JORGE GARCÍA VILLANUEVA

A LOOK INTO MASCULINE IDENTITY IN MEXICAN YOUNG MEN

Horizontes
Educativos

A Look into Masculine Identity in Mexican Young Men

Horizontes
Educativos

A Look into Masculine Identity in Mexican Young Men

Jorge García Villanueva

**UNIVERSIDAD
PEDAGÓGICA
NACIONAL**

A Look into Masculine Identity in Mexican Young Men
Jorge García Villanueva

ÍNDEX

PREFACE

It was because of this book that I became acquainted with different concepts such as youth, identity, gender and sex among others. Concepts which by the way I think are fundamental for everyone because they allow us to be aware of our own existence, of our path through the different states of life and about the social attribution of gender. And this book talks about all these things, and in addition helps to enhance the exercise of other disciplines, the social ones and the scientific ones as well.

Psychologists and everyone else involved in mental care will be able to find in this book a series of categories that are the result of research with young men and that will allow them to analyze several areas of the construction of identity, and hegemonic masculinity at the same time. This book also studies the way some behaviors oscillate during the transition between childhood to adulthood.

This book analyzes the concept of "young man" and this concept can be the starting line for further research, not just in the field of psychology but in other areas. This type of research can even can help in the creation of public policies for the care of young people, in the field of violence prevention, mental health, social equity, etc.

The reader will eventually ask themselves for several things; for instance, whether social success is somehow related to the display of violent behavior, but they will also find relevant data about the self-concept of young men living in urban areas. On the other hand the reader will appreciate the importance of age as a key factor in the display of power and the construction of different types of masculinity.

For those who work in other areas of the social sciences and humanities, it becomes very enlightening to realize that concepts such as gender are sex are not the same even though they are wrongly used as interchangeable in many contexts.

I would like to invite you to read this text with the conviction that it will be very useful both in your personal life as well as in your professional life, because it provides a great deal of knowledge about what it means to be a young man from a serious scientific perspective which is fundamental in the present time.

Bruno Juárez Medina

INTRODUCTION

This book offers an enriching experience in the field of gender studies since it approaches topics worthy of a deep and detailed analysis. The features related to the category of masculinity and "being a man" are highlighted in this book, making the analysis more complex by adding the category of "being young", all of this within the Mexican context. Among the contributions of this book, I would like to mention the one related with the "no place", which gives visibility to several populations, those outside the "standard", the ones that don't belong to the hegemony of power and it is because of them that this book makes sense and acquires invaluable transcendence.

Young people trapped inside and an endless number of norms and social patterns continue, on the one hand, trying to reduce gender gaps, while in speech such gaps emerge; and on the other hand, facing realities, so that gender speech can permeate on the social scene. Though in the last years these polarized constructions about the meaning of "being a man" or "being a woman" have been questioned, the achievements remain in the level of official speech *versus* social practice.

The diversity where the societies are grouped together allows us to see the impact on the culture, traditions, history, economy,

public policies and education among others that this diversity has had. The influence of cultural industries is constantly observed; they are sponsors of hegemonic masculinity throughout power relationships, through the "unreachable ideal" set by patterns or even through "truths considered as absolutes" which promote the development of groups that are drivers of the reproduction of such norms and patterns.

The individuals, who shape the societies, are immersed in the culture that surrounds them. A "sense of belonging" that allows the individuals to identify themselves is being looked for. Acceptance of a particular social group is also looked for, and with this are also conceived, the "goals" or "achievements" that will permit "to belong or not" to a certain hierarchy.

Within the groups, there are hegemonic groups, empowered by the differences among other minority groups or groups that are not representative. Even though we are aware that the category "young people" currently represents a majority social group, in its own condition, it does not belong to a power group.

On the other hand, for years masculinity has been associated with power from a polarized construct related with bravery, virility, strength, nourishment, protection, showing affection, and heterosexuality among other characteristics. Men are continuously trying to demonstrate how to "be a man", and by doing this everyone who is not related with these features will be excluded.

People look for recognition, to feel they belong to a group and the acceptance of this group, in such a way that gender becomes complex in all its dimensions when shifting the social conditions that give context to the individuals. To conceive the world and its societies in a different way opens new gaps and reformulates the sense of belonging to a particular group or groups. To accept and acknowledge other groups not just as valid but to appreciate them as equals and see them as part of the norm, implies an effort that goes beyond speech; it involves new policies, strategies, and education. With this being said, social construction will have to be

rethought in a way that proposes the reconfiguration of patterns and features so that the sense of belonging will mean to be and to exist in the diversity and not among a particular set of patterns and norms.

It is a hard task to make the "no place" visible because it is a place where we found the minorities and those who "are not empowered". Since it means an initial moment of change, this implies not just to tolerate the differences but to feel that we belong, both in what it is collective and in what it is individual, in dynamic societies. Otherwise we will continue talking about "the different, the unrelated, the opposite". Therefore the challenge to come will be to break the categories and to recover harmony with empathy.

Karla A. Talavera Torres

CHAPTER I
SOME OBSERVATIONS

> It would be very gracious if God existed, if he had created the
> world and was a real providence; if there were a moral order
> in the world and an afterlife, but it is an astounding fact,
> that all this is exactly what we feel compelled to wish it exists.
>
> *Sigmund Freud*

This work aims for a convergent view between gender and youth studies: to ask about the masculine identity in young men; in addition to show an interpretative type of approach to the study of young men. The ambition went beyond young men integrated into the social system, not those grouped clearly and distinctively especially for their criticisms of the *status quo* nor those who have made of crime their *modus vivendi.* For this, it will be necessary to review briefly gender studies (particularly the documents on masculine identity) as well as youth studies, which, even when they are very recent, have made important contributions to understanding the construction of juvenile identities.

Youth studies stand out for their recent emergence (middle of the 20th century) as well as for their topics, related in many cases with urban tribes and youth cultures. These studies have made

important remarks for the comprehension of youth in such a way that they have impacted public policies and the way they understand young people as inhabitants of big cities. Yet are the youth studies sufficient to understand the non-adult masculine identity?

How can we see gender studies and youth studies simultaneously? This task implies studying from new angles the matters related with gender, with identities, introducing premises that contribute to critical thinking about what is being studied, and above all the incorporation of a panoptic, systematic, complex view. Without a doubt this is a great endeavor to which I intend to contribute.

As with many other topics subjected to reflection and study, masculinity and youth have not always been in the field of what it is interesting, of what it is worth study for social scientists. In fact, youth as a category of psychosocial analysis is very recent (as will be seen in chapter three). Maybe this is because we are talking about a phenomenon clearly observable as a consequence of the postwar era, along with an accelerated increase of the young population.

Young men have not been a common subject of study, much less a traditional one in scientific literature. A lot has been said about men, but in a way that seems to exclude young men. In the same way, in the recent years, the discussions about the young men have been in the contexts related with rebellion, marginalization, and anti-social or illicit behaviors, as subjects of consumption (Lutte, 1991; Feixa, 1998; García, 2001; Malbon, 2000; Medina, 2000; Nateras, 2002a; Brito, 2005; among others). Nevertheless they have been little studied in comparison with gender and its associated practices (Córdova, 2003; Kimmel and Mahler, 2003; Manzelli, 2005; Botello, 2008). Fortunately some specialized publications such as *La Manzana* (on masculinity) and *La Ventana* (on gender studies) already include articles that meditate on this topic.

Seidler (2000 and 2006) and other authors agree when talking about a supposed standard man, who among other characteristics is adult, is not young and is heterosexual. Generally the literature about masculinity refers to the behavior related with the adult life

(perhaps because those who write it are people in that condition) and, even more, an adult heterosexual life, even though many of the aspects pointed out by gender studies are incorporated. As an example it should be sufficient to mention the interesting work of Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2001) that talks about loving relationships (only between men and women), even when they refer to the changes that such a relationship has gone through in the current society, emphasizing young couples. These authors, of high academic renown, never mention homosexual couples in their work, nor think about the possible differences among these and heterosexuals when talking about the life of a contemporary partner.

But where is the place of young people in regard to masculinity? What do they have to say about their experience as young men? Few authors have stopped to think about this matter, sometimes even just tangentially —Huerta (1999), as well as Connel (2000), Hernández (2005), Botello (2008)— even less, when it concerns young men from the city. This is what the present research is aiming to explore as well as to provide some input that will help to answer questions like these, but not without making some conceptual precision about sex, gender, and identity beforehand. In the following sections of this text emerging studies about masculinity and some of the research that focus distinctive aspects on young populations are described. The third chapter talks about youth and its conceptions, and finishes with the proposal for a category of *young man* which is intended to support the interpretation of the findings from this research.

Sex and gender

It is known now that human beings go through a process of sexual differentiation during prenatal development, which occurs in a genetic, endocrine, anatomo-physiological and neurological level, giving as a result the visible shape of man or woman (Fernández

1987, 1996). Thereby sex will be understood as the organic condition that distinguishes the male from the female and by extension is used to designate the characteristic organs of each sex by internal and external sexual organs.

To differentiate sex from gender, s*ex* will be considered as the biological fact of sexual differentiation in the human beings, while *gender* is related with the meanings, attributions, and behaviors that each social group assigns to this fact. According to Barbieri (1992) a complex relationship between sex and gender is established and he names it sex-gender systems, which according to him refers to the group of practices, symbols, representations, norms, and social values elaborated by societies based on the anatomo-physiological sexual difference and gives sense to the satisfaction of the sex drive, reproduction of the human species, and overall relations between people. Gender could be considered as the very first great division between human beings, followed by race, social class, and other social markers.

In a definition of sex and gender, Lamas (1995) mentions that gender is a social construction established based on the biological data from sexual differentiation. Some authors try to detect which aspects are the most significant to economic, political and social gender construction. Other authors research how certain types of social order produce specific perceptions about gender and sexuality, and are embodied in the ways of actions happening in social, political, and economic life; and others study methodological matters of how to use such categories (Olvera, 1997).

Gender is always implied in a symbolic system or in one of meanings which has two additional complementary categories, according to Olvera (1997), even though they are mutually exclusive:

1. each subject's genitalia are used as a criterion to assign categories at birth,
2. each category is associated with a great variety of activities, attitudes, symbols, expectations, among other characteristics.

It is necessary to mention that the gender category and its concept have been misused in several ways by authors during the decade of the 1990s. They even have replaced (and confused) sex with gender. It is the same case when the word "gender" replaces "woman" or "women;" —the works by Lamas (1995) and Olvera (1997) go into depth on this.

Likewise, Burin (1998) has defined the term gender as the group of behaviors attributed to men and women. According to this author, gender is always relational since it does not appear in isolation. That is to say, when we speak about gender we always refer to the relations between the masculine and feminine. Such relations are characterized by relating the power of affections with the feminine gender and rational and economic power with the masculine gender.

Usually gender is not conceived of as an inner characteristic that brings consequences by itself, but as a social element which comes to play a fundamental role not just over perceptions, but also about judgments and prejudices, inferences, expectations, and attribution processes that are developed around people belonging to each group based on their sex (Deaux, 1984; Grady, 1979; Unger, 1979 in Fernández, 1996). On this matter, Reddock (2003) points out that the appearance of research about men and masculinity in the Anglophone Caribbean (as in Latin America and the USA) can be clearly appreciated in the decade of 1980, saying that the existence of this field can be considered as a new component of the feminist school, at the same time that such studies have contributed to the reactions against the feminist movement. In other words, the findings or the new contributions to gender studies are also affected by the assumption of political positions between feminist movements (left) and conservative ones (right).

Identity

Gender differences are considered to be given by psychological, sociological, and anthropological factors. These differences are of course influenced by the personal perception between what a subject is able to appreciate of one's peculiar sexual morphism and what the social context in which they develop attempts to impose on them (Fernández, 1996). In other words, the thought about one's own sex and its correspondence (or not) with the norms imposed by the social system, forms in this case gender identity. But the same thing happens with other identitary aspects (professional, national, to mention some).

In this point of personal perception, the matter of identity stands out. What happens if a man's perception does not positively match with all the demands deposited on him? If he only practices some of the behaviors legitimated by the hegemonic masculinity —for instance, being heterosexual but not violent nor provider, or being homosexual but provider and violent— is he still a man? What about those who do not carry out practices related to the hegemonic masculinity? Is the latter possible as a man? Are young men carrying out all the practices associated with their condition as men? How can we study being a young man?

Definitions

In the *Dictionary of the Spanish Language* (Real Academia Española 2001), *identity* is defined as the set of features proper of an individual or a collectivity that characterizes them relative others.

According to Warren (2001), identity is a characteristic or perceptible data from an organism that remains without significant change, a synonym of selfhood and the awareness that a person has about being themselves, and different from the others. He denominates the latter "personal identity."

From a more sociological point of view, Weeks (1998) defines identity as the sense of I, in relation with the sense of being a man or a woman, which is both private (related to one's own subjectivity) and public (placed in a world of meanings and power relationships).

In Real Academia's (2001) and Warren's (2001) definitions there is a remarkable essentialist notion to the term concerning the characteristics. The other common element is the one of being distinct from the others, either for an individual or for a collectivity. Additionally, Weeks (1998) points out that the existing notion of being a man or a woman and the place that this occupies (through the practices) in the private and public dimension has very noticeable differences between each category (Basaglia, 1985; Scott, 1986; and Barbieri 1996 have agreed with this). The ideas of personal identity and social identity are related with these concepts, and their relation with the gender identity will be discussed further.

On the notion of "being"

In the interest of operationalizing the notions, including those coming from philosophy, it is worth at this moment specifying the concept of Being used in this work. According to Lowe (quoted in Honderich 2001: 953), Being is the object of ontology. There are types of being and ways of being. To say "types of being" is the same as saying "types of things," therefore there can be concrete and abstract things or beings. The "ways of being" refers to what all entities possess: existence, which is why things have different manners of being or existence. Thus the being of concrete physical objects is spatiotemporal.

About what it means to be an entity or being, Quine's position (1984/2001) will be assumed, according to: "Being is the value of a variable" (Lowe quoted in Honderich 2001: 953). According to Lowe this can be paraphrased as, "To be counted among the entities recognized as existing for a given theory [in this case, the psychology and gender theories] is to belong to the domain assigned to the

21

quantification variables of that theory in accordance with its standard interpretation." Quine adds that being is impossible without identity; "No entity without identity" (2001). This *dictum* suggests that the crucial characteristic to be constituted as an entity is the possession of certain identity conditions (of which I have already mentioned some perspectives for analysis) where both the meanings as well as the common practices of those who belong to the group or category in question are included. About the latter, the following phrase from Dubar (2002) is luminous, "What is unique is what is shared" (Dubar, 2002, p. 11).

Besides, Heidegger says (2002) there are two levels where Being is displayed: the ontological and the ontic. The ontological level is the one concerned with researching Being by taking a step back from the ontic level, attending to the question about Being. We cannot leave the entities aside, since Being is always "the Being of an entity" (Heidegger, 2002), but at this level an investigation is carried out with the aim toward "the things themselves" without the assumptions of the ontic disciplines. Accordingly, we refer in this work to Being a young man in terms of his practices and we attempt to comprehend the meanings that such practices have for him.

For their part, the fields of study in the various sciences (e.g. psychology) belong to the ontic level. "Scientific research carries out [...] the demarcation and first fixation of the essential regions" (Heidegger, 2002, p. 33). The criterion for this demarcation is found by science in the Being of entities. In this way, biology delineates living beings, mathematics does so with mathematical beings, and psychology with behavioral beings . However this demarcation of entities has a solely methodological feature: merely possible, not necessary. With these ideas, a man (or woman) can be set by psychology as a being with behavior; but this demarcation does not imply for the man to be necessarily and only a being with behavior. It is feasible to also be demarcated by biology as a living being. Of course, every demarcation is possibility; it is not unique and necessary.

Based upon these considerations, I reach two conclusions. First that the definition that best explains my point of view about Being for the purposes of this research is Quine's: "To be counted among the entities recognized as existing for a given theory [in this case, the psychology and gender theories] is to belong to the domain assigned to the quantification variables of that theory according with its standard interpretation." Psychology is the theory from which I will start, which being as it is, my initial background, it influences the point of view from which I observe, and its quantification variable is behavior in terms of practices and meanings. The assigned domain to these variables corresponds to beings with behavior. Given that, young men are beings with behavior, therefore it is possible to consider them as subjects of study and as an analytic category. Moreover my proposal for considering a holistic young man as a study subject and as analytical category is justified based on the little literature available to study the topic. And second, in accordance with Heidegger, I state that the current research is developed on an ontic level and not ontological. Therefore the interpretative activity is theoretically and methodologically suited to the attempt to comprehend being a young man insofar as his behaviors.

SOME PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES ON IDENTITY

For social psychology the term *identity* is very different from what we have previously expressed in the previous section. After Tajfel's works (1972, 1976), identity begins to be analyzed as the construction of a difference, the creation of a contrast, the demonstration of an alterity, that is to say the existence of others rather than me with whom I share characteristics in a higher or lower level. At the same time this author postulates the existence of identity phenomena in the relations between a belonging group (endogroup) and an external group (exogroup).

Social Behaviorism

Mead (1963/2006) studied the links between the spirit, the self, and the society from a point of view that he called social behavioristic. He considers that the social interaction in which the individuals are involved is the origin of their individual conscience (their notion of identity), which concerns the capability to provoke in themselves a set of defined reactions that belong to other members of the group. It is not possible to clearly distinguish among our own "I" and the ones of others, since ours only exists and enters in our experiences as the Is of others exist and enter as such in our experience. Following Mead, the self is developed in two stages, the first is organized with particular attitudes, but in the second intervene the social attitudes of the generalized other or of the social group as the global set where one belongs.

The self is not only a passive internalization of social attitudes says Mead (1963/2006), and not all individuals are identical and interchangeable. The multiple interactions in which the individuals participate and the places they occupy are important sources of variations in identity, which coincides with ideas like those of Dubar (2002) and Serret (2001) in terms of defining identity as a dynamic process resulting from multiple social interactions. In this way, the identity of a person can be analyzed according to the tone of gender, youth, social class, and other markers from which they interact in society.

It is important to point out within the self, to aspects that constitute it and originate it: the "I" that represents the *self* as subject and the *me* that represents it as an object. The *I* represents the created aspect of the self that responds to the attitudes of the other, that have been internalized, while the *me* is precisely the organized set of judgments about the other assumed by the self. These notions of *I* and *self* are shared by Aisenson (1982), but with applications of clinical nature. In this sense, Kuhn and McPartland (1954) developed an identity research technique that was based on answering

20 times the questions "Who am I?", under the premise that every answer was to be different. The overall obtained results showed that the subjects responded in first place with social categories, designating a role, a status, or belonging to a group. Once this kind of response which indicates social positions was exhausted, then appear what the authors have called more subjective and idiosyncratic responses, such as: happy, disturbed, smart.

In 1968 Gordon (quoted in Bourhis 1996) used this technique with students, but with 15 answers. The most common ones were age in first place and gender in second. From a content analysis the author distinguished several categories of response, going from the social pole to the personal pole of identity. In addition he pointed out that some variations in the use of the different categories of the definition of self are shown based on social insertions. A minority situation, or a dominated position, will produce in individuals a great awareness of the social category or categories that make them minority or dominated.

A cognitive vision of identity

Turner and other authors (Turner, 1981; Turner *et al.*, 1987; Turner and Oakes, 1989) postulated the I categorization theory or self-categorization. At the core of this theory lies the notion of despersonalization that marks the transit from a personal identity to a social identity, and refers to a psychological process that implies a uniformity and homogeneity from the behaviors and representations inside a group. Despersonalization leads to a manifestation of the minor personal identity for the benefit of collective identity. An example of this might be the characteristic expressions of the different young groups described by scholars of the youth as Feixa (1998) and Nateras (2002a). In addition, this despersonalization among male groups can be observed when some of their members make sexist and homophobic, remarks even when it is not a personally

accepted posture. The latter is the principle that Zimbardo talks about (2008) when studying why people who are generally kind might commit some evil acts as an effect of the situation generated by the group where they are.

Based on the work of Rosch (1978), Turner *et al.* (1987; in Bourhis and Leyens, 1996) postulate a hierarchy that includes three principal levels of categorization. These inclusive and ordered levels follow a vertical order and appeal to differentiation principles. In the higher level, human beings are conceived as different from the other animal species. In the intermediate level, each human is a member of a group that identifies and observes them in opposition to the other groups. And, finally, in the third level, individuals are defined for their differences with other personal beings.

According to this theory, the articulation of the levels would be governed by a "functional antagonism": an inverse or negative relation, an inevitable and continuous conflict, a constant competition. An antagonism working this way would contribute among other things to depersonalize the individual (e.g., the category *man*) who abandons a representation of themselves to be defined, at a higher level of categorization, as the member of the group collectively distinct from the other groups (the one of men). The despersonalization leads to homogeneity within the endogroup (the one of belonging), as well as the exogroup with which it is compared or contrasted. On the opposite side, the personalization of the I in the subordinated level would imply a type of atomization of the social perception (Turner *et al.*, 1987 in Bourhis and Leyens, 1996) since this type of atomization is masculine in its positive aspects but otherwise feminine. This explains the prevailing misogyny in the use of language in aspects such as, for instance, the insulting function of using the feminine gender when referring to a man or calling men names which commonly are used to refer to women.

Continuing this train of thought, the individuals tend to generalize the perception of their own uniqueness toward the other

members of the endogroup, much more than toward the members of the exogroup (the ones they are comparing against) The works conducted on populations of young people and elder people carried out by Brewer *et al.* (1981, 1984) show the establishment of a complex system of categories that includes at least components such as: a differentiation between several subgroups within the endogroup (the different juvenile groups or kinds of men for example) a tendency toward the homogenization of the subgroups that are more distant from the individual (when referring to those groups of men to which he does not belong) and the opposition of the endogroup —as a set— toward an exogroup judged as highly homogeneous (women, adults).

About gender identity

In the field of social psychology that happens to be closer to the interests of this work, such as the relations between people, some studies about the sexual belonging of the subjects do not set apart any homogeneity effect related to the outgroup (Taylor, Fiske, Etcoff and Ruderman, 1978). On the other hand, inversion might occur, an effect of relative homogeneity of the endogroup and the attempts of explanation that tend to conciliate such inversion invoking the social prestige related to the groups. Indeed it seems as if all the members of the lower prestige group (commonly women) perceive themselves and were perceived by the others in a collective identity more than members of higher prestige groups (typically men) who are perceived above all individually.

The interaction of personal and collective components of the individual identity is related with a relation among groups of contrasted prestige (Lorenzi-Cioldi,1988 in Bourhis, 1996). Therefore the sexual belonging of the individuals can be used to illustrate the identity dynamics derived from a relation among groups with different status like men/women, young/elder; even among groups of

men and young men, such as rich/poor, hen-pecked/bossy, gothics/skatos,[1] to mention some prominent ones. This also can be understood in terms of central and limit categories, as it will be shown later (see appendix 1.4.2).

Among the several descriptions of the term *gender*, frequently at least three related elements are mentioned: gender assignation (to call a newborn *man* or *woman* and, according to this, set expectations, permissions, or prohibitions on their behavior), gender identity (the way such assignations are carried out), and the role or gender role (defined activities for each gender). In the following paragraphs I will talk of what concerns of gender identity are useful to the analysis in this study.

When it comes to masculine identity, authors such as Kaufman (1989) and Badinter (1993) state that the process that originates it begins in the early years of life, because this is when a corporal image begins to be developed that allows for male and female children to be able to distinguish the characteristics of the body. They identify themselves with some of the feminine and masculine images and they categorize themselves inside one of the two hegemonic genders. This coincides with the research of Tajfel and Turner (quoted in Worshel and Austin 1996) about groups (in this case, the group of men) establishing patterns and stereotypes, to be followed by their members.

Identity is built based on interpersonal and group relationships which can trigger the desirable and undesirable behaviors for individual members of a group. This is why gender can be studied from so-called social behaviorism and its derivatives. Masculinity for example is formed by several features that are allowed, wanted, and even imposed on men from very young ages. Those things that are considered as feminine are constantly designated as undesirable and even as denigrating for men (who should

---

[1] An urban tribe, *skatos* enjoy *ska* music and wear baggy pants and loose clothes; they are not to be confused with *skaters*.

be masculine), therefore the belonging to the group *men* not only implies assuming the masculine, but rejecting and showing the absence of femininity. This can be understood by the functional antagonism (the one we referred to in previous paragraphs) proposed by Turner (1987).

On the other hand the use of an analysis of symbolic order implied in gender identities (through the notions of what center and limit categories are) helps to understand theoretically the underlying conceptions to the practices of people as men or women (or any other notions). Starting from here, the denaturing of masculinity is unrestricted. As a social psychologist, I find more obtainable and useful the sociocultural stance of identity analysis, as well as the imaginary construction of this based on center and limit categories.

Gender identity and its acquisition

For some authors of gender identity, the adoption process has two stages: the discovery of gender roles and the discrimination in practice, depending on whether it is a boy or a girl. The family and the groups of friends are the areas of mayor influence for the evolution and socialization of children. Because of this, children are expected to learn those behaviors considered by their society as more adequate to their sex, that is to say, girls those things related with the area of affectivity and boys the behaviors related with independence and aggressiveness. In this train of thoughts, Siegal reported in 1987 that the male member of a couple is the one who displays greater differentiation in his parental practices, depending on if he is raising a son or a daughter. (Even though there are stances that explain this in a different way, such as Herdt, 1992, these are not used here because they are about societies with very dissimilar characteristics from the ones under study in the present work).

Fernández (1987) and Barberá (1998) explain that the differential behavior carried out by the parents is possibly due to the greater social pressure placed upon men to adjust their behavior to the dominant gender roles, being the receivers of stronger and more firm social sanctions if they violate the gender-based norms. The author mentions that since birth the adults show a series of perceptual bias, that is to say, that they develop expectations based solely on the sex of the baby. Because of this, the parents will implement differential reinforcement, behaving in a distinct manner as a function of the child's sex, and it is from this moment that the children will internalize those qualities society expects of them . At the age of two, the parents begin to be clearer and recurrent in terms of their differential behaviors, depending on the gender roles. This indicates that the parents are the ones who play the part of teaching their children such roles. Depending on the education received at home, boys and girls perceive themselves as different groups, therefore their social objectives make each group to look for contexts where these objectives can be achieved and where to practice those conducts better accepted by their particular groups.

Authors such as Díaz-Guerrero (1986) state that each culture —when constructing the reference framework and motivations of the individual— starts from a series of historic-socio-cultural premises understood as the traditions in regard values, beliefs, thoughts, and actions, which could lead to think that the acquisition and development of gender is a multi-factorial process in which participate sex, age, social class, maturity and intelligence, the family and groups of peers, to mention some. About the latter, it is worth mentioning that peer influence can make the adolescent assume changes and reconsiderations about their body image, their manner of speech, among other aspects, as is noted by the theorists of social behaviorism (Bourhis Leyens, 1996).

According to Spence (1975) gender identity is the component of self-concept first acquired, the most central to identity, and the one with a higher organizational capability due to the importance

society gives to everything related with sex. Continuing with this train of thought and derived from the contributions of Tajfel and Turner (quoted in Worshel and Austin 1996), it has been said that social comparison will only influence the conformation of social identity, which is defined by these authors as the part of a person's self-concept , derived from the perception of their belonging to a social category (such as gender); that is to say, it is the psychopathological sense of conceiving of themselves as member of a group.

In other words, social identity is understood as the personal image derived from the characteristics obtained from the group of membership. In this way, gender identity, as a process of social comparison, is activated and takes place in the interaction with people of the same sex as well as of the opposite sex, in addition to depending on the characteristics of the context where it is developed.

Weeks (1998) points out that gender identities are extremely ambiguous; nevertheless, we seem to need them due to the harmony and inner coherence that they provide us. Plus gender identities provide a sense of placement in what is public and private. Weeks (1998) likewise states that gender identities upset us deeply, although we defend them and question them incessantly. Díaz-Guerrero (1986) as well as Weeks (1998) indicates that gender identities are not facts dictated by the biology of the persons, but are phenomena of a cultural, historical, and political matter. Finally, Weeks mentions that the gender identity models have very rigid limits, nonetheless they are in a continuous process of change. In this sense the experiences of transgender and transsexual people show the painful implications of publicly transgressing the hegemonic norms of masculinity even when their condition could be seen as a negotiation with the hegemonic masculinity to generate other masculinities (Cáceres and Jiménez, 1998 and González, 2001) that ultimately share some elements with the hegemonic one (as discussed in Appendix 3.3).

About the Mexican population, Ramos (1951/1984), Paz (1950), Portilla (1966), and Bartra (2002) point out some aspects that

might help to think about the differences between being a man in the city and being a man in rural environments. The stereotypes of *pelado*[2] and *apretado*[3] for example have been studied as distinctive of the urban context in Mexico City, especially contributing to the understanding of the power relations among social classes. Furthermore, in the capital of the country there have always existed different expressions of the masculine framed, maybe, in what is considered today as subcultures or tribes, such as the *pelado*, the punk, or the graffiti artist[4], all of them played by young men.

The imaginary construction of gender identity

Serret (2001) explains that identity is inscribed within a symbolic order of binary structures composed of a central category and a limit category, and that it is also a borderline concept, due to its construction from different perspectives and disciplines (psychology, sociology, anthropology, among others). The central category is generally defined on the basis of what is tangible and in positive terms, while the limit counterpart is defined by a negation of the central category.

Even though identities have been and can be studied beyond behaviors and discourses, collective identities, says Serret (2001), can be seen as the common set of the same imaginary illusion. Further, identity only exists in acts, in practices, but to the degree it is used in speech, which is when identity occurs, a discourse appears from which practices derive and vice versa. In applying this to the

---

[2] Ramos describes the *pelado* as an individual who carries his soul in the open, not hiding anything. He displays certain basic impetus which other men would try to conceal. He belongs to a social fauna of the lowest social category and he represents the human waste of the big city. He is less than a proletarian, and a primitive in the intellectual sphere. He is a very excitable being; he lashes out at the smallest incitement.

[3] Skinflint

[4] Also known as air brushers or graffiti artists.

analysis of gender identity, Serret (2001) argues that the terms *man* and *masculinity* are always central categories, while *woman* and *femininity* are limit categories.

When thinking about masculinity and peripheral sexualities, Fonseca (2006) highlights the use of the notion of limit for the study of sexuality (permitted and forbidden sexual behaviors, as well as interpersonal relationships), mentioning how the same practices can mean something different depending on the age and sex of those carrying them out, to mention some aspects. For instance, coital sexual behavior is positively judged only if you are an adult, heterosexual, and young; while this is considered undesirable for those who are underage and for elders. This can be complemented with the work from Gil (2006) which applies the culinary triangle from Lévi-Strauss (quoted in Gil C. 2006, 97-128) for the study of the process of the masculinity construction, deriving from this three constituent categories of such process: the hero or man, *raw*; the patriarch or man, *cooked*; and the monster or man, *rotten*. Based on this, Gil (2006) claims that the masculine I is internally divided into the three mentioned categories, which will originate practices that correspond to each one and that can coexist in time and place.

CHAPTER 2
MASCULINITY STUDIES

> I am human, I consider nothing human alien to me.
>
> *Publius Terentius Afer*

Used and described by authors such as Rubin (1975), Conway, Bourque and Scott (1987), and Scott (1986), the term *gender*, probably has been one of the most used categories in social research in recent decades. While it is true that Simone de Beauvoir (1947/1981, 1947/1982) showed in a masterly way the differences and inequities between men and women, it was with Scott that the gender category was delimited for its incorporation into scholarly work (Lamas, 1995). A different thing happens with the studies about the youth, which are very recent (*ca*. 1970, 1980), besides the fact that the history of the term comes much earlier in the history of humankind (Perez, Valdés y Suárez, 2008; Cueva, 2006).

Before we begin with the trip through the history of gender studies and its relationship with the studies of masculinity and youth, some of the angles of such studies are worth mentioning. As we will see through these pages, gender studies have their origin in left political movements, specifically in the feminist left. Such movements had the purpose of vindicating the social position (political,

economic, educational, and so on) of women, until it was able to achieve the same rights and opportunities as men.

Different disciplines have contributed to the knowledge of gender studies, including sociology, anthropology, history, and psychology. The first three had attempted to explain the elements and underlying processes of the discrimination against women and how they are seen as different relative. Psychology on the other hand has maintained two main paths for research in terms of gender: the psychometric (that underlines the behavioral differences based on sex) and the comprehensive (interested in the analysis of the experiences and realities in the personal, social, and collective realms).

Apparently the psychometric perspective is the one with the greater number of theorists within psychology; there are plenty of investigations trying to build categories and measure characteristics associated with the genders of the people studied, breaking them down into behaviors called "sexual roles." From this point of view, intervals, scales, and even norms for different populations have been established (Lara, 1993; Alonso, 2000; Díaz, Rocha and Rivera, 2004). As it will be shown later, it is hard to find studies related to gender identified as "psychological" which are not conducted from the psychometric point of view. Is it possible that psychologists are not willing to adopt a critical stance toward this subject? Could it be a matter of hegemony? The truth is that the stance of the differences based on sex is very conservative, even being capable to naturalize and legitimize the gender stereotypes since the term itself can lead to think that the behaviors (roles) are inherent to the sex of the people and not to a conglomerate of social attributes and culture. The research reported here takes a different path.

From a perspective that could be either comprehensive, interpretative or critical, gender studies have mainly focused on the meanings related with masculinities and femininities, as well as the understanding of social problems showing shades that are clearly different, depending upon whether they refer to men or to women. From this point of view anthropologists, sociologists,

social psychologists, and others have produced several works which have had an impact on the academic, educational, and political areas. Such is the case of the incorporation of gender perspectives into disciplines such as economics, medicine; the inclusion of some concepts or entire subjects in study plans and programs for basic and higher education, as well as the issuing of laws and the creation of institutions committed to reducing the inequality of opportunity between men and women, and other social markers.

The subject of gender and youth first of all is awkward for its analysis and discussion due to its complexity and because it implies questioning key points of some assumptions in science, of the *status quo*, and several moral arguments —from which people dedicated to scientific research can not easily escape— that mention the desirable features in men and women as well as young people, such as obedience to parents, not having several sexual partners, heterosexuality (even though these are not features exclusive for the young people). Furthermore, this book talks about being a young man, which implies there are notions of being and notions of young man which will have to be defined, particularly because its aim is to present a comprehensive-interpretative point of view.

Women's interest in comprehending their historical situation in relation with men, made the study of masculinities and identities of men more necessary, thus men began the studies due to the influence of feminism that their peers or women partners expressed or carried out. Olavarria (1998) points out that in our days, two main lines can be distinguished in gender studies from the feminist position. One tries to balance or invert the gynocentric bias of gender studies and its focus on the study of sexuality, masculine reproductive practices, and the emergence of *gay* and *queer* identities (in an attempt to re-signify pejorative terms alluding to the homosexual condition, for instance, and to eradicate prejudices related with gender and social coexistence). The second line, more immersed in the comprehension of the local masculine identities and their changes due to the modification of gender relationships.

This second approach is shared (with variations) by several authors of masculinity studies , like Kaufman (1989), Bourdieu (2005), Connell (2000, 2003), Kimmel (2003) and Seidler (2006b), besides those who have worked in Mexico in this line with different populations and topics like Huerta (1999), González (2001), Montesinos (2002), and Ramírez Rodríguez (2005).

Feminist theoretical approaches and gender studies would seem to present some points of agreement that strengthen research about social relationships and masculine identity, of a particular interest for this work. Maybe the most notable contribution of womens studies is the existence of a social order based on the attributions that signal the sexual differentiation (Montesinos, 2002), not without overlooking the stress on the subordination, the use and appropriation of the body, and the discourses of equality and difference that came from such works.

In this sense, the category of gender has become part of one of the main facets of analysis of social reality, together with class and race (Kimmel, 1992), and sexual orientation can be included along with these. This is possible because besides they are relational categories; therefore in the studies inti feminine identity the masculine one is present, and because these categories have been defined in mutual opposition. According with Montesinos (2002), there are two feminist discourses that conceptualize being a woman: the one of equality and the one of difference. In this order of ideas, Catalá (1983) notes that both discourses coincide when they say that the femininity and the masculinity are sociocultural constructions, and therefore historical, and their ways of symbolic representation vary through the space and time, but maintain the opposition as a constant. Such social condition defines what is feminine based on a negative position, a position seen from masculinity where woman is a limit category, and man a central one, which may be called *androcentrism*. In other words, being a man is defined positively, while being a woman is everything that is not being a man and, at the same time, the limit between man and not man (Serret, 2001).

Likewise many gender studies coincide in incorporating power for the analysis of the social relationships, relations that are hierarchical, based on the sexual differentiation, and where women have been assigned a subordinated place in relation with men (Bourdieu, 2005). They often refer to the idea of the underlying patriarchy in the different forms of social organization that keep men in a place of privilege and dominance over women. It is worth mentioning that we are talking about studies in contemporary western societies where the transformations derived from the presence of women in power question or provoke crisis in the masculine identity or, better said, in the ways of representation and symbolization of masculinity (Montesinos 1995). In these societies women are more and more found occupying positions that used to be exclusive to men, such as high ranking positions.

Several women authors have accepted the challenge to answer the question of what it is to be a woman(Catalá 1983; Basaglia, 1985; Alcoff, 1989; Martínez, 1994; Schneider, 2003), and they coincide in pointing out that the conceptualization of being a woman has had the feminine body as its point of departure, based on its reproductive function, from where the idea of *woman-equals-mother* is derived, (and concepts like *mother-wife* widely studied by Lagarde, 1992). At the same time, the conceptualization of being a man has a lot to do with the masculine body and its capacity to penetrate. The stereotypes and gender roles related with maternity and the domestic labors culturally assigned to women have been considered *natural attributes* in patriarchal justification; among the attributes noted by Burin (1993) stand out: being loving, altruistic, devoted, detached, obtaining personal fulfillment through others —generally men— who arefather, brother, husband, or child.

While the use of the terms "being," "being man," and "being young man" will be taken up later, Catalá (1983) mentions that while the ideal of *woman* refers to the body itself —as mother— the ideal of *man* refers to a rational man who stops worshiping a totem and finds in himself his reason for being (the rational element is

present). This coincides with what Huerta (1999) said, in the sense of using the body as a means of demonstrating manhood. And at the same time, this reinforces the proposition of Seidler (2000) that men try to always to be right, characterized by self–control, and the opposite of emotionality.

Recapitulating, gender studies have their origin in the feminist movement, which even when initially was political, generated massive academic activity which continues on the present day. Even when there are shades of distinction among their analytic approaches in terms of the points of interest in gender studies, their essence relies on showing social inequity in the differences built on the basis of sexual differentiation, without ignoring other aspects such as race, nationality, and social class. In the middle of this field nourished by findings, opinions, and visions, masculinity studies have recently arisen.

To go deep in the study of masculinity, it is important to know the contributions of the studies about women derived from feminism. This current, according to Lamas (1986) appears with the criticism against patriarchal social thought, which considered masculine as the universal in opposition to the invisibility of the feminine. Feminist and critical works (Saltzman, 1978; Kitzinger, 1997; Wilkinson, 1997) generally present a serious questioning of the *status quo*, in the midst of a society where women are in great disadvantage.

Very likely the studies of De Beauvoir (1947/1982, 1982) about women and their relationships with men in diverse realms constitutes a wide-ranging work on the subject and the main denunciation of the discrimination and ignorance they have been subjected to by a phallocentric society. The feminism shown in the efforts of de Beauvoir intended to answer questions such as whether in some society women were not objects of domination by men, or if there were cultures or civilizations where they have positions of power over men. From this perspective, the result of the differentiation between men and women is translated into positions of inequality

and hierarchy, in a type of social relationship where power is held by men and this includes the decision-making process that impacts social life, the exercise of citizenship, and the execution of job activities (what is public); while for women a space within home (what it is private) is limited to childraising and the care of their husband and the ill, including themselves. This is seen as a social construct of domination based on the physiological differences upon which the genders were created in terms of hierarchical relationships between men and women (Jaggar, 1983; Cooper, 1988; Amorós 1997).

Among the origins of feminism it is customary to mention the episode in the U.N. on December 10, 1948 when the General Assembly adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, so-called at the initiative of the four plenipotentiary women from the Dominican Republic, Brazil, U.S., and China who proposed that this be called "of Human Rights" and not "Rights of Mankind" so as to include women. Since then, there have been multiple and very diverse encounters internationally about what has been defined in the discourse as "the elimination of all forms of discrimination against women." Among many other events impelled in some fashion by feminist movements, we can mention the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the International Conference on the Population and Development in Cairo, carried out in 1979 and 1994 respectively, as well as the worldwide conferences on Women. These forums agree in denoting the necessity to study the different contexts of the participation of men in the aspects of population and in the development of gender equity (INSTRAW, 2003).

Currently, when speaking about "gender studies" as synonymous to "of women's studies" what it is being specified, according to Barbieri and Oliveira (1987), is not that there is a knowledge of woman and a knowledge of man, as was noted in the first feminist reports. The studies with a gender perspective assume that a society's gender suppositions are interwoven in the creation of our

culture and that it is worthwhile to bring them to light and correct them to free culture of the inequities that gender bias have imposed on it.

About this, Laclau and Mouffe (1985) affirm that the investigations on women are, first of all, multidisciplinary because what defines them is not their object of analysis, nor the existence of an empirically differentiated subject —women—, as essentialism wouldprefer, but the resource from a new criterion of reading that considers the difference between the sexes. These authors mention that the introduction of the so-called gender perspective allows for a new vision of the object of analysis in these studies, which gives origin to a different knowledge that recognizes the *sexuation* of knowledge, that is to say, evidences that there are sexual forms of the culture, and in addition, shows the reality of the resulting tensions from the differential status between men and women (gender). In agreement with Barbieri and Oliveira, they speak to the dialectic relation between sexes and, therefore, not only to the study of woman and the feminine, but of men and women in their social relations; thus their preference for the term *studies of or with gender perspective.*

In other words, the purpose of incorporating the gender perspective into social research is to understand social space as a place shared between both sexes whose behavior is given by the culture. This purpose provides foundation for the concept of *gender*, which implies a relational vision and that posits that the stereotypes *feminine* and *masculine* are a social and cultural construct on the basis of sexual differentiation (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985 and Barbieri, 1996).

In recent years, this position incorporates the term *sex-gender system* (Barbieri, 1996; Lamas, 1995; Izquierdo, 1998) to indicate that the meanings of *being man* and *being a woman* are understood as cultural models susceptible to modification and that being a man and being a woman therefore mean different things in different places, which in turn reinforces the idea that the situation and the position of men and women is not defined biologically but

culturally, and that the masculine or feminine characteristics have to do with sociocultural and individual processes of gender acquisition, (Barbieri, 1996).

However, as Laclau and Mouffe (1985) indicate, the specificity offered by gender studies is due to the fact that they intervene definitively into the field denominated *construction of meaning*. They do so not only to fill with content the typification of roles, gender stereotypes and identities, and the particularities of each case under study, but to denote that social part is what constantly gives meaning as a non-saturated space in permanent resignification, where different discourse dispute hegemony in and attempt to stop the flow of the differences and strive to constitute a center. On this point it is possible to mention that the feminist positions, and those that recognize their contributions to the study of masculinities, present as their main analytical axis the preconceived notion of the oppression and nonrecognition of women as human beings (De Beauvoir, 1981) and the power as marker of the relations established by men (Bourdieu, 2005). In this sense, the condition for being human is limited for women, given that they not allowed to carry out the same practices men are permitted, and those that are assigned towomen are considered inferior in many senses. The relations established by men are configured from *not woman* and from the contempt of what is considered feminine (to which young men are no exception). From this, the characteristic of hegemonic masculinity is power *per se*. This can explain the diverse ways men exercise power, which can vary from the subtlest forms of violence (such as their control of money and the expression of affect) to the crudest (like shouts, punches, and rape).

From the perspective of gender, in the study of the gender relations or subjects related to this category, there has been an attempt to incorporate diverse analytica axes from which the category of gender category is created, like the historical moment, institutions, practices, and the system of significations or symbolic order. Therefore, studies with a gender perspective are more and more

multi- and interdisciplinary and diversified in sociology as in psychology, economy, political sciences, development studies, and so on. The scope of the applications of gender perspective begins to permeate in the field of labor, where the discrimination and oppression against women were already solved in appearance. Cooper (2006) maintains that the policies of equal pay for equal works must be replaced by policies of equal pay for equally weighed positions (for example, doctor and nurse), in addition to considering the role of new technologies as instruments that increase masculine domination (Cooper, 1988).

Some characteristics of masculinity studies

The academic production by many of the principal authors on masculinity includes generally: the gender perspective, reflection on the model of dominant masculinity and a position inclined toward the transformation of gender relations and masculinities, the root of its importance to the scientific research

From this, masculinity can be understood as the set of social, cultural, political, economic, and other practices by means of which men are configured generically. This provides the foundation for recognizing themselves and being recognized as men. This position incorporates the notion of diversity and proposes to speak of masculinities, not in singular but in plural, considering contexts and diverse realities in which factors like the cultures, classes, ethnic groups, sexualities, languages, education, and work modalities and levels take part . The expositions of these authors are outlined next.

For Kaufman (1989), men construct their identity on the axes of power and dominion (agreeing with Bourdieu, 2005), which is, at the same time, a source of fear and pain for them. Kaufman concludes that this generates a great emotional suffering in men due to the repression of their emotions and the constant effort to be place themselves in a dominating position and demonstrate power.

Because men have to act within limits on the emotional realm of fear, sadness, and tenderness, strong pressure is formed which can generate violence and serious difficulties to verbalize necessities and emotion. (Perhaps this is what gives place to "characteristic" male violence and, simultaneously, the social permissiveness toward women's "expressiveness.")

Burin (1993, 2004) mentions that the discomfort of men expressed in the violence they direct toward others, relies on the construction of their subjectivity (erected on power and violence) and the states of crisis derived from identification with the masculine gender (that frequently challenges them). Burin also points out that men learn to live in a situation of constant demonstration of their masculinity, first toward other men, and then toward themselves. As evidence of their masculinity they will exhibit their heterosexuality, dominion over women and other men, even to the extent of employing violence. Burin promotes working for the reconstruction of masculine subjectivity.

Continuing with this point, Corsi (1995) says that emotional restriction is the center of the dominant masculinity , since when it comes to men these are signs of femininity that must be avoided because it is considerd inferior to masculinity. The idea that the rational and logical thought of man is constantly the superior form of intelligence (which coincides with Seidler, 2000, 2006a), of course, distant from women's (Corsi, 1995). Authors as Bonino (1995) propose that it is necessary to reconstruct masculine normality (based on domination, heterosexuality, and rationality) to transform the schemes from which are approached the suffering in interpersonal relations with men .

From my perspective, this suffering is related with what is proposed in *The masculine domination* by Bourdieu (2005), in the sense that this —understood as a constant exercise of power toward women and toward other men: younger, novices, blacks, poor, and elderly, for example— is a nodal distinction of hegemonic masculinity in general, also present in the diverse masculinitiesto a greater

or lesser extent. This constant exercise of power is part of several cultural practices that characterize groups of men, such as the tests of bravery (like those among law enforcement officers), heterosexuality (among friends), and so many others that are present in the contexts where men are found.

In sum, the construction of the masculine identity begins with the initial idea that masculinity is constructed and necessary to demonstrate continuously, while femininity is not and it is defined in opposition to masculinity. From here, masculinity is the series of sociocultural mechanisms used to demonstrate what once was denominated as being a "real" man (Barragán, 2004). Although some general aspects of this approach have been mentioned already, some others very related with the study of masculinities will be mentioned.

About masculinity and its correlates

To understand masculinity as a series of sociocultural attributes linked with men to indicate how they have to be legitimately included in this category, it is useful to study the conformation of men's identity if we start from the idea that gender is a set of psycho-socio-cultural attributions directed toward one or another sex (paraphrasing Scott, 1986; Barbieri, 1992; Lamas, 1995). From this idea of gender, there are then two hegemonic genders, masculine and feminine, which are composed of diverse behaviors, ideas and expectations, or stereotypes. However, there are perspectives that have indicated, from the point of view of complexity, the necessity for recognizing the coexistence of several sexes and genders as well as to use much more specific terms to describe the social aspects usually analyzed from the category "gender" (see Fausto-Sterling, 1993 and 1994; Hawkesworh, 1997).

The official dictionary of the Spanish language by its Royal Academy defines *masculinity* as the quality of what is masculine,

what is related to beings who are equipped with organs of fertilization, as well as synonymous to manly and energetic (Real Academia Española, 2001). "Femininity," on the other hand, is defined as what is proper to women, the beings who have organs to be fertilized, and an adjective for those who have the characteristics proper to femininity (Real Academia Española, 2001).However, when locating the term *man* it is defined as an animated, rational being (man or woman); as a man who has reached adulthood, and as the individual who possess the qualities considered supremely masculine (e.g., bravery, firmness). "*Woman*" is defined as the person of feminine sex (which establishes a circular relation when defining femininity as what if proper of her), as well as the woman who has reached adulthood (Real Academia Española, 2001). (Note that in both definitions the absence of characteristics *proper to* women.) In a psychology dictionary we can find that *man* is the gender of animal that belongs to the class primates and has language, civilization, use and creation of utensils (Warren, 2001), whereas it assigns to masculinity the state of possession of male characteristics and refers to the gender (Warren, 2001).

Reason, power, heterosexuality, and repression of emotions

In the attempt to shed light on the appearance of diverse masculinities in the present global context, such as the subordinated and marginalized, the hegemonic accomplices, Connell (2003) puts forward the need to study gender relations and social practices through a model of gender studies with three great foci: the relations of power, the *catexis* relations (the association of psychic energy with ideas, people, or objects), and the modes of production. Kimmel (2003) indicates in this regard that privileges of gender, race, and class are universal and that, if it is desired for men to resignify masculinity, first it will be necessary to make it visible to them, given that it is invisible to them and associated with power and privilege.

In his research into masculinity, Seidler (2000) proposes that reason is the main conductor axis of men's lives: one is a man as long as it is demonstrated he is "right." For this author, the logic men possess implies thought disembodied and disconnected from the emotional life (this latter agrees with the expositions mentioned earlier), where the emotional is seen as inferior and feminine (coinciding with Kaufman, 1989; Corsi, 1995 and Bonino, 1995), which gives it its pejorative character for men. Although further below we will deepen this aspect because power and reason are not the only dimensions to be considered when analyzing masculinities, but so are others such as the cultures, bodies, and loving relationships.

As Seidler would put it (2000), it is possible to observe around masculinity some ideas which define it to a great degree, namely:

1. heterosexuality as a power relation in society and as a legitimate sexual orientation, discarding the validity of other forms of sexual orientation;
2. the erection as an affirmation of the power;
3. the prejudice that men are bad and shameless, and the consequent exigency for self-control over the emotions (because otherwise, they would do things that they will regret).

Seidler further mentions other conceptions that are explicable from this postulate, such as that men are potential rapists, pleasers of their female partners, and in constant competition among themselves: intensely contradictory characteristics. Seidler (2006b) indicates the discomfort men feel when they repress or control their emotions due to the constant fear of doing something *bad*, resulting in the importance to exalting reason as a masculine quality. In a word: reinforcement of the dissociation between emotion and reason is continuously reinforced.

Seidler recently adds (2006c) that the present socioeconomic system has led both men and women to identify the expression of the emotions as sign of weakness and dependency, threatening their identity as independent beings. This places a certain aspect of

equality between the two sexes but it is layered onto the complexity of gender relations. How will subordinates perceive tenderness or weeping openly? Would it be the same if it is done by a man or by a woman?

If masculinity is considered from a sociocultural point of view, hegemonic societies, by means of their colonizing processes, have imposed their models of masculinity onto the conquered ones (Seidler, 2006c) who struggle to reproduce them. Here is where the notions of *metrosexual* and *gay* can work illustratiatively, since both come from the Anglo-Saxon world (Simpson, 1994/2008 and González, 2001) and mark stereotypes that are seen as ideal and reproduced in the Third World by many young men (especially in the big cities and supported by the diffusion of lifestyles associated with the consumption of certain brandnames).

Several authors (De Beauvoir, 1982; Bourdieu, 2005; Seidler, 2006a; Connell, 2003) have indicated clearly and in their own styles that masculinity and the exercise of power are closely bound, not only in the domination over women but also over all *feminized* men: those who are ill, old, homosexual, young, ignorant, poor, and so on). For that reason being a man is based on the idea, as Kimmel would say (1997), of a man in power, with power, and of power, justifying with this the dominion of the men not only over women but also over others who do not match this notion .

Nevertheless, authors as Lomas (2004) contribute apparently contrary evidence , when they indicate that, at least in Spain, other ways of being a man are beginning to emerge, mainly among children in school contexts, being characterized by the search for co-existence, equality, but always emphasizing the difference with the women (whom, among other things, maintain the reason/emotion dissociation). Nevertheless, heterosexuality continues to be a marker of masculinity, reinforced not only by peers but also by educational personnel and even by textbooks that always show examples of man-woman couples, taking as truth a biological origin of this sexual orientation.

Considering heterosexuality, not only Seidler (2000) but also Connell (2000, 2003) and other Latin American authors like Cáceres, Salazar, Rosasco and Fernández (2005) indicate that a strong bond exists between the notions of masculinity, and sexual relations and couple relationships always defined as between man and woman. Cáceres *et al.* (2005) concludes that the sexual health of Peruvian middle-class men is affected by the exercise of violent practices legitimized by masculinity such as sexual relations with multiple partners, practices of gender violence, sex by compensation with other men (in absence of women) and clandestine bisexual practices. This affirmation can be applicable to Mexican men and most likely to the other countries, insofar as the hegemonic models of masculinity seem to share the exercise of violencealong with other characteristics. This is explained because the hegemonic masculinity, considered as the model of being man, demands certain ways of behavior —the ones of heterosexual form and many violent practices, for example (Rich, 1980 and Wittig cited in Mogrovejo 2001)— and prohibits others generally associated with what is feminine and contrary to those demanded (Connell, 2000).

In this train of thought, Montoya (1998) establishes that there are four attributes which constitute the hegemonic masculinity in Latin American countries:

1. obligatory heterosexuality;
2. practice of remunerated occupation;
3. adulthood;
4. aggressiveness and the ability to exert violence.

Some of these subsections are mentioned in the findings of Forbes (2003); Kimmel and Mahler (2003); Richmond and Levant (2003); Pascoe (2003); Renold (2003); and Rust and McCraw (1984).

Contrasted to heterosexuality, the behaviors of violence, risk, daring, and challenge have been indicated as constituents of masculinity. In Mexico, for example, Vega and Gutiérrez (2004) studied the subject of masculinity with a population of children and young

people and their relation to infantile prostitution and the situation of homelessness. This work presents the concept of masculinity with a psycho-social approach, with in-depth interviews, from which some definers of this term are inferred. Among the results that they mention are important associations between being man and risk-taking, as well as not publicly accepting sexual encounters with other men.

Hernández (2005) in work with young men and women who live in the street also found that the models of man that they express are those related with being heterosexual, supplier, protector, and chivalrous. However, the images that they report in their everyday lives, are rather, opposed, and refer to macho[5] men who mistreat and abandon. In the case of chivalry, this continues to be valued among Mexican society; nevertheless, its ultimate sense is to demonstrate the "weakness" of women because it underlies the idea that they are inferior to men.

Clare (2006) comments the importance that the worldwide economic organization has on the way in which men and women relate to each other, as well as its impact in the construction of their identities. This author indicates that humanity lies in the beginning of the end the masculine control where, in addition, priorities are more related with consumption and production than with coexistence and love, a state which increases violence, discrimination, and inequity. Men face, according to Clare, a profoundly conflicting situation, where there is an ideal of man (hegemonic, of course) barely attainable for young men in conditions of competition and inequality lived under globalization with the corresponding violence required as vehicle for survival.

Kimmel (2003) emphasizes that globalization modifies the conceptions around masculinities which reconstructs the field that articulated the local and global masculinities, with the consequent

---

[5] The reader should beware of the distinct connotations between *macho* in the original Spanish and its borrowing into English.—Trans.

transformation of men's lifestyles. According to this author, global policies and economic processes affect in this way lower middle-class men, that several of their political reactions are centered on important efforts toward the restoration of the public and domestic patriarchy, which is implied in the raise of extreme right (violent) groups of both in Europe and the United States of America. These groups, says Kimmel (2003), unfold the banner of masculinity as symbolic capital and an ideological resource (through the mass media), with the purpose of understanding and explaining their condition, and also as a rhetorical element to problematize the identities of those whom they believe they are fighting against and as a resource to recruit young people in similar situations.

About violence

Masculine violence has been analyzed in several populations and scenes, even in literary works, such as the investigations by Koo (2003), who analyzes the literary texts of Manuel Puig (Argentina), Mario Vargas Llosa (Peru), and Pedro Juan Gutiérrez (Cuba) to study the representation and construction of masculine images that transgress and deconstruct the hegemonic models of masculinity. According to Koo, moral and physical corruption, as well as violence, become the symbols of what they call a new hyper-masculinity which appears as an horizon in the life of the young people —although these symbols are not exclusive of the present time.

In the work of Kimmel and Mahler (2003) can be found something similar to what is highlighted by Forbes (2003) and Richmond and Levant (2003): when studying the causes of school shootings between 1982 and 2001, these authors found that the young people who opened fire against their classmates were constantly questioned about their masculinity. Therefore, they categorically indicate that homophobia (discrimination against homosexual people) and masculinity are bound together.

Pascoe (2003) mentions that the groups of young people define masculinity in terms of competition, heterosexual success, and domination, and suggests that these terms can be taken as typologies of masculinity. He affirms that young people can manipulate the concept of masculinity to have an influence on boys with a lower degree of it. It may be deduced that several types of definitions of masculinity exist among young people and each person will use one or another meaning depending on what is more convenient, as Smiller mentions (2004). Thus, masculinity can acquire meanings or shade those that are already within it according to the interests of who is enunciating it. As an example, we can think for a moment about the *mayates*, who are men than maintain sexual relations and even a partner relationship with women as with men, but that never allow themselves to be penetrated because they consider it "degrading" (Córdova, 2003).

Renold (2003) in a work related to masculinity-femininity in sixth grade elementary school students (11 years of age), found that heterosexualized masculinities exist among boys . When exploring the mechanisms that regulate heterosexuality and, in particular, the interconnections between this and homosexuality and the hegemonic masculinity, Renold observed that the boys construct their masculinity on the basis of the integration of a complex and contradictory heterosexuality. Another way to say this is that masculinity is linked to heterosexuality (a finding indicated by the authors already mentioned) and this latter, according to Renold, with public projections of heterosexual fantasies, delusions of heterosexual futures, misogynist objectivations [representations] of girls and women, and homophobic and anti*gay* performances towards young people, as well as sexualized harassment behaviors toward girls.

There are not a few authors who have studied —among the adult population in different years— and indicated repeatedly violence in its diverse expressions as a faculty closely related with masculinity, even in groups with very different socio-demographic

characteristics. Among these we can find Montoya (1998); Ramírez Rodríguez (2005); Manzelli (2005); Ramírez Solórzano (2003), and the self-same Seidler (2000 and 2006). The latter indicates that the violence exerted by men usually is the result of the pressure they are immersed in by repressing their emotions. It is also important to indicate that the violence is seen as a means of self-affirmation inherent to men and, for many of them, as the main indicator of manhood.

On the other hand, Ramírez Solórzano (2003) concludes that violent men have suffered, been present at, or learned during childhood various forms of violence, at the same time that they have experienced relations of power/subordination (between older brothers, parents, peers, and neighbors, for example). They learned from these encounters that intimidation and fear are the resources to make authority work which, simultaneously, maintains them in the system of masculine privilege. On this Ramírez Rodríguez (2005) indicates that men have incorporated violence as an element proper to a model of masculinity, which is important to be a man respected in his context. This respect must be gained by constant testing. Apparently, the social acknowledgement of masculinity is founded on the control of the body, of pain, and of emotions to obtain the temple, which, it may be said, is recognized by society in general because there is a differentiated valuation on the use of the physical force.

As for sexual violence, Manzelli (2005) affirms that in its modality of sexual coercion, it is seen as a game by Argentine adolescent men because there is a relation between the masculine self-legitimation and the expression of sexuality by means of the accumulation of sexual experiences with women. Another of his findings is that men apparently do not consider the possibility of themselves being subjects of sexual violence.

Some of the most recent works on masculinity and young people have been presented so far, including those with a greater relation with the topic at hand, as well as some theoretical positions around

gender. As may be noted, there are many and diverse approaches to masculinity and femininity that address research problems .

It is important to emphasize the similarity of the findings of Vega and Gutiérrez (2004) with the behavior that Forbes (2003) indicates as part of the conventional norm of masculinity, that is, violence and the assumption of risks. Although both worked with young populations, none of them presents as object of their research the meaning of masculinity in young people nor what it implies to them to be man or if they consider themselves as such. Heterosexuality as a definer of masculinity is a constant in the great majority of the findings.

On this matter of the constants, it can be helpful to consider the four axes that articulate masculinity proposed by Badinter (1993):

1. To not be effeminate: the man above all must demonstrate that he is not a baby, nor a woman nor a homosexual; obviously, he must abstain from demonstrating any effeminate behavior.
2. To be an important person, since manhood is measured by success, power, and the admiration a man provokes in others. Production is considered as masculine work , whereas the feminine is re-production (again women stand out as a limit category).
3. To be strong like an oak, which implies repressing feelings and exalting physical strength.
4. To be stronger than anyone else at all cost. It is necessary to provide public examples of masculinity and not of affectivity.

Badinter and Seidler agree that the problem of the expression of affectivity is one of the origins of the identitarian conflicts of men; which leads Seidler (2006b) to point toward the transformation of masculinities as something perhaps necessary for a society with less suffering.

Let us think about the models that have been indicated and described by authors such as Paz (1950), Ramos (1984), Portilla

(1966) and Bartra (2002), when speaking about the Mexican. They say that the *pelado*, for example, only allows himself to express his feelings under the pretext of being inebriated, since otherwise he incurs in flagrant violation of the masculine canons. How many Mexican songs talk about the suffering of men (generally caused by the love of a woman)! And in the same way, only being inebriated can they be seen crying and be heard talking about theiragony.

The expositions from Rich (1980) and Wittig (cited in Mogrovejo 2001) help to comprehend the phenomenon when they say that on one hand, historically the vision of homosexuality as a sin, disease, or barely tolerated deviation has been based on the argument that heterosexuality is *the* normal state of people (and a constituent element of masculinity). In 1980, Rich questioned that idea and stated that the so-called heterosexuality is, in fact, "mandatory heterosexuality," and proposed it as a concept and an institution that guarantees a model of social relation between sexes in which women's bodies are (and must be) always sexually and socially accessible for men, under the rules they impose (Mogrovejo, 2001).

Rich holds that the heterosexuality is neither an option nor sexual preference, since election is not possible when a single form of sexuality is hegemonic. The other sexualities are not really free options, this argument continues, but painful experiences resultingfrom fights against fundamental forms of social sexual oppression. Rich does not affirm that the heterosexuality itself is oppressive but that it is socially and politically obligatory (Mogrovejo, 2001).

Wittig (cited in Mogrovejo 2001) adds to this that the heterosexual mentality is not capable of imagining a culture, a society, where heterosexuality does not rule, not only all human relations but also the production of concepts and all processes that imply conscience (Mogrovejo, 2001). If heterosexuality is understood in this way (as a dominant political system and constituent of the hegemonic masculinity), can explainwhy resistance or maladjustment to it carries severe social punishments (like the ones mentioned in the studies mentioned previously). Under this premise, masculinity

(hegemonic) is identical to heterosexuality. For example, even when we speak about "respect" for the rights of homosexual people, the terms to refer them (including the word *homosexual* itself) are used as insults among those who call themselves heterosexuals. It is worth mentioning that the exercise of violence in its different modalities is, sadly, a distinguishing marker of the hegemonic masculinity and very much related to the events of the life of men, up to and including their death.

Toward an integrated vision of youth and masculinity

From my perspective, for the social system hegemonic masculinity is the legitimized way of being manly. And although diversifications of this model exist, all the masculinities are articulated within it. The new masculinities (Segarra and Carabí, 2000) that advocate transforming the poisonous aspects of the hegemonic model are still immersed in the process of construction and realization of their searches and proposals.

As in the hegemonic masculinity as in others, the reality of young men is hard to find. Apparently, some of the characteristics of this model continue being associated with the idea of being man: heterosexuality and physical force, for example. These two topics come to the fore about homosexual men or those participating in "unmasculine" activities (hairdresser, for instance). Furthermore, there are feminized professions where the training institutions, professionals, and users still do not accept participation by men, such as kindergarten teacher, teaching assistant, etcetera.

In addition, a series of apparent changes in the concepts of masculinity are noticible that, surely based on marketing strategies, are annexed to identitary masculine ideals. Such is the case of the *metrosexual*, which is the idealization of a man oriented toward meticulous care of his appearance and, among other things, exercises

regularly, dressed with attention to details such as the combination of brands, colors, and textures, displaying "good manners" (Simpson, 1994 and 2008). On the other hand, as Hernández (2005), Clare (2006), and other authors mention, there is a contradiction between the ideal of manhood and what it is practiced in the everyday life, because many men now collaborate in domestic tasks and the raising of the children although they reproduce the contrary hegemonic discourse.

The masculinities are, then, models, possibilities for being man that arise and are maintained by human groups, sometimes distant from the notions of youth (as will be described further on). There are some masculinities that are placed in and from hegemony and promoted as improvements or more desirable or legitimate relative others, despite any contraposition among them. This is the finding of authors like Hernández (2005), and Vega and Gutiérrez (2004) in their work with young street people; Valladares and Crisanty (2002) in the concepts of *boyfriend* and *friend* of Yucatecan young people, to mention some. In all these, even though there are certain variations in the way of exerting masculinity (as many as there may be), they converge with the hegemonic model when reproducing one or many of its characteristics: provider, protector, and heterosexual, for example.

To speak of hegemonic masculinity makes reference to that legitimate way of being an adult man and is always heterosexualized. It is characterized for being allowed to use physical strength, violence, and control (repression) over the emotions. It implies constantly differentiating from women, who are subordinated in one way or another (even if only in the realm of thought) and, of course, the exercise of reason and violence.

On these aspects, the psychometric type studies, even when they have coincided in their findings, contribute little to understanding the experiences and multiple realities crossed by gender (mainly focusing on the development of instruments for measurment). The works with this perspective show the danger of assigning biological

origin to their findings, resulting from the lack of analysis of the historical, social, cultural, and psychological processes that underlie to the numeric data. Among others with this shortcoming are authors like Bem (1974); Hall and Halberstadt (1980); Rust and McCraw (1984); Beaty (1995); Betz, Lubinski and Dawis (quoted in Lubinski and Dawis 1995); Carrillo, Cortés, Flores and Reyes (2000); Díaz Loving; Díaz Guerrero, Helmreich and Spence, (1981); Rocha (2000); Valladares and Anguas (2002); Richmond and Levant (2003); Forbes (2003); Udry and Chantala (2004); García, Meza and Rodríguez (2004); Díaz, Rocha and Rivera (2004).

In agreement with Seidler (2006b) in this moment of changes, redefinitions, crisis, and deconstructions of masculinities, promoting a true transformation of the masculinities becomes urgent. Transformation implies something much greater than a change; it is to transit from one from to another, more like a metamorphosis than a change or series of changes. Toward where to transform them? Without a doubt, the horizon is distant from the limits that have formed the notions of masculinity (power, reason, heterosexuality, violence…). The direction may be to obtain a society in which the important thing is not to be a man but to be human, where the young men's horizon is not to become men/adults.

In summary, research into masculinity and youth indicates that they learn to execute from a very tender age distintive aspects of the hegemonic masculinity: to demonstrate heterosexuality, to reject what it is homosexual, to have girlfriends (pretty ones preferably), and to use physical violence to exert power over other people. A point that should be kept in sight is the pressure that the groups exert on men to adopt the behaviors considered as masculine, while this has been mentioned about pre-adolescents, also can be observed among groups of young men of diverse nature (sport and criminal ones, for example). Finally, the masculinities appear more as a negotiation some groups of men make with the hegemonic masculinities to exercise it rather than as distinct ways of being.

CHAPTER 3
YOUTH STUDIES

> Youth is a perpetual intoxication:
> it is the fever of the mind.
> *The Rochefoucauld*

Medina (2000) explains that the understanding of social and cultural complexity has forced a questioning of the way of thinking and theorizing about social subjects, putting aside dominant models in academic production and suggesting new ones (as I intend with this work). Medina suggests that the world of Latin America's youth is a social reality from the late 20th century and beginnings of the 21st century marked by its diversity and emergence, and insists that the dominant paradigms in scientific research have caused the scarcity in knowledge of youths because they have generated youthful images far removed from their social realities and their symbolic universes.

Also known as youth studies, these are works that reflect interests in a population that did not carry this label yesteryear. In Mexico and some European countries during second half of the 20th century (Perez and Urteaga, 2005), diverse investigations on youth appeared and have become part of the lines of research in

the tasks of social sciences. However, in some disciplines the studies of this nature remain scanty and in certain others are totally absent (García de Alba, 2005).

Pérez and Urteaga (2005) go further to state that specialists in the subject date from barely 10 to 20 years ago and most of the studies that have been conducted center on problematic and immediate practices. At the end of the 1980s, many scholars of "chavos banda" (street gangs) appeared, as well as others that have arisen about other topics such as the university student movements (Rochín, 2002), rockers (Morín, 2002), graffiti artists (Sánchez Guerrero, 2002), those who tattoo (Nateras, 2002b), and perpetrators of violence (Ramos, González, and Bolaños, 2002).

Medina (2000) points out that two great classifications of youth studies: those about the construction of knowledge of what youthfulness is and those that attempt to know a specific youth reality. These later ones constitute perhaps the majority of youth studies.

Among other topics in general, the research into youth approach, the religious socialization young people in Mexico (Navarro, 1998); youth and mass media (Urzúa, 1998); university life (Casillas, 1998); globalization and social and political participation (Serna, 1997); the spaces for night life (Malbon, 2000) and the introduction of the gender perspective into these studies, as I seek to do in the present work.

Some notions

According to the *Dictionary of Spanish Language* (Real Academia Española, 2001), *young* is an adjective that refers to the first moments of something, who is at a young age, and to whom is in their youth. About this it gives the definition of a period that takes place between childhood and adulthood, and refers to it as the state proper to a young person. Also, it is defined as a group that includes the young people, and also as energy, vigor, and freshness (Real

Academia Española, 2001). In this definition two characteristics are notable: a) the developmental notion that supports it establishing it between childhood and adulthood and b) the congruence with adjectives that define the hegemonic masculinity when citing energy and vigor as synonyms of this term:

Youth (From lat. *iuventus*, - tis).
1. f. Age that it's located between the childhood and the adult age.
2. f. The state of the young person.
3. f. Set of young people.
4. f. First moments of something. Youth of a star, the universe, the year.
5. f. Energy, vigor, freshness.
6. f. pl. Youthful branch of a political, religious formation, etc. (Real Academia Española, 2001: 1333)

For Lutte (1991) the first reference to young persons in the dimension of legal characteristics was placed in Roman law at least two thousand years ago, which can be read in *Lex Pletoria,* and establishd criminal action against anyone who abused the inexperience of a young person (younger than 25 years) in a legal business. For Feixa (1998), it was Hall in 1904, who was the first one to generate an academic document concerning youth, which he denominated *adolescent.* It is thanks to Hall that we have the notion of adolescence as a stage of crisis, of transition from infantile dependency to social insertion, among other characteristics that even Chávez (1928) mentions again in his famous essay on adolescence.

In chronological terms it can be said that there have always been young people, but the concept of youth is in the midst of complex debate. According to Pérez and Urteaga (2005), for many researchers of youth, it does not have age limits because it is an attitude. Pérez and Urteaga (2005) define youth to be the period of semi-independence and learning that prepares for adulthood. They

mention that, with contemporary social dynamics , public policies and those of private industry, and moreover with the advent of new technologies, is more and more difficult to get to define what *youth* is and what it consists of.

Reguillo (2000) indicates that the youth, as is currently known is generated as a result of the postwar periodwhich created a new international order occurred that conformed a political geography in which the winners acceded to never-before-seen standards of life and imposed their styles and values (a subject very well known to specialists on globalization). The notion of youth, as it is understood now, was constructed during the course of a century (Perez and Urteaga, 2005; Cueva, 2006), which is known today due to the efforts of historians and other scientists interested in constructing the historiography of the concept (García de Alba, 2005).

In this sense, Reguillo (2000) maintains that youth is a state and not a transition or metamorphosis. The proposition of state means that young people live their present as an anchor of their being and doing; whereas the State and other institutions define them as subjects in formation and development. That anchorage is strongly reinforced by the market that takes advantage of their condition as consumers; an example of this may well be the metrosexual that emphasizes youthful physical appearance as his mainfeature. From the point of view stated in this research, youth seen as a state is a category that, although recent (Cueva, 2006), is very useful to the analysis of social reality and can be attached with others to enrich theoretical views.

Some legal (dis)agreements on youth

The complexity that apparently frames the concept of youth is such that problems exist in reaching a consensus on speaking about the young people in the legal field, nationally and internationally. The United Nations (2006) defines young people as those who are

between the ages of 15 and 24 years. This notion implies that the U.N. considers children to be people younger than 15 years of age. Nevertheless, the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child defines them as such up to 18 years old. Within the category of *youth*, the U.N. distinguishes between adolescents from 13 to 19 and young adults from 20 to 24. But the subject becomes more complicated when considering the legislations from Latin American countries that vary greatly in their definitions (CEPAL, 2008).

The definition and the operational shades of the term *youth* vary not only from country to country, but even between the organizations within a country, depending on sociocultural, institutional, economic, and political specific factors. That is the case of Mexico's federal government and the government of the capital, Mexico City.

In 1998 the Law on the Mexican Institute of Youth (IMJ) was passed, establishing that the population under its jurisdiction is between the ages of 12 and 29 years (OJN, 1998). In May of 2000 the Law for the Protection of the Rights of Children and Adolescents was passed in Mexico and includes several of the rights that this population enjoys, such as nondiscrimination; be protected in their integrity, freedom, and against mistreatment and sexual abuse; health, education, rest, and play, among others (OJN, 2000).

In the year 2000, the government of Mexico City decreed the laws of 1) Young People and 2) Children of the Federal District[6] (GDF, 2000). In the first we can read the following definition of a young person: "Subject to rights whose age ranges from 15 to 29 years, identified as a strategic social actor for the city's transformation and the improvement" (GDF, 2000). One of its objectives is to achieve young people's acquisition of practical knowledge without suspending their studies.

Domínguez (2003) points out how these laws contain definitions of youth based on age, which originates the consensual problem in speaking of them, in this case at the beginning of this stage.

---

[6] Mexico City proper

This problem is international, as the U.N. itself acknowledges (2006). For purposes of this research, as far as the age of young people, it will be considered to begin at 15 years and end at 29 years.

Extended youth

The creation of our present educational system that has extended considerably the number of years for study until it includes elementary school, junior high school, and high school (since 1921, approximately), caused the juvenile school age reached to 18 years[7] (upon completion of high school). It was more and more necessary, mainly in first world societies, for young people to spend more time in the school (Reguillo, 2000). From this Pérez and Urteaga (2005) derive the proposal that school is the great creator of youth, because when demanding the extraction of young people from their families and putting them together in a single space, and classifying them by age, they coexist and together generate certain ways and, social, political, and economic practices (thus generating their own cultures).

This can partially explain not only the existence of juvenile groups, identities, and cultures, but also why there are many people

---

[7] Here some numbers about the education in Mexico: at the beginning of the country's independent life (*ca*. 1810), Martínez (1973, p. 514) reports the literate population was "only 30,000, of a total of 4,800,000 adults, this is, illiteracy was 99.38% of the inhabitants of the new country". BY the time of Porfirio Díaz, the general context improved and it has been calculated that "the most approximated data (percentage of enrollment relative the population between 5 and 15 years) indicates a 23% level" (Martínez, 1973, p. 541).Nonetheless, literacy and education increased marginally in the beginning of the 20th century; although the number of schools grew during the Díaz regime, "in the period of the system's greatest expansion, the target population was less than 40%. At the end of the first decade of the century, the balance of illiteracy was an alarming 85% of the population" (Loyo, 1990: 301-302). Overall, a constant increase in literacy and schooling may be observed from Independence to our days, above all in urban areas, particularly Mexico City.

who at 35 remain in the family house, have never held a permanent job, and continue studying their postdoctorate or are in the process of getting their bachelor's or "finishing school" —reason why they remain dependant on their parents. Thus, while in other times (like the 19th century) one went from childhood to adulthood almost in a single day (Necochea, 2005), now youth has become one of the longest stages of life. The period of youth has been extended. Of course, this is applicable to urban contexts and not necessarily to the indigenous context nor communities that have remained in social exclusion.

In regard to the extension of youth, Barceló (2005) mentions that 100 years ago the idea of youth in our country was a vague concept that was barely beginning to form. Young people did not exist as they are understood today, outside policies and of scientific analysis, since they did appear as among the sociological categories. It is known, according to this author, that during Díaz's reign and the early 20th century, after a short childhood urban children, when turning eight wore a hat, in a sort of coming of age that set their initiation into the adult responsibilities, such as working and sustaining themselves, so as to later do the same with the family they would decide to form.

CONCEPTIONS OF YOUTH

Medina (2000) comments that in sociohistorical and cultural terms it is customary to conceptualize young people as subject to change, linked to defiance, transgression, and questioning of the status quo. This image appears in early Latin American writings on youth, among which Rodó stood out (1900, in Medina, 2000), who indicated that the "enlightened" youth had the duty to direct the process of transformations that implied the modernization of societies.

Feixa (1998) insists on indicating that the attributes of youth depend as much on the values associated with that age as on the

rites that mark their limits, in addition to the shared general notion of transition the adulthood marked by the corresponding biological changes. Of course, historical and economic processes have come to be determinant to the existence of youth as a social group and category; for this reason it was not until the beginnings of the 20th century that young people obtained a place in society as an activating agent of industrialization and modernization, necessary to economic growth (Valenzuela, 2002).

Medina (2000) says that there are two images of youth, the conservative (of the whole young person or on the right track) and the other one that identifies youth as a social problem. Some of the characteristics of the former are to be functional for the hegemonic discourse and to develop competences to possess the maximum social and cultural capital when they become adults (those of concern to for this work). The latter image corresponds with the groups of fewer resources and opportunitieswho are the majority in our society. Medina similarly indicates that youth in and of itself has no social constituent attributes, but that it exists in a period of moratorium between childhood and adulthood, which places it in a *non-space*. This will be addressed further in Chapter Six.

Youth and divergence

Authors like Hernández (2005), Pérez (2000), and Reguillo (1993, 1997) indicate that most juvenile groups have been repressed and persecuted in one manner or another by the police because they are the ones who articulate a good part of the main cultural and political movements. This is the source for many of the labels that today sound characteristic of the concept of young, such as opposition, defiance, and immaturity. Thus, young people are educated, punished, repressed, oriented, and incarcerated for "obvious" (Reguillo, 1993) reasons: political and conflict with authority. As an example of this, it is enough to consult Latin America's legal frameworks

about young people that in the last decade have reduced the age of liability in many cases to the age of 12 years due to the concern for restraining the increase in delinquent youth (CEPAL, 2008).

The concept of *young* varies, according to Valenzuela (2002), as a function of the level or social class under scrutiny. Thus, high and middle class young people are represented as studious, clean, monogamous, and respectful of the law; poor ones are seen as violent and criminal. These features that identify and discriminate against young people according to their socioeconomic position can be learned and reproduced by them. In the midst of a society in which modernity permeates even the smallest details (Bauman, 2004), the economic factor is fundamental to configuration of personal and social identities.

Youth can be seen as a result of the process of modernization of countries after World War II where the urban zones grow incessantly from the constant migration of the rutal population to the citiesin serach of a better quality of life. In opposition to what was suggested by the promoters of modernity, these processes of urbanization and industrialization have brought problems of uprooting, poverty, marginalization, unemployment, housing, and health already characteristic of the cities. All of this has implied the sprouting of new identities and forms of interaction, examples of this being the juvenile cultures and tribes which authors like Reguillo (1993, 1997), Pérez (2000), Hernández (2005), Morín (2002), and Nateras (2002a) discuss.

Among other characteristics attributed to youth, we can mention those of defiance, impetuosity, and the desires to improve —which are inscribed in an exaltation of individuality and the practices of consumption proper to modernity (Touraine, 2005). It is important to emphasize the role of the mass media in its diffusion and generation of guidelines and models for diverse social groups, where sales is the underlying objective (Heath and Potter, 2005). In this context of a modernity where individual subjects only can be so by means of their purchasing power, young people

acquire importance solely as consumers who are subjects of sales-consumption, and production (Covarrubias, 2002; Bauman, 2004 and 2005) and not only for differing collectively and singularly from the rest of the society, as Brito proposes (2005).

To be a young man

At this point I want to highlight this framework noting the necessity to use the category *young man* in the middle of a world that considers the young people in the plane of *raw* —as Gil says (2006)— for some things, like the exercise of "adult" responsibilities or leadership positions, including those of self-care and reasoned decision. To be very green or immature is the usual justification for others to decide for young people to what they do or do not have access to, whether punishment or prize, knowledge or activity. This justification, as well as the recognition of their rights, will be denied when youth is required for an activity where it is convenient to see them otehrwise (Lutte, 1991; Nauhdart, 1997).

To use the term *man* refers immediately to characteristics not recognized in young people (such as provisioning and protection. Moreover, one is a man in a socially legitimized way, only by means of masculinities. The term *young* referring to men seems closer to the feminine than to the masculine, in the sense that usually is associated with qualities frequently descriptive of the feminine: a lack of emotional control and fragility (Medina, 2005) that, in addition, form qualities of low social hierarchy. Additionally, it is also associated with ideas closely related to machismo, like the contempt for women (seen as sexual objects) and the accumulation of coital relations, among others. In agreement with Montesinos (2005) and Seidler (2006b, c), the existence of this problem is perhaps due to the fact that the models of masculinity are in redefinition and there is not yet a concept of *manhood* yet that does not allude to the hegemonic one related to adulthood. Paraphrasing Seidler (2006c),

I insist on emphasizing that masculinities understood as models of manhood need to be transformed to eradicate the problems of affectivity, violence, and discrimination (among many others) related to the exercise of masculinity.

Finally, these characteristics of youth (and, therefore, of young men) so paradoxical and complex are proper of that located in the "no place," this being understood as a space formed by the intersection of circumstances but that does not have the recognition nor characteristics of a place —the place is a space of relational and historical identity (Heidegger, 2002). Using this concept from Augé and doing an exercise to extend from the physical plane of places toward the symbolic one of human relations, the young people in general are in the non-space, where they are considered important as agents of production and consumption, but not in terms of the rights and guarantees that adults enjoy (although they are also subject to sanctions). It is enough to mention as examples the requirements to be president, governor, executive director of an organization, or even university professor because they emphasize being over 30 years of age (or set conditions unattainable before those ages). Apparently, the reasons for this practice refer to the alleged immaturity and inexperience of the young people: they are raw or "very green", to use the terms of Lévi-Strauss (quoted in Gil, 2006: 97-128).

Those who are in this non-space sometimes have a voice, sometimes they have a vote, sometimes they are crucial for the development of a country or an organization, but the criteria by which they are recognized or not turn out to be complex to explain. **The so-called "minorities" are in a non-space, be they indigenous, homosexual, single mothers or fathers, with disabilities, ex-convicts, sex workers and, of course, youth, elderly, and children**. Depending on the situation, they are called to vote for this or that party or to support this or that government or even initiate change.

In this way, young men are in a phase of double transit. On one hand they see adulthood as a horizon, and simultaneously on the

other the quality of man. Both notions imply an exercise of constant demonstrations that, even if not entirely, they generally coincide greatly with the exigencies of the hegemonic masculinity to be seen as men: heterosexuality, exercise of power, and independence, for example. In this sense, authors like Renold (2003) mention that this is demanded from men from childhood.

It is precisely in the recognition of this double transit where the necessity to use the category *young man* becomes patent for the study of this population within a world that, in a clear way, usually considers young people (men and women) as immature, raw, and rebellious, or as working, intelligent, and productive, depending on the interests of those in power. It is important to emphasize that this also happens to women who, additionally, may devote their entire life to demanding equality and equity to end up adding obligations to those derived from their gender roles and stereotypes and, eventually, a "position of man" that they will have to defend while they hold it (because they are not "legitimate" owners). Young men transit toward the condition of manhood (closely tied with adulthood and the hegemonic masculinity) by means of the masculinities which are possible due to the various practices they carry out (see Figure 1). In other words, it would appear that young men "mature" as far as they are "defeminized", since the juvenile condition is stigmatized as feminine. This through the assumption of roles typified as masculine: to marry, have children, work, and so forth.

In the same way, it has been mentioned that the use of this category might be important for research into young men in contemporary culture. At the moment, the analysis of the social reality requires interdisciplinary work, the exercise of thought which is complex and transgressor of the conceptual divisions parsing the vision of human beings from a single viewpoint, obliging a more holistic vision of that immense totality that constitutes humankind.

The point is not "only" about sexualizing youth, but to observe it from the standpoint of gender studies and to analyze from there

its constitution and surroundings. Probably gender studies and youth studies can be enrichd and generate knowledge that can help to understand society. Being a young man becomes a matter worthy of study due to the little publication about it and because thousands of people in this city are outside the masculinities and of the so-called juvenile tribes and cultures, that is to say, the concern is about young people "adapted to the system" or "reproducers of the system." How do young men define themselves? Which practices set them apart from other men? In what ways do they coincide with the masculinities and in what do they not? Perhaps this work may provide elements for reflection and other ways of being man immersed in the complexity of the social fabric.
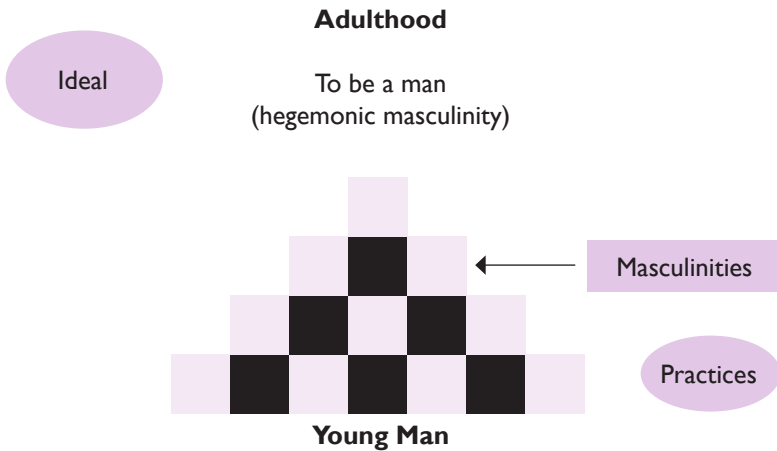
Figure 1: Various practices by young men

Figure 1.The notion of man is so intimately related to the hegemonic masculinity that in the masculinities some of the characteristics of this can be found. Young men, in their transit to adulthood and condition of manhood, exert in their practices diverse ways of masculinity and youth.

The context

According to estimations of the U.N., one billion young people live in our planet, which means that approximately one person in five is between 15 and 24 years old, or that 18% of the global population are young, and 19.8% of them are children of 5 to 14 years. One of the phenomena that most worries the U.N. is the *decrease* in the proportion of young people in the world (U.N., 2006).

It is estimated that almost 85% of the young people of the world live in developing countries, 60% of whom live in Asia; the other 25% live in the developing regions of Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean. The U.N. estimates that for year 2025 the number of young people living in developing countries will grow 89.5%. Therefore, it is necessary to consider topics related to the youth in each country's development policies and agenda , which the U.N. Program on Youth is responsible for (U.N., 2006).

In our country, federal statistics (INEGI, 2008) report that among a total of 103,263,388 inhabitants, there are 36,174,976 young people between 12 and 29 years of age, and 7.37% (2,666,854) of the national total live within Mexico City. Thus, the men in this age range who inhabit the capital are close to 1,309,232 and the women of same range are 1,357,622, approximately.

Mexico City has for several decades ranked among the three largets metropoli of the world (U.N., 2003), not in by its territorial extension (1,479 km²), but also based on its population density of 5,862 inhabitants per km² in 2005 (INEGI, 2005). That same census showed that Mexico City currently concentrates almost 10% of the total population of the country, without taking into account the greater metropolitan are with around nine million inhabitants.

Since the 19th century, the city has been the main scene for the country's political and economic decisions (Terrazas, 2004); additionally, in many aspects, it was of the first entities in the country to experience the consequences of neoliberal economic policies.

Thus, currently the main source of income for the GDP of the city comes from the tertiary sector (services, formal, and informal), when it previously had vast industrial zones, and it still has a great extent of arable land (Ward and Durden, 2004). In macroeconomic terms, Mexico City has also been elevated to one of the greatest financial centers of the world by the presence of great transnational companies and the amount of commercial transactions they create, which annually translate into around 20% of the national GDP (INEGI, 2005).

Mexico City, mosaic of realities

Numbers from the United Nations Program for Development (UNPD, 2009), Mexico City has had in the last decade the highest human development index (HDI) in the country, 0.9054, compared to the national HDI of 0.842 (both for 2005). According to thesestatistics, the availability of health services, education, and income levels for the population of the city are better than in other large cities such as Sao Paulo (0.841) or Buenos Aires (0.8604) (UNPD, 2009). Simultaneously, in Mexico City we can find the five districts with the country's highest HDI: Benito Juárez, Miguel Hidalgo, Tlalpan, Coyoacán, and Cuajimalpa (PNUD, 2009).

Also, this capital city has country's the highest levels of literacy and schooling. A very high percentage of its population knows how to read and to write (94.83%, while the national average is of 90.69%). At the same time, the average number of years of schooling approaches eleven years (INEGI, 2005). Mexico City concentrates the highest amount of students and college graduates in all the country, therefore the life of the young people in this large city has education as an important marker.

These measurements show the highest salaries in the country are paid in this city and its level of schooling is also the highest. However, since these are macroeconomic measurements, they do

not express the complex reality which the people of this large city live in, because even when there are people with very high income, levels of education, and access to services, there are other people with zero or very low levels of these, plus the quality of any of these elements is not being analyzed. Also left aside is the fact that that the salaries in our country are very low, working shifts are longer than nine hours without extra pay, with rotating schedules and days of rest, deficient and inadequate public transportation in manyareas, insufficient health services and public education, without mentioning aspects related to gender and age discrimination.

The young people of this metropolis

Almost a third of the population of Mexico City (2,666,494, according to INEGI, 2005) is constituted by young people from 12 to 29 years and it is these people, along with theelderly, who suffer the most from phenomena like unemployment (INEGI, 2009a). Lamentably, young people are the majority of those who live in the streets, those who have committed crimes, and are in jail (INEGI, 2009b).

On the other hand, young men (15-29 years) are the segment who present the greatest amount (43,684, in 2007) of violent deaths from accidents, homicide, suicide, and events related to legal operations and war, surpassing almost four times the amount of women (11,314, in 2007) who die fomr the same causes (INEGI, 2008). However, the young people of this city, like in others around the world, have generated spaces for meeting and coexistence more or less recognized and respected by the authorities, which, simultaneously, has originated cultural manifestations like the urban tribes and juvenile cultures (these latter are characterized for being spaces with a majority of men, perhaps due to the association of the public with the masculine). Note that the amount of men who die due to situations related to violence can be explained from

a perspective that relates the elements of hegemonic masculinity with violent acts like pillars of the masculine identity.

Young people are the ones who maintain a great part of the cultural activity and the industry of the entertainment of the city, either as its creators or as spectators (IJDF, 2009). According to the city government (IJDF, 2009), the diverse experimental theaters and small capacity stages are frquently used by students fromjunior highs, high schools, and colleges). The larger spaces like the National Auditorium generally exhibit products of the cultural industries —Foro Sol, Palacio de los Deportes, and proprietary theaters Telmex and Televisa— enjoy a high proportion of attendance by the juvenile population in general, not necessarily students, depending on the event. Also, young people are the ones who constitute most of the frequent clients of bars and nocturnal centers of all price ranges.

Mexico City sponsors several programs that address the main problematic young people confront: Youth in Situations of Risk (Jóvenes en Situación de Riesgo), Youth Promoting (Jóvenes en Impulso, the I Am Young discount card (Soy Joven), and the Community Tutors (Tutores Sociales) (IJDF, 2009). These governmental programs share the aim of fostering returning to school even up to college, in addition to providing them with economic supports (grants, discount cards) and tutorial with people with good reputations in their community. At the same time, a certain number of hours of community service are required from them as repayment to society. There are also summer jobs programs and employment in the government and private companies. All these government projects have little promotion small budgets, just like their federalcounterparts.

In the academic area, it is worth mentioning that there are many studies about the young people living in the streets, members of urban tribes, juvenile cultures, and even members of criminal organizations (gangs). But where are the young people who do not belong to any of these groupings to be found? Where are the ones who

follow the rules of the social system and who are highly privileged due to the opportunities that they have access to? What has been studied about the "integrated" young people or reproducers of the system? How are the experiences of the "integrated" young men in this city? The present research is about them, introducing the line of analysis of gender identity, specifically, the masculine one.

CHAPTER 4
HOW TO APPROACH STUDIES OF YOUNG MEN?

> Reason serves much more
> to justify behavior than to direct it.
> *Gustave Him Bon*

Immersed in a context which we understand to be socially constructed by a living social fabric, which is changing in rhythms not always constant or predictable, the search for answers about how to be a young man and how to live itis barely accessible from a quantitatively-centered point of view. To be in front of another one like me, as a human being and young man, implies an attitude of respect, empathy, and constant listening to be able to access a descriptive and interpretative process of the discourse and practices of the other. This research therefore subscribes to a perspective of a comprehensive-interpretative nature, since it attempts to understand the practices from the context in which they are carried out and, especially in relation to the meanings assigned to them by the people who carry them out (Patton quotedin Ito and Vargas 2005).

And it is exactly the eagerness to understand what has oriented the present descriptive research (Kerlinger and Lee, 2002; Isaac and Michael, 1981). About this, Fonseca and Quintero (2004) mention

that the qualitative paradigm is process-oriented rather than re-sult-oriented; to the comprehension-interpretation. Of course, this perspective is essentially humanist sincethe process of interviews, observations, and the other research strategies are expected to re-veal knowledge of the people being studied on a personal level and aspire to share what they feel in their social context. Paraphrasing Galindo (1987), this is about finding the subjectivities of the inter-viewer, with their interviewees and with this, to discover the objec-tivity of the shared knowledge.

Based on this premise, it is feasible to understand what has been said by Taylor and Bogdan (1998) when they affirm that research-ing techniques framed in a qualitative approach, like the interview, cannot be standardized but require strict adherence to the method-ological recommendations for theirimplementation, which turns social investigation into an art, since every researcher will tint the entreprise with unique aspects derived from the way they sort out the vicissitudes of the field. Since carrying out an investigation that lacks pre-established protocols (as in an experimental design) is al-ways a challenge and, while it is being carried out, is an art. Each researcher stamps on their works their personal style when taking decisions as well as the application of their knowledge and, at the same time, they have to acknowledge their limitations and to try to use them for the benefit of the task they have taken on.

The object of study

Manhood is given by its associated practices and meanings (gender, masculinities) and this, at the same time, is part of the identitary processes of the young men. To be a young man can express contextual particularities that perhaps have not been pre-viously considered (to be a young man member of a high class community of the city, to be an HIV carrier, to be employed as a police officer, among many others) or even surprise scholars the

reproduction of conservative discourses and practices (machistas, for example). Certainly, the in-depth fieldwork, can help to discover how the discourses of young men are lived and reproduced and establish how different they are from other men.

As already presented, youth studies abound on subjects related with the juvenile cultures and the roles that those included in this category carry out as rebels or victims in some fashion. In the middle of these works, indubitably valuable to the analysis of social reality, the subject of gender identity appears tangentially, mainly when it concerns masculinities, even when in many of them men only participate due to the intrinsic characteristics of the tribes or juvenile groupings. Similarly young people who can be considered *integrated* (in the terms of Medina, 2000) or *reproducers of the system* (De la Garza, 1992; Covarrubias, 2002) are little studied, if they do not belong to a juvenile grouping that incorporates in its ideology a questioning of the status quo. How to be young man under those conditions? If what is desired is to understand how is the identitary experience of these young men, one can ask —among the multiple realities that are present in the urban context of Mexico City— how the young men are defined and distinguished from other age groups? Which practices do they carry out due to being young men in the areas of family, school, job, and significant other? What differentiates the relations between young men and the relations established they with children, adults, and elders?

Objective

With what the reader has seen so far it may be quite easy to infer what the objective of this research was. But to be explicit the overall and specific aims are detailed.

General

To evaluate the heuristic potential of the term "to be a young man" through analysis of the particularities in the relations established and maintained by a group of young men from Mexico City.

Specific

1. To identify the notions of *man* and *young person* that the participants in this study possess.
2. To characterize the practices related with the condition of young man in the areas of family, school, job, and amorous relationship.
3. To describe the relations between young men in contrast with those established by these ones with children, adults, and elders.

Participants: "integrated" young men

As has been sketched out in previous sections, this research was purposed to study young people, but not as a social problem nor as rebellious against the hegemonic discourses of masculinity and adulthood. Rather, an attempt was made to approach the "integrated" young men, as Medina would say (2000), those who in their lives reproduce the system of accumulation of capital —economic, social, and cultural— that, eventually, will transform them into adults. Since they follow the guidelines of the social system, these young men generally are not aware of the overlap between the hegemonic notions of man and adult that stereotype them.

Integrated young people are characterized for following the norms of the social system in searching for attainment of all the benefits that this, the system, promises to them in return. They are

functional for the hegemonic discourse of the State and the society in general; they behave in a manner generally admissible, expected. Therefore, in no way is there a place in this category for those who belong to a clearly differentiated juvenile culture as for example, *punks, skatos, gothics.*

According to this definition, integrated young people have built their lives exerting themselves to achieve supposed success or happiness in socially acceptable terms: to study and/or work, obtain a professional degree, marry, have children, perhaps travel. Other characteristics of this population include the absence of problems with authorities and, when this occurs, there are administrative offences like driving under the influence or speeding, consuming drugs, or fighting in the street.

In more socioeconomic terms, they have urban services like drainage, electricity, piped potable water, natural gasservice and, depending on the social class, television, telephone (landline or mobile), Internet access (in-house or rented) and some health service.In the urban context, it is about people with access to standard education and to the information and communication technologies (ICTs) even when this does not signify belonging to a high socioeconomic class.

Who the participants were

The decisions that were taken to invite people as participants in this study were constituted by a selection and comparison of the cases with the purpose of testing the theoretical implications and enriching the framework of the compiled information (Goetz and LeCompte, 1988). In this way, with the purpose of obtaining a sample of people who shared some sociodemographic characteristics based on the exclusion criteria, contact with them was done through the non-probabilistic snowball strategy (Hudelson quoted in Ito and Vargas 2005) in which suggestion by the

first informant led to contact with the second one and so on. It is worth mentioning that the interviewees did not necessarily maintain a close relation with each other, in many cases they were a third party acquaintance of another interviewee. This process concluded once the database became saturated, this is, that the new informants did not contribute with data substantially different from that already obtained.

This investigation only included young men who studied and/ or worked, residing in the city, and in general not involved in any criminal proceeding.

The exclusion criteria of the participants were: to be younger than 18 years or older than 30 years, membership in a criminal grouping or tribe, under the influence of psychoactive substances, or living in the street. These criteria were set with the intent to study young people who do not appear in the majority of previous youth studies, (since there are plenty about tribes and juvenile cultures) and, mainly, in an eagerness to avoid the identitary marks of some of those groups.

Characteristics of the interviewees

Twelve young men volunteered for this study in 2013, between 18 and 30 years of age, all of them inhabitants of Mexico City and its greater metropolitan area, and who spend most of their day within the city. All have some high school studies and there was one master's student (Table 1). As far as their occupations, the sample is considered diverse since some of them work on a piecework basis or for commission (Gerado, Arturo, Carlos), others are fulltime employees with legal benefits and monthly incomes beyond five thousand pesos (Benito, Juan, Homero, Alejandro, David, Moi). There were even some who are small business entrepreneurs who obtain their primary income from their activity (Toño, Samy). Although the average wage was 4.83 times the monthly minimum

wage of 9128 pesos), some of them earn less than the minimum: 900 pesos monthly.

They are in general middle-class young men because, in addition to their level of income, all of them have access to complete urban services in their households (running water, sewers, electricity, nearby public transportation). Also, their level of education was above the national average for their age bracket (INEGI, 2005). These characteristics that set them apart from the poor (or lower class) population yet keep them far from being classified as part of the upper class, are the usual markers of the middleclass, especially for academic and even governmental socioeconomic studies that use scales with letters (from A to E) to describe social class measured in economic terms (AMAI, 2008; Lopez, 2009).

As for their relationship status, five of the participants reported not having a partner, whereas the majority was engaged in an affective relationship. Although the sexual orientation is not an analytical category for this project, among the participants there were four people with same sex (homosexual) orientation who, as is mentioned further on, rarely mentioned it in their speech. Only three people (all older than 25 years) reported having children. All the names of the participants as well as of people who they mention in their stories are pseudonymous, in concordance with the ethical considerations applied in this research.

Table 1 Some sociodemographic characteristics of the participants

	Pseudonym	Age	Education	Affective Relation	Children	Occupation	Approximate monthly income (mmw *)	Household	Economic depen-dents	Additional Information
1	Benito	30	Freshman in Public Ac-counting	No (homo-sexual)	No	Credit analyst, Bachelors student	4.6	Single	No	Works since 10 years, emigrated to Mexico City
2	Beto	28	Bachelor's degree in social work	No (homo-sexual)	No	Masters student in sciences	4	Aunt	No	Recently began as employee (1 year).
3	Juan	21	Junior.in pedagogy	Yes (homo-sexual)	No	Accounting assistant, college student	3	Female friend	No	Newly inde-pendent.
4	Toño	26	Junior in Computer engineering	Yes (hetero-sexual)	1 (male)	Small business entrepreneur (Cyber cafe)	5	Wife and son	2	Married Wife works.
5	Homero	26	Bachelor's degree in Electronics Engineering	Yes (hetero-sexual)	2 (female)	Cellphone repair technician	5	Wife and daughters	3	Married Wife does not work.
6	Alejandro	25	Bachelor's degree in Civil Engi-neering	No (hetero-sexual)	No	Construction supervisor	14.6	Parents	No	Performs much repair in houses of family members
7	David	23	Bachelor's Degree in Communica-tion Studies	No (homo-sexual)	No	Radio station news editor	4.5	Father and 2 brothers	No	Just finished 3 month relation
8	Moi	29	High school	Yes (hetero-sexual)	2 (female)	Federal em-ployee (of-fice worker), owner of 2 taxis	5	Wife and daughters	3	Married 5 years. Wife 24 years old
9	Gerardo	20	Studying high school	No (hetero-sexual)	No	Tinsmith and automotive mechanic	3	Grand-mother	1	Father deceased, grandmother raised him, mother lives in the same neighbor-hood.
10	Arturo	21	Studying high school	Yes (hetero-sexual)	No	Shoe sales-man	1.8	Parents and broth-ers	No	Rock music in
11	Carlos	28	Bachelor's in Electrical Engineering	Yes (hetero-sexual)	No	Supervisor of Installa-tion of Air-port Visual Signals	7	Parents and brother	No	Planning to marry girl-friend (have been dating 5 years)
12	Samy	22	Studying high school	Yes (hetero-sexual)	No	Rock musi-cian	0.5	Parents and 2 brothers	No	Feels his girlfriend de-mands a lot of time and generates conflict in the relation-ship

* mmw: multiples of monthly minimum: 1,890 pesos in 2013.

DATA COLLECTION TECHNIQUES

The technique to approach the informants to collect the information desired for this research was the interview which, according with Kvale (1996), has been one of the most used instruments in social research since the earliest times. The interview as a conversation between two or more interlocutors favors the researcher's access to knowledge of the social phenomena. Of course, and according with Kerlinger and Lee (2002), in the interview each person assumes a role of either interviewer or interviewee. This facilitates discussing the questions designed to collect the data on the research problem.

Authors like Galindo (1987) and Kvale (1996) consider that the interview has been set as a method of social research and they have specified many of the actions that were undertaken during this work, namely: the drafting, follow up, and constant review of the guide (Appendix B) and the proposal that the interview was to be semi-structured.

The interview guide (Appendix B) constructed *ex profeso* for the present research, was based on Galindo's recommendations (1987), and is organized into the following topics of conversation: a) conceptions of young man, b) lifestyles of young men, and c) relations with the adults. Each topic of conversation corresponds with one of the specific objectives and, altogether, they are used to obtain the necessary data with the purpose of fulfilling the overall objective (Appendix B).

In section a) of the interview guide (Appendix B), the questions were arranged to explore the limits of the youth and the characteristics that distinguish young people from adults, emphasizing the condition of manhood. In addition, it was necessary to specify if the interviewee identified himself with the information that he provided.

In subsection b), the one dedicated to lifestyles, contains questions centered on discovering the practices associated with the

condition of young manhood. Basically, the practices are subdivided into three aspects: those related with the family of origin, the ones on work/school, and those about spare time. In general, the questioning is about aspects of socializing, affinity, and conflict.

The final section of the guide explores how the relations of the interviewees with other people of different age ranges are (children, adults, elders) with the purpose of finding associated meanings and practices. Simultaneously, emphases were adjusted according to differences that arose depending on whether they were discussing about men or women.

Procedure

The procedural strategy was developed consistent with the aim of the study to comprehend the experiences of the subjects, to describe with and from their own personal place which is the object of interest, and based on the global objective.

It is proper to indicate that this section was constructed during the course of the entire research process and is not intended to constitute a series of steps to follow, but rather constitutes a review of how the information was collected and analyzed.

Strategies of data collection, registry, and analysis

The information was obtained from several interviews that were transcribed and, as it will be seen further on, the analysis of the data obtained was made according to the guidelines of Kvale (1996). These guidelines consist on transcribing, condensing, and interpreting the information provided during the interviews (Appendix C). This process was reviewed until the definitive categorization was established, whereupon the final analysis of the information was carried out.

Each interview had an average duration of one hour. All of them were audio-recorded, and carried out in the scenario where each young person was contacted or where they requested the encounter be conducted, in consonance with the purpose of obtaining an in-context encounter. So while some settings were classrooms or high school corridors, others were spaces within the interviewee's household, such as the living room or, in one case, even a bedroom. The fieldwork started in April 2007 and ended in March 2008.

To perform the information analysis, the first stage was a complete transcription of each interview, later they were reviewed one-by-one to establish the first categorical nexuses. Immediately afterward, the steps of "condensation" and "interpretation" were carried out and analyzed by category as proposed by Kvale (1996). The categories of analyses derived from the research objectives were established, as is shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Correspondence between research objectives, categories, and interview questions

Objectives	Categories	Questions for interview
To know the notions of man and young person that the participants in this study hold	1. Borders and characteristics of youth 2. Models of men and women (hegemonic or diverse) 3. Characteristics of contrast with women	When does a person enter youth? When does one cease being young? What distinguishes mem from women? How are young men? Are all of them like that?
To characterize the relations between young men in contrast with those established with both sexes of elders, adults, and children	4. Distinguishing aspects of adults and how to relate to them. 5. Distinguishing aspects of children and how to relate to them. 6. Distinguishing aspects of elders and how to relate to them	What distinguishes young people from adults? How do they relate to adults? How do young men realte to children? How do they relate to elders?
To identify the practices related with the condition of young man in the areas of family, school, job, and affective. relationship	7. Lifestyles of young people and people they socialize with 8. Social relations: friendships, companions, acquaintances 9. Occupations of young men 10. Hobbies	How do young people live? With whom? What do they do for a living? Who do they have relationships with? How do they spend their free time?

The second stage of analysis was made at a group level to identify the coincidences and divergences between the participants. The information derived from this is shown in the third part of thisbook. Simultaneously, these findings were confronted with the theoretical references in respect to masculinity and youth mentioned with the intention of proposing an evaluation of the heuristic potential for the concept "being young man."

Ethical considerations

With the intention of conducting the investigation ethically, it was considered pertinent to follow the recommendations of IUPSYS (2008), Ito and Vargas (2005) and Neuman (1997). The reasons for the research were explained to each young person, the confidential nature of the data was explained, and their authorization requested to record the interviews and for disclosure of the information collected. All the participants (as well as the people whom they mentioned) are reported under pseudonyms for the purpose of keeping their identity confidential.

Informed consent of their participation was also obtained verbally from all the interviewees (Appendix B). Confidential treatment of the data was promised and has been sought, especially their personal identification, by means of pseudonyms given for themselves, all persons they mentioned, and the places of reference. Of course, respecting the autonomy of the participants, it was reiterated that they could abstain to respond to questions that were uncomfortable for them or unsuitable, and that they could stop the conversation whenever they wanted. Finally, it was mentioned that if they were interested a copy of the transcription of the interview and a summary of the research report would be provided to them.

CHAPTER 5
YOUTH, ADULTHOOD, AND MASCULINITY

> Scientists do not pursue the truth;
> is the latter that pursues them.
> *Karl Schlechta*

In this chapter the information obtained of the interviews with the participants in this research is presented. The data have been treated collectively, as a single voice, even though who said each statement is indicated for the purpose of identification and follow up on the discourseof each young person. With the intention of offering the reader a holistic view of what was expressed by each participant, this material is included in the analytical charts of all the interviews according to the structure shown in Appendix C.

The 10 categories of analysis with which the study of the obtained information was done are presented below. Although the majority of them were pre-established based on theory, the analysis of the interviews obliged modifications that led to combine some of them and consolidate the initial 12 categories into the final 10. Table 4 is illustrative on this point because it includes the categories derived from the analysis of the interviews, as well as their descriptions.

Table 4. Categories constructed from analysis of the interviews

Category	Description
1. Limits and characteristics of the youth	Identify the elements that delimit youth, and the main characteristics that describe it
2. Models of men and women (hegemonic or diverse)	Indicate which gender models and stereotypes the interviewee refers to via the meaning and practices reported; establishes what place diverse and hegemonic ones. occupy
3. Feature contrast with women	Distinguish the meanings and practices associated with the condition of woman
4. Distinguishing aspects of adults and the relationship with them	Define the elements associated with the condition of adulthood and identifies the characteristics of the relationships between them and the young men
5. Distinguishing aspects of children and the relationship with them	Describe the relations established with children, particularly the time they spend together and the relationships with them
6. Distinguishing aspects of elders and the relationship with them	Characterize the relations with elders, particularly the time they spend together and the relationships with them
7. Lifestyles of young people and the people with whom they socialize	Explore practices related to studies, sports, drug consumption (including tobacco and alcohol). Also indicate who socializes with the interviewees on daily basis, particularly those they share the household with
8. Social relations: friendships, companions, acquaintances	Identify the characteristic practices of friendship relations, with acquaintances and mates (school and work), as well as related affective aspects
9. Occupations of young men.	Describe the activities considered by the interviewees as remunerated work, as well as its significance and other associated elements
10. Hobbies.of young men	Distinguish the spare time practices and non-remunerated activities

LIMITS AND CHARACTERISTICS OF YOUTH

Limits and characteristics of youth was one of the categories that most quickly reached saturation because the comments the

interviewees gave could be grouped into three subcategories. At the limits less abstract marks or criteria are: age (legal majority, which in Mexico is 18 years, to 30 years) and physical deterioration; and in relational terms the assumption of responsibilities (among them work, having children, and marriage), along with the consequent diminution of the time available for personal interests (hobbies and activities of socialization).

Concerning age, it seems that youth is particular to people in their twenties, since the end of this condition is indicated as becoming 30 years old.

> From my perspective, someone is of a young age, who does not have children… or who is within an age… the twentysomethings. But… one stops being young… when you begin to change certain habits, attitudes… Immaturity perhaps… One stops being young when you begin to act in another way. I relate the word "youth" with immaturity and someone who is no longer young [laughs] because they have grey hair.
>
> Yes, twentysomething… that's how I would define it. It is easy to say "Ah, they are old already, they are adults." When you say this kind of thing… it's like… I believe that is how I can define it. As I was saying, it's contradictory… there are elder people who are immature and vice versa. I'm talking about that as age, I believe it's more concrete. By attitudes its little bit ambiguous to define.
>
> The age… I do not know… The experience… but… in particular, the age (Juan).

It would be necessary to further consider two sub-groups of young people: those who are in the adolescence up to 20 years, and those beyond this age but not yet 30. The former is being educated, while the latter already works, as Benito explains.

> For me a young person would be from 14 to 20. You are still young after the 20s, and after the 20s in the 30s, if you want. You are still young, that is clear for me. But what I want to say is the period in which… well, from

14 to 20 you are learning, you are discovering, you are seeing and there is a change of attitudes compared with the generations that came before In addition, after the 20s you are already working, most of them, some are married, women are pregnant. Obviously this also can happen from 14 to 20, but it is not so clear or you are less conscious of what you are doing and of what can happen, the repercussions in the future. From the 20s to the 30s, that point is more calibrated (Benito).

It is probable that this categorization is more related with a resistance to being considered adult, because those interviewees who were close to the thirtieth year of life defined themselves as young people but "of the ones who are working" or they think in youth as a matter of attitude (although they indicate the age as the maindemarcation).

From my [point of] view one is always young, right?, no matter what age you are, one always feels young, if they are fifteen they feel young, right now I feel young, then it is kind of relative… Mentally, you can always be young, right? That's why you have to be reading, you have to write about yourself… try to be in the vanguard, right?, to read newspapers, the news, because this is how you keep up-to-date, you're working (Homero).

Listen, I'm not saying that when we are not young we stop doing activities, but there are activities that we only do when we are young… mainly, parties… Development can be part of it, in this case that it would be about going out to have fun in group, alone or with yourlover, it also could be... to spend a good time with yourself, as a person, individually, I mean. I think that also young people do this a lot (Toño).

If one thinks about why a young person can consider the 30s to be the end of their youth, there are an endless number of possible explanations, but one is particular in the urban context of Mexico City and of many other cities, which in turn is related with employment. As it is shown by the national and state by statistics (INEGI,

2005), the overall rate of unemployment is proportional to the age of the people. In the middle of this phenomenon it is still common to find job offers that have as requirements "two years' experience" and to be " under 30" and, as can be seen below, this matter of employment is one of the more mentioned by the interviewees as definer of masculine identity.

On the other hand physical impairment and illness as a typical state are other markers of the end of the youth that were noted by the interviewees. From a Cartesian view of mind/body, the notion of youth can be considered to be an attitude yet limited by the gradual loss of physical capacities associated with the age and the reduction of independence (mainly economic) associated with the youthful period.

Here I would be thinking about looking for physical impairment to delimit what no longer is young. If we talk about ages we would have to refer to physical impairment, which is the most noticeable. We could, I don't know, talk about a youth that could be less or it could be till 50, 40 years… I don't know, I guess (Beto).

Maybe I will be the same, when I'm 55 won't I? I mean… How can I say this? , healthfully… I can also be better economically… but maybe I may start to have illnesses or complications or anything like that. Then is when one really starts to get old isn't it? … Yes, because you don't have the same energy or the same defenses (Alejandro).

Well I think that... well no, no I tell you... it is kind of a feeling, I will say it's like physical, you are not younger any more ... when you are not really able to do several things anymore (Homero).

As has been said, the assumption of responsibilities like employment, having children and, marriage, mainly, as well as the consequent reduction in the time available to be dedicated to amusement and socialization activities like parties, are markers of the end of the

juvenile period, at least for the men interviewed. The idea of youth associated with amusement is evident, whereas, in opposition, adulthood is associated with "bitterness" (Gerardo) and the acquisition of responsibilities, these latter, with a certain feeling of permanency inalienable. Also, the condition of being young implies a more or less gradual aggregation of responsibilities, where the most outstanding one is the school. On the other hand, although they emphasize holding job as a distinctive mark of their lives (some of them since they were really young), paradoxically, they indicate that it is with a job that the end of youth comes.

> When you start having more responsibilities, obviously your perspective of life is not the same, you are starting to get old and you start to notice that things are not so easy and they also can be fun, everything starts to change, your perceptions of things are not the same, you cannot continue thinking as a young person, right? Messing around and spending all the time in the parties, right? You have to think now that... well you have to do something else, you can't live just messing around and you have to... well truth is that you have to work and you have to do other stuff (Samy).

As far as marriage, there is an association of this with adulthood and not as an expression of freedom in youth. The following explanation summarizes it perfectly.

> When you get married, you stop being young because now you have responsibilities. And if there is no marriage, there is no union with someone also, I think you never stop being young. Because you have the freedom to do whatever you want, you cannot be told, in this case, [by] a father and a mother, if you have them, they are the ones you may be accountable to. Once you are married, either way your youth is over, because you may go to parties as a couple. Now youth or being young is the freedom you used to have (Moi).

Youth is seen as a condition of freedom —understood as an absence of responsibilities and surrender oneself to fun—, whereas

the commitments and responsibilities that are acquired progressively limit it until they turn it into adulthood. Interesting idea: does this imply that while being young lacks responsibilities and commitments? While listening to these interviews one can imagine this young man people talk about being healthy, vigorous, energetic, and having fun, an image no doubt everyone would like to resemble, but it could be more an ideal than a reality ever actually experienced. In this sense, youth is being seen in an idealized way.

> Youth gives you energy to do a lot of activities, but you also acquire responsibilities (David).

> I think never, because my spirit will always be young, even if I don't look that way. Of course there is a time, like a certain age, when you take on to have responsibilities and grow up, but for me, inside of me, I will never stop being young for all what has happened, all the experiences [...] there is always something like rebellion (Gerardo).

Finally, there is a perception of youth as a vulnerable sector and harmed by adults (although less is being said about this matter in comparison to its idealized aspects). In this sense, the voice of David is revealing.

> I believe it is a sector of the population that has been kind of renegade, because it is the portion where more accidents happen, the one that creates more violence; it's also a sector where everyone wants to have an opinion and plant the seeds of their ideology, practically.

Models of men and women (hegemonic or diverse)

Without a doubt, one of the most significant findings of this research is the one pertaining to the category of models of men and

women (hegemonic or diverse), because in the discourse of the young men there are recurrent references to the conditions of equity that must prevail between them and women, and not few references to young women who carry out activities once considered masculine. However, the conceptions about living as a couple, as well as the practices mentioned, refer constantly to the hegemonic model of masculinity as well as to the traditional or conservative stereotypes of men and women.

The hegemonic model of masculinity and its feminine counterpart are imperative. Those who are married mention that they do the "hard" work and support their wife and children. Although in their discourse they state no opposition to their wife/partner working (as if it were correct for them to do so), they justify not working for of the well-being of their children, in the sense of providing the children with the affection of a mother who is by their side, the same way they lived it. The truth is that the women do the household chores even if they work outside the household and they earn wages.

> They are still very attached of having to do a lot of chores in the household, either if they live in the house by themselves or to help their parents at home (Toño).

> [There are things that women can't do] like hard work, or having a job. It's the man who has to support and provide the household expenses…and balance out (Moi).

> The woman is perfectly capable of that [working and contributing], the same as a man does, right? I would try not to have an argument like "you are a little man and you are a girl" (if I had children). Obviously there is a difference, perhaps in strength, but I wouldn't do that.
>
> If it were for me [my partner] wouldn't work… because I would like her to be able to… well, do the things she really likes (Carlos).

In this way, women are also seen by the interviewees as demanding time, attention, and care. Even more, while on the one hand they mention not agreeing with a *machista* ideal of men, on the other hand the idea that men *must defend* women is expressed. Therefore, there is a double view of the relations man-woman: the discursive and the real.

There are changes in discourse, even in some actions, in at the end the hegemonic masculinity continues to be the guiding line. Even when exalting the qualities *of women* it ends up adjudicating a biological origin to the gender differences. Behind that vindication —probably well-meant and sincere— of the subordinated visions of women, the idea that they are inferior to men remains immovable; insults and their exclusivity to men (that denigrate *guys* by attributing to them characteristics associated with women) are examples of this. Notice the reference to sexual practices more as a challenge than as a pleasure.

> The thing is, the man is more courageous... if you tell a man "Do up this joint"… "Oh you won't... well then you're a sissy..." "Ah you're calling me a sissy, well take that!" They dope up, shoot up, whatever... Women... you can't tell them, "Oh you are a sissy," because she is a woman, it would be dumb to call her that (Arturo).

Feature contrasts with women

The existing practices between the young men and their women peers are included form a category of features that contrast with woman. There is constant reference to the conditions and practices that they had *before* and that they can do now, assigning a social opening that favors them in this area. Regardless of their relations with women, there remains a notorious "chivalry" (that goes from paying for their expenses and defending them with their fists, up to financially supporting them) and coming to their defense hitting

the aggressor (when he is another man), even when the women have not asked for help. The idea is evident that women will not venture into aspects related with exercising violence, drug consumption (legal and illegal), infidelity, nor multiple partners, because *it looks bad*.

It is important to emphasize that, at least among the young men studied, drug consumption (ill and all) is related to peer person. The actions among men directed toward making another consume drugs imply a questioning of his masculinity, in terms of homophobia and heterosexism. About the women who consume drugs, it would seem that the underlying idea is that they must demonstrate decency and therefore "be moderate" in use.

There is awareness that the main (perhaps only) difference between men and women is the one concerning sex in anatomical and reproductive terms, the genitalia, and that it is in education where the gender differences occur.

> We are now in a matter of distinguishing what I could emphasize is a penis and a vagina. From there comes the distinction between being men and women (Juan).

> I believe that what distinguishes them is the roles they were educated to (Beto).

However, the naturalization (to assume that they have origin in biology) of the activities seen as *feminine* and *masculine* reigns. This idea that is behind this model of a woman who *can* compete against men and who is more sure of herself, enduring the comments that there are *manly things* that women are taking over. Even more, when saying that women are *putting themselves eye-to-eye* with men implies that in fact they actually are not equal, even when they are referring to a stereotype of the woman who can, knows, studies, confronts men *more* than ever.

100

In both, the woman, kind of puts herself on a level with men... (Benito). Additionally, in real life, men continue to have more respect and privileges than women. This occurs even in cases like David's, the youngest of three siblings, whose older sister has fewer privileges than he.

> Even [when] I am the one they take care of most at home and the eldest is the woman, I have more freedoms.
>
> Well, being a man does favor you in many things, for example, you can see that society allows you to do many things that are not allowed to women, for the simple fact of being a man and for the simple fact of being young, for instance: if you talk about a man and a woman of the same age, and a party is being discussed, men are always allowed to do more things and it is even more applauded... first time getting hammered, but if the same thing happens to a girl it doesn't look good and with the same example I can tell you about the curfew, we know that a man is tolerated to arrive home later than a woman (David).

The experience of Gerardo about *defending* the image and the children of his female cousin shows part of the intricate sense that is assigned to this subject of the defense of women, because it includes identifications with the hegemonic model of masculinity along with his childhood memories where he perceived himself as lacking protection.

> And it was... well, I have a female first cousin, and she had some troubles with her husband, well, her ex-husband, and she got divorced, but before getting divorced, I saw him fooling around, and it was not so much because I saw him with another girl, but that in addition, this guy had just bought a motorcycle, then with the girl he was cheating my cousin with, she lives like two blocks away from my house, well sometimes he was driving with her on the bike and my cousin's mother... well her mother, when she goes to the store, she takes my cousin's children with her, and so that guy parading like that with the girl and that pissed me off and I said

"Damn, he doesn't even care his children are there." I just told my cousin, "You go and tell that bastard to respect you, that if he sees his children, that at least he should try to pretend he didn't notice and turn around." Then my cousin and her mom also complained to him, then maybe because they were women, he was all haughty and he told his mom, "Well go and tell your cousin that if I see him I'm gonna kick his ass" Then that upset me and I said, "Why is he telling her that and not me?" Why he doesn't come here and we fix this for once and for all?"

When I least expected it, I was out walking and he was eating some tacos alone, and I said, "Not, here". And maybe it was a mistake to not go there and talk about it, and ask him, instead I got there and we started fighting and then the taco guy came out, they separated us, and I walked away then I turn around and it was over... I made him understand that he shouldn't mess around with me. Well I've seen a lot of people who are stubborn and they keep on and on... (Gerardo).

Since Gerardo won the fight, he signifies it as a lesson he taught his opponent in terms of not messing with him (which is a demonstration of power over the other), when this began, apparently, "to protect" his cousin's children. It is important to emphasize that Gerardo did not "defend" his cousin for being a woman but for being, part of the family and, therefore, his "property." Simultaneously, he exercized violence against her husband, under a supposed desire not to do so, let us say that "he was forced" to demonstrate his power over another man, which is "legitimate" (seen from the masculinity) as for being a man and, even more, as for being the defender of a woman. In this example and the following one, we find evidence that support what is being said by Badinter (1993) in terms of men demand of themselves demonstrations that they are stronger than others at any cost.

The ease with which Gerardo interfered in the life of his cousin and how she allows it is astonishing. The conception of the women as weak beings and of men as their defenders is a way of differentiating themselves from women, which is fundamental to the

hegemonic masculinity and that has been indicated by Badinter (1993).

> Sometimes there are people who accost me and I even prefer to avoid them, I turn away, I'm not a coward because of that; on the contrary, I am smarter than they are… (Gerald).
>
> [The teacher] spanked her, he spanked her and I was on top of him… and well, they told me "you have to behave," but we began to have a disagreement. The teacher and I got fired and that's it, need makes you look for a job and all that.
>
> Yeah at first she was upset, she was surprised, but after a month or two went by she told me "boy, you went overboard," and I told her "Lay off, I was defending you."… And we broke up.
>
> [He did it again with the boyfriend of a female friend] The guy, her boyfriend, she came and introduced him to me casual like, I was chatting with some friends, actually It was in a party and he slapped her and I was all over him (Arturo).

Although the criticism exists in his discoursethat physical violence only generates more violence, even disapproving of hitting women, the idea of being stronger than women persists as a foundation.

> Well it's been strange… truth be told I never have hit a woman… because, the truth is that I appreciate her a lot… I admire women a lot, because they are people that… or human beings who have overcome obstacles in several moments… But assaulting a woman seems to me such cowardice, because you brag of being strong… and you lash out against a woman, and no, it's not right (Arturo).

Distinguishing aspects of adults
and the relationships with them

Among the categories under consideration, one very clear aspect is the use of antagonistic conceptions of *young* and *adult*. The interviewees perceive adults negatively, using terms like *stuck*, *routine*, *repetitive*. At the same time they emphasize youth positively, almost always using antonyms, for example, Benito indicates "being up-to-date" and mastery of technology. However, two positive qualities are attributed to adults: being responsible and that they think about their actions in a greater measure than young people do, whereas the latter are free and commit themselves to study, party, and seek adventure.

> …[A] young person who is looking for experiences, who looks for projects, who looks for new things we can transfer that to the adult or let us say that at any age you can continue on or with that idea of experimenting, looking for new things, or staying completely stagnant and continuing a routine that repeats itself forever (Beto).

> Well what I've seen are certain people, who actually are young people, are like sometimes they don't think things through, they just do them, and an adult is like they always think, is like a geezer is more cautious (Gerardo).

There is a strong association between youth and experimentation and taking definitive life decisions, things that many authors have mentioned as characteristics of youth (Pérez, Valdés, and Suárez, 2008). At the same time, the notion of adulthood implies that a path in life has already been taken and that this is followed by comfort, even when it does not correspond with what is wished or planned.

> [In] youth [a man] is still experiencing many things and is still deciding about his path in life, besides he might make several mistakes, stumble

many times and in adulthood one has already defined what one wants
of life or of course they go in certain direction, even if it is not the most
convenient or the more attractive but it is a matter of comfort because
one is already on track for something and one continues along that path,
that is not the case with young people, young people win and lose a lot
with their decisions… (David).

There is a subordinated view of the young people towards the
adults, which agrees with the ideas of Bourdieu (2005) and Seidler
(2006a) when saying that the domination between men and wom-
en occurs in diverse directions, one of them the set by age.

For the interviewees adults are the ones who set the rules of
the house, work, and many of the contexts they move in. In this
sense, a distinguishing marker of youth, according to the inter-
viewees, is that they are acquiring limitations set by adults and,
the more they assume them, the more they come close to being
adults (as if being young they were free of limitations). From this,
it can be understood that the transit toward adulthood may im-
ply entering in conflict with adults to implant their own norms
on the young person. At the same time, the respect for adults
(understood as a certain submission, amiability, and obedience)
is an imperative that the young men share (as a distinguishing
characteristic of masculinity), even though they do not exercise
it. For Samy this is a loss of values but it can well be seen from
a point of view where his respect is associated with submission,
subordination.

There must be respect towards the adults, but I also have found that there
are adults with a lot of respect for young people (Toño).

Nowadays... there isn't like a lot of respect, no, I've seen some cousins that
sometimes disrespect their parents, they yell at them [...] It's like they are
losing a lot of things, values (Samy).

It is a relation of respect. Of respect towards the one who is older than me. That is the kind of relation that exists. It is like a relation between adults (Beto).

I mainly see it because of the thing with parents. It is very hard for a young person to respect an adult in the street, for example, they don't have to be a family member. But the adult... maybe it has to do with "I represent authority to you" and since the young person begins to be freer, "I do not have to obey what you say".... (Juan).

There are three additional aspects that describe how the relation of the young men and the adults around them is. They mention that adults are the suppliers of resources, that they teach and advise about life but, at the same time, there is a power struggle between them, because both make attempts to prevail over the other.

It is not that they are an adornment because ultimately they are the suppliers of resources for those who continue living with their parents (Benito).

So far they are the ones I feel ok with, and that I understand a little better, right?, because they have taught me to do things right and to listen to them, right? and to speak with them (Alejandro).

When I was a boy, my mother and my father represented authority. What they told me it was the law.. And while I grew up, not any more. Right now I don't see it like that. Perhaps it is because I have my own criteria and from that perspective it is kind of necessary to draw a line between them and me, otherwise my space might be invaded. I'm talking about what I like, what I want, that is part of that licentiousness. There comes a time when if before they had scolded you for something, now at this age you won't so easily allow them to raise their voice to you. "Don't do that." "Why not?" You no longer buy the "you are in charge" line. "Why are you in charge?" You even start to ask yourself a lot of things while

you grow up...I don't know how much this has to do with swimming against the tide. That is why I really stress the point when I talk about defiance (Juan).

Well sometimes it has to do with the ways of thinking... sometimes you do something but if you think about it, it doesn't make sense, well at least for me and I try to explain to them the way things are, and then that is there where things kind of clash and they get desperate and then well… from there on a whole argument gets going (Samy).

Apparently, most of the categories that so far I have mentioned are in a swing of the social pendulum between attributing them to young people or not. This also has been described by Lutte (1991) and Nauhardt (1997), and, over a decade later, continues to be valid.

What do they think about me? That I am very lazy, but that I am very responsible because the other day I went out for a drink but I had to work on Saturday and the truth is that I don't experience hangovers, but [rather] laziness... But I have to go to work, I need the money and I have to go to work. I took a shower even when I got back late, when I came back in night my father told me "You going out to have a good time. You having slept only two hours, you have woken up, gotten ready, and gone to work, that is called responsibility" (Arturo).

Perhaps for this reason Arturo describes the young people-adults relations as strange and unstable, since they are immersed in this social pendulum that places them in the no place, between the attribution-no attribution poles between qualities and rights (an idea that will be developed further in the next chapter).

The relation between an adult and a 20 year old guy is very strange... there is no steady stability, there is no balance (Arturo).

Distinguishing aspects of children
and the relationships with them

Power relations seem to be inescapable. As it has been seen, the same ones that emphasize the subordination and vulnerability of their psychosocial condition are the ones who exert similar practices toward children, women, and their own peers (if they allow it). Of course, this behavior can be understood as part of a process of generic, masculine identification, in this case. With children, as much as with women, young men constantly mark off their differences , due to the fact, perhaps, that both population groups share negatively valued attributions (e.g., passivity, subordination, demanding affection).

> I do spend time with the children... well but... maybe you can't get involved, it depends how they are. If they are very hyperactive children, putting up with them for a while… no. But I always try to play with them... Yes, to play with them, being loving and affectionate... They are cousins, nephews... I try to stand them , but yes, I do like children (Alejandro).

> Well my sister's girl very, very, very, extremely naughty, but really, really, overboard and I am very patient with her [...] I try to explain the things to the girl, right?, for her to understand that there are certain things that she shouldn't do, plus I have to scold her. […] And with my brother's daughter, I don't have any problems with her, she is very calm and very smart too.
> [The time he spends with them] Well it depends, it can be an hour, two hours, maybe I take them to the park and I stay there for a while (Samy).

The main bridge for the socialization between children and young people is playing. Curiously, while this is a quality and, sometimes, the only virtue recognized in children, it is used as a channel to communicate with them, probably because it is not long ago that they moved beyond that stage.

To play, because I used to love playing. I am leaving that phase behind. If I see children playing, I do miss it a little, because you are a grown up... well it's not that much because you are a grown up, but that you are busy with other things that, like with girls, internet, with chatting online, with the phone. Play doesn't amuse you so much (Arturo).

I see a close relation. A young man kind of, somehow follows the child's play, one can identify with child's play. I heard about a nurse who worked in a pediatric area and he was the only one the children accepted treatments from, they consented to injections, because of the way he was, then, I believe that between the young man and the child there can be a very close relation and there can be moments... when they can understand each other, to have nice times, good. This in my very closed small circle, I've seen it, it's common. Mainly there are play relations between the young man and the child, it is different from the young woman and the child where I've noticed a relation more about caring. A young man allows the child more action (Beto).

What happens to me with the children... I can tolerate them, even talk. But obviously of things like cartoons or school or about some friend... but I get a little annoyed, there's a moment when I can't stand it . And I don't like for them to smother me. I start to get bored, upset ...' Though I understand they are children and are curous and... they are children (Juan).

Childhood also figures as a time that is longed for and is idealized as a stage where there are no responsibilities or sadness, where happiness is everything.

The joy of being children and you have nothing to worry about in that moment and more so at her age when she is only worried about having her diaper changed... (Carlos).

Distinguishing aspects of elders
and the relationship with them

There is a stereotyped vision of older adults and the elderly, as people who are weak and stubborn, which corresponds with aspects of modernity related to production/consumption as indicators of a peerson's worth. Older adults are described as dependent beings who must be tolerated since they are stubborn and do not understand the things young people tell them. Note that, generally, this image of the older adults as an undesirable element in one's own existence is likewise absent from one's life plan because the horizon is manhood/adulthood.

> For me elders even turn into children. It happens to me like with the children. I can be with my grandmother and suddenly I get kind of bored, it's like tense.
> In what I have seen, no. [the young man-older adult socializing]. It happens, but not most of the time.The less they can be with an elder, the better (Juan).

On the belabored subject of respect, they say that when the age of an adult person increases, the respect and appreciation they deserve increases proportionally. Of course, this has to do with values that are inculcated through education. That ideal of respect toward older adults is in thediscourse, but they report that it is not currently fulfilled; even more, the idea exists that this respect needs to be shown because of the age and not so much for the person's condition as a human being.

> It depends, right?, I believe that... at first it is always out of respect, respect is first... for instance if it is about an elderly man...obviously older, even more reason for, it's like out of respect, kind of like this, he must have all this experience, all... that respect (Homero).

It would actually seem to be about a respect in terms of "non-intrusion" or no maleficence.

> I do respect them, don't I? … but there are guys who don't… I mean they see a lady who is tired of walking, she gets on the bus... they pretend like, "I don't see her, I don't see her." Come on! right? Her body can't take what a young person's can, then yes, some guys are aggressive with me, I have friends who are you know... well they are not my friends, they are acquaintances [...] they're like that... and I say. "Come on! They are living beings and they also feel" (Arturo).

There is an image of ther older man associated with affectivity, the expression of emotions —therefore feminized. Again, these feminizing attributions of the practices appear on the limit of the identity of the young men (women, children, and elders). It is about self-identifying, acquiring gender through the rejection, placing distance from feminization with strategies that go from avoiding spending time with them to going through the motions of provider.

> At work there is an engineer who is like 50 or 60 years old, it is like his paternalistic side, because he is aware of everything, because he has all the experience in the world and it is like a very affectionate thing, as if he were the grandpa. […] my grandma was stricter, but still she loved us a lot. My grandpa, my father's father, he was always spoiling us, he loved us a lot and he gave us things; my grandma was stricter, we have to say that with her we lived in the same place and not with my grandpa, he lived somewhere else, then we see him a lot... He was very affectionate and everything (Carlos).

> As a grandson they said that I was the spoiled one because I always enjoyed helping, it is not that I don't have [to] now, but it's like a different situation, and I had before... I, single. And I told my aunts and uncles, "Lend me," and to my grandpas, well I lent to them. When I left work and well you go to the supermarket and I bought juices, bread, and I

took that to my grandfolks or I gave them cash, so not for that, not for
doing that, was I the favorite grandson, but it was actually for the ten-
derness… (Homero).

That is why not frequenting elderly people and spending very little
time with them are common practices among young men. When
there is some blood relationship with older adults, it is due to an
imperative derived from the family ties (e.g., grandparents) rather
than a desire to spend time together, because they appear in the
protocol of family events. It is important to indicate that older men
are also excluded from the hegemonic model of masculinity (which
brings them closer to young men), stereotyped as useless and an-
noying ("nonproductive" and "demanding" in contemporary ar-
got), a situation that contrasts with the attributes of youth.

LIFESTYLES OF YOUNG MEN AND THE PEOPLE
THEY SOCIALIZE WITH

Young men (in the city) live an accelerated life that does not favor
socializing with their families. Perhaps , this is the reason for the
preference in some cases to get involved with their class- or work-
mates instead of with other people. At the same time, attendance at
parties and frequent sexual practices also appear as characteristic
features of this sector.

> Some of them work, others study and work, others only study… there is
> always like this taste for... for the party... let us find the... the conquest.
> A young man is expressing his sexuality… from socially, in his roles,
> biologically... still their biological constitution and that along with the
> social part and the training that they have throughout childhood and
> till the stage when we want to call them young since they are going to
> be influencing, eh... Sexual activity I can, could say that there is one...
> one expression of sexual activity with certain regularity or... let us say

as much as it is allowed or that they can find the spaces where it can be carried out... (Beto).

Since I was the type of person who if I didn't have any engagement or place to go, well then I went to my uncle's and aunt's house and spent some time there. I used to eat there sometimes... then it affected them somehow because I still haven't gone there... and the vibe is strange... now not even on holidays (Moi).

In another aspect, although the presence of alcohol consumption is constant in the lifestyles of young people (mainly in their gatherings), other drugs also are present as much or even moreso: tobacco, marijuana, cocaine, crack, and inhalants. It is worth mentioning that the interviewees describe themselves as non-addicts nor as regular consumers of the latter, but that they do consume alcohol and occasionally smoke tobacco. In this sense, the idea of controlling the drugs, of not becoming addicted, takes us back to the subject of controlling emotions as a constituent element of masculinity mentioned by several authors (Burin, 1993, Burin and Meler, 2004; Corsi, 1995; Bonino, 1995; Seidler, 2006c; among others).

Just now that you are asking me that question, I believe all of us in the group drink and well... using tobacco is there and... no drugs, just some isolated comment (Toño).

There is always something, there's something always ... I believe that men by necessity —and by "men" I mean the masculine gender— tend a lot to use the excuse "Unwind and I drink a beer" and "Relaxes me" and everything. I feel like it is just an... an excuse to drink alcohol and in every job I have had, it's always there. One way or another it's present, maybe because of the workload or whatever... (Homero).

In general I have a lot of friends who think about trying it, trying marijuana, to see if they like it, and it is not once in a while anymore, now it is every

day, and it gets to the point where it isn't working, and since they do not work, they just like to be there all stoned, they start first huffing and they keep on going. I have a lot of friends who are druggies, they look all emaciated, eaten up and because of the drugs they got into fights. And I think that's wrong, I'm the kind of person who, if you want to try something, try it, but you have to have the courage and the bravery to say "Well, I'm going to try it, but I won't get hooked," I mean, you have to be smart, you need to know how to do it. I mean, I have tried it, but that doesn't mean I'm hooked and I don't feel bad, but I have just tried marijuana, not the rest. I've seen so many things, so many guys and the way they steal, not as much in the streets but in their own houses because of crack... And there are also girls who will even give up their body to get their drug (Gerardo).

Even when there are very diverse lifestyles, among which we can find those related with activities proper to the juvenile tribes (like the ones mentioned by Nateras, 2002b; Feixa, 1998; Reguillo, 1993), if the young men do not belong to these or to criminal groups, it can be said that, based on their main activity, there are three great groups of lifestyles: those who only study or work, those who do both, and those who, additionally, are married. It needs to be mentioned that those who have leisure as their main activity were not represented among the participants in this research.

Although I know young people who live by themselves, they are independent... Young people are like very libertine, they don't consider the consequences, they are clumsy or act silly. They do stupid things... they don't always see things the way they are but there are people that... drink alcohol, do drugs, have sex, they might... I don't know get their girlfriend, friend, lover, or whatever pregnant and that goes unnoticed and it's part of the live of the young people (Juan).

The ones I know, most of them there are some of them who only study or they are just hanging around. Or some others just study, or they just work... (Gerardo).

Finally, overall, the people with whom they spend time with are, basically, either members of the family of origin, or their partner and children. This is important because, as it has been seen, with the exception of the married ones, they all share the fact of still living in the family household, in other words, of not being completely independent. In this sense, those who do both activities spend barely a few minutes with their families.

Social relations: friends, companions, acquaintances

Although the young men live with their families, the people with whom they tend to make friends with (and with whom they spend most of the time) are their work- or schoolmates, as has already been reported. That being the situation, their relation with peers obeys similar circumstances of life given by the work or study schedule, whereas the time spent with the family (the new one or the one of origin) is relatively little.

In this way, they construct a social network in which these relations are characterized by the camaraderie that they once shared by virtue of being the employees of the same boss or schoolmates, with its consequent solidarity which can be expressed with the passing of the years, such as finding a job for one another.

> As for me, I finish my shift at 7:00, and so we might go to drink something after that and I get home around 11:00, that is my bedtime, because I was supposed to be asleep since around 9:00 and anyways I wake up the next morning at the same hour right?, so maybe I miss some hours of sleep... (Homero).

> One of my classmates, well, actually my friend from school, works in labs. Then in that moment, when we were running out of jobs here, then my uncle started to tell me, "Listen up, you know what? It's running out, if you

want to look for something do it. Otherwise, I'll figure out how to support you, how to place you." The same day when he told me that, he told me in the morning, in the afternoon my friend called me and tells me, "Listen there's a job in here. Do you want to come to work?" (Alejandro).

Occupations of young men

This category includes the main paid activities that the interviewees carried out. Two basic types of these activities were found: the "menial jobs" and the formal positions or "big ones." The former generally are temporary jobs, "trendy," low pay, without benefits, and without opportunities for professional development beyond moving up a notch in the hierarchy. The second type of job, the "big ones," are those of a formal type with a contract, benefits, and an eight hour or more shift.

> I believe many of them work in commerce, merchandising or something related with trendy sports "take care of your body and look good," "sell your body which is your image" (David).

> I've been with them for a year, but I used to work in an Oxxo[8] [...] before I worked in a printing press... I just worked at nights... and jobs like that... they haven't been big ones (Arturo).

> To work selling at convenient stores [...] delivery boy, something like that (Samy).

Needless to say, labor conditions are adverse for young people (and the population in general), and this led them to not work where they would want to but where they have been able to find something. Consequently they obtain manual jobs and generally at low pay.

---

[8] Translator's note: A convenience store chain.

Actually it's going to be harder for[current young men], because little by little everything is closing more, the job opportunities (Alexander).

Well yes, I've been in several places, several companies, well, I feel that, at least in the companies where I have been, 70% is the work force, they are people who just completed their high school education... they even began college and never finished it, right?, I mean in a sophomore... they really know something (Homero).

I didn't finish computer systems. I've finished 72% of my bachelor's studies at Unitec. For financial reasons, I han't been able to finish it. Then… I worked for a long time with my dad. […] I was there and worked in everything, I was like his right hand [...] They invite a lot of young people to work but the bad thing is that they ask for a lot of experience, and well, the experience is acquired through work, we don't learn that in school (Toño).

Many of them are in projects, these are projects where the work is done at the desk, on the computer, the project, the calculations and all that, perhaps that is a little bit more focused toward school, but yes, in the area where I am, they sent me as a resident officer, I learnt thing as a resident officer which is very different, right? (Carlos, electrical engineer).

Hobbies of young men

Up to this point it can be said that the hobbies of the young men include gatherings and parties (with consumption of alcohol and tobacco), attendance at concerts and soccer matches, going to nightclubs, sports games (soccer) on the weekend and, in general, to be with friends and the affective partner. Of course, this happens with those who have spare time.

I couldn't go out, until now that I sold it [a grocery store], so now in my spare time what I do is... well it depends, what's available, if there is a

party, well party then, if I feel in the mood for a drink with my father, my brothers, my cousins and with the family, well I do so and that's that and if not, I watch TV or play for a while (Homero).

In my spare time well... sometimes I go to the nightclub, get together with my friends, I like to go out to drink a coffee, I have an active sexual life, I also like to be with my family, mainly that's how I distribute my time, in the school, soon in the job, my friends, my house... (Beto).

Among so many things, well... I don't know... in my experience... they play soccer, go to parties, have cars, things about being a man... I know people who are just in the street, for sure you can find them on the corner (Benito).

Sports. It's really important because almost everywhere there are soccer teams for men and hardly any for women (Toño).

In a different direction, drug consumption (excluding alcohol and tobacco) is mentioned as a way to pass the time away. This, perhaps, because it is not a productive activity and does require, conversely, an investment of time and money for execution.

I believe that by the fact of saying that they are young they have this idea that they will be young forever. And there are people who can afford the "I'm not productive, I don't work either, I do drugs. I steal something here, something there..."And they wake up in a reality where they are over twenty something, with two or three kids and... well create a social problem (Benito).

Since they don't work, they like to get stoned like that, they start sniffing glue and keep going . I have a lot of friends who are druggies, they look all emaciated, eaten up, and fight over the drugs (Gerardo).

Finally, I want to emphasize that the participation in some type of musical activity is characteristic of the youthful practices

mentioned by the interviewees. Either playing or singing eventually in some group, or simply by being fans of a certain genre (rock, pop rock) or artist, music is part of the life of the young men.

> And I have friends near my place, I don't know, there are like seven folks and we have a *sonido*,[9] so we organize parties... (Gerardo).

> I've been with this group [music band] for barely a year (Samy).

> Perhaps concerts… The genre that I like is for example pop rock. You see much more men than women in this kind of concert (Toño).

Summary of the findings

Up to this point we have presented, in the words of the interviewees, the elements that stand out both in the practices and the meanings of their experiences as young men. Two aspects at least stand out. One has to do with the boundary of youth in terms of age, physical deterioration, and assumption of responsibilities. The second aspect that stands out is the presentation of a discourse of gender equity while in their practices the ones associated with the hegemonic model of masculinity are frequent. Table 5 presents the synthesis of the findings described in this chapter.

---

[9] TN: *Sonido* or *sonidero* describes those people who own sound equipment and carry out a function similar to a DJ, they usually play vernacular music in social events such as weddings and fifteenth birthdays.

Table 5. Summary of findings by category

1. Limits and characteristics of the youth	— The age as a limit (from legal age of majority to the age of 30). — Physical deterioration marks the end of youth. — The assumption of responsibilities (job, have children, marriage). — The reduction of time available for personal interests (hobbies and socialization activities).
2. Models of men and women (hegemonic or diverse)	— Constant reference to the hegemonic model of masculinity and its feminine counterpart (even though the discourse emphasizes equality).
3. Characteristics of contrast with women	— Gender differences are given by their biological origin. — The treatment includes domineering chivalry. — Unlike the female, males are treated with more privileges (arriving later, getting inebriated, having several sexual partners).
4. Distinguishing aspects of the adults and the relationship with them	— The conceptions of young and adult are antagonistic. — Subordinated vision of young people toward adults. — Youth implies being in the process of becoming adult by means of the acquisition of limitations. — The relations between young people and adults are unstable, rare.
5. Distinguishing aspects of children and the relationship with them	— There is a constant marking of differences with them. — They assume the role of educators and caretakers of children. — The bridge for interaction is play. — The childhood appears idealized and longed for as a happy stage.
6. Distinguishing aspects of elders and the relationship with them	— Vision of them as weak and stubborn. — Old age appears as an undesirable element in life. — The distance between them is set through respect and little socializing.

7. Lifestyles of young people and people with whom they	— To be young implies living with the family of origin but to spending little time with it. — The active sexual life is an outstanding characteristic. — Gatherings and celebrations are often, where alcohol consumption is inherent. — There are three great lifestyles: those who only study or only work, those who do both, and those who, are also married.
8. Social relations: friendships, companions, acquaintances	— Friendships are made with the people in environments where they spend most of their time. — The construction of social networks between young men is based on camaraderie.
9. Occupations	— Occupationally they live adverse conditions: few job offerings and precarious wages. — Menial jobs are characteristic of the young men close to the 20s. — The formal full time jobs are more frequent at an older age. — They often occupy positions unrelated with what they studied.
10. Hobbies	— Gatherings and parties mainly accompanied with consumption of alcohol and tobacco. — Soccer as an activity of the young men (watched on TV, practiced during the weekends, or attending matches). — Attendance at nightclubsand bars. — Drug consumption. — Music, art in general. — Other sports.

In light of the data shown throughout this section, many questions arise that could be answered if they were combined with the contributions of masculinity and youth studies. How to understand that, being young men, they display a discourse of respect for diversity while their practices are associated with old ways that favors gender inequity? Why the similarities in the relations the young men hold with the adults and children? The apparently antagonistic elements of school and job, are present in the lives of the young men: How to understand this? About these and other questions we shall further investigate in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6
THE NO PLACE OF THE YOUNG MEN

> Conversation teaches us more
> than meditation.
> *H.G. Bohn*

With some exceptions (like the work of Botello, 2008), studies into youth and masculinity have remained somewhat separated from each other without taking care of the specific condition of being young man. The study of young men requires conjugating the efforts of these investigations and to begin generating knowledge in this field.

As has been mentioned pages before, the perspective of this work includes a relational vision of the analytical categories used, that is to say: man-woman, young person-adult. In this vision it is assumed that in both pairs one of the two is central, whereas the other works as the limit, that is to say, contains "the opposite" or negative elements of the central feature. Of course, these relations create inequities and situations of oppression between people.

THE NO PLACE AND THE SOCIAL PENDULUM

In the interviews carried out for this research many ideas can be noticed, which in principle can be contradictory but they can be understood with greater clarity when seen under the exposition of the social pendulum (Nauhardt, 1997) and its trajectory (no place). When going back to the notion of Augé (2002) about the *no places*, we recall that it is about the convergence spaces, of crossings and borders where one does not expect to stay but merely transit. The no place, unlike the place, has diffuse properties and for that reason it is easy to be considered sometimes as a place, and some other times not. Augé describes the relations that human beings have with the no places like hotel rooms, crossroads and highways, as well as stateborders. Among those characteristics one can find that people see the no places with transience, and that there are opportunistic arguments between those who set the rules and to whom or where the no places belong.

To be in that no place allows young people to invent their own strategies to acquire a certain legitimacy by means of more or less stable spaces and groups , in which they can create their own identities (e.g.: urban tribes, groups, gangs). It would be fair to say that the life of young men is in a no place (including even the theoretical production about them). Their no place is between the trajectories and crossroads of the social pendulum (Nauhardt, 1997) which names them "youth" at one end, and the binomial adulthood/manhood at the other (Figure 2). The aim of this work is for this trajectory, the no place, to be studied under the rubric of "young man."
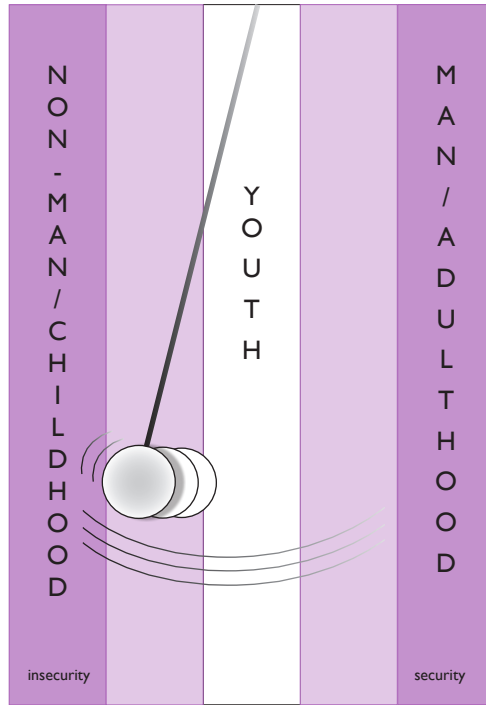
Figure 2. The social pendulum of young men

NON-MAN/CHILDHOOD	YOUTH	MAN/ADULTHOOD
insecurity		security

Figure 2. Youth, a no place, is visible only when contrasted with the attributes of childhood and adulthood. As a transitional phase, young men live the contradictory effects of the social pendulum.

To have the experience of being in that trajectory of the social pendulum implies that young people socialize with adults by means of unequal relations, where the older persons exert power by assigning themselves arbitrary and contradictory rights and obligations, as well as social validation. Simultaneously, young people disqualify or question the authority of adults yet look for them to be provided for or oriented by them, as well as many other roles.

Depending on whether it is convenient or not, young men are considered the same as adult men, for example when demanding they comply with their workday or jailtime for breaking the law. To the will of those who dictate the norm, rights are denied them under the argument that they are too immature to exercise these

rights, for example, to occupy a managing position. Immersed in this "unconscious" situation, young men live a very changable and contradictory reality in which many models and guidelines for behavior are being redefined and that perhaps affect not only this population sector but the whole of society. The truth is we all are in social pendulums: men, women, children, and adults… everything depends on the age, the social class, the sexual orientation, and other social markers.

ON THE IDENTITIES OF YOUNG MEN AND THE RELATIONSHIPS THEY ESTABLISH

While they are trying to acquire gender identity reproducing in their practice the elements of the model of man dictated by the ideal of hegemonic masculinity, young men transit inevitably towards being adults. In this sense, the acquisition of responsibilities, to be instituted as providers/protectors, as well as to marry and have children are elements that define not only adulthood but the condition of manhood, as it has been indicated by several authors (Burin, 1993, Burin and Meler, 2004; Corsi, 1995; Bonino, 1995; Seidler, 2006b). This dual man/adult horizon reinforces the stereotyped ideas about the relations with women, children, elders, and among young people themselves, where men appeared crossed by power. In this train of thought, children receive indications, women *are taken care of* and provided for, whereas with the adults they establish fights for supremacy, dominion, and establishment of rules (Juan, Gerald, Homero, Moi, Arturo).

Thus, the differentiations with others are established by means of the exercise of power that, in many cases, occurs through violence even against their partners (Corsi, 1995). The use of violence as an effective tool to be able to obtain a status which they are not otherwise entitled to (for not being complete adults nor men) is also expressed in gender identity —in the multiple practices that

reinforce the masculine identity. About this particular, there are plenty of works from multiple authors, among them Wilkinson (1997), Badinter (1993), Mogovrejo (2001), Connell (2000), and Seidler (2000, 2006a), in which the importance of proving hetero-sexuality stands out as part of the masculine identity, even to the point of using violence to convince others that the one being chal-lenged *is a man*. In this sense group pressure operates in manners that obligate new members to demonstrate their manhood in sev-eral ways (Richmond and Levant, 2003) e.g.: not crying in public nor showing fragility (however this is understood), even committing crimes and violent acts, in general. In this way, violence can be seen as a resource (not always the final nor only one) *of* men to construct their identity. That is why many violent men are not aware of their conduct: as the work from Ramírez Rodríguez (2005) shows, they have been educated since birth with practices sustained by the impli-cation that masculinity, as well as adulthood, are legitimated not only in the exercise of power but also in the use of the violence.

In this sense, the narrations of Gerardo and Arturo about their fights with other men *to defend their* women are good examples. It does not matter that women have not given their authorization nor does the fact that they did not ask for help, nonetheless men have the duty to defend women, even when they ultimately report that they taught *a lesson* to the other man, in terms of the other not *messing around* with them. In other words, the supposed defense of women has to do more with maintaining territoriality and dem-onstrating strength than with favoring the respect toward women as human beings. It should be noted that these are boys who self-define as opposed to fights and *machismo*. With these actions, they demonstrate that they are neither babies nor women, much less ho-mosexuals (understood as effeminate beings), as Badinter (1993) points out. Peculiarly, none of the homosexual interviewees gave an opinion on this subject.

On the topic of the end of youth, the young men interviewed are emphatic on physical deterioration as the main marker and, in

second place, the age beyond the 30s (e.g., Beto, Benito, Juan). This has a close relation with the stereotypes of young men as people full of energy and are in process of knowing, experimenting, in contrast to adults who are seen as beings stagnant in a lifestyle that does not give them pleasure but that they maintain for its comfort.

Nevertheless, at the same time that aldults are recognized as a source of learning, a value is given to youth over the adulthood (e.g., Juan, Arturo, Homero, Toño). On this matter stereotypes like the one of the metrosexual of Simpson (1994) are supported which demand the adult man look young. The social pendulum (Nauhardt, 1997) becomes visible in this dimension, as it is in other relations that are established by young men, for instance with children.

With the children the pendulum's swing is perhaps clearer. Whereas from time to time they play with and teach them, there are other moments when they are annoyed or get desperate and switch to telling them to be quiet or to impose a new activity (Samy, Alejandro, Beto, Juan). Play as bridge of communication between young men and children goes up and down according to the will of the grownups, as the adults do with them. This can be seen as a process of learning the masculine domination (described by Bourdieu, 2005) inherent to the hegemonic masculinity. The role of caretaker and educator helps to be distanced from the children even though these roles are part of adulthood. For young people to simultaneously long for and detest this stage of life implies, indeed, the identification process, a positioning in that transit toward the adulthood where one is neither child nor adult.

A differentiation between young people and adults is of extreme importance for those who are in their early 20s. This occurs by means of limitation on the access adults have to the life of the young people (as Juan, Gerardo, Arturo, and Carlos report). In this way, the status of membership in the group of young people is regulated by the young people themselves by means of the exclusion/inclusion (Tajfel and Turner, 1986) of adults in the few things where they are able to exert control: the private spaces of their lives.

In other words, between young men and adult men relations are established by using the so-called functional antagonism (Tajfel and Turner, 1986), opposing the other when need requires.

Youth, then, is associated with the exercise of few responsibilities relative adulthood, which overlaps with the concept of maturity. In this way, marriage, to mention an important example, holds little attraction for these young men because it implies the assumption of responsibilities and legal obligation of a single sexual partner, reason for which it can be indicated as an adulthood marker, as in the case of Toño, Homero and Alejandro (the only ones married with children), who often make reference to when they *were* young or, correcting themselves, when they *were younger*.

This antagonism is present in the matter of employment, although they emphasize work as a symbol of their lives (some of them since they were very young), paradoxically, they indicate that it is with holding a job that heralds the end of youth. Remunerated work defines the lives of the young men but brings them closer to adulthood, as it implies an acquisition of responsibilities and a different lifestyle, with less time for recreation and more related to undesirable but obligatory activities (Alejandro, Benito, Gerardo, Arturo, Beto). The oscillations of the pendulum are again noticed: the job is a characteristic value of the hegemonic masculinity (men produce, work) and it is also of adulthood but not of youthfulness nor childhood.

The role of the school in the lives of the young men is similar to that the work. It follows from the interviews that it is considered characteristic of youth to attend school, to be in training, while simultaneously, the educational institution turns out to also be a facilitator in the transition toward the adulthood because it implies a gradual incorporation of lifestyle modifications: wake up according to certain schedule, attend classes, do some chores, and so on. As García (2001) says the school is, ultimately, a preparation for adult life that gradually incorporates responsibilities, and the prelude to adulthood which is getting longer and longer. This is why the

boys who have stopped studying to go to work emphasize the latter as the activity that prevents them from leisure and from spending time with their families (Benito, Alejandro, Beto, Homero). So, there is this nNew distinction: men work, they are independent, they provide, but young people study and depend on their families.

The interaction of young men preferably with others of the same age is characteristic of them, perhaps because they coincide in an existential moment, in similar circumstances. Either they meet at work or school, or by the simple fact of being neighbors, the tendency to group is notorious as much as is the distance they set from children and elders. Socializing with people of other ages is limited by the negative ideas about children, adults, and elders who also participate in the game of functional antagonism in the eyes of the young men: they emphasize that they long for or enjoy certain things these people have or do, whereas they can devaluate those same things at their convenience. Following this idea, while elders are considered stubborn and exasperating, it is later mentioned that they are a source of learning due to their experience, to mention one example. Without a doubt, the interaction between young men with adults and children is mediated by inclusion/exclusion mechanisms and the exercise of the functional antagonism: thus they can sometimes identify themselves with children and other times with adults in this swing of the social pendulum that marks their existence.

Of the condition of young man and its associated practices

In the present modern social context, consumption has taken a position as a core element in individual identity (Covarrubias, 2002; Touraine, 2005; Bauman, 2004 and 2005). Consumption has become the axis of articulation for the great majority of activities we carry out —if not all of them. Seen in this light, not only being

productive becomes urgent but also consuming. So the image of the young people as students or workers corresponds with the vision established by Modernity, in which if the subjects produce and consume they are acceptable in the category that their identification is registered; not so when their activities diverge.

It is interesting how young people themselves are the ones who criticize their peers that "don't do anything," those who "can afford not to work," or only "get stoned." The truth is that these young men construct their identity based on work as a giver of status (by means of purchasing power) and, simultaneously, as a masculine quality. Conflicting opinions about employment derive from there because, while they favor identification of manliness, it turns the young person into an adult. Perhaps the socioeconomic condition favors the construction of their identity with work as the main articulator.

As we have seen, part of the activities that shape young men's lifestyles are to attend to parties and being somehow involved in the musical production. In this sense, the role of the cultural industries is definitive in their life, not only as far as being men but as human beings. Through the radio, television, magazines, and Internet, products are commercialized with symbolic content that ultimately end up reproducing the ideology of those who conceive them (Zallo, 2006) and the young men do not escape from this.

> The element of the nightclubs (bars, discotheques) presents itself like an outstanding scene in the socialization of youth, part of the lifestyles set by the cultural industries for the young people, because even if they do not frequent such places, they are mentioned as spaces *of* young people. Similarly, attending the exhibition of commercial films as part of youthful lifestyles is as important as the nightclubs. Furthermore, the fashions established by the cultural industries define many of the decisions in the lives of young people: what career to choose, where to work, and so forth. And even if they are aware of this imposition, they can end up giving in to these models and putting their previews desires aside (David).

Although sport is mentioned as a hobby for young people, it is soccer the one associated by antonomasia as *a men's* activity. In this sense, Huerta (1999) indicates that it is in sport where the social structures and practices are reproduced, in this case, of the men who participate in it and abide by its rules. Although the interviewees did not abound much on this point, the truth is that soccer continues to be a space where women do not have a legitimate place, since *they are astonished by the appearance of women's soccer championships* (Benito).

The practices of the young men are thus sifted by consumption. The consumption of products is promoted by the cultural industries as inherent to the young people (and to the men). Peddling *identity* is the order of the day: dress, footwear, magazines, sport, cinema, music, schools, and professions are some categories that agglutinate thousands of products *for* young people. Like many other aspects of the human experience, youthful masculinities and identities are marked by the ideologies, models, and stereotypes transmitted by the cultural industries: all focused in the consumption *of* men's music, clothes, or things (soccer, brewskies, rock).

Perhaps the origin of the juvenile tribes and cultures —which have been described in works like the ones from Reguillo (1993), Nateras (2002b), Feixa (1998), Ramos *et al.* (2002)— has to do with those young people who have tried to escape from this intricate network of contradictory models (but oriented toward consumption) by means of establishing their own groups, ideologies, arts, and lifestyles. On this point it is possible to open for reflection on up to which point the rebellious juvenile cultures can also be part of the cultural industries (Heat and Potter, 2005; Zallo, 2006) when there are manufacturers and specialized salespersons in items for gothics, emos, and punks, to mention some.

Worthy of separate treatment is the drug consumption that was constantly mentioned by the interviewees. Alcohol is present in all the meetings, parties, and nightclubs that give shape the young men's lifestyles. Not only among peers (Benito, Beto, Homero,

Alejandro, Arturo), there are also people who gather with their parents to drink something and chat as a daily practice (Toño, Juan). On the other hand, tobacco and marijuana appeared, respectively, as the second and third drugs of greatest presence among the lifestyles of the young men, which coincides with the results in Mexico City's Survey of Drug Consumption in Students (Villatoro, Gutiérrez, Quiroz, Moreno, Gaytán, Amador, Gaytán and Medina, 2007) This confirmed that the substances of initiation (or gateway substances) in this city are alcohol, tobacco, and marijuana, in that order. Other drugs as the cocaine and crack were mentioned but do not play any part in the lifestyles of the interviewees.

In general, the young men approach drug consumption in two ways, depending on whether or not they are legal: the route of family (as in the case of the alcohol and the tobacco) and the one of friends (as it happens with the marijuana and *molly*). In the case of initiation into consumption, it usually originates as a challenge, with accusationons of being a "sissy" if they do not participate. It has been already mentioned by Richmond and Levant (2003) and other authors that from a very tender age, men spend time exhibiting constant demonstrations of their masculinity, and youth is not the exception, as it has been illustrated. These challenges are offered as part of a constant identification with manly ideals yet also adult ones, because as they indicate, it is necessary to know how *to control* drug consumption, with which they refer to the notion of maturity that is associated with the conditions of *adult* and *man*.

At the same time, this matter of control is a demonstration of masculinity as for the power exerted over an emotion or necessity, in this case, to consume the drug. Authors such as Badinter (1993) and Seidler (2006a) have said that it is, indeed, the *control* of the emotions one of the main causes for the identitary conflicts for men and, therefore, of the suffering that many live in silence (let us remember that fragility is not to be shown). To what degree demonstrating (or at least say) that the consumption of a drug is controlled implies to proving their condition as men? It must be

mentioned that in the case of sexuality the matter of the control does not apply because, to the contrary, the greater number of sexual partners is looked upon favorably.

The same thing happens with the *protection* they exert over women with whom they have some affinity. Behind the defense against imagined or real attacks there is a significance of themselves over the womenwho are the weak ones and in need of shelter, while the men are elevated as strong and assume as a duty coming out in defense of women, even when they do not ask for such aid. Even when it comes to young guys who are not fond of fist fights (as it happens with Gerardo and Arturo), they tend to be involved in situations of this type due to a supposed protection exerted toward women. In this sense, it is possible to emphasize that the young men revile against violent practices (physical ones) toward women to such a degree that they have never dare to hit one, is this because women are so weak or because this would identify these men with women and therefore with the consequent implied denigration? Or is it because "they do not abuse" the "weak ones" and "only mess with those of their own size"?

A highly notable aspect in the discourse of the interviewees is the absence of satisfaction, of enthusiasm, when talking about their own lives. Although it can not be affirmed that they are sad, the truth is that there was no evidence that may be interpreted as elements of satisfaction and happiness. With these findings one can wonder whether the benefits of following the norms of the system will ever arrive, those promised joy and fun in exchange for being acceptable.

In synthesis, according to the interpretation of the findings that are reported, the young men: (a) live in a no place, while many of their practices as men and as young people are considered sometimes adult, sometimes childish, at times masculine and at other times feminine; and (b) their horizon is the binomial of masculinity/adulthood. They live in constant opposition to elders and children, who, as well as women, play limit categories

while they themselves are central one. Finally, the masculinity/ adulthood is seen as a desirable horizon for the benefits it entails (economic independence, mainly), but rahter unattractive when considering the obligations that they attribute to it (child support, fulfillment of labor responsibilities, and others).

CHAPTER 7
THE LIVES OF YOUNG MEN, FULL OF PARADOXES:
FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

> A man is being poorly taught
> when he is being educated to appreciate
> more those who think like him
> than those who think opposite.
> *Nietzsche*

What other effects can be brought about by the oscillations of the social pendulum if not paradoxes? So far in this study some of the situations that take place in the everyday of the young men have been described and have as a common denominator their paradoxical character revealed in the oscillating treatment to and from them.

Work or study, responsible/irresponsible, violent or peaceful, respectable or disreputable, earning money to support themselves, children, and wife —these are some of the examples we became familiar with in the preceding paragraphs. The characteristic practices of the hegemonic masculinity associated with adulthood and the differentiation is emphasized between young people and elders, children, and women. However, these practices appear in

an oscillating manner and with diverse periodicities. These oscillations are part of a scene that, not only in Mexico City, but across Latin America, is characterized for having the young people in the middle of nine tensions or **paradoxes**:

1) They have more access to education and less access to employment
2) They have more access to information but less to power
3) There are more expectations of autonomy but less options to materialize this autonomy, better health services but with less care in their specific morbidity and mortality
4) They are more ductile and movable, but at the same time more affected by uncertain migratory trajectories
5) They are more cohered inwards, but with greater impermeability towards the outside
6) To be more capable of the productive change, but more excluded from this
7) Youth shows an ambiguous place between receivers of policies and protagonists of the change
8) The expansion of the symbolic consumption and the restriction in the material consumption, and
9) To contrast self-determination and protagonism, on the one hand, and precariousness and demobilization on the other (CEPAL, 2007).

Indeed, our findings coincide in several aspects with CEPAL's observations (2007) because, while the present society offers certain advantages to young people (more access to education, for example), it simultaneously faces them with situations that impede their autonomy, empowerment, and overall development. The paradoxical scenes can be mentioned as characteristic of youth in this and other cities of Latin America.

We could add another paradox, from the findings in this research: they are more open in matters of sexuality and sexual diversity, but they continue to hide when they define themselves as

homosexual, at least in their discourse during this study. The "closet" persists in the identity of many young men.

The horizon of masculinity/adulthood horizon

For centuries in the Mexican culture (just as in other contexts), masculine stereotypes have been built that characterize men as home providers, heads of household, and in certain ways as the ones who take decisions. The culture, the institutions, the society, and the family are promotors of ideas and behavior patterns and the women and men who participate in those areas are the ones in charge of assigning them meanings (García-Villanueva, Barajas, and Hernández-Ramírez, 2015).

In this sense each culture defines, establishes, shapes, and gives sense to a set of ideas, beliefs, and values about the meaning of being a man and being a woman, delimiting the behaviors, characteristics, and even the thoughts and emotions that are appropriate to each human being, based on a network of consensual stereotypes and ideas, the sexual differentiation within the human race is configured.

From a patriarchal point of view, the masculine figure is heightened, and the qualities and features that represent the dominant masculinity are exalted, where physical aggression, violence, the continuous fight over power, constant competition, appreciation of virile strength, the notion of the superior man and the objective absence of emotion and being impassive in the face of pain are emphasized (García-Villanueva and Hernández-Ramírez, 2016).

Control, protection, provisioning, strength, power, heterosexuality; indeed, to detach from the hegemonic masculinity is not an easy thing to do. Although there are masculinities that somewhat distance themselves from it, all of them share some characteristics associated with the hegemonic one (Figure 1), demonstrating a junction between this and being manly.

In other words, the essence of being man is situated in a duality with adulthood and defined from power, leaving in a subordinate place not only the women but also those men who do not fulfill the hegemonic exigencies: men who are not exclusively heterosexual, elderly men, poor men, disabled men, and children of course. If, as is evident weare left out, along with a greater part of human beings, what kind of model is this? This is a discourse of the majorities that, as with all of them, is hollow and applies only to a few people, yet is the guiding line for many lives.

From that approach, the image of elders as an undesirable element in one's own existence does not appear either in the life plan, because it is a negative condition in as much as it be degrading. It is a limit category and, as such, is distant from the notion of *adult man*. Let us not forget that it is also immersed in the social pendulum of relations of the young men and others.

Also, to bechattering (cavorting, as Portilla would say, 1966) as part of the youthfulness is not taken as something bad as long as it is a transient state, because when it becomes permanent, it becomes undesirable when it contravenes the qualities associated with adult men and the norms that they must follow. Thus, the fulfillment of duties (the opposed thing to cavorting) like a job, school, and those duties derived from the marriage relationship are exalted even when there is a reduction in spare time. There is also a normalizing perspective of adulthood on the part of young people: the young men have spare time, the adults do not. On the part of the State, youth is handled as a waiting period, which is used to evade the attention to young people as citizens, taking advantage of the social pendulum according to the economic policies in vogue.

On the matter of emotional control (especially the one of sadness and love), it prevails upon young men like a categorical imperative over the young men, even when they question it and, occasionally, violate it. Nowadays there are some who *dare* to cry in front of the others or to kiss other men, but it is seen more as a challenge to conquer than as something reasonable, normal, or

ordinary in socializing, which reinforces ideas like being stronger and, therefore, masculine.

The integrated young men, those who have devoted their lives to following the pre-established guidelines, do not seem to be happy, at least not those who were interviewed in this study. There are no elements to allow us to think things like: "Ah! He is happy with what he does" or "He is really pleased with this or that aspect of his life." It would seem as if they were in a race toward the horizon where there is no finish line and, therefore, no winners.

USE OF THE CATEGORY "YOUNG MAN"

"Young man" is the name of the no place that men have occupied for a very long time in their transit to adulthood and toward the legitimate possession of the title "man." For the psycho-social analysis of this population, the present term not only names the no place but also allows theorizing and producing knowledge about it and about the people who cross through it or who remain in it. It also contributes to extending the discussions about young men and other population sets who maybe are also in some no place (for instance young women, elderly men).

This category, like any other, although it might have aspects subject to criticism, has been useful to illuminate the problem of masculine identity in the young people interviewed. By its bi-conceptual condition it favors a constant simultaneous consideration of aspects usually attributed to young people and to masculinity. Through it we have seen the oscillations of the social pendulum in these two realms of the human condition and we have indicated some aspects that distinguish the condition of young man.

Perhaps the most important thing that has been presented with this category is the recognition of a discourse of gender equity that has been adopted by the young men but has not yet completely translated into practice. The sociodemographic conditions do not

matter, young men get involved with women in an inequitable way, assuming that women somehow are inferior (physical strength, vulnerability, for example). In the same way, the display of hetero-sexuality and the exercise of power over other men continues to be an aspect present in the lives of the young men. The discourse among the young people has changed; the practices, not much.

If one is young man, one is usually treated with respect, on either a "first-name basis" or "last name or title basis," according to the role that he is carrying out and even according to the clothes that he is wearing. Thus, when he is a student or client in a store sure-ly he will be called by his first name, but if he dresses formally and enters a restaurant he will be called "mister" or "sir," the same thing applies if he is a teacher responsible for a group, even when there are people older than him. But they also play with the opportunities of the social pendulum because, while they study and they defend their girlfriends, they relate to their parents with demands that the provide home, food, and several services.

Furthermore, it seems that in this modern, individualized, con-sumption- and production-oriented society, young men (like other sectors of the population) are surrounded by mazes of contradicto-ry roles whose function is hardly perceptible to those who study the phenomenon and almost invisible for those who lack of the condi-tions and resources to question its practices and its very existence.

It is impressive how the influence of the cultural industries im-pacts the configuration of identities based on consumption. As it has been indicated by those who have studied this subject (Co-varrubias, 2002; Bauman, 2004, 2005; Touraine 2005; Zallo, 2006) people, insofar as being individuals, live immersed in a complex of power relations (by gender, age, or other matters), not only in the dimension of its physical exercise but also economically and sym-bolically. This is expressed in the ideals promoted in the media and cultural products, as has been indicated by our interviewees. And, of course, this is a paradox because the ideal is never reached, unless oneself is *the* ideal. In this way, the young men are in a supposed

transit toward something that they will hardly get to be: *real* adult men. In this way, to provide others what they need seems only feasible, on the one hand, by means of consumption a man must perform so as to provide those in need with what they request (expressly or tacitly), and on the other hand through the exercise of the power derived from such activity.

Finally, being young and having children, young men more often think about themselves as adults, far from youthfulness, as a function of the responsibilities their condition brings them as "head of the household." However they think about themselves as young people when they wish to spend time with their friends in activities *for* young people like parties, trips, drunkenness, and night clubs. Definitely, marriage and paternity constitute a strong indicator of the arrival of adulthood and of being man; and are perceived as the antithesis of youth.

Rethinking young masculine identities

It is true that the young men have incorporated criticism against the exercise of violence toward women into their discourse, along with a questioning of the status quo in their perception the young men have of them. Nonetheless the differentiated practices prevail. Men socialize with women in the same realms but accompany them all the way to their doorstep, defend them from others even if they do not request it, prefer for women not to work, find women less attractive if they do drugs.... All of these ideas related with subordination, inferiority, and weaknesses that de Beauvoir herself pointed out since early in the last century and that, according to many, no longer form part of the relations between men and women. As a limit category (and perhaps another no place), they contain all that is not characteristic of the hegemonic masculinity, of being man.

To sum up we have found from the participants in this study that the notions of *man* and *young person* are in opposition to one

another. On the one hand, the notion of *man* implies characteristic ideas of the hegemonic masculinity even when changes are displayed in discourse that show the rejection or, at least, questioning of the exercise of physical violence against women —along with being juxtaposed with the concept of *adulthood*. Notwithstanding, from the point of view of these young men the notion of *youth* is opposed to the one of *man*, whereas young people are placed in the set of subordinates to adult men where they share space with women, children, elders, and the poor, to mention principal members of this class. In this sense, the young man becomes an "incomplete" man, one in formation.

The relations between young men, in contrast with the relationships established with adults and children, evidence camaraderie and values such as loyalty, particularly when they have been classmates or co-workers. Although they refer to the exercise of power among them, they always express it as exerted against those perceived as enemies. The pressure brought on to their friends to consume drugs is never mentioned as a violent act.

They maintain a distance from elders and children, with little communication. If they spend time with them, it is due to family and social protocols. With the former they set differences restricting access to the spaces of their life; with the latter they normally consider them as pupils. The truth is that sincere open communication exists with none of them. The characteristic type of relations among the young men and those who surround them are unstable, peculiar, of power, discomfort —seldom satisfactory and warm.

The term *young man* permits not only conjugation of the studies on gender and youth but also to see these people from another perspective, to get to know them in a different way. As it has been indicated, young men construct their identity during the swings of the social pendulum, in the direction of simultaneously reaching the condition of *adulthood* and manhood. While adherence to norms of masculine (to demonstrate that they are men) is demanded from

them (since they were children), at the same time that they gradually take on an adult identity.

The academic world must deconstruct the identities of young men with the purpose of contributing to the generation of knowledge and of strategies directed to eradicating practices that maintain the relations of domination: control over emotions, provide and to protect, as well as to bring about the extinction of the subordinated, inequitable treatment between men and women. It is necessary to see this sector of the population in a new light to be in a position to propose suitable and more effective actions toward these ends. The new academic, political, and governmental approaches to youth must de-normalize its conception and recognize this population in the framework of plurality: as citizens with very dissimilar characteristics according to their social class, membership in tribes and urban cultures, indigenous peoples, and other many allegiances.

In the end, if one wishes to aid in the transformation of human relations (crossed by gender, age, and other characteristics), it becomes necessary to pave ways that deconstruct the juvenile masculine identities with constant reflection on the bond to hegemonic masculinity. Toward which horizon? Toward a model of plural humanity where the people's horizon is not to be man nor woman but to be human: a state of equality in diversity where tolerance as an act of respect toward others prevails.

EPILOGUE

Rethinking the hegemonic masculinity is not only the province of men; it represents a transformation in the dominant ideology which determines the role of women and men in Mexican society.

Each society has a way to symbolize sexual differentiation, because it is part of a set of practices, ideas, discourses, and gender stereotypes that rule and condition the identities of the people, providing distinct characteristics to each sex. Society fabricates the ideas of what men and women have to be, of what it is proper of each sex. To interpret being woman or being man depends on the historical and sociocultural moment in which one is living. People are not born into this world programed to be or act in a certain way, they develop capabilities depending on their conditions and on the opportunities provided by their environment.

Once a new being is born, people around them will behave toward them according to the sex they display, they will have a name assigned, will be dressed in pink or blue, will be told what and how to play, etcetera. From a very young age, mothers and fathers will transmit and inculcate the first values, customs, traditions, beliefs, affections, ways of being, thinking, and acting —lessons that define a certain behavior which will allow them to learn which role they belong to, the way the gender relations are between the sexes,

which activities are proper to each on the basis of their sex (García-Villanueva and Hernández-Ramírez, 2016).

The family and groups of friends are the environment of greatest influence on the development and socialization of infants, because of children are expected to learn those behaviors considered by the society as most appropriate to their sex, that is to say, for the girls those things related with the area of affectivity and for the boys the behaviors related with independence and aggressiveness.

Fernández (1998) explain that the differential behavior by the parents is possibly due to the greater social pressure boys receive to adjust their behavior to the gender roles, receiving stronger and firmer social sanctions in the case of violation of the gender-based norms. They mention that from the moment of birth, adults display a series of perceptive biases, this is, that they develop expectations based solely on the sex of the baby: applying differential reinforcement, behaving differently with boys and girls, and it is from this moment on that the children internalize these qualities that the society expects from them.

Authors like Díaz-Guerrero (1986) affirm that each culture, when constructing the reference framework and the motor of the individual, starts from a series of historical-sociocultural premises understood as the traditions about the values, beliefs, thoughts, and actions which can lead to think that the acquisition and development of the gender is a multi-factorial process in which the sex, age, social class, maturity and intelligence, family and other groups of peers, to mention some factors, intervene. It is worth mentioning that the influence of the peers can make the child assume changes and reconsiderations of their bodily image, their way of speaking, among others, just as is noted by the theorists of social behaviorism (Bourhis, 1996).

Spence, Helmreich and Stapp (1975) affirmed that gender identity is the component of the self-concept acquired earliest, the most central, and with the highest organizational capability due to the importance society gives to everything related with sex. Continuing

with this train of thought and derivative from the contributions of Tajfel and Turner (Bourhis, 1996), it has been said that social comparison will influence the conformation of the social identity, which is defined by these authors as the part of a person's self-concept, which in turn is a consequence of the perception of their belonging to a social category (such as gender), that is to say, is the psychological sense of conceiving of themselves as members of a group. In other words, social identity is understood as the personal image implied by the characteristics obtained from the group of belonging. In this way, gender identity, as a process of social comparison, is activated and develops in the interaction with persons of the same sex as well as from the opposite sex, in addition to depending on the characteristics of the context where it is developed. The gender identities seriously disturb, but they are defended and questioned unceasingly. In accord with what was mentioned by Díaz-Guerrero (1986), Weeks (1998) says that the gender identities are not facts dictated by nature, but rather are a phenomenon of cultural, historical, and political origin. Finally, this author mentions that gender identity models have very rigid limits, even when they are in a continuous process of change.

This position implies observing carefully how through history determinant identities have been built for people according to the socio-historical context, which have presented masculinity as the set of social practices (cultural, political, economic, among others) by which men are configured generically. A pro-feminist point of view intends to make the multiplicity of masculinities visible, considering at the same time diverse contexts and realities in which different factors are present such as culture, class, ethnicity, sexuality, language, ways and level of education, and work. Corsi (1995) suggests that the center of the dominant masculinity is the emotional restriction on feelings and emotions since they are signs in man of femininity and must be therefore avoided, since femininity is inferior to masculinity, and a way for them to construct their identity is through the axes of power and domination. It is

constantly thought that the rational and logical thought of man is the superior form of intelligence, which is assumed to be alien to women. This constant exercise of power is part of several cultural practices that characterize the groups of men, such as the tests of bravery (like those between law enforcement corps), heterosexuality (among friends), and so many others that are present in contexts where men are found.

At the same time, Connell (2003) suggests that gender relations and social practices must be studied through a model for gender studies based on three great axes: relations of power, *cathexis*, and the means of reproduction. On this, Kimmel and Mahler (2003) point out that the privileges of gender, race, and class are universal and that if it is desired that men re-signify masculinity, it will first be necessary to make it visible to them, since it is, actually, invisible and associated with power and privilege. Therefore it is necessary to rethink the hegemonic masculinity since it is possible to reconstruct other masculine facets that are not counterpoised to women nor to those men outside this place (sick people, elders, homosexuals, ignorant and poor, among others). This deconstruction could position itself in a questioning of the mandatory heterosexuality: showing that it is possible to experience the human body in a way that does not imply reproduction, in which one does not necessarily have to be at an adult age to be mature and, moreover, be a man, and that displays of aggression do not represent a characteristic feature of men.

Masculinities are then models, possibilities for being man which emerge and are sustained by human groups. Along with globalization, there are some masculinities that are placed in and from hegemony and promoted as better or more desirable or legitimate relative the others, regardless of whether any contraposition exists between them. This is concluded by authors like Hernández (2005) and Vega and Gutiérrez (2004) in their work with homeless young people, Valladares and Anguas (2002) on the concepts of *boyfriend* and *friend* among Yucatecan young people, to mention some.

Discourse on hegemonic masculinity makes reference to that legitimized way of being man and it is always heterosexualized, characterized by entitlement to use physical strength, violence, and control (repression) of the emotions, setting the difference with women who are subordinated in one way or another (even if only in thought), and of course the exercise of reason. From what is presented in this book, to use the term *man* immediately refers to characteristics that are not recognized in young men. The term *young* seems to be closer to what is feminine rather than masculine, in terms of being associated with a lack of emotional control, fragility, and ideas strongly related with *machismo* (as the contempt for women and the accumulation of coitus, among other attributes) (Medina 2005). In agreement with Montesinos (2005), the existence of this problem perhaps is due to the fact that the models of masculinity are in redefinition and there is no concept of *man* yet that does not refer to the hegemonic one and the one related with adulthood.

> Inevitably, we see society as a place of conspiracy that swallows the brother to whom many of us would have reason to respect in private life, and instead we impose a monstrous macho, with a thunderous voice, a firm hand who in a childish way jots on the floor symbols made of chalk, magical lines among which humans appear pompous, rigid, separate, and artificial (Schongut, 2012).

In these pages the reader has found some reasons for the birth of "young man" as an analytical category and its incorporation into public policies that validate this referent, and not to be lost in a discourse that postulates the masculine as a model of what human is. It is merely an invitation that suggests prompt application.

REFERENCES

Aisenson Kogan, Aida. 1982. *El yo y el sí mismo*. Buenos Aires: Amorrortu.

Alcoff, Linda. 1989. Feminismo cultural vs. pos-estructuralismo: la crisis de la identidad en la teoría feminista, *Feminaria* 2: 1-18.

Alonso Arbiol, Itziar. 2000. Apego inseguro y rol de género como correlatos de la dependencia interpersonal. PhD Thesis, Universidad del País Vasco.

Amorós, Celia. 1997. *Tiempo de feminismo: Sobre feminismo, proyecto ilustrado y posmodernidad*. Madrid: Cátedra-Feminismos.

Asociación Mexicana de Agencias de Investigación de Mercados y Opinión Pública. 2008. Regla AMAI 10x6. México City: AMAI. *www.amai.org/niveles.php*

Augé, Marc. 2002. *Los no lugares, espacios del anonimato*. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Badinter, Elisabeth. 1993. *XY La identidad masculina*. Madrid: Alianza.

Barberá Heredia, Esther. 1998. *Género y sociedad*. Madrid: Pirámide.

Barbieri, Teresita and Orlandina Oliveira. 1987. *Presencia de las mujeres en América Latina en una década de crisis*. Santo Domingo: Populares 11 feministas, Colección Teoría.

Barbieri, Teresita. 1992. Sobre la categoría de género. Una introducción teórica-metodológica. *Revista Interamericana de Sociología* 2 (year 6): 50-66.

Barbieri, Teresita. 1996. Certezas y malos entendidos sobre la categoría género. In *Estudios básicos de derechos humanos IV,* edited by Laura Guzmán Stein and Gilda Pacheco Oreamuno: 47-84. Costa Rica: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos.

Barceló, Raquel. 2005. Los jóvenes de la burguesía porfiriana. In *Historias de los jóvenes en México: su presencia en el siglo xx*, edited by José Antonio Pérez Islas and Maritza Urteaga: 393-403. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud and Archivo General de la Nación.

Barragán Medero, Fernando. 2004. Masculinidades e innovación educativa: de la homofobia a la ética del cuidado. In *Los chicos también lloran: Identidades masculinas, igualdad entre los sexos y coeducación*, edited by Carlos Lomas: 147-172 Barcelona: Paidós.

Bartra, Roger. 2002. *La jaula de la melancolía*. Mexico City: Sin Nombre and Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes de México.

Basaglia, Franca. 1985. *Mujer, locura y sociedad,* Puebla: Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

Bauman, Zigmund. 2004. *Modernidad líquida*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Bauman, Zigmund. 2005. *Vidas desperdiciadas*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Beaty, Lee. 1995. Effects of paternal absence on male adolescents peer relations and self-image. *Adolescence.* 30, 120 (invierno): 873. Chicago: Northeastern Illinois University.

Beck, Ulrich y Beck-Gernsheim. 2001. *El normal caos del amor: Las nuevas formas de la relación amorosa*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Bem Lipsitz, Sandra. 1974. The measurement of psychological androgyny. *Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology*. 42. 155-162.

Betz, Nancy. Assessing individual differences in human behavior: New concepts, methods, and findings. 1995. Gender-related individual differences variables: New concepts, methods, and measures. In Lubinski, David John y Dawis, Rene. eds. EUA: xxiii. 119-143. Recuperado el 19 de noviembre de 2006 de la base de datos PsycARTICLES *http://psycnet.apa.org/psycinfo/1995-98651-005*

Bonino Mendez, Luis. 1995. Develando los micromachismos en la vida conyugal. In Jorge Corsi, Mónica Lilian Dohmen y Miguel Ángel Sotés. *Violencia masculina en la pareja. Una aproximación al diagnóstico y a los modelos de intervención.* Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Botello Lonngi, Luis. 2008. *Identidad, masculinidad y violencia de género: Un acercamiento a los varones jóvenes mexicanos.* Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 2005. *La dominación masculina*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Bourhis, Richard and Jacques Philippe Leyens. 1996. *Estereotipos, discriminación y relaciones entre grupos*. Madrid: McGraw-Hill.

Brito Lemus, Roberto. 2005. Identidades juveniles y praxis divergente; acerca de la conceptualización de juventud. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*. edited by Nateras Domínguez, Alfredo: 43-60. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Burin, Mabel and Irene Meler. 1998. *Género y familia: poder, amor y sexualidad en la construcción de la subjetividad*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Burin, Mabel and Irene Meler. 2004. *Varones: Género y subjetividad masculina*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Burin, Mabel. 1993. Subjetividad femenina y salud mental. In *Memoria del Coloquio Género y Salud Femenina*. Mexico City: innsz-ciesas.

Cáceres, Carlos and Óscar Jiménez. 1998. Fletes in Parque Kennedy: Young Men Who Sell Sex to Other Men in Lima. In *Men Who Sell Sex. International Perspectives on Male Prostitution and hiv/aids*. edited by Peter Aggleton: 179-193. London: Taylor and Francis.

Cáceres, Carlos, Ximena Salazar, Ana María Rosasco and Percy Fernández Dávila. 2005. Ser hombre en el Perú: La infidelidad, la violencia y la homofobia en la experiencia masculina. In *Violencia masculina en la pareja: Una aproximación al diagnóstico y a los modelos de intervención*. edited by Jorge Corsi, Mónica Liliana Dohmen and Miguel Angel Sotes: 27-46. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Carrillo Trujillo, Carlos David, María de Lourdes Cortés Ayala, Mirta Margarita Flores Galaz, and Isabel Reyes Lagunes. 2000. Niveles de expresividad-instrumentalidad en hombres y mujeres. *La Psicología Social en México*. 8. 114-120.

Casillas, Miguel Angel. 1998. Notas sobre la socialización en la universidad. *Jóvenes*. 4a. época, 2, 7 (abril-dic): 12-27.

Catalá, Magda. 1983. *Reflexiones desde un cuerpo de mujer*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Chávez Lavista, Ezequiel Adeodato. 1928. *Ensayo de psicología de la adolescencia*. Mexico City: Secretaría de Educación Pública.

Clare, Anthony. 2006. *Hombres. La masculinidad en crisis*. Mexico City: Taurus.

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe. Panorama social de América Latina. 2008. *http://www.cepal.org/cgi-bin/getProd.asp?xml=/publicaciones/xml/2/34732/P34732.xmle&xsl=/dds/tpl/p9f.xsle&base=/tpl/top-bottom.xslt*

Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe-Organización Iberoamericana de Juventud. 2007. La juventud en Iberoamérica: tendencias y urgencias. Buenos Aires: Comisión Económica para América Latina y el Caribe-Organización Iberoamericana de Juventud.

Connell, Robert. 2000. *The man and the boys*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Connell, Robert. 2003. *Masculinidades*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género.

Conway, Jill Ker, Susan Carolyn Bourque and Joan Wallach Scott. 1987. Introduction: The Concept of Gender. In Lamas, Marta. 2003. *El género. La construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género-Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Cooper, Jennifer. 1988. Mujer, trabajo y nueva tecnología. Master's thesis, Facultad de Economía, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Cooper, Jennifer. 2006. Género y fuerza de trabajo: Diferencias en ocupaciones e ingresos. Lecture presented at Relaciones de Género, IV Diplomado. Mexico City, Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Córdova Plaza, Rosio. 2003. 'Mayates', 'chichifos' y 'chacales': trabajo sexual masculino en la ciudad de Xalapa, Veracruz. In *Caminos inciertos de las masculinidades*. edited by Marinella Borruso Miano: 141- 161. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Corsi, Jorge. 1995. *Violencia masculina en la pareja*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Covarrubias Villa, Francisco. 2002. *La otredad del yo: El hombre cosa de la sociedad capitalista*. Mexico City: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.

Cueva Perus, Marcos. 2006. *La juventud como categoría del análisis sociológico*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales.

De Beauvoir, Simone. 1981. *El segundo sexo: Los hechos y los mitos*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Siglo Veinte.

De Beauvoir, Simone. 1982. *El segundo sexo. La experiencia vivida*. Buenos Aires: Ediciones Siglo Veinte.

De la Garza Toledo, Enrique. 1992. *Crisis y sujetos sociales en México*. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa-Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Centro de Investigaciones Interdisciplinarias en Ciencias y Humanidades.

Díaz Guerrero, Rogelio. 1986. *El ecosistema sociocultural y la calidad de la vida*. Mexico City: Trillas.

Díaz Loving, Rolando, Rogelio Díaz Guerrero, Robert Helmreich, and Janet Taylor Spence. 1981. Comparación transcultural y análisis psicométrico de una medida de rasgos masculinos (instrumentales) y femeninos (expresivos). *Revista de la Asociación Latinoamericana de Psicología Social* 1, 1-2: 3-37.

Díaz Loving, Rolando; Tania Rocha Sánchez, and Sofía Rivera Aragón. 2004. Elaboración, validación y estandarización de un inventario para evaluar las dimensiones atributivas de instrumentalidad y expresividad. *Revista Interamericana de Psicología*. (julio). 01.

Domínguez Perez, Moisés. 2003. Legislación y juventud en México. *Jóvenes*, 7, 18, (ene-jun): 6-31.

Dubar, Claude. 2002. L*a crisis de las identidades. La interpretación de una mutación*. Barcelona: Bellaterra.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1993. The Five Sexes: Why male and female are not enough. *The Sciences*. (mayo-abril): 20–24.

Fausto-Sterling, Anne. 1994. *Myths of Gender: Biological Theories about Women and Men*. New York: BasicBooks.

Feixa, Carles. 1998. Culturas juveniles: el reloj de arena. *Revista Jóvenes*. 1. (abril). Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud.

Fernández Sánchez, Juan. coord. 1998. *Género y sociedad*. Spain: Pirámide.

Fernández, Juan. 1987. Nuevas perspectivas en el desarrollo de la tipificación sexual y de género. *Estudios de Psicología*, 32. 47-69.

Fernández, Juan. 1996. *Varones y mujeres. Desarrollo de la doble realidad del sexo y del género*. Madrid: Pirámide.

Fonseca Hernández, Carlos and María Luisa Quintero Soto. 2004. *Teoría y crítica de los métodos cualitativos en la investigación social: el uso de la observación participante, el grupo de discusión y la historia de vida como herramientas metodológicas del investigador social.* Mexico City (en prensa).

Fonseca Hernández, Carlos. 2006. Reflexiones sobre masculinidad y sexualidades periféricas en la teoría del género. In *El género y sus ámbitos de expresión en lo cultural, económico y ambiental.* edited by María Luisa Quintero and Carlos Fonseca, 19-30. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa-Cámara de Diputados.

Forbes, David. 2003. Turn the wheel: Integral school counseling for male adolescents. *Journal of Counseling and Development*, 81, 2. (spring): 142-149.

Galindo Cáceres, Jesús. 1987. Encuentro de subjetividades, objetividad descubierta: La entrevista como centro del trabajo etnográfico. *Estudios sobre las culturas contemporáneas*, 3: 151-183.

García de Alba, Zepeda. 2005. Posfacio: Una visión histórica de los estudios de juventud en México. In *Historias de los jóvenes en México: su presencia en el siglo xx*, edited by José Antonio Pérez Islas and Maritza Urteaga, 393-403. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud y Archivo General de la Nación.

García Hernández, Gloria Elizabeth. 2001. Ser joven en Hornos: la construcción psicosocial de la juventud en un contexto marginal-urbano. Master's thesis, Facultad de Psicología, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

García Villanueva Jorge, Jaime Barajas and Claudia Ivonne Hernández Ramírez. 2016. Voces y miradas interpretativas. Cómo se concibe la homosexualidad desde la juventud. *Revista Cuaderno de Investigación en la Educación.* (forthcoming).

García Villanueva, Jorge, Denize Meza Mercado and Ivonne Rodríguez Ruiz. 2004. Estudio de masculinidad y feminidad en una muestra de jóvenes homosexuales y heterosexuales. Bachelor's thesis. Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

García Villanueva, Jorge and Claudia Ivonne, Hernández Ramírez. 2016. ¿Cómo se construyen las identidades de género desde los cuentos infantiles? *Revista Culturales.* Manuscrito sin publicar.

Gil Calvo, Enrique. 2006. *Máscaras masculinas: Héroes, patriarcas y monstruos*. Barcelona: Anagrama.

Gobierno del Distrito Federal. 2000. Ley de las y los jóvenes del Distrito Federal. *Gaceta Oficial del Distrito Federal*. México City.

Goetz, Judith Preissle and Margaret Diane LeCompte. 1988. *Etnografía y diseño cualitativo en investigación educativa*. Madrid: Morata.

González Villarreal, Roberto. 2001. *Después de la liberación (formas transpoliticas, figuras transexuales)*. Mexico City: Universidad Pedagógica Nacional.

Hall, Judith and Amy Gene Halberstadt. 1980. Masculinity and Femininity in Children: Development of the Children's Personal Attributes Questionnaire. *Developmental Psychology*. 16, 4. (July): 270-280.

Hathaway, Stark Rosecrans and John Charnley McKinley. 1943. *The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory* (mmpi). Mexico City: Manual Moderno.

Hawkesworth, Mary. 1997. Confounding Gender. *Signs*. 22, 3 (spring): 649-685.

Heath, Joseph and Andrew Potter. 2005. *Rebelarse vende: el negocio de la contracultura*. Mexico City: Taurus.

Heidegger, Martin. 2002. *Ser y tiempo*. Santiago de Chile: Editorial Universitaria.

Herdt, Gilbert. ed. 1992. *Homosexualidad ritual en Melanesia*. Madrid: Fundación Universidad-Empresa.

Hernández Ordoñez, Azucena. 2005. Representaciones sociales, prácticas y eventos relacionados con la maternidad y la paternidad en jóvenes que viven en la calle. PhD thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Honderich, Ted. ed. 2001. Ser. *Enciclopedia Oxford de Filosofía* (translated by Carmen García Trevijano). Madrid: Tecnos, sv ser.

Huerta Rojas, Fernando. 1999. *El juego del hombre: Deporte y masculinidad entre obreros*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés-Benemérita Universidad Autónoma de Puebla.

Instituto de la Juventud del Distrito Federal. 2009. Jóvenes en red. *http://www.df.gob.mx/wb/gdf/jovenes*

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. 2005. II Censo de Población y Vivienda 2005. *www.inegi.gob.mx*

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. 2008. Estadísticas de mortalidad 2008. *http://www.inegi.org.mx/est/contenidos/espanol/proyectos/continuas/vitales/bd/mortalidad/MortalidadGeneral.asp?s=est&c=11144*

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. 2009a. Encuesta Nacional de Ocupación y Empleo, 2o. trimestre de 2009. *http://www.inegi.org.mx/inegi/default.aspx?s=est&c=10658*

Instituto Nacional de Estadística, Geografía e Informática. 2009b. Estadísticas judiciales en materia penal 2004-2008. *http://www.inegi.org.mx/inegi/default.aspx?s=est&c=11017*

International Union of Psychological Science. 2008. *Universal Declaration of Ethical Principles for Psychologists*: *Proposed Third Draft*. Berlin: International Union of Psychological Science.

Isaac, Stephen and Michael William Burton. 1981. *Handbook in Research and Evaluation for Education and the Behavioral Sciences.* San Diego: Edits Publishers.

Ito Sugiyama, María Emily and Blanca Inés Vargas Núñez. 2005. *Investigación cualitativa para psicólogos. De la idea al reporte.* Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Facultad de Estudios Superiores Zaragoza-Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Izquierdo, María Jesús. 1998. El malestar en la desigualdad. Madrid: Catedra.

Jaggar, Alison Mary. 1983. *Feminist Politics and Human Nature: Philosophy and Society*. Totowa: Rowman & Allanheld.

Kaufman, Michael. 1989. *Hombres. Placer, poder y cambio*. Santo Domingo: Centro de Investigación para la Acción Femenina. Ediciones Populares Feministas.

Kerlinger, Fred and Howard B. Lee. 2002. *Investigación del comportamiento*. Mexico City: McGraw-Hill.

Kimmel, Michael Scott and Matthew Mahler. 2003. Adolescent masculinity, homophobia, and violence: Random school shootings, 1982-2001. *The American Behavioral Scientist.* 46, 10 (junio), Thousand Oaks: 1439-1458.

Kimmel, Michael Scott. 1992. La producción teórica sobre la masculinidad: nuevos aportes. *Ediciones de las mujeres.* 17. Santiago de Chile: Isis Internacional.

Kimmel, Michael Scott. 1997. Homofobia, temor, vergüenza y silencio en la identidad masculina. *Ediciones de la Mujer*. 24. Mexico City: Isis Internacional.

Kimmel, Michael Scott. 2003. Globalization and its male contents. *International Sociology*. 18, 3. 603-620.

Kitzinger, Celia. 1997. Lesbian and Gay Psychology: a Critical Analysis. In *Critical Psychology*. edited by Fox Dennis and Prilleltensky Isaac. 202-216. London:Sage.

Koo, Pedro. 2003. Masculinidad en crisis: representación masculina en cuatro novelas latinoamericanas. PhD thesis, University of Oklahoma.

Kuhn, Manford and Thomas Mc Partland. 1954. An empirical investigation of self attitudes. In *American Sociologycal Review, 19*, 68-76, citado en Bourhis, Richard y Leyens, Jacques-Philippe. 1996. *Estereotipos, discriminación y relaciones entre grupos.* Madrid: McGraw-Hill.

Kvale, Steinar. 1996. *InterViews. An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Laclau, Ernesto and Chantal Mouffe. 1985. *Hegemonía y estrategia socialista*. Madrid: Siglo XXI.

Lagarde, Marcela. 1992. *Antropología de los cautiverios: madresposa, monjas, putas, presas y locas.* Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Lamas, Martha. 1986. La antropología feminista y la categoría género. *Nueva Antropología*. 8, 30. 1-26.

Lamas, Martha. 1995. Usos, dificultades y posibilidades de la categoría de género. *La Ventana, Revista de Estudios de Género*. 1 (julio): 9-61.

Lara Cantú, María Asunción. 1993. *Inventario de masculinidad y feminidad imafe*. Mexico City: El Manual Moderno.

Lomas, Carlos. comp. 2004. *Los chicos también lloran: Identidades masculinas igualdad entre los sexos y coeducación*. Barcelona: Paidós.

López Romo, Hilberto. 2009. *Nivel socioeconómico AMAI*. Mexico City: Asociación Mexicana de Agencias de Investigación de Mercados y Opinión Pública (AMAI)-Instituto de Investigaciones Sociales.

Lutte, Gérard. 1991. *Liberar la adolescencia: la psicología de los jóvenes hoy.* Madrid: Herder.

Malbon, Ben. 2000. Los antros: Consumo, identidad y prácticas en los espacios de la vida nocturna. *Jóvenes*. 4, 11. (abr-jun): 170-186.

Manzelli, Hernan. 2005. Como un juego: la coerción sexual vista por varones adolescentes. In *Varones latinoamericanos, estudios sobre sexualidad y reproducción*. Edited by Edith Alejandra Pantélides and Elsa López. 115-144. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Martínez Vazquez, Griselda. 1994. El nuevo perfil del ejecutivo bancario. ¿Una posibilidad para la mujer? Master's thesis, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

Mead, Margaret. 2006. *Sexo y temperamento en tres sociedades primitivas*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Medina Carrasco, Gabriel. 2005. Fracturas en la heterosexualidad masculina: horizontes transmodernos. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*, edited by Alfredo Nateras Domínguez. 2002a. 381-404. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Medina Carrasco, Gabriel. comp. 2000. *Aproximaciones a la diversidad juvenil*. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.

Miano Borrusco, Marinella. 2003. *Caminos inciertos de las masculinidades*. Mexico City: Consejo Nacional para la Cultura y las Artes/Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia/Escuela Nacional de Antropología e Historia.

Mogrovejo, Norma. 2001. *Un amor que se atrevió a decir su nombre: La lucha de las lesbianas y su relación con los movimientos homosexual y feminista en América Latina*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés-Centro de Documentación y Archivo Lésbico de México.

Montesinos, Rafael. 1995. Cambio cultural y crisis en la identidad masculina. *El Cotidiano*. 68, 27-37. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco.

Montesinos, Rafael. 2002. *Las rutas de la masculinidad. Ensayos sobre el cambio cultural y el mundo moderno*. Barcelona: Gedisa.

Montesinos, Rafael. 2005. Masculinidad y juventud: La identidad genérica y sus conflictos." In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*, edited by Alfredo Nateras Domínguez. 2002a: 345-362. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

160

Montoya Tellería, Oswaldo. 1998. Nadando contra corriente: buscando pistas para prevenir la violencia masculina en las relaciones de pareja. In *Varones latino-americanos, Estudios sobre sexualidad y reproducción*, edited by Edith Alejandra Pantélides and Elsa López. comps. 2005. Mexico City: Paidós.

Morín, Edgar. 2002. Los lugares del rock: una aproximación a los espacios juveniles. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*, edited by Alfredo Nateras Domínguez. 2002a. 155-170. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Nateras Domínguez, Alfredo. 2002b. Metal y tinta en piel, la alteración y decoración corporal: perforaciones y tatuajes en jóvenes urbanos. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*. edited by Alfredo Nateras Dominguez. 2002a. 187-204. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Nateras Domínguez, Alfredo. ed. 2002a. *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Nauhardt, Marcos. 1997. Construcciones y representaciones: el péndulo social en la construcción social de la juventud. *Jóvenes: Revista de estudios sobre juventud* 3: 36-47.

Navarro Briones, Javier. 1998. Socialización religiosa de los jóvenes en México. *Jóvenes*. 4a. 2, 7 (abril-dic): 46-69.

Necochea, Gerardo. 2005. Los jóvenes a la vuelta del siglo. In *Historias de los jóvenes en México: su presencia en el siglo xx*, edited by José Antonio Pérez Islas and Maritza Urteaga. 393-403. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud and Archivo General de la Nación.

Neuman, Lawrence. 1997. *Social Research Methods: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.

Olavarría, José. 1998. *Masculinidades y equidad de género en América Latina*. Santiago: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales.

Olvera García, Rocío. 1997. Perspectivas actuales de la producción teórica sobre masculinidad. Bachelor's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Orden Jurídico Nacional. 1998. Ley *del Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud*. Fecha de consulta: 01 de octubre de 2006: www.ordenjuridico.gob.mx

Orden Jurídico Nacional. 2000. *Ley para la Protección de los Derechos de Niñas, Niños y Adolescentes*. Fecha de consulta: 01 de octubre de 2006: *www.ojn.gob.mx*

Pascoe, Cheri Jo. 2003. Multiple masculinities. Teenage boys talk about jocks and gender. *The American Behavioral Scientist* 46, 10. (junio): 1423-1438. Thousand Oaks.

Paz, Octavio. 1950. *El laberinto de la soledad*. Mexico City: Ediciones Cuadernos Americanos.

Pérez Islas, José Antonio and Maritza Urteaga. coords. 2005. *Historias de los jóvenes en México: su presencia en el siglo xx*. Mexico City: Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud and Archivo General de la Nación.

Pérez Islas, José Antonio, Mónica Valdés González, and María Herlinda Suárez Zozaya. 2008. *Teorías sobre la juventud: Las miradas de los clásicos*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México-Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Pérez Islas, José Antonio. 2000. Visiones y versiones. Jóvenes, Instituciones y políticas de juventud. In *Umbrales, cambios culturales, desafíos nacionales y juventud.* edited by Jesús Martín Barbero. 95-233. Medellín: Corporación Región.

Portilla, Jorge. 1966. *La fenomenología del relajo*. Mexico City: Fondo de Cultura Económica.

Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo. Indicadores de Desarrollo Humano y Género en México 2000-2005. 2009. *http://www.undp.org.mx/DesarrolloHumano/estatales/index.html*

Quine, Willard Van Orman. 1984. *La relatividad ontológica y otros ensayos*. Madrid: Tecnos.

Ramírez Rodríguez, Juan Carlos. 2005. *Madejas entreveradas: Violencia, masculinidad y poder: Varones que ejercen violencia contra sus parejas*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés- Universidad de Guadalajara.

Ramírez Solórzano, Martha Alida. 2003. *Hombres violentos: Un estudio antropológico de la violencia masculina*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés-Instituto Jalisciense de las Mujeres.

Ramos Lira, Luciana, Catalina González and Federico Bolaños. 2002. Juventud, género y violencia. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*, edited by Alfredo Nateras Domínguez. 2002a. 415-432. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Ramos, Samuel. 1984. *El perfil del hombre y la cultura en México*. Mexico City: Espasa-Calpe.

Real Academia Española. 2001. *Diccionario de la lengua española*. Madrid: Real Academia Española-Espasa.

Reddock, Rhoda. 2003. Men as Gender Beings: The Emergente of Masculinity Studies in the Anglophone Caribbean. *Social and Economic Studies*. 52, 3: 89-117.

Reguillo, Rossana. 1993. Las tribus juveniles en tiempos de la modernidad. *Revista de Estudios sobre las Culturas Contemporáneas* 5, 15. (marzo): 171-184. Mexico City: Universidad de Colima.

Reguillo, Rossana. 1997. Culturas Juveniles: Producir la identidad: un mapa de interacciones. *Jóvenes: Revista de Estudios sobre Juventud*. 4a época, 2, 5. Instituto Mexicano de la Juventud, (julio-diciembre): 12-31.

Reguillo, Rossana. 2000. Las culturas juveniles. In *Aproximaciones a la diversidad juvenil*. edited by Gabriel Medina Carrasco: 103-118. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.

Renold, Emma. 2003. If You Don't Kiss Me, You're Dumped: Boys, boyfriends and heterosexualised masculinities in the primary school. *Educational Review* 55, 2. (junio): 179-194. United Kingdom: Taylor & Francis.

Rich, Adrienne. 1980. Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence. In Mogrovejo, Norma. 2001. *Un amor que se atrevió a decir su nombre. La lucha de las lesbianas y su relación con los movimientos homosexual y feminista en América Latina*. Mexico City: Plaza y Valdés-CDAHL.

Richmond, Katherine and Ronald Levant. 2003. Clinical Application of the Gender Role Strain Paradigm: Treatment for Adolescent Boys. *Journal of Clinical Psychology*, 59, 11: 1237-1245.

Rocha Sánchez, Tania. 2000. Roles de género en los adolescentes mexicanos y rasgos de masculinidad-feminidad. Bachelor's thesis, Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México.

Rochín Virues, Dinah María. 2002. La huelga universitaria: Una manifestación de las culturas juveniles de fin de milenio. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*, edited by Alfredo Nateras Dominguez. 2002a. 327-344. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Rubin, Gayle. 1975. The Traffic in Women: Notes on the 'Political Economy' of Sex. In *Toward an Anthropology of Women*. edited by Rayna Reiter: 157-210. New York: Monthly Review Press.

Rust, James and Anne McCraw. 1984. Influence of Masculinity-Femininity on Adolescent Self-Esteem and Peer Acceptance. *Adolescence* 19, 74 (verano): 359-366.

Saltzman, Janet. 1978. ¿*Masculine, Femenine or Human? An Overview of the Sociology of the Gender Roles*. Itasca: Peacock Publishers.

Sánchez Guerrero, Alejandro. 2002. La pigmentación del sueño urbano a través del graffiti. In *Jóvenes, culturas e identidades urbanas*, edited by Alfredo Nateras Dominguez. 2002a. 171-186. Mexico City: Miguel Ángel Porrúa.

Schneider, Monique. 2003. *Genealogía de lo masculino*. Buenos Aires: Paidós.

Schongut Grollmus, Nicolas. 2012. La construcción social de la masculinidad: poder, hegemonía y violencia. *Psicología, Conocimiento y Sociedad* 2 (2), 27-65.

Scott Wallach, Joan. 1986. Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis. *The American Historical Review* 91, 5: 1053-1075.

Segarra, Marta and Ángeles Carabí. 2000. *Nuevas masculinidades*. Barcelona: Icaria.

Seidler, Victor 2006b. Transformar las masculinidades. In *Debates sobre masculinidades: Poder, desarrollo, políticas públicas y ciudadanía*, edited by Gloria Careaga and Salvador Cruz Sierra, 57-65. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género.

Seidler, Victor 2006c. Masculinidades, hegemonía y vida emocional. In *Debates sobre masculinidades: Poder, desarrollo, políticas públicas y ciudadanía*, edited by Gloria Careaga and Salvador Cruz Sierra. 147-157. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género.

Seidler, Victor. 2000. *La sinrazón masculina: Masculinidad y teoría social*. Mexico City: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México/Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género-CIESAS-Paidós.

Seidler, Victor. 2006a. *Transforming Masculinities: Men, Cultures, Bodies, Power, Sex, and Love*. Gran Bretaña: Routledge.

Serret Bravo, Estela Andrea. 2001. *El género y lo simbólico: La constitución imaginaria de la identidad femenina*. Mexico City: University Autónoma Metropolitana-Azcapotzalco.

Siegal, Michael. 1987. Are Sons and Daughters Treated more Differently by Fathers than by Mothers? *Developmental Review*. 7: 183-209.

Simpson, Mark. 1994. Here Come the Mirror Men. *The Independent*. (november) 5.

Simpson, Mark. 2008. Meet the Metrosexual. July 22, 2008. *Salon.com*. http://marksimpson.com/pages/journalism/metrosexual_beckham.html

Smiler, Andrew. 2004. Thirty Years after the Discovery of Gender: Psychological Concepts and Measures of Masculinity. *Sex Roles*. 50, 1-2: 15-26.

Spence, Janet, Robert Helmreich and Joy Stapp. 1975. Ratings of Self and Peers on Sex Role Attributes and their Relation to Self-Esteem and Conceptions of Masculinity and Femininity. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 32: 29-39.

Tajfel, Henri y John Turner. 1986. The social identity theory of intergroup behavior. In Richard Bourhis y Jacques Philippe Leyens. 1996. *Estereotipos, discriminación y relaciones entre grupos*. Madrid: McGraw-Hill.

Tajfel, Henri. 1972. La Catégorization sociale. In *Introduction à la Psychologie sociale* edited by Serge Moscovici. 1. 272-302. Paris: Larousse.

Tajfel, Henri. 1976. Exit, Voice, and Intergroup Relations. In *Social Psychology in Transition*. edited by F. A. Strickland and K. Gergen: 281-304. New York: Plenum. Press.

Taylor, Shelly, Susan Fiske, Nancy Etcoff and Audrey Ruderman. 1978. Categorical and contextual bases of person memory and stereotyping. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*. 36: 778-793.

Taylor, Steve and Robert Bogdan. 1998. La entrevista a profundidad. In *Métodos cualitativos de investigación*, 100-132. Barcelona: Paidós.

Terrazas, Óscar. coord. 2004. La centralidad metropolitana en la Ciudad de México. In *Los últimos cien años... los próximos cien*, edited by Ariel Rodríguez Kuri and Sergio Tamayo Flores Alatorre. 235-266. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

Touraine, Alain. 2005. *Un nuevo paradigma para comprender el mundo de hoy*. Barcelona: Paidós.

Udry, Richard and Kim Chantala. 2004. Masculinity-Femininity Guides Sexual Union Formation in Adolescents. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 30, 1. (enero): 44-55. Thousand Oaks.

UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women. 2003. *Salud sexual y reproductiva de la mujer: asunto tanto del hombre como de la mujer* (Working document). UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women: Santo Domingo, Republic Dominican.

United Nations Organization. 2003. World Urbanization Prospects: The 2003 Revision. 2003. *htttp://www.un.org*

United Nations Organization. 2006. Youth at the United Nations. *http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unyin/spanish/qanda.htm#4*

Urzúa Bermudez, David. 1998. Juventud, socialización y medios de ¿comunicación? *Jóvenes*. 4a. época. 2, 7. (abril-dic): 28-45.

Valenzuela, José Manuel. 2002. De los pachucos a los cholos: Movimientos juveniles en la frontera México-Estados Unidos. In *Movimientos juveniles en América Latina: Pachucos, malandros y punketas*. edited by Carles Feixa, Fidel Molina, and Caries Alsinet: 11-34. Madrid: Ariel.

Valladares Sánchez, Jorge and Crisanty Anguas. 2002. Conceptos de novio y amigo en jóvenes yucatecos con y sin pareja. In *Memoria del XXIX Congreso del Consejo Nacional para la Enseñanza e Investigación en Psicología*. San Luis Potosí, México.

Vega, Leticia and Rafael Gutiérrez. 2004. Masculinidad y prostitución infantil callejera. In *Memoria del XII Congreso Mexicano de Psicología*. Guanajuato, Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Psiquiatría.

Villatoro Velásquez, Jorge Ameth, María de Lourdes Gutiérrez López, Nieves Quiroz del Valle, Midiam Moreno López, Lianed Gaytán López, Nancy Amador Buenabad, Filiberto Itzcóatl Gaytán Flores and María Elena Medina Mora Icaza. 2007. *Encuesta de Consumo de Drogas en Estudiantes 2006*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Psiquiatría Ramón de la Fuente Muñiz.

Ward, Peter. 2004. Gobierno y democracia en el Distrito Federal: Cárdenas, el PRD y el huevo del párroco. In *Los primeros cien años. Los próximos cien...* edited by Ariel Rodríguez Kuri and Sergio Tamayo Flores Alatorre. 189-234. Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana.

Warren, Howard. ed. 2001. *Diccionario de psicología*. Mexico City: Fondo de la Cultura Económica.

Weeks, Jeffrey. 1998. La construcción de las identidades genéricas y sexuales: La naturaleza problemática de las identidades. In *Sexualidades en México: Algunas aproximaciones desde la perspectiva de las ciencias sociales*, edited by Ivonne Szasz and Susana Lerner. 2005. 199-221. Mexico City: El Colegio de México.

Wilkinson, Sue. 1997. Feminist psychology. In *Critical psychology*. edited by Fox and Prilleltensky. London: Sage.

Zallo, Ramon. 2006. *Economía de la comunicación y la cultura*. Madrid: Akal.

Zimbardo, Phillipe. 2008. *El efecto Lucifer*. Madrid: Paidós.

APPENDICES

A. Letter of Informed Consent

I am conducting a study about young people in Mexico City. I consider it imperative to carry out investigations into it because they can orientate the design and application of policies and programs of attention directed to these persons.

I have chosen this neighborhood of the city because I grew up in it and believe it to be representative of the conditions in which many of this city's young people live.

Therefore I am requesting the participation of people like yourself to help me with a conversation of about an hour, where we talk about your experience as a young man in this city. The conversation will be audio recorded so it can be transcribed, but that does not mean that your identifying data will be known. Everything related with your identification data will be treated confidentially, and no one will have access to it during or after the research.

The transcription of the information provided by you for this work will be available for you to read and discuss with us if you wish. This would be of great value for me, therefore I will let you know as soon as it is ready.

Thank you very much for your participation.

Jorge G. V.

B. Guided Interview

Introduction

Explanation of the purpose of the interview and its duration. Reiterate the aspects related to confidentiality.

a) Concepts of being a young man
- When does being a young man begin? When does being a young man end?
- What distinguishes young people from adults?
- What distinguishes men from women?
- Explore whether or not the subject identifies himself with the definition provided of *young*, to see if it is related with his notion of adulthood.

b) Young men's lifestyles
- How do young men live? With whom?
- What do they do for a living?
- How do they spend their spare time?
- With whom do they relate? Whom do they socialize with?
- Explore the areas of family, school, and work, whom they get along best with, and with whom they have conflict. Roles most commonly assumed.

c) Interaction with children, elders (both sexes)
- How are the relationships young men have with children?
- How are the relationships with adults?
- And with elders?
- Set the areas of convergence and conflict with adult persons of both sexes.

C. Structure of the Analytic Tables

At the beginning of the research there were 13 categories which, during the analysis and interpretation, were reduced to 10 due to their strong articulation. These were the final 10.

1. Limits and characteristics of youth.
2. Models of men and women (hegemonic or diverse).
3. Characteristics of contrast with women.
4. Distinguishing aspects of adults and the relationships with them.
5. Distinguishing aspects of children and the relationships with them.
6. Distinguishing aspects of elders and the relationship with them.
7. Lifestyles of the young people and people with whom they socialize.
8. Social relations: friendships, companions, acquaintances.
9. Occupations of young men.
10. Hobbies.

The structure of the analytic tables used for the analysis by category per interviewee was based on the techniques and strategies proposed by Kvale (1996).