same fact on Father's day e.g. fathers are not recognized by the work that they do. They ease themselves and carry out

activities separately from the family, it is very necessary that other men can hear and families to succeed (Rubén, 30)

However, it must be emphasized that the disclosure of personal information was not a straight forward process and seeking the interviewees trust and adapting the questions to their needs was of great value to contribute to the construction of trust. For this, it was important to take great care in the way questions were approached, as well as reminding the participants that they could opt to withdraw from the study at any stage of it and that they were in no way obliged to answer questions that they did not wish to or felt uncomfortable with.

Similarly, the researcher tried avoiding upsetting or embarrassing the participants throughout the interviews and furthermore, good judgment was used to avoid emphasizing matters that produced anxiety or discomfort to the participants. In order to minimise as much as possible any kind of distress, the researcher strived to take as much care as possible when asking questions. The researcher's background in psychology provided certain skills that were useful in dealing with handling the emotional well-being of the participants. Furthermore, the organisation AMIBE offers different kinds of therapeutic/counseling support free of charge. Therefore, if the participants suffered any emotional discomfort despite the efforts to minimise them, they would be able to seek support from the organisation. It must be noted that these services provided are known to the participants, as they belong and participate "actively" with the institution. In addition, AMIBE works at an individual and community level with all its members. In regards to the former, they guarantee anonymity and confidentiality to the individuals when working on a one to one basis.

Another issue that had to be addressed is the fact that in this study the collection of data throughout interviews was done in Spanish and the presentation of the findings in English. Therefore, this point brings up several considerations that the researcher had to take upon when translating from one language to another. According to Birbili (2000), there are several translation-related decisions that the researcher must consider when doing research that involves translation, as they have an impact on the validity of the research and the report. Amongst these considerations that affect the quality of the research are: the linguistic competence of the translator, finding the appropriate or equivalent concepts, lexical, grammatical and syntactical comparability. Also, the familiarity or knowledge of the researcher and translator of the population and culture of the researched is of great importance.

In order to minimise any kind of error when translating, the researcher took on the task of translating every single interview. The advantage of doing so was that the researcher understood where the interviewees were coming from and tried to maintain as close as possible the meaning of their expressions when translating them to English. Amongst the disadvantages encountered while undertaking this task was that there were some words which could not be translated from Spanish to English as an equivalent for the specific words could not be found. An example of this follows:

Otros que no tienen pareja se sienten así libertados de todo, cuando tenían a su lado a su esposa nunca les han dejado ir a vienes de soltero (...)

Others who do not have a partner feel like that, free from everything when they had by their side their wife they never let them go to “viernes de soltero”⁴ (Natalio, 41)

One of the main issues here is that in translation there is an inevitably introduction of pseudo-information or some words might carry an “emotional connotation” but might lose this when translated (Ervin and Bower, 1952, cited in Birbili, 2000). However, it must be highlighted that studies that require translation have been increasing in the past years due to mobility and the need for producing research at an international scale (Birbili, 2000). Therefore, these kind of studies are becoming more popular and as long as the researcher takes into consideration the potential problems involved in translation and makes all translation-related decisions (i.e the type of translation used: free or literal translation, making clear who the researcher and translator is, etc) explicit and clear throughout all the stages of the research, the research is considered valid.

The next step was to translate each interview, trying to maintain the meaning of the expressions. Therefore, sometimes, the literal translation was not the most adequate one, and the researcher had to find the appropriate words in order to try and deliver as closely as possible the meanings that the participants had. As a final step in the translation process, the researcher worked closely with an external translator in order to back up the translations and provide more solidity and accuracy to them.

⁴ “viernes de soltero” is a common term used in Bolivia for when men get together on a Friday night and go out with other male friends to party, without their partners. “Out with the lads” is probably the nearest equivalence, but it is not quite the same.

Another issue encountered was the difficulty in reaching the participants. After agreeing on specific times and dates, the researcher found herself waiting, sometimes up to one hour and the participants did not turn up. She then telephoned them on their mobile phones to see what the problem was, and the individuals, very apologetic, claimed that they could not make the interview and postponed it (in some cases) or canceled completely (in two cases). This issue can be read as an avoidance and uncomfortable attitude of having to speak about personal dilemmas to a stranger. However, it must be acknowledged that throughout the different stages of the research there was no pressure submitted on the participants.

Finally, something to consider is the fact that the researcher, a woman, was interviewing men. This in itself posed a difficulty at first when the interviews began, however, as they took their course, it was sensed that the men interviewed felt more at ease and comfortable and some even expressed that they felt relieved to be able to speak about these issues and that no one had asked them how they felt before and that it felt good to express themselves and to be heard. They also expressed that they felt valued by the mere fact of having assumed the challenge of taking under their care the upbringing of their children.

Regarding the gender differences of the interview setting, the researcher maintained awareness of this aspect throughout the interviews and sought to reduce consequences produced by the gender relationship. It should be noted that the relationship established with the interviewees was not an authoritative one, this means that the researcher did not take advantage of her role as the interviewer to try and control the interview area. On the contrary, a harmonic environment that led itself to clear communication and exchange of words was

achieved. Furthermore, it must be considered that it is possible that some men were not truthful in their answers and this could be related to social desirability, where they want to portray themselves as individuals who undertake or have behaviour that is “socially accepted”. For example, when the men interviewed were asked how they felt about taking up domestic chores, most of them claimed to have no issues with it, but digging more deeply for answers, they claimed that they were struggling and some even received help from their families or would hire someone to take up those chores.

So, when conducting research in masculinities the researcher was faced with social forces such as the cultural sensitivities of the group involved and the ethics of it. Therefore, it is important, when engaging in research, to recognise that there are differences between different cultures and perceptions that must be respected and not judged from one’s own point of view.

REPORTING THE FINDINGS

The “crisis of masculinity”

In this study the “crisis of masculinity” is manifested by several “special” arrangements men do in their daily life to accommodate the new chores, duties and responsibilities that the situation demands from them. The social pressure that they experience to be a “good man” or a “good father” is overwhelming, as well as the scrutiny of societies’ eye from which they are viewed and closely examined in a critical manner. Men have made efforts to adapt as best they can in order to “prove”, in a way, that they are no less men or incompetent by the fact that they do not stand as head of their families any longer.

Growing emphasis on male studies have been related to what has been called “the crisis of masculinity”. This “crisis” is strongly linked to an identity issue as well as the overgrowing emancipation of women, women’s incorporation in the economic sphere and questionings that challenge the traditional “idea” that is embedded in society regarding masculinities (Valdés, 1997).

The construction of men’s identity is reinforced by social expectations and demands (Olavarría, 2001b). There is a misconception that men develop fully their manhood when they develop certain traits and achieve or undertake specific “roles”. This belief confines men into a stereotypical way of “being a man” (Seidler, 2006). The exercise of power positions situates men in an advantageous position in accordance to the hegemonic model, and it is the loss of the “perks” that come along with having a power position that bring instability to the position of men, deriving in what has been called the “crisis of masculinity”.

Furthermore, the growing emancipation and protagonist role of women in the working sphere, has implied “breaking” some structures in the hegemonic model, and has consequently followed with the re-structuring of roles in gender (Valdés, 1997). Beyond this, in Bolivia, the growing number of women that migrate to Spain seeking to better their situation and that of their families has increased at a rapid rate in the past decade. This has led to a change regarding the prime earner of the household, from the husband or male partner to the women. Evidently, this shift has had some effect and has contributed to this “crisis”. It has been acknowledged that the “crisis” arises from the fact that in reality, men do not “fit- in” perfectly to the mould that the hegemonic model provides. From this, it can be seen that the men interviewed do not possess the necessary characteristics to match the hegemonic model that is imposed by their society and by themselves. They believe that they must “behave” and develop their sense of masculinity following certain idealized traits and conventions that have been set by their social environment (Connell, 2005). However, in day-to-day life, these men do not comply with what the model and society imposes on them, thus, creating an internal and personal fight and dilemma. Men want to be accepted, and strive to achieve approval of their gender. The acceptance and reinforcement of their masculinity is usually accomplished in their families and group of peers (Fuller, 2001).

P. Sus amigos qué opinan de su situación?

R. Algunas veces no dicen nada prefieren callarse no, pero aquí hay un comentario que siempre manejan el famoso mandarina, el que tiene que hacer mandado de todo y que tengo el cierto abuso de la mujer

que me maneja (...) es un mandarina tiene que ir a su casa o no cuentes con él

P. A usted le molesta eso?

R. No tanto, alguna vez, yo creo que en el fondo si molesta, pero no afecta directamente, alguna vez he protestado pero no pasó de eso

Q. What do your friends think of your situation?

A. Sometimes they don't say anything, they prefer to stay silent, but here there is a comment that is always used, the famous "mandarina"⁵, the one that has to be ordered about everything and that I have certain abuse from the woman that orders me (...)he is a "mandarina" he has to go to his house or don't count on him

Q. Does that bother you?

A. Not very much, sometimes, I think that deep down it does annoy, but it does not affect directly, sometimes I have protested but it did not go beyond that (Franklin, 35)

Another interesting point that seems to reinforce the "crisis of masculinity" is the fact that the men interviewed have had to take on their partner's role within the household as well as maintaining their role. In addition, the men have had to maintain their father-child relationships, whilst trying to provide a mothering role. This "dual" role of having to be "mother" and "father" to their children has had an impact in the way they have constituted their identity.

⁵ Mandarina: term used to refer to a man whose wife is the breadwinner.

Badinter (1993) states that men and women culturally construct their identity following established parameters. In hegemonic societies the dominant groups “own” the way how reality is viewed (Sacks, 1992, cited in Edward, 1998). Therefore, they impose the parameters that men and women must acknowledge when constructing who they are. This construction of a masculine identity, that follows the traditional model, implies taking up certain traits and exercising specific roles in each stage of life (Olavarría, 2001a). The inability to accomplish these traits could jeopardize their condition of “men”.

The men interviewed expressed that the lack of time is a problem when it comes to successfully performing their new “dual” role. It is interesting to see how the men externalize the difficulty of not being able to perform successfully to a factor that is out of their control such as “time”. They cannot have control of it, “time” is the factor that limits their performance and does not allow them to conduct in a “perfect” manner all that is expected from them.

This point drew the attention of the researcher, as it seems that the men in the study are evidently struggling with having to take up many chores. However, they seem to be doing their best in holding the whole situation and their families together. This is sensed when for example Natalio (41 years old) expressed:

creo que nada es difícil, todo se puede, un poco nos aprieta es el tiempo, el horario, que yo tengo que ir a trabajar, a mis hijos debo atenderlos necesitan ese apoyo, y no hay nadie con ellos, no puedo

dejarlos. A veces debo dejar el trabajo para estar con ellos (..) todo lo hago yo, preparo el desayuno, voy al mercado, lavo la ropa, de alimentarlos, todo lo doméstico lo hago yo

I believe that nothing is difficult, everything can be done, time is against us a bit, as I have to go to work, I have to attend to my children, they need support, and there is nobody I can leave them with. Sometimes I stop working to be with them (...) I do everything, I prepare breakfast, go to market, wash the clothes, feed them, I do all the housework

The fact that the men interviewed are making “special arrangements” to “hold” things together in their families, can be viewed as reinforcing the hegemonic model of masculinity by keeping in control and possessing power. Ultimately, even though their lives have been re-structured by the absence of their partners in the household, the mere fact that the men are still taking decisions regarding how things work around their homes and the fact that they are trying as best they can to take up their new situation, making special arrangements and organizing their environment implies that they still see themselves with responsibilities and that they still have authority in their personal lives. But this could also mean that the men interviewed, in an effort to try and make sense of their situation have tried to adapt to the new situation and also have had to deal with the responsibility of caring for their children. Also, there could be another factor interplaying here, which is related to the expectations that others and society have. It is expected that these men fulfill their role as caring fathers with responsibility. Therefore, men have a social pressure to act accordingly (Olavarría, 2001b).

con mi trabajo no puedo hacer todo, hay una muchacha que trabaja con nosotros, hace de madre de la casa
with my work I cannot do everything, there is a girl who works with us, takes the mother role at home (Augusto, 38)

Likewise, another aspect that contributes to the “crisis of masculinity” can be seen in the fact that the men studied do not hold anymore the advantageous position of being the main earner in their household. Therefore, this implies that they do not hold the “indispensable” role for the families’ survival. Now, this role is taken by their women partners, and this has resulted in a shift of “dependency” in the couple’s relationship. It is now the men who depend economically on their partners in order to survive and look after the wellbeing of their children

ella manda dinero, no todo pero para los gastos de mi hijo. Sé que tiene un ahorrito pero es para ella. Antes ella no aportaba nada, hay un ingreso, no todo envía para los gastos de mi hijo, lo necesario, alimentación, estudios, ella tiene un ahorro, la situación de ella ha mejorado
she sends money, not everything but for the cost of my son. I know she has some savings but it’s for her. Before she was not providing anything, there is an income, not all is sent for the costs of my son, but the necessary needed for feeding, studies. She has a saving, her situation has improved (Augusto, 38)

Another aspect that caught the attention of the researcher is the fact that when some of the interviewees were asked how their friends, family or others viewed their situation, the men replied that people “worried” about them. This could imply that the situation these men experience, that of being single parents, is not a common one in Bolivia. More so, this insists on the hegemonic mentality of Bolivian society by which, being a single father produces a sense of “worry” in individuals of the community; whereas it seems to be that being a single mother is more socially accepted and does not awaken much preoccupation.

nos consideran mucho, mis vecinos, mis amigos me apoyan, me alientan, me dan fuerzas y les agradezco a ellos, se preocupan de mi, me toman en cuenta que soy responsable y que mejoraremos

they are greatly concerned about us, my neighbors, my friends support me, encourage me, give me strength and I thank them for worrying about me, they take into account that I am responsible and that we will improve
(Natalio, 41)

a veces ellos vienen a casa a visitarme, se preocupan por nosotros
sometimes they come to visit, they worry about us (Ruben, 42)

Another interesting finding that also seems to contribute to the “crisis” is expressed in the men’s abandonment of their social relations and in some cases of their jobs (part-time or full-time ones). Some of the men interviewed expect their female partners to send them money and beyond this, there is a consideration that they have lost friends. In other terms, their

public sphere which they share at a social level with their friends and peers has been mutilated and “taken” from them. Once again, they blame this on the “time” factor.

Ahora he asumido las responsabilidades de la casa y no me da tiempo de compartir con ellos. En realidad me he alejado de mis amistades...

I have now assumed the responsibilities of the home and I do not have time to share with them. I’ve actually distanced myself from my friends...(Ruben, 42)

tengo pocos amigos (...) más me aboco a mi familia que demás cosas

i have a few friends (...) I am more focused on my family above all things

(Eduardo, 38)

The current “crisis” situation lived by the men under study unfolds due to an incapacity of fitting in entirely to Bolivian society’s expectations of men, that is the hegemonic model of masculinity. Throughout the interviews it was observed that the discourse and narrative the men express are associated with many of the ideas prescribed by a patriarchal system. It was sensed that in the domestic sphere, which was related to having a family, being a good husband, looking out for their partners and children, having and exercising authority and power in the household, men stick closely to the hegemonic model.

The hegemonic model of masculinity

In Bolivian society, the patriarchal system defines the roles that each gender has, therefore, there is an ideal type of men that is closely linked to being virile, “macho”, strong and an idea that predominates, from the point of view of the hegemonic masculinity, is the superiority of men over women.

For the men interviewed in this study, the traditional/hegemonic model of masculinity is the one by which they define their role in society and therefore, their sense of masculinity and their role as fathers, husbands and partners. This traditional view on masculinities supports hierarchy structures where power is the main governor. Also, femininity is seen almost with repudiation, and any form of expression of it is severely outcast (Fuller, 2001). In this sense, the domestic sphere is related to having a family, being a good husband, which for the men studied implies looking out for their partners and children, having authority in the household and exercising their power.

prácticamente yo era el que mantenía la casa, ella se encargaba de los que deberes de la casa, yo era el que mantenía la casa. Es diferente en Bolivia, yo tenía que ir a trabajar y darle la suficiente plata para su alimentación

I was practically the one who maintained the house, she was responsible for the house duties, I was the one that maintained the household. It is different in Bolivia, I had to go to work and give enough money for her food (Augusto, 38)

This idea that men “move” and conduct activities in the “street” and do not take part in the house chores has been taught to them since childhood and is reinforced by other men (Fuller, 2001). This dominance of the hegemonic model comes along with the view that men and women are different and allows the invisibility of men’s power over women (Olavarria, 2001a). This means that men possess and establish power relationships that are viewed as “natural” according to this model and therefore are not questioned.

According to Connell (2005), power is not limited to the relationship between genders but it also appears within genders, generating several types of attitudes according to the space and environment. Consequently, there is a “hegemony over women” and “hegemony over subordinate masculinities”. When it comes to the family or domestic sphere, men usually have the ultimate authority, however, the “kitchen” area is an exception, and is regarded as the most feminine space within the household (Fuller, 2001).

mi esposa hacía todo

my wife did it all (Luis, 40. Talking about the domestic chores)

This study cast some light on how Bolivian men construct their identity and confirmed the researcher’s theory that Bolivian men follow patterns of the hegemonic model just as other research on Latin American men has demonstrated. The men interviewed have embedded beliefs of what it is to be a man and what are the expectations from their role as heads of their families. What gives men power and a sense of authority in the public sphere are work status, respect and overall social recognition. This public space mirrors society and it develops technologies of power and control over individuals in order to “control” everyone

(Foucault, 1996). Therefore, men and women's identities are moulded, corrected and structured by this norm that orientates individuals in the "right way" to arrive at what is expected from them by society.

In the case of the interviewees, the power and the sense of authority is manifested in one of its forms, in that of taking decisions. Most of the interviewees indicated that even though the decision of their partner to migrate to Spain, in hope of better opportunities for their families, was taken as a couple and in mutual compliance, in general everyday life decision making came down to them.

yo siempre tomaba las decisiones

I always took the decisions (Luis, 40)

Another form of empowerment of men over women expressed by the men interviewed is the focus of bodily traits. Strength is associated with virility and manliness and is very much related to the type of work that can be done and the capacity of it. Men consider their body to be superior in strength to women's and the socialization to which they are subordinated since childhood forces them to maximize these traits (Olavarría, 2001b). Men are pushed to work on their physical strength because it is expected that they "fight" for their country, that they "protect" their families and so on. Therefore, these characteristics contribute to the potential men have of showing themselves as aggressive and violent and in this sense, powerful. Kimmel (1987) also argued that men's interpretation of their body also contributes to the construction of their identity and the way they relate to others.

The men interviewed focused on this characteristic of strength, as the main difference between them and women. When they talked about strength they did not only refer to the physical aspect of it but mainly to the affective quality of it.

los hombres estamos para compartir, igual que otro ser humano, no es cierto que los hombres no deben llorar tenemos sentimiento cuando mucho nos afecta lloramos, no siempre es así, a veces los hombres somos un poco más fuerte. Somos como las mujeres con corazón pero eso si, somos más fuertes para derramar más lágrimas

we are here to share, as just another human being; it is not true that men should not cry, we have emotions. When much affects us we cry, it is not always like this, sometimes men are a bit stronger. We are like women with a heart, but yes we are stronger to pour more tears (Natalio, 41)

This point is very interesting as it supports the fact that men, under the hegemonic model, trust they must be strong and this implies underpinning the communication and “free” expression of their emotions. This also is strongly related to the fact that men have more difficulty in being intimate, in the sense of being able to speak about their feelings and emotions.

Their emotional capacities have been reduced and restrained under the patriarchal system. With the dominant forms of masculinity there is a loss in the relationship with oneself and emotions are defined as something “alien” and are not understood or even considered as something that is intrinsically part of one’s self (Seidler,2006). However, regarding this latter

point, this study does not share the same common grounds as Seidler, as the men interviewed seemed to try and express their feelings as best they could and even expressed their relief at being able to speak to someone. Perhaps the difficulty in communicating their feelings is down to the lack of a social forum where they can do so. In this sense, men appear to “close” themselves and keep “silence”, because to demonstrate their feelings would mean they are not strong, and in a way they would lose superiority and would jeopardize the image they “must” portray. In addition, as Parrini (2000) states, the “macho” stereotype contributes to the way men think in terms of absolutes (i.e. never to cry, must always be the best, the strongest, never show emotions, etc).

Another aspect that the hegemonic model reinforces is the difference that exists in the roles that men and women carry out. The men interviewed have this hegemonic model so deeply embedded in their construction of what it is to be a man that even though they claim to support equality of gender, they believe that there are some chores that are better done by men and others strictly achievable by women. This belief is not uncommon in patriarchal societies, where the hegemonic masculinity separates fathers from their children and leaves under the mother’s responsibility the “love” giving (Olavarría, 2001b).

hay algunas tareas que las hacen mejor los hombres y otras que las hacen mejor las mujeres, la percepción, la visión un poco de la mujer siempre ha sido distinta por su formación biológica no

there are some tasks that are done better by men and others that are done better by women, the perception, the vision a little bit of women has always been different because of her biological formation no (Franklin, 38)

Reconfiguration of a new masculinity

Throughout the interviews it was possible to confirm that changes have taken place in the interviewee's lives. These changes have occurred in the domestic area, that range from taking up cooking, washing up, maintaining the house clean for the wellbeing of the family, looking out for the children's necessities, amongst other chores, to more deep changes related to power positions, status, identity, social expectations and roles. All of these aspects have had a great impact in the way these particular men live and organize themselves in order to accommodate as best they can to the new "situation" encountered.

It was perceived, by what the men communicated, that the changes have not been straightforward and they have implied several losses in the way they lead their lives. Social encounters have been affected, and personal relationships have suffered from it. Furthermore, feelings of loneliness have been exposed along with a necessity to be accompanied by their partners. This new situation that men are facing comes as a result of globalization (Valdés, 1997) and the increasingly rapid adaptation of individuals to the requirements of a demanding and competitive world have had an effect in different levels on the personal life of individuals. From this, family settings, structures and organizations have been modified in order to survive, taking up new obstacles and adapting to them as best as can be done in order not to "break down". Then, the "crisis of masculinity" has fed from all of the changes

encountered by society and in men's fight for "survival" new masculinities have emerged (Olavarría, 2001a).

These new masculinities pose themselves as a "new voice" that allow the possibility of transforming the rigid conception and understanding of the hegemonic masculinity. The aim of the reconfiguration of masculinities is to create more egalitarian relations between genders and break the hierarchies of social class, as well as the dismantling preconceived ideas that support authoritarian and hierarchical societies. This change and re-structure is not straightforward, it is a process that, in order to succeed towards a more democratic society, must assume a reconfiguration of structures that in the past were viewed as untouchable. The greater aim is to live in a society that supports equality of relationships, "(...)greater intimacy between men and women and between men, recognizing and respecting differences" (Olavarría, 2001a: 123).

As regards to the men interviewed in this study, a reconfiguration of masculinity can be observed in those men that are younger in age. This is an interesting point that can be related to the generational aspect, where men around 40 years old and above present more resistance to assuming domestic chores in the household, even though they claim to do them. They express a feeling of helplessness and trauma and view the change in the roles they play and take part in as "colossal" changes in their life.

es una responsabilidad muy grande para mi, soy muy feliz teniendo a mi lado a mis dos hijos, para mi, pero el tiempo es muy corto como soy

padre y madre el tiempo no me alcanza de cuidarles, de darles cariño,
no me da tiempo para darles el cuidado que necesitan

it is a very large responsibility for me, I am very happy having my two
children by my side, for me, but time is very short as I am a father and
mother, the time is not enough for me to look after them, to give them
affection, there is not enough time to give them the care they need
(Natalio, 41)

From another perspective, it was observed that in younger couples, even though some
hegemonic ideas regarding masculinity are held, there is an acknowledgement of women's
capacities in the work sphere and furthermore, there seems to be little or no drastic change in
the taking on of domestic chores such as cooking, cleaning, looking after the children, etc.

si desde que nació yo lavaba la ropa, planchar no tengo problema,
ahora que llevo a la casa debo ordenar, recoger, planchar, a veces llevo
cansado pero debemos arreglarnos

yes since he was born I washed the clothes, ironed I do not have a problem,
now I get home I must tidy up, pick up, iron, sometimes I get home tired
but we must deal with it (Emerson, 26. Talking about his child)

Also, the new responsibilities are viewed from different angles. Again this can support the generational aspect, but could also imply that the social background and upbringing of these men has an effect in their personal visions⁶.

no he tenido mucho trauma, es una cosa normal para mí(...)no ha habido un cambio brusco el que tenga que cocinar o tenga que limpiar, era normal

I haven't had a big trauma, it is a normal thing for me (...) there has not been a huge change in having to cook or clear, it was normal (Franklin, 35)

me afectó mucho, siempre es bueno una colaboración de ambos, ella ayudaba, pero ahora es difícil como yo también pero es difícil los chicos necesitan el apoyo de ella

It affected me greatly, cooperation between the two is always good, she helped, but now it is difficult for me but also difficult for them, they need her support (Natalio,41. Talking about the fact that his partner is not at home anymore)

In addition, it was observed that younger couples have the “hope” of travelling to Spain to be re-united with their partners, and have “accepted” the challenge that is involved in all the paperwork and the great change they will have to assume and live in order to better their situation and that of their families.

⁶ This point could be explored further by undertaking another research in order to view how social class and masculinity correlate in Bolivian men.

On the contrary, the older men expressed that they wanted their partners to return to Bolivia, expressing that their children needed them, and that a family cannot be complete without the mothers' love.

iba a seguir la idea de irme al exterior, ahora ella me pide que me repita(...) creo que tengo que hacer trámites la visa para visitarla a ella como turista y luego retornar y ver cómo van las cosas para ella y tomar la decisión

I was going to follow the idea of going, now she asks me to repeat myself (...) I think I have to do my papers for the visa to go and visit her as a tourist then return and then see how things go for her and take a decision”(Emerson, 26)

ha empezado a valorar que la mujer tiene que estar al lado de su esposo

she has started to value that women must be at their husband's side (Luis, 40. Talking about his wife)

Any kind of change produces fear, and new situations come accompanied with some anxieties. In this study, the fear lies in that if a man changes his masculinity, there is a change in the order of power (Olavarría, 2001a). The fear of being viewed as less masculine, as frail and out of control means that reaching an intimacy level, talking about their feelings and socializing the problem is a difficulty for men, because they do not want to show themselves

as weak. This could be related to a lack of social context that allows men to speak freely about their emotions.

In the interviews conducted it was observed that the majority of men expressed a feeling of loneliness since their partners had left, but seemed to shift this void in their lives as a necessity that comes from their children. This may be related to the fact that it is socially accepted that children “need” their mothers to develop in a “healthy” way and also this could back up the idea that it is difficult for men to express their feelings, hence the reason for talking about their children’s needs. Once more, society’s failure to provide a “social context” where men’s voices are welcomed plays an important role in the difficulty of canalizing their feelings. For example when asked about the hardest thing about their situation some replies were:

el estar solo en realidad, sin una compañera con quien dormir
being alone, without a partner with whom to sleep (Franklin, 35)

no estoy con ella (...)en lo posible tratar de aguantarte no? que vas a
hacer, no por el motivo que esté afuera te vas a conseguir otra mujer
no, imposible

I am not with her(...) if possible try and take it, what else can you do, not
because she is away you are going to get another woman no, impossible
(Pedro, 37)

yo creo siempre en casa hace falta una madre

I think that always at home a mother is needed (Luis, 40)

Furthermore, when the interviewer asked one of the interviewees why he thought it was difficult for men to talk about this topic, he expressed the following:

primero, lo que pasa primero es que no hay quien pregunte, generalmente a uno le critican, no le preguntan, mira aquel es así o es asa no, entonces no viene cuestionamientos como este, por ejemplo, que a uno le están preguntando, no es el mismo comentario de la hermana, del hermano o del vecino o del amigo, como le decía, este es un mandarina o este es un vapor que va por esto va por el otro
first, what happens firstly is that there is no one who asks, generally one is criticized, they don't ask, look at him he is like this or like that, so there is no questionings like this, for example, if you ask it's not the same the comment from the sister, the brother, the neighbour or the friend, as I was saying, this is a mandarina that does this or the other (Franklin, 35)

In addition, it must be acknowledged that this is the first time for most of the men interviewed to talk about these issues. For example, when the interview with Augusto was finished he said:

Para mí ha sido una manera de descargarme para decir esto a alguien

For me it has been a way of unburdening myself to say this to someone

CONCLUSIONS

Societies elaborate and transmit expectations, mandates and sanctions to individuals, recognizing differences between men and women in different spaces (i.e in the family, group of peers, community, etc). Society imposes the way in which individuals learn how to act and behave accordingly following the specified requirements set by it. It is in this environment that thoughts, behaviours and attitudes are developed as well as specific roles, which are undertaken by each individual.

This study shed some light in the identification of attitudes and sentiments of Bolivian men who have to adapt themselves to being a single parent and dealing with the pressures of a society that follows a patriarchal and traditional system very closely.

It has been seen that many factors contribute to the so called “crisis of masculinity” and from this a change has been produced, leading to a reconfiguration that gives birth to a new way of expressing their masculinity. When Bolivian men assume a relationship with their partners, they already arrive with a social heritage; they must be responsible heads-of-household, the main providers as well as the decision-makers but above all, they must protect their partners and children. However, when this “ideal” type is broken the men encounter a crisis. An individual crisis takes place but also a social one due to the lack of opportunities in the work sphere. This situation pushes the family to reorganise itself and a reconfiguration of roles takes place. A new vision of femininity is assumed and it poses itself as a challenge to the patriarchal system.

Furthermore, it is very interesting to see how most of the men interviewed mention they feel defenceless and find it hard to cope with the situation as well as finding the public eye “on them” constantly. All of this seems to expose their mutilated affectivity that comes as a result of society’s impossibility for allowing room for men to show and express freely their affections.

Throughout this study, some knowledge has been shed on the fact that when it came to talking about the strength of men, they seemed to have no problems talking about it and even in some cases to brag about it. However, when it came to talking about every-day activities and more so, when it came to talking about their solitude and spending most of their time alone, away from the public eye, and in the intimacy of their home, with their children, the men interviewed seemed to realise that the strength that is expected from them by the social pressures, was not there. In a way, it is as if the men interviewed realised that they could collapse when confronted with loneliness and deprivation of affection (from their partners) as well as having to deal with an economic necessity, a lack of opportunities and caring for their children as a single parent.

In addition, it seems that in a dialectical way a new masculinity emerges. This is seen in the fact that the men interviewed come to terms and accept that their partners can make decisions for the well-being of the family. They also recognise that their partners can provide for the family as financial providers and are capable of challenging established norms set out by their own society and also by dealing with other societies and cultures. Furthermore, the men interviewed recognise the great effort and courageous attitude of their partners.

Unfortunately public policies in Bolivia reinforce the hegemonic model of masculinity. There are very few, if any, social policies in the country that consider men as an intrinsic part of society when proposing educational or health policies. Most of them focus on the binomial relationship mother-child, liberating men of the responsibility of being fathers and taking an active role in domestic life. It is hoped that with studies like this one, future public policies can adopt a different vision of masculinities and can contribute positively, through the process of education, to changes in society by reconstructing embedded stereotypical ideas from an early age. In addition, it is hoped that the voices of Bolivian men are embraced and recognized openly in their formation and construction of their masculinity by society.

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What is left after they are gone?

**A study of the “crisis of masculinity” in Bolivian men as an effect
of their female partners migrating to Spain**

By

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(Social Research)

‘Appendices’

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Appendix N.1. Interview guide (Spanish)

<p>Investigación</p> <p>Masculinidad en hombres Bolivianos. Un estudio de la “crisis de masculinidad” en hombres Bolivianos como un efecto de la migración a España de sus parejas femeninas.</p>	<p>Instituciones</p> <p>Universidad de Strathclyde y AMIBE (Asociación de migrantes Bolivia España. Association of Migrants Bolivia-Spain)</p>
<p>Instrumento:</p> <p>Entrevista semi-estructurada para informantes claves.</p> <p>*Debe aclararse que este instrumento es solo una guía para la entrevista. Otras preguntas pueden emerger en la entrevista y el orden de las mismas puede variar al igual que otras serán omitidas.</p>	<p>Entrevistado 1.</p>
<p>Introducción</p> <p>Esta entrevista forma parte de la investigación que está desarrollando la Universidad y AMIBE, con el objetivo de obtener información acerca de la masculinidad y si esta construcción está en crisis, en hombres cuyas parejas han migrado a España, para proveer de recursos a la familia.</p> <p>Esta entrevista tomará más o menos 20 minutos</p> <p>Toda la información recabada será tratada con absoluta confidencialidad y será únicamente utilizada para el propósito de esta investigación.</p>	
<p>Datos generales</p>	
<p>Edad:</p> <p>Estado Civil:</p> <p>Ocupación.....</p>	

Grado de instrucción.....

I. Aspectos socioeconómicos de la migración.

1. Antes del viaje de su pareja usted contaban con trabajo?
2. Rubro de trabajo
3. El sueldo satisfacía las necesidades de la familia?
4. Su pareja tenía trabajo o algún negocio?
5. Los recursos que generaba su esposa favorecían a la familia?
6. Los gastos familiares exceden los ingresos?
7. Tienen seguro de salud?
8. La casa donde viven es:

Propia

Alquilada

Anticrético

Son cuidadores.

9. Tienen Luz, agua, alcantarillado

A. Composición familiar

1. Tienen hijos?
2. Cuántos?
3. Todos estudian?
4. Aparte de sus hijos, colaboran a los parientes aunque no vivan con ustedes?

B. Educación

1. Han cursado algún grado superior al bachillerato, Universidad, Instituto, Normal o a técnico?
2. Cuenta con título profesional?

II- Percepción de la masculinidad.

1. Cuando usted era niño, ha escuchado alguna de estas frases o parecidas. Qué opina sobre esto?
 - a) Los hombres no lloran
 - b) Solo los maricones tienen miedo

- c) Las mujeres deben ser de un solo hombre.
 - c) La mujer es de la casa, y los hombres de la calle
 - d) En casa los hombres mandan
 - e) Cuando te cases debes tener y mantener a tu familia.
2. Usted considera que la familia valora más a los hombres o a las mujeres? Por qué?
 3. Qué significa para usted ser hombre.
 4. Cuando su esposa estaba con ustedes, quién era responsable de cuidar la casa es decir, lavar, cocinar, recoger, ver que las wawas hagan la tarea etc.?
 5. Ahora que no está ella, quién se hace cargo de esas labores?
 6. Quién tomaba las decisiones?

III.- Masculinidad emergente

1. Quien ha tomado la decisión de que su pareja viaje a España y por qué?.
2. Desde que no está su pareja su situación a cambiado? Cómo?
3. Disponía de libertad cuando su pareja estaba con usted? (salir a fiestas, y actividades sociales).
4. Como persona, qué cosas han cambiado desde que su pareja ha viajado?
Puede decirme algunas cosas positivas y negativas.
5. Necesita que su pareja vuelva o puede sostener esta situación por más de tiempo? Por qué?
6. Todos los estudios que hasta el momento se han hecho se refieren a la situación de las mujeres y a los hijos; usted considera que es importante también hacer un estudio sobre cómo se sienten los hombres ante este problema de migración? Por qué?

Appendix N.2. Interview guide (English)

<p>Research</p> <p>Masculinity in Bolivian men. A study of the "crisis of masculinity" in Bolivian men as an effect of migration to Spain by their female partners.</p>	<p>Institutions</p> <p>University of Strathclyde and AMIBE (Asociación de migrantes Bolivia España.) (Association of Migrants Bolivia-Spain)</p>
<p>Instrument:</p> <p>Semi-structured Interview for key informants.</p> <p>* You must clarify that this instrument is a guide for the interview. Other questions may emerge in the interview and the order of them can vary as others will be skipped.</p>	<p>Interview 1.</p>
<p>Introduction</p> <p>This interview is part of the research being developed by the University and AMIBE, with the aim of obtaining information about masculinity and if this construct is in crisis, in men whose partners have migrated to Spain, to provide resources for the family.</p> <p>This interview will take roughly 20 minutes.</p> <p>All information collected will be treated with absolute confidentiality and will only be used for the purpose of this research.</p>	
<p>General data</p>	
<p>Age:</p> <p>Civil status:</p> <p>Occupation:</p> <p>Level of education:</p>	

I. Socioeconomic aspects of migration

1. Before your partner traveled did you have a job?
2. Area of work?
3. Did your wages satisfy your family's needs?
4. Did your partner have a job or a business?
5. Did your partner's earnings satisfy the family's needs?
6. Did your spending exceed your earnings?
7. Do you have health insurance?
8. Is the home you live in:
Owned
Rented
Do you "house-sit" it
9. Does it have water, electricity, sewage?

A. Family composition

1. Do you have children?
2. How many?
3. Do they study?
4. Do you help support other members in your family?

B. Education

1. Do you and your wife hold an education degree?

II. Perception of Masculinity

1. Have you ever heard the phrases:
 - a) Men do not cry
 - b) Women must belong to one man
 - c) Women should stay at home and men go out to work
 - d) At home, a man is the boss
 - e) When you marry you must have and support a family
2. Do you think family values more men than women?
3. What is it to be a man for you?

4. When your partner was home, who was in charge of looking after the children, keeping the house tidy, washing up, etc?
5. Now that your partner is gone, who does those chores?
6. Who used to take the decisions?

III. Emerging Masculinity

1. Who took the decision to travel to Spain?
2. Since your partner has gone, has your situation changed? How?
3. Did you have “freedom” (to go out with your friends, etc) when your partner was home?
4. What has changed since your partner has left?

You can mention some positive and negative aspects

5. Do you need your partner to come back or can you sustain this situation longer?
6. Most studies have focused on women’s and children’s situation regarding migration; do you think it is important to know what men feel? Why?