For my mother and sister, who have always supported me, encouraged me, and made sure that I was able to experience my college years to the fullest. Thank you.

Acknowledgements:

The making of this thesis was a difficult process that would not have been possible without the help of many key people.

First, I would like to thank Prof. Rosales for guiding me throughout these four years. No matter how turbulent or irrational my thought process, his support has always guided me and grounded me in reality. Thank you for reminding me that I was not being pressured into writing this thesis and for reassuring me whenever I wanted to quit – I appreciate that.

I would like to thank Prof. Barker for her dedication to my committee appointments and to the thesis development process. You always kept me on track with my deadlines.

Prof. Dawson, I found encouragement in your wit and sarcasm, as well as in your caring nature. I feel privileged to have experienced our trip to Salvador, Brazil and will cherish that time. *Muito obrigado*!

I would like to acknowledge Prof. Boglioli, my Head Thesis Advisor. Your patience and dedication to your role made the process more bearable. I enjoyed our conversations about American Indian tribes, the environment, Activist Anthropology and primitive survival skills, and other knowledge that you shared with me. You have a talent for getting the students invested in topics that are worthwhile. My time in having you as an instructor was definitely worthwhile.

Thank you Jody Caldwell – Your help in finding resources was vital for my thesis development process and your kind, welcoming attitude was something I needed here.

To my mother, María Nieves Villagómez – Through your years of hardship, determination and hard work, you continue to dedicate yourself to your children and family all with a smile on your face. I can never truly repay the sacrifices you have made for me, but I am deeply grateful for the opportunities you have given me to achieve my education …I love you so much.

To my sister, Fabiola Aguilar – Through your acts of tough love, you have shown genuine care for me by frequently driving me from home to school, even in the most unfortunate of times. I really appreciate that. Thank you for all you have done to protect me and guide me into the man that I am today. I love you.

Thank you to my friends – Austin Machado, Tim Watkins, Elissa Erwin, and Hunter Fastige – who made my years at Drew memorable and fun. I will always remember our game nights in Baldwin Lounge.

To Shelique Richardson, Beatrice Awobue, Diana Oladetimi, Jañelle Barnes, Christiana Tenudo, Marcela Claros, and Renatta Chirinos – you are all are my adopted sisters.

My friend Eduardo Santiago – You have shown that you will always have my back no matter what. I can never truly repay your kindness, no matter how many times you respond with, “It’s cool, bro.”

And to my friend and brother, Gabriel Γ: even with your cynical nature and biting sarcasm meeting my optimistic and ideological perspective, our friendship continues to mysteriously thrive. Your counsel and friendship are priceless.

Drew University College of Liberal Arts

Macho Dilemmas: Machismo & Masculine Identities Within the Latino Diaspora (3 studies 2015-2016)

A Thesis in Cultural Anthropology

by

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Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Bachelor in Arts

With Specialized Honors in Cultural Anthropology

May 2016

Abstract:

The stereotypical labels of machismo with which many Latin American males are erroneously tagged with continues to develop and flow in their daily lives. The label itself has become a social fact, as described by Durkheim, to the point that it manipulates and influences the behavior of the Latino male in terms of fitting in; the label itself is becoming the base from which the views of not only the masculinity of Latino men, but also the femininity of Latino women, are drawn upon, reflected and derived. Yet, due to geographical, generational, regional and biological factors, machismo does not completely define all gender categories within Latin America. Through the research of these three field sites: Salvador, Bahia, Brazil; Drew University, New Jersey, USA; and La Cañada de Caracheo, Guanajuato Mexico, I researched, studied and analyzed the independent development of masculine gender roles under the yoke and influence of machismo within these three separate locations. I compare and contrast the similarities and differences of machismo within the cultures of each location to see if there are common correlations and a possible single origin of the gender norm. If there seems to be a common origin that links all three locations, I point out the possible factors (historical, geographical, political, etc.) that caused the development of such a diverse yet unified masculine gender label within Latin America.

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Preface:

"Not Even the Petal of a Rose"

As a young Mexican who arrived in the United States in 1998 and only recently became a US citizen in 2013, I was raised in two worlds and at the same time I was not completely part of either. A key figure in my life was my father, a man with both good and bad qualities, mostly bad. He did everything he could to get his family to the US so that we might have a better life than the one we could have had in Mexico. However, my father demanded respect, and he controlled my mother and our family. He was the authoritative figure of the house, not sensitive, never cried (at least when he wasn't drunk). My siblings and I feared him more than we respected him. The only time we could relax was when he was not home; when he arrived the atmosphere would change, and one could feel the tension in the air. It was particularly strange and outright disturbing, to see him smile. He would beat us to discipline us, often drunk and out of spite, mostly on my mother. He expected absolute loyalty from his family; he frequently scorned my mother for loving her children more than him and expected us to unconditionally submit to him. As José Olavarría notes about paternal figures in Chilean culture and in Latino culture overall, "Fathers have been many-sided characters: they are loved, cherished, and respected, but at the same time they are feared, distant, and sometimes hated" (342). Being around the migrant Mexican workers who lived in our farming community in the town of Cedarville, New Jersey, only added to my confusion: some fathers were alcoholics and disciplined their children as well, but even when they

were drunk I never felt the same uneasiness and outright fear around them that I did around my father.

My father tried to instill in me the stereotypical ideology of being "macho", being "machista," though he never mentioned the word to me directly. He tried to make me tougher, more active; he pressured me to stop crying so much, to go out and get more girls. However, he would treat me like his favorite child; he would not want me to work too hard or get injured, which only confused me more. I remember how one day he told me in front of my sister that I was his "pride" even though my sister was the first in the family to graduate from high school and was the primary translator and aid to my father. I was perplexed as to the reasons why I was his "pride"—I was confused and angered as to where his aggression towards us, towards his family, came from. I never felt like I was my father's son, as I was so different than him—I was neither aggressive nor physically imposing, I did not like confrontation, I was not exactly a "ladies' man," and I did not treat my mother and sister the way he did, although he tried to influence me in this regard. Only recently did I realize that my father was the perfect example not to follow in order for me to become a "man". Only recently did I realize that my father was machista and that I was not. In turn, I became curious as to the source of aggressive patriarchy and violence against women within a family context, from a country that boasts the proverb "*A una mujer no se le toca, ni con el pétalo de una rosa*" (You never touch (strike) a woman, not even with the petal of a rose).

Introduction:

My study proceeds from the broad term "machismo," which is often a stereotype for Latin American men—and, more specifically, Mexican men. I seek to analyze the terms "macho" and "machista" and all the ideologies and cultural aspects they embody as they apply to both family dynamics and the expression of these concepts outside the family sphere. Machismo is the label given to this particular expression of patriarchy and its coercive influence in behavior that it has within these locations: Salvador, Brazil; Drew University, USA; and La Cañada de Caracheo Mexico. The literature I engaged gave me key two key theoretical perspectives through which to frame my research. According to Durkheim: "A social fact is every way of acting, fixed or not, capable of exerting on the individual an external constraint; or again, every way of acting which is general throughout a given society while at the same time in its own right independent of its individual manifestations" (13). Thus, Durkheim views a social fact as a concrete idea that affects a person's everyday life. However, I am quite aware that there are various ways in which machismo is expressed and developed; again, independent of its individual manifestations, in each family, location and person. In addition, I utilize Matthew Gutmann's interpretation of Antonio Gramsci's philosophical term *contradictory consciousness* within his book *Meanings of Macho*, "As employed in this book, *contradictory consciousness* is a descriptive phrase used to orient our examination of popular understandings, identities, and practices *in relation to* dominant understandings, identities, and practices" (14). In summary, Gutmann is addressing the issues of the

conflicts between the dominant cultural consciousness of a specific group and the dormant contradictory or opposing consciousness that are no freely expressed within individuals of the same group. Both these theoretical terms will be used in my final analysis of my work to see whether machismo itself can be qualified to be labeled as a *social fact* and if *contradictory consciousness* is present among any of my informants.

Even though my research is rather limited due to time and geography, I seek to study and analyze the *machista* identity and its development among the Latino populations within these three locations. "Latino" and "Latina" here refer to the peoples of Latin America and their communities within the Western Hemisphere; these being nations that predominantly speak a Romance language that is based in Latin, specifically Spanish or Portuguese. My initial research was conducted in Brazil in the city of Salvador and the small town of Cachoeira. Further research was gathered in the town of Madison, New Jersey, among the Latino workers and students of Drew University. I finalized my research in my hometown of La Cañada de Caracheo, Guanajuato, Mexico. The purpose of my research is to investigate, within these three specific locations, the macho culture/ideology that presumably is central to modern Latino societies. These patriarchal cultural norms labeled as *machismo* tend to originate in the family, the most basic human social group within these communities, and these norms are extended beyond the home into other domains such as work, sports, politics, religion, etc. I will analyze the expressions of machismo and masculine ideologies within the three field locations, but also consider the greater historical context and geographic variation among individuals and individual families within these locations. I seek to find through my

research if there is a ubiquitous understanding of the term and definition of *machismo* within these locations; if there are variations and similarities of the term macho and macho culture between the locations, as well as if there is a possible point of origin of this expression of masculinity within the Latino American diaspora. Finally I seek to discover if there are differences in perspective between men and women about macho culture, history and its future in these locations.

Chapter 1: Machismo within Salvador and Cachoeira, Brazil

Our small group of four visited the city of Salvador, which was the first capital of Brazil in 1549. My field research and data gathering were conducted in the neighborhood of Barra, pronounced *Baha*. Our group stayed in Posada Noa Noa. I conducted most of my research in the surrounding area of Barra, but also conducted some research in the old town square of Pelourinho, and did additional research in the town of Cachoeira. Although I did not have any key informants that would have facilitated my data collection process, mainly because I did not have a specific field site and because my topic is very broad, I still had plenty of individuals more than willing to aid in my research. Within Salvador and Cachoeira I wanted to see what "Brazilian" definitions of *machismo* are and the views the people have on the treatment of women and men and their assigned roles within the family and community. As well as in their perspectives if they considered Salvador to be a macho space or what other locations they considered to be machista, in additional expression of machismo in the sport of Capoeira and what are the possible causes of machismo within the city.

a. Machismo within Salvador and Pelourinho:

I conducted my first interview within Pelourinho, near the statue of Zumbi dos Palmares, a historical symbol of Black resistance within Brazil (Palmares has a very imposing, masculine figure, yet one that is regal and resolute). My subjects were two street artisans—William, a metal worker, and Carlos, a thread weaver, the former of whom I interviewed. Another interview was then conducted with Posada Noa Noa's

receptionist, Alex. The perspectives of these two men are quite unique since both occupy jobs that are traditionally (at least in my perspective) not considered the norm for Latino men: being a street artisan and a receptionist does not require the performance of physical manual labor so often demanded in machismo. My first obstacle was defining clearly to my subjects what my research was about: "Machismo and its influence on male gender roles within the city of Salvador." To me a "*machista*" is a man who believes himself to be the central authority and protector of the home and family; who is aggressive, dominating, usually violent and is the source of discipline within the house. Machos tend not to show any emotion that may be linked to femininity—such as happiness, or sadness (crying is a physical sign of weakness); which in itself is believed to be closely linked to subservience or weakness. Machos are usually quiet and show significant attention only to their sons, encouraging them to be virile and to have many sexual adventures with girls; they are overprotective of their daughters; and they see homosexuality as an offense. Frequently I would have to give this long definition before my informants corrected me by saying, "Oh, you mean "*Macheesmo.*" (In the end, my bad pronunciation was to blame for my subjects' confusion.)

I interviewed both William, age 40, and Alex, age 21, at different times but with the same question guide:

> **Me** — "*Do you know of the term "machista" or "machismo"? If yes, what does the term mean to you?*"
>
> **William** — "*Yes, this is a man who thinks that his woman (wife) is his property, he dominates her but this isn't a good thing because a woman is a partner in marriage.*"

Alex — "*More or less, it's the intolerance against women, I've never been a 'macheesta', we are all the same. In my point of view, the girls have the right to take less attitude than the men, because in social life or parties or life, when a guy makes out with a lot of girls, people say that he's the best, that he's gustoso (the hot one), but when a girl does that [make out with a lot of guys], people call her a 'slut', a 'bitch'. Why can't she have a relationship with a lot of guys if she likes? Because sometimes she stays with one guy and this guy isn't enough for her, so she goes looking for more guys. And I believe that if I judge this, it is wrong. Because the same way that I can go to a party and make out with 30 women, a girl can go to a party and make out with 30 guys too. All in all, I don't have any more to say about 'macheesmo' because to me this is the most commented point.*"

Me — "*Do you believe Salvador to be a 'machista' city? Why?*"

William — "*Yes, because here there are many 'macheesta' men, they don't have an open mentality. I believe that women are equal to men and deserve respect. In various parts, in barrios, in periferias, high or low society, there is always 'macheesmo'.*"

Alex — "*No, I don't think so, because our representation to the world is made by women. Tell me, you are from Mexico, what kind of events in Bahia did you know of? In Carnival, all the singers are women, they are the axé singers. In Capoeira, the most famous practitioners are women. This is just the representation of my own opinion, but I don't think this is the general opinion; however, I don't think Salvador is a 'macheesta' city."*

Me — "*Do you identify yourself as 'machista'?*"

William — "*No, I respect women; I see them as partners not as property.*"

Alex — "*No.*"

Me — "*Do you think that Capoeira in general aligns with the ideology of 'macho' masculinity?*"

William — "*I believe that they are different things, since one is a sport and a 'macheesta' man is macheesta at home, on the street practicing Capoeira is a thing on its own; they [macho men] are also 'macheesta' because they are jealous, they want to keep their wives close and are very authoritarian.*"

Alex — "*Actually in my point of view, since I was born in Salvador, I have a lot of friends who play Capoeira and most of them are guys but I also know girls who play Capoeira. But I think that is a sport that like it or not, began with a man, no? The majority [of practitioners] are men but if you go to a Capoeira circle you can always see a woman practicing. I don't think it's a 'macheesta' sport, actually I don't think any sport is 'macheesta'. Nowadays, at least I think this is how it is, but before yes, it was much different.*"

Me — "*Do you believe that art aligns with the 'machista' identity?*"

William — "*Art is a therapy and a job; it is something for mature people. I believe it can help 'macheestas' to mature from being so jealous, because they have to be patient to work the metal and interact with people, thus they have to be less jealous.*"

(William attributes jealousy and insecurities as key attributes to machismo; I didn't ask Alex this question since he wasn't a street artisan).

Me — "*What do you think is the source of this 'machismo' culture/ideology?*"

William — "*Do you believe that 'macheesmo' only exists within Salvador, or do you believe it to be a global problem? There are problems such as this everywhere; there are plenty of 'macheesta' relationships as relationships with respect. In various parts of Brazil, especially in the interior and in the cities as well, have women, who like the men, like to go out to the parties and enjoy themselves. It's a man's insecurity and not having trust of his wife, that is 'macheesmo'. One [a man] has to respect women and be able to trust them.*"

Alex — "*The origin of 'macheesmo' was long ago before Christ, a lot before, women didn't have a voice not that long ago, but nowadays women have a voice that is equal to a man's, more or less. In the old days, women were only able to take care of their house, just a few women were considered important.*"

Me — "*In your point of view what are the proper roles of a man within society?*"

William — "*He has to be the head of the family, with compassion for his wife, share with and help other people, since he is a member of a society of workers, leaders, he has to respect the rights of each one; no one is above or below each other.*"

Alex — "*In my point of view, all men have to be honest, understanding, our country would be better and able to advance more if the Brazilian politicians were a bit more honest. As you see today the president of our country is a woman…I think that every man should take care of their family and if they don't they have to work, study and be an honest guy. Do the right thing, if everyone did the right thing our country would be better. This is what I think is the role of a man.*"

Me — "*Do you believe that homosexual men do not fit into the established roles of masculinity?*"

William — "*This is a delicate matter, a masculine man is head of the family, a woman helps him run the family; each sex has their set duties. Men (homosexuals) who want to take the roles of a woman in the family, make it difficult since a woman doesn't have the body of a man. Men have to be men and women have to be women. A homosexual man can take the role that signifies him as a man, but he wants the role of a woman. But a man is a man and a woman is a woman.*"

Alex — "*I don't think so since because I don't believe homosexual men want to be women; but actually I don't know too much about this, I'm not a homophobe, I have some gay friends but I don't think that they want to be women…I don't know too much about the matter because I'm not too interested in it and I don't really have an opinion about this.*

Me — "*Do you believe that the "machista" ideology is changing or becoming stronger?*"

> **William** — "*In some places it's changing and in others it continues, because of how the parents raise the children. Children are a mirror reflection of the parents. A boy raised in a 'macheesta' house will most likely be 'macheesta' in the future. If the child is raised in a house where the father treats his wife with respect and has an open mind, he will probably be beneficial to society.*"
>
> **Alex** — "*I believe that 'macheesmo' is fading out…if you're going to analyze today, women place themselves in higher status…in my opinion about 'macheesmo', nowadays we are in a time that women are getting better jobs and have a higher voice and I believe this will only keep on getting better. And about the other things, all the past problems, nowadays, this kind of thing doesn't matter anymore because today we (Brazilians) have a woman president, in Argentina Cristina Kirchner is president, but anyway I don't know too much about this because I won't lie to you, I never really pay attention to all this.*"

(Fortunately William understood and spoke Spanish and Alex's interview was translated with the help of another receptionist and friend, Eduardo)

Despite their age gap, both William and Alex are familiar with "machismo" and its strong connection to gender inequality, and both quite quickly identified as not being "machista". William links the machista ideology to male insecurities and mistrust of their wives, which leads to husbands aggressively dominating and controlling them. And though he believes that men should see their wives as trustworthy and compassionate partners in life and marriage, William never mentioned women's roles beyond the bonds of marriage. Alex also sees machismo as intolerance of women and prejudice against them for seeking similar sexual rights as males. Alex and William's view points on homosexual men and how they fit masculine gender roles differ: William is more conservative in his view that biologically a man is a man and must meet up to their assigned male gender roles and norms since he was born male; he believes homosexual men desire to take the role of women or wives (I didn't further explore this topic since it made him uneasy to speak about the matter). He believes that homosexual men seek to replace women within the hierarchy of the home, as a result completely changing the traditional nuclear family dynamic within a community like Salvador. In contrast, Alex

believes that homosexual men do not desire to take on the roles of women and stated that he is not a homophobe, but did not really have any additional perspective on the topic since, as he stated, he does not really think too much about these things. It seems that his generation is more tolerant of homosexuality and alternate gender roles, though, of course, that does not necessarily mean that these roles are fully accepted socially and institutionally within the community. Alex also believes that due to current developments in gender equality, such as Brazil's female president Dilma Rousseff and women having a greater voice in contemporary society, machismo is fading out within Brazilian culture. In contrast, William believes that in some places machismo is fading out and that in other places it still remains strong; however, he believes that the existence of machismo all depends on how future generations are raised with regard to the matter—thus there is a potential future where machista ideology will have either become stronger or become extinct. As Michael S. Kimmel asserts:

> I view masculinity as a constantly changing collection of meanings that we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with each other, and with our world. Manhood is neither static nor timeless; it is historical. Manhood is not the manifestation of an inner essence; it is socially constructed. Manhood does not bubble up to consciousness form our biological makeup; it is created in culture…this idea that manhood is socially constructed and historically shifting should not be understood as a loss, that something is being taken away from men, in fact, it gives us something extraordinarily valuable — agency, the capacity to act. (120)

In short, Kimmel states that we as a society are the ones who create our own views and norms on masculinity depending on the historical factors that influences us at that specific time period, thus if there is a shift in cultural consciousness then we as human beings unconsciously change our expressions and definitions of masculinity to meet the demands of our own ideological transition. *Machismo* is the extreme expression of manhood and masculinity that is often associated with Latin American culture, thus it is linked to exterior and cultural influences that manipulate its symbolic meaning among males within a culture, with its basic origin in the family and its expansion outward into society. "Machismo," like "masculinity" and "manhood," is constantly changing and being shaped and reformed to fit the current chronological gender norms that the exterior cultural and societal environments demand from males, yet there is this entity of *machismo* that yet has to be shaped by man himself. Thus this social fact is still independent of the context of its origination; it can be defined by its origins but not erased by them. Alex sees machismo as fading due to the current progress in women's civil rights that his generation is witnessing, which are small steps towards legitimate gender equality. William, on the other hand, experienced such progress only recently in his life, and in turn he only sees an uncertain possibility that such ideologies may be fading. Either way, both men, despite their generational differences, had familiarity with the term "machismo" and had their own definitions of it. And surprisingly, even though machismo is often singularly related to male gender norms, both William and Alex immediately linked the concept to relative male and female gender norms as they are defined by the social fact of machismo.

b. Varying Gender Divisions within the Sport of Capoeira

Further research revealed gender norms among men and women within Brazil, especially within performances of the iconic sport of Capoeira. The first day we went to Pelourinho, our class encountered a Capoeira group performing in the central plaza. The members, all males, were very imposing, muscular figures. Here "Capoeira" was all that I expected due to both advertisements about travel to Brazil and the Capoeira-inspired fighting game character from the Tekken series, *Eddie Gordo*: fast, agile, swift, aggressive, and elegant. After the group noticed us, they asked Ivy to perform with them, and then a very imposing, black, bald performer approached Will and practiced a few kicks with him. Will was trying to do the moves as precisely as possible, so he took his time and was patient; however the massive man seemed very aggressive and at times it seemed as if he was going to attack Will. I was curious as to why he was exaggerating the performance even though he knew Will was a novice. Some direction on this point can be taken from Pronger, who states:

> Athletics is a traditional theater for the acting out of myths. The ancient Olympic Games were religious celebrations in which the central myths of Hellenic culture were dramatized. Class and patriarchy, as well as the religious belief that fame (which can be achieved by winning at the Olympics) bestows immortality, were the cultural focus of the ancient games…The similarity between the ancient Olympics and the modern-day athletics is limited to the more abstract fact that both are dramatizations of myth. (15)

The myth here is the historical roots of *Capoeira* as a tool of resistance and as a symbol of "Blackness" and "Africanity" within Brazil, as it was an art used by the slaves to defend themselves against the Portuguese Colonists—an authentic tradition that I believe these performers, particularly this imposing man, was attempting to demonstrate. However, as Allan Dawson asserts, "In Salvador and, more broadly, in the state of Bahia, what it means to be Black is continuously being redefined" (8). Accordingly, this performance of aggressive blackness and masculinity was not the case for other Capoeira groups that I observed on other occasions.

I accompanied Ivy to Capoeira Angola, or G-Cap for short, with her contact from Prof. Nubia, and there we met our friend Andrew. The Capoeira I witnessed there was drastically different from the one in Pelourinho: not only were a few women (3-4) participating in the class, but the class itself was more of a ritualistic dance that relied more on musical/theatrical performance than on great physical feats or aggressive strikes. Their class appeared to be less of an athletic sport than a practiced rehearsal that strengthened community ties and group bonds, as Durkheim would say to inoculate them into society or to forge a communal identity. I accompanied Ivy again on June 6th to meet one of her informants, Jaime, one of Prof. Nubia's Anthropology students, but unfortunately we were unable to meet due to miscommunications. Despite this set back, the location where we arranged to meet within Pelourinho, a Capoeira school founded by Mestre Bimba, proved fruitful. There we witnessed a more teacher/student style of performance, primarily because there was only one student who attended that day. Ivy keenly pointed out that the student, a young male between 15 to 20 years of age, seemed

to be a beginner, since his body movements appeared particularly stiff. In this Capoeira studio there were more posters and images of self defense and offensive techniques (such as how to disarm a knife-wielding opponent using one's legs), and the school seemed more like a Martial Arts studio than anything else. This school also seemed more in line with the historical roots of Capoeira and slave resistance, with its many black and white photos of black performers practicing on the beach.

The final group that I witnessed was in the town of Cachoeira, taught by Mestre Torada, a very imposing Black man with a defined build despite his small stature. He welcomed us into his "studio" with open arms; the studio was a classroom in what seemed to be a pre-school or kindergarten. This group was particularly interesting since the class was not only gender neutral (6 men and 8 women), but the age gap varied greatly, from children, teens, and young adults to older adults. The class was very welcoming and had an atmosphere of community-building performances. The class seemed to combine aspects of the two previous groups: elegant, agile, aggressive strikes and techniques, one on one attention between students and teacher, and ritualistic performance and ceremony, with a unique stick dance that I had not seen before and a Catholic prayer before the beginning of the class.

Despite the gender neutral historical origins of Capoeira in slave resistance and black identity, gender roles in Capoeira are clearly defined; it is seen as generally a male sport (females did not start to practice until the 1970s). However, nowadays it appears that Capoeira is becoming more of a cultural and iconic symbol of what it means to be

"Brazilian," not "Black." Machismo, the way I have defined it, may not even exist within Capoeira, but Capoeira is still a predominantly masculine sport. Of the four groups that I researched with Ivy and all the other groups that I observed from a distance, the majority of the participants were men. Prof. Dawson stated that Capoeira is losing its symbolism of "Blackness" and slave resistance since it is becoming more of a capitalist commodity that is performed for and sold to tourists. I believe that Capoeira, despite its origins in armed resistance and apparent purpose of self defense, is becoming iconic of what it means to be Brazilian; an arena where men and women can both participate despite the sport's long history of predominantly being the domain of men—that, in other words, the sport, like Brazil itself, is becoming more and more of a gender neutral space.

Even though the concept of machismo *per se* was never inscribed in the practice of Capoeira, the typical binary gender roles that are defined by machismo, men's space and women's space, were subtly expressed at varying degrees within each Capoeira group I observed, though never concretely expressed. The group of Capoeira performers in Pelorinho was a hyper-masculine group that can be qualified to be labeled as machista. The Group from G-Cap was more gender neutral with a third of the performers being women and the presence of children in their school yet it was predominantly attended by men. The school with Mestre Bimba was difficult to analyze since there was only one student present that day, yet that student was male. The last group with Mestre Torada was the most diverse in both terms of sex and age differences, it was the most neutral and communal expression of Capoeira that I observed in Brazil. Despite the image of Capoeira as a gender neutral space and the practice of the sport by more women, the sport

can still be considered masculine space since the sex of the majority of all the practitioners I observed was male. Furthermore, the Mestres of each Capoeira school that I observed, those who hold authority and power within each Capoeira school and teach the lessons, are men. Capoeira, despite the performance of hyper aggressive self-defense often associated with it, is not a macho sport but it is predominantly practiced by man. However, Capoeira is becoming a recreational activity that all can practice not just Brazilians, despite of sex, age or nationality to enjoy and perform in a neutral space of recreational activities.

c. Expressions of Masculinity and Femininity within the Gym Space

I found more subtle expressions of female and male gender roles throughout my stay. On June 19th, Alex, whom I had interviewed beforehand, invited me to go to the gym with him at 5 pm. I agreed, and we took bikes from the Posada and rode up hill for about twenty minutes, dodging cars and people along the way. When we arrived at the gym, we had to go downstairs, where I immediately noticed that it was a gender neutral gym (then again, this is and was my only time that I came to observe this field site). However, despite the gym being occupied by both men and women, the few men that were in the gym—Alex, his friend the gym owner, and I—were the only ones who used the heavy-duty equipment such as weights, dumbbells, and leg lifts. On the other hand, when we arrived I saw the women—a teenager and what appeared to be her mother or older sister, an adult woman, and an elderly woman—resting on the treadmills taking a break. In my short time in that gym none of the women approached the side of the gym

with heavy duty equipment to use any of the weights. However, the elderly woman did take the machine with cables and pulleys that Alex and I had been using and intended to get back to after a short rest. Despite that, the men were still the primary users of what I would classify as the "heavy-duty equipment" or, in other words, the equipment that men tend to use to conform to an ideal of male physicality, which is not only limited to the nation of Brazil. It seems that macho concepts of strength are subtly expressed in the gym, which is generally seen as a male space.

Similarly, in another situation, during our short stay in Cachoeira, I was finally able to attend the local gym that was down the street from our Posada. After breakfast, I went to the gym (that appeared to be someone's huge garage that had been converted into a gym), about 40 feet in length and 20 feet in width and 20 feet in height. It was much older and worn in appearance than the above-described gym, and much of the equipment looked used or broken. I went around 11:00 am, at which time the gym was empty, except for the co-owner of the gym, Andy, whom I had the pleasure of interviewing. He told me the name of the establishment is "Gym Academia." We conversed about the attendance at the gym; Andy said that more men tend to attend than women—about 4 men attend for 1 woman. The majority of attendants come most frequently during the evening after work, and there is a random pattern of attendance Monday through Friday that one cannot really predict. He told me that the average age for both men and women who attend is 15 years or older and that the equipment is for everyone to use despite their sex. I asked Andy if he believes that "machismo" exists within Cachoeira right now? He said that not really, but that such a conservative mentality is more apparent in the rural

areas of Brazil since they are isolated from the modern cities. He told me that he does not identify himself as a “machista”, and that he does not like resolving things through violence, but prefers talking and using dialogue to solve any situation. I asked if he knew the possible origins of “machismo”, he said that he really did not know, that maybe the Catholic religion might be the source since traditionally women were seen as being owned by their husbands, but that he believes it is not like this anymore, especially in the more urban, progressive areas. I have observed this common belief that most men of Brazil have of Brazilian women having more rights nowadays than they previously used to have, especially in the urban centers. Andy quickly linked machismo with violence, similar to how William linked the term to intolerance and male insecurities. Andy links the origins of machismo to Catholicism within Brazil, unlike William, who thinks machismo and male dominance are expressed throughout the world, or Alex, who believes male machismo to be linked to our primitive past which predated religious chronological origins. All three men are familiar with the term and seem to agree that it is an ancient cultural ideology that has always existed, but in the modern day is drastically, yet slowly, changing. Furthermore, through Andy I observed that machismo in Cachoiera has a negative image linked to violent expressions of male dominance in all social groups despite gender or age. Andy, like Alex, believes that women are treated better in the present than they used to be, which is true to a certain extent.

Yet as Prof. Nubia commented on the fishermen that make a living on the shores of Salvador, only the men are allowed to go fish in the boats and use the nets, as that simply is what the men do. The women are only supposed to forage clams, shells or

mollusks, but they can never go on the boat and fish—thus a woman who depends on fish and does not have a husband is in a very unfortunate situation. Gender roles exist here in Salvador as they would exist in any other society, yet we see within this society a dichotomy of perspectives between Brazilian men and Brazilian women as regards to how much respect and freedom they actually have within society in Salvador and Cachoeira. Most Brazilian men specially the older generations link surface progress, such as female president, women's right to vote and the equal pay for women as concrete proof of gender equality and egalitarianism within the nation. In contrast, many women whom I interviewed later, stated that despite these institutional changes the treatment and dominance of women has not changed drastically, since the distribution of power between the genders has not changed much either.

d. The Roles of Women within the Context of Machismo in Salvador

William and Alex's perspectives in Salvador and Andy's perspective in Cachoeira suggest that Brazilian culture is progressing into a more gender-equal society. However, these perspectives are not necessarily reliable, for as Prof. Nubia said, our informants generally wish to tell us what we want to hear. These men claim that machismo and gender inequality are ending in Salvador, yet at the same time domestic abuse is ever present within Brazil. As an online article written by a Law student Leticia Zenevich, published by Gender Across Borders, states:

> Twenty-three percent of Brazilian women are likely to suffer from domestic violence. That includes physical, psychological, emotional abuse as well as marital rape. The

> problem is a widespread phenomenon against which the Brazilian society both struggles and reinforces with gender stereotypes of men and women, which are common in patriarchal societies.

Despite this statistical reality, my male informants suggest that the opposite is true, which can mean either they are trying to deny the reality or are ignorant of it in their lives, most likely because of the privilege that these male informants directly or indirectly enjoy under the patriarchal society that exists within Salvador. Yet my informant Alex is aware of the gendered inequalities between men and women, but truly believes that machismo is fading within Salvador. William sees machismo as linked to male insecurities and jealousies within the specific context of marriage. Similarly, Andy links the term machismo to the instinct of violence, but believes it to be more present within the more rural areas of Brazil. However, all three have in common that they do not identify themselves as *machos*, and all three see the concept as a negative label/ideology to be associated with, often distancing themselves from the term *macho* geographically or ideologically, or associating machismo with all cultures in order to lessen the blame on their own culture to some extent. In support of this observation G. Miguel Arciniega in his article *Toward a Fuller Conception of Machismo: Development of a Traditional Machismo and Cabellerismo Scale* concluded from his results of studying Mexican and Mexican American men scores on both Traditional Machismo (negative terminology) and Caballerismo (positive terminology) scales, that:

> Traditional Machismo was related to the more negative images associated with machismo, specifically the antisocial items of arrests and fighting as well as the AgM scale. It was surprising that the Traditional Machismo subscale was not related to interpersonal dominance. Clearly some of the items focused on dominance of men over women, but this did not covary with broader interpersonal dominance. Thus, Traditional Machismo is related more to sex-role dominance than dominance per se. The Caballerismo subscale was related to affiliation, emotional connectedness, and psychological well-being, and therefore appeared to capture more positive aspects of behavior (30).

Despite this study being conducted with Mexican, Mexican American men and a small sample of Latino men, the results overall correlated with each other significantly. Thus, they can be applied to my results in Brazil; in a sense despite the fact that William, Andy and Alex disassociate themselves with the more superficial and negative attributes of Traditional machismo (violence and anti-social aggression) in this context, they still subconsciously and quickly associate themselves with the more superficial "positive" attributes of behavior associated with the other version of machismo called Caballerismo (emotional connectedness and mental stability). Even when my informants believe themselves to distance themselves from machismos, their views and behavior of sex-role dominance (in the context of marriage and the home) did not differ much from the traditional attributes of authority as expressed from machismo.

What I found very strange was how interested many of my informants, especially young male adults of my age group (18-25 years of age), were in my research about machismo and contemporary conceptions of manhood. For example, our friend Andrew and his wife Eva, and Andrew's friend Adam, were particularly helpful. In contrast to what I had gathered before, they all agreed, especially Eva, that the city of Salvador was a place were male macho masculinity was expressed in excess. She urged me to interview more women and ask their perspectives on the subject. I agree, as Prof. Dawson stated, that the history of male gender roles and masculinity has as much to do with the history of female gender roles and femininity, as both are defined by the other and cannot be separated. As DeSouza notes:

> The configuration of women's roles has been changing in Brazilian society. However, the path to change is very slow and hard, since the patriarchal family was the economic base of colonial Brazil…During the colonial period in Brazil, the supposition that women were "biologically inferior" become a settled and accepted ideology. (Praeger 50)

The ideology of women being inferior to men is an old concept that has influenced and manipulated much of Brazilian culture throughout the Colonial period; only recently have these conservative gender ideologies been addressed. During my stay, I was able to interview only three women: Elena (in her late 60s/early 70s), María (age 52), and Vera (age 65); they gave me their perspectives on supposed gender equality and machismo within Brazil.

At first Elena did not quite understand what I was asking, so I had to approach my topic from a different angle: I asked her if she believed women to have equal job opportunities as men? She responded by asserting that men are given more opportunities than women all over Brazil because the general ideology is that women are less capable than men. When I asked if she believed this to be changing for the better, she said that the situation has only changed a little, and she believes it is still present. After conversing with her grandson, Bart, who joined us later, and to whom I explained my reasons for why I decided to study "machismo", Elena went on to explain her perspectives on the topic. She exclaimed that "machismo" is abundant in Salvador and she attributes it primarily to alcoholism and smoking (she did a gesture with her right hand as if she was drinking from her thumb). These habits make men more violent and aggressive, she said; consequently, men bring this aggression and violence to their homes and unleash it upon their wives and children, who suffer the most. She continued to explain how men beat their wives, she demonstrated a chopping/axe motion with the edge of her right hand, then she turned her head and pointed to the back of her neck to indicate a common area where men tend to beat women . In support, a survey conducted in 2001 by the Department of Public Health in Bahia, stated, "Gender was found to be the most important single risk factor for both alcohol consumption and HRD (High Risk Drinking) prevalence. Men drink only twice as much as women but their risk of becoming alcoholic is six times greater than that for women" (Almeida-Filho 52). Now there may be a correlation between HRD among Bahian males and domestic violence, but that does not prove that alcoholism is the primary cause of domestic violence within the country.

However, it may enable/encourage such behavior. Elena further elaborated that the Brazilian Military is another source of domestic violence. She explains how tough military training, verbal abuse, and mistreatment of these enlisted men make them in turn apply that violent and aggressive lifestyle to their families, homes, and everyone that they encounter in life. For Elena, the origins of machismo are more political and domestic than religious or historical, yet she clearly links the term *machismo* with violence, specifically domestic violence.

After two failed attempts to get interviews, I walked around Barra for a while; unfortunately the clouds started to darken quickly and the rain was coming as well. I was forced to find shelter in an ice cream shop that Lisa and I regularly frequented. There I struck up a conversation with the store owner, Vero, and her friend, María. After I introduced myself and explained my research, I asked María first if she knew what the term "machismo" was. She responded by telling me that it is an ideology in which men believe that only they are capable of doing anything, where they have do everything themselves, and that they don't need any help, especially from women. She continued by stating that "macho" men want their boys to be like them – dominators and womanizers. It seems that she believes that machismo is a legacy of learned behavior that has always existed and will continue to exist as long as there is a new generation willing to learn said behavior. However, these same men have vastly different expectations of their daughters, María explains. Machos want their daughters to stay at home, protected by the mother. If anything goes wrong within the household, the husband blames the wife for everything. I asked her whether she believed that men and women, currently, are equal, if they have

the same jobs opportunities and salaries. María said that they are the same; she mentioned that some women end up getting paid more than men, using President Rousself as an example of this. She continued by affirming that today young girls are not as tolerant of "machismo" and male dominance as before. María's views are quite similar, if not identical to, Alex's, specifically in how they both link machismo to the binding of young women to conservative roles of virginity and sexual purity, which, to give an example, results in these women being frowned upon when they go out to parties and have sexual encounters. In addition, both María and Alex mentioned female President Dilma Rousself as a prime example of machismo disappearing within Brazil, which may be true, as having a woman in such a high position of power is a symbol of gender role changes. Yet, there is still the question of whether there is similar gender neutrality within other political positions and branches within Brazil.

When Vero got back around to converse with us, I shared with her a short anecdote about the machismo of my father and our unhappy history with him. María asked if I was sad that he left; I said that I was not and that our family is much happier without him, but she tried to tell me that I should forgive my father and try to reestablish my ties with him. However, Vero asked if he made my mother suffer; I answered yes and elaborated that he beat her and cheated on her during their marriage. Vero looked at María and agreed with my happiness regarding my father's departure; she elaborated on how she too was abused by her husband, how he cheated on her on multiple occasions, and how many times he had come to her house and broken something in violent anger. Vero links machismo to violence, emphasizing domestic abuse as a common result,

similar to Andy's association of the term as well. As Kimmel asserts, "Violence is often the single most evident marker of manhood. Rather it is the willingness to fight, the desire to fight" (132). Men are always tested to prove their manhood by challenging other men, thus they constantly have to assert their manhood through extreme measures such as violence to achieve this goal. Men within Brazil seem to be enslaved as well by the very patriarchy that privileges them. Unfortunately, their wives and children are in the crossfire of these social pressures to become accepted within a "macho" society. Domestic violence will continue until the time comes when Brazilian masculinity can be proven without the expression of violence or the concept of "power" is no longer essential to defining manhood. When the issue is addressed that machismo or male dominance and gender inequality is still present within Salvador, gender roles for both men and women can be clearly redefined and changed, instead of making a few institutional changes within the society that only slowly address the issue at hand. Macho expressions of masculinity are present within the city of Salvador, but the extent to which the people there acknowledge that they are present, changing, or nonexistent within their city is only a matter of degree.

e. Max's perspective about Machismo

I was able to interview Prof. Dawson's good friend, Max, who works as an editor for the media and offered a unique perspective: He is an openly homosexual man living in Salvador, which has a history of negative treatment of its LGBT community (Max

himself has been physically assaulted on multiple occasions). The *travesti* (transgender) communities within Salvador are especially targeted as well, as Kulíck states:

> There are certainly many reasons why Brazilians generally mock travesti and contest individual travesti claims to femininity by calling them senhor (Mr.). Not least among these reasons are travestis' strong associations with homosexuality, prostitution, and AIDS — all highly stigmatized issues that tend to elicit harsh condemnation and censure from many people. (325)

Because transgenderism is viewed as a direct contrast to normative masculine gender identity, but is also linked to negative concepts (like AIDS); a transgender person is the other and is marginalized strongly within the context of the binary gender identities that define men and non-men (women, homosexuals, transgender). Again Kimmel states:

> One of the center pieces of that exaggerated masculinity is putting women down, both by excluding them from the public sphere and by the quotidian putdowns in speech and behaviors that organize the daily life of American man. Women and gay men become the "other" against which heterosexual men project their identities, against whom they stack the decks so as to complete in a situation in which they will always win, so that by suppressing them, men can stake a claim for their own manhood. (133-34)

Despite the fact that Kimmel is referring to men in the US, his definition fits well in explaining the coercive influences of machismo upon the masculine gender performance and identity within Salvador to make concrete definitions of what a it means to be a man

and a woman; limiting diversity of other gender identities and performances and how these conservative macho gender identities are expressed within the familial, feminine, and society spheres.

My interview with Max offered great insight into the conflict between machismo and alternative gender norms within Salvador:

> **Me** — "*Are you familiar with the term "Machista", "Macho" or "Machismo"? If yes, can you tell me what its meaning is to you?*"
>
> **Max** — "*Yes, it's a set of cultural norms developed by societies to perpetuate their culture and lifestyle throughout time. It establishes a set of roles for any gender, limiting dissonant expressions and diversity.*"
>
> **Me** — "*Do you believe the city of Salvador, or the country of Brazil to be a very macho oriented culture?*"
>
> **Max** — "*It's thought to be role oriented, yes, but due to Candomblé and Afro culture influence, much of Iberic machismo had to be reset. African religions' matrixes that were brought to Brazil by the slaves are well known to portray third gender roles - orishas that impersonate both biological sexes at the same time or in different moments of their own stories/lives. Being so, I believe Salvador had a unique opportunity to embrace a third gender role expression - male guys with female features or behavior.*"
>
> **Me** — "*Do you identify yourself as 'macho'? Why?*"
>
> **Max** — "*Nopes, but I do acknowledge that my social performance ("behavior", you could say) is more inclined towards what's expected from the male behavior in the macho culture. And hence I occupy a niche of privilege.*"
>
> **Me** — "*Growing up were norms or expectations of machismo or accepted masculine gender roles imposed upon you?*"
>
> **Max** — "*It's not objective like that. Cultural norms are imposed usually by examples and cultural representations. But at least twice relatives and classmates from school came to me and stated I should act like my biological gender or that I didn't fit in as a typical macho/male/whatever.*"
>
> **Me** — "*Do you feel that you fit into the male gender roles accepted by your society? Why?*"
>
> **Max** — "*Not really and I stopped caring a few years back. Nobody really fits in anywhere and we should not try to.*"

Me — "*In your opinion what are the proper roles or duties of a man within society?*"

Max — "*To be ethical no matter what.*"

Me — "*Where do you think is the possible origin or source of such 'Machismo'?*"

Max — "*Norms are reproduced throughout culture as a way of reproducing the culture itself I think people behave in a way that allows norms to develop within a given culture, because they learn that from their parents or from the culture itself by representations. I do think it comes from Christianity though. But I would have to read more about it.*"

Me — "*As an openly gay man, do you feel that you oppose the accepted male gender roles within Brazil or that you are simply progressing into a new future where sexuality and gender roles will not be so extremely conservative?*"

Max — "*I think that a few years from now it won't really matter who you love or go to bed with. I think progress is slow and a few baby steps at a time. There is not such a thing as breaking the norm. It's more like bending the norm and reshaping it into new norms.*"

Me — "*Do you believe that nowadays the "Machismo" identity, within Salvador or Brazil in general is becoming more prominent, changing, becoming more flexible or neither?*"

Max — "*It's bending. It embraces new aspects and loses other ones. Nobody has to be anything or anywhere forever.*"

Max acknowledges that being a male he is privileged within the cultural sphere of Salvador, despite that he does not completely perform the traditional gender roles that exist in the city. However, Max does not believe the city of Salvador to be macho oriented but cultural-role oriented, though he believes that no individual can effectively fit within any definite cultural role. However, Max believes that religious practices like Candomblé allow for a unique position for Salvador, through the domain of religion, to allow the acceptance of third gender categories and to eventually institutionalize them in the society. Max's view is both optimistic and realistic of what the term and ideology of machismo can become, yet he does not associate it with violence but with "limiting of

diversity" within a specific culture or society. Thus, for Max machismo itself is not the issue to be addressed but the roles that society within Salvador and Brazil create and continue to support and express within their cultural sphere.

f. Machismo in Salvador, Brazil

In summary, it is not a matter of what we assume the meaning of male gender roles to be within the city of Salvador but what male gender roles *mean* in the given social and cultural context (Ortner & Whitehead 1). The meaning of machismo changes chronologically, but the concept of it will exist in one form or another, even if it is used to counter define the established roles of masculinity within Salvador. In Salvador the term "macho" or "machista" is closely associated with male dominance of women within marriage and the home, gender inequalities in wages and sexual freedom, as well as expressions of aggressive violence by the individual, more than likely a male. I assert that, at best, in contemporary Salvador, Brazil, the term machismo defines a man who is violent, jealous, insecure, anti-social and conservative in his views about women, specifically within the household, the term also has a negative affiliation among my informants. Yet the acknowledgement of the existence of this term and ideology within the city of Salvador varies. Among my informants, specifically the younger generations and women, both agree that machismo is still prevalent within Salvador but is slowly changing. Yet, older generations of males disagree, stating that machismo does not exist within the urban centers, thus further distancing the ideology from themselves and not clearly addressing the effects that machismo and hyper-masculinity still have within the

city/region, which would suggest that machismo and gender inequality have improved drastically in recent years with improvement in the lives of women and homosexual men. As Max stated above, Brazilian cultural norms and accepted male gender roles are not changing drastically but are in a kind of "transition" in which machismo and extreme masculinity will slowly fade away. An example of this is the religion of Candomblé, with its many *orishas* (deities) having representations that inhabit both sexes throughout their myths; the religion and the *terreiros* (places or temples of worship within Candomblé) are becoming an institutionalized safe space for many Brazilians, who identify themselves under third gender categories to express themselves freely. In support of this, in his study of masculinity and sexuality within Brazil, Richard Parker states:

> Acting as a kind of vanguard, pushing the limits of the acceptable and the tolerated, running the constant risk of discrimination and violence, homosexual and bisexual men of all different types have been central players in redefining the possibilities and the limits of the transformation of masculinities and male sexualities and practices, their bodies and their pleasures. (329)

Thus, since homosexual men, bisexual men and transgender men through their alternative gender identities, gender performances and sexual orientation, are constantly redefining the meanings of masculinity beyond the limits of Traditional machismo into a new conscious acceptance of gender alternatives within the nation. To elaborate further, the perspectives of both men and women differed greatly in Salvador and Cachoeira,

since the majority of the men agreed that machismo was fading out or was completely gone in the present day.

In contrast, the majority of women agreed that institutionally there has been minimal progress in establishing gender equality within Brazil, such as women's right to vote and the female President Rousseff, however my female informants all agree that culturally women are still treated the same within Salvadorian society and are still dominated by men in both the household and society yet agree that younger generations of women do not tolerate this behavior as much anymore. Thus, normative masculine gender roles heavily influenced by machismo are in a phase of transitional cultural re-creation, where less aggressive, less violent, less physical actions of abuse, and increasing gender equality, are slowly becoming the norm. While the violent, aggressive, dominating, often misogynistic and competitive struggle for power and male affirmation is slowly beginning to fade out. However the typical gender binary defined by machismo and its limiting attributes of alternative diversity within the society and the dynamics of power struggle are still present. In contrast, the sport of Capoeira despite its origins in hyper-masculine expressions of resistance, specifically Black resistance, from my data gathered from Salvador and Cachoeira it is not a macho sport, it is a sport predominantly practiced by men yet has significantly changed in the last 40 years and those changes were obvious with the significant number of female Capoeira practitioners and the sports association with community building exercises in the majority of my observations. Furthermore, my male informants distanced or in a sense tried to lessen their association with machismo and the cities of Salvador and Cachoeira by not directly defining the

location itself as machista but defending the essence of these locations against being associated with this negative label: Andy suggested the rural areas as less developed and more conservative, thus more machista than Cachoeira; William described machismo as an expression present within all cultures around the world; Alex emphasized the roles of women within the society to proof its gender equal system. This can be a subtle expression of *contradictory consciousness* because even though my male informants, specifically the older ones, rather quickly did not identify themselves as machos, due to its negative connotations in contemporary Brazilian society, they did express some conservative macho ideologies specifically over the topics of women's roles in marriage and at home. Finally as for the supposed origins of machismo the majority of my informants considered hyper-masculine performance and the dominance of women as something ancient that has always existed or depends on the insecurities of men within society. Yet, there are subtle connections to European Christianity as expressed by Max and Andy, however there was no concrete answer as to what the origins of machismo within Salvador and Cahoeira might be. The only sure assertion is that presently machismo's influence on Brazilian masculinity and femininity in Salvador is changing and masculinity, as well as femininity are being redefined.

Chapter 2: Expressions of Machismo at Drew University

Further research was conducted in the town of Madison in northern New Jersey, at Drew University, a coeducational private university that has a significant Latino population within its surrounding areas. The majority of the staff within the Drew University Commons are Latino, but I am also focusing on another group: Latino students at Drew University who were either born in the US or who migrated to the US from their countries of origin at a young age. Thus, I will have two separate groups to obtain my research from, yet with a generational gap to further analyze the development and changes that macho ideologies undergo within the USA, where other factors might influence the expressions of machismo amongst my Latino informants.

My data gathering processes went a bit smoother at Drew University than in Salvador, since I know the majority of the Commons' staff and have frequent conversations with them. My goal here is to analyze whether the term *macho* and its associated attributes and ideologies are similar to those in Salvador, Brazil, as well as whether they have been maintained here in the US from its point of origin within Latin America, and if a unique form of *machismo* has developed within the US on its own or if machismo is beginning to disappear among the younger Latino generations as they are influenced by more "progressive" ideologies.

The Drew Commons has many employees—the majority of the cooks and attendants are Latina women, most of them Colombian. I had the pleasure of interviewing four of these women on their perspectives on machismo, family, and gender roles within

and beyond the family. I sought their perspective on how machismo manifested itself within their individual upbringing and how it has influenced them beyond the context of their home, here within the US, and how machismo expresses itself so far away from its point of supposed origin. I was a bit shocked, but not surprised, as to how eager many of my informants were to discuss the subject. I assume many of these women have had sufficient experience with machismo most of their lives to give a more realistic account of macho ideologies and their development in their specific culture through the present.

a. Meaning of Machismo among Older Generations of Female Latina Immigrants

The four Commons employees that I had the privilege of interviewing were all 30 years or older. Two came to the US in 1997 and the other two came in 2005. They come from four different countries: Chile (Julia), Dominican Republic (Cecilia), Colombia (Mayra) and Honduras (Magnolia). All of them, besides Cecilia, at once knew what the term "macho" or "machista" was; however, later on Cecilia revealed to me that she first wanted to know if my definition of macho was different than hers before she offered any insight. Julia and Cecilia both agree that machismo deals with male dominance in the household, especially men having control and power over women, but both agree that this is not the correct way to live, and that, conversely, the man being dominated by or being a "slave/servant" to the woman is not correct either; both man and woman should be respected and be equals in the household.

Mayra spoke at length about the origins of machismo being as old as the creation of man itself, linking it to her Catholic or Christian beliefs of Adam and Eve, with the development of world cultures from that point of origin, with men dominating women due to women, in a symbolic lens, belonging to man, since women came from man's rib.

Magnolia was a unique case, since she described to me how within her household, between her parents, she never experienced such *macho* behavior growing up. If her parents ever fought they made sure that it happened away from their children. However, she does say that she has heard of machismo and also links it to male dominance and control of women, but as for the origins of these masculine ideologies she admitted that she did not know. Julia admitted as well that she did not know where or when machismo originated but she explained to me how it is something that is learned throughout generations—her mother being an example, since she always prioritized her male children over her female children, making sure that her daughters took care and fed her sons and husband if she was unable to. Cecilia gave a more broad answer: she said that many Central American nations and nations everywhere, not just her own (Dominican Republic), also have such macho ideologies, but she gave no specific answer as to where they originated.

Whether these four women believe to know the possible origins of machismo or not, they all know of it in one sense or another, as it is a cultural ideology and a social fact that is widespread throughout the Latin American Diaspora. All four ladies agreed that each of their respective nations of origins is *macho* (patriarchic/male-dominated) or

has macho ideologies and culture. Thus, their upbringing and behavior has been influenced directly or indirectly by this ideology.

When I asked about machismo ideologies and their development within Latino communities inside the US, Cecilia told me that these ideologies do not change at all within any geographic location; that it is seemingly a repetition of a previous generation from the Dominican Republic. Cecilia elaborates on how there are many machistas currently living in her town of Dover. Julia said that machismo does exist within the US, despite its lesser presence in the US, but the people within the US do not like to accept that fact that it is present here. Despite being considered a Latino stereotype, machismo exists in all places in different degrees and categories. Julia also said that despite it not being seen on the surface within Latino communities in the US, machismo is maintained through the traditions of their countries of origins. Mayra said that there are men who are machista and despite the education their wives may have, they will still treat them like servants; furthermore, this treatment is observed and learned by their children, especially the male children, who tend to be dependent on their mother to cook for them, wash their clothes, and fulfill all their basic needs. Thus, this behavior is learned and passed down through the generations. After the interview Mayra continued to emphasize the significance of this point, telling me that if a mother (from Colombia) has only boys, her life is very difficult because within the family, even if she has her own work, she still has to take care of all the domestic needs of the family and chores of the house by herself because her sons and husband won't help her at all (a co-worker of Mayra's, who was also eating her lunch as I interviewed Mayra, nodded in firm agreement). However,

Mayra explains how in the US men are less machista than they are in Colombia since they are more "evolved/cultured" here. She tells me how the fear of the law, especially in matters of domestic abuse and how it is more enforced within the US, is a key factor of this change in traditional Colombian macho culture. In contrast, recent statistics regarding domestic abuse in the state of New Jersey alone say:

> Domestic violence reports have accounted for more than 70,000 police responses in New Jersey in each of several recent years…Woman were the reported victims in 75 percent of cases. Alcohol or drugs played a role in 26 percent. Dating relationships made up 15 percent of domestics again that year (2010)…Riley [*Assemblywoman Celeste Riley*] also stressed the fact that domestic violence doesn't plague women only. (Green)

Even though domestic abuse can happen to anyone regardless of age or sex, the majority of the victims tend to be women; yet, Mayra and many like her believe that the status and treatment of women is greatly improved in the US, which can be attributed to her own personal experience within the country, though this is not the reality within the state of New Jersey. Magnolia does say that machismo exists within the US, a key example being how men are often preferred over women in the work place. She never experienced such sexual bias within Honduras, but she did elaborate on how she might not be sure if this is true, since she reminds me again that she never truly experienced machismo growing up, and so she is not sure, in a firsthand sense, of what machismo is. Magnolia also said that if her hometown of North Plainfield (Ecuadorian dominated) was machista or not, she

would not know either, since she is very private with her life and rarely socializes with her neighbors, minding her own business.

When I asked the four ladies what are the roles of a man within the family, Cecilia answered that a man at home or at work should be a good man, but that many men want a woman to be both a woman and a man within the household—doing more work in the house, and paying rent. She elaborates on how many men split the household cost fifty/fifty but that many men are not so fair, and she says that women are themselves to blame for allowing this kind of exploitation to occur in the first place. Cecilia tells me how women fall in love with a certain boy and then they "pagar amor" or "pay for love," and she does not agree with that practice. When I asked what the role of a woman is in society, Cecilia stated that to her everyone is equal, but that a woman's role in society should be respected because:

> "*We [women] bring men into the world, not men bring women into the world, thus for me the woman has to be respected by men, in the same way women have to respect men. But men can't believe that just because we are the women of the house, that we are the servant of the house, la esposa (wife but in Spanish also means handcuffs) of the house…no, not that way.*"

Julia believes that the roles of men and women are evolving together, she stated:

> "*Well look, in the time that we live in now, you can say that they are similar. They are similar with the only difference that the husband is the boss (head) of the family, do you understand me? The head of the family and the wife, she always has her little place but not that she is beneath him or trampled on, no but the man will always be here (she makes motions with her palms facing down, with the hand representing the man being slightly above the other hand representing the woman) and the woman will always be here (below). But not because of that the man should take advantage of her, do you understand me, to look at her and think, 'I can do whatever I want with you and I can tell you whatever I want because that is just how things are' and well no that shouldn't be.*"

Mayra believes that from Biblical origins, man and woman have had ordained gender roles that have had to be adapted throughout most cultures: the man being the chief provider for the family, while the woman is the chief caregiver and caretaker of the household, both having separate but equally respected roles, thus again aligning her ideas with the traditional gender binary. For Magnolia a man has to give a better example: in order for society to evolve, male children learn the good example from the man, and this in turn will benefit everyone. Similarly, Magnolia believes that a woman should also give a good example and work along men or their respective husbands united in their goals for the betterment of society and their families.

The most interesting responses occurred when I asked these four ladies if machismo ideologies have changed in recent years.

> **Julia** — "*Yes, it has improved a little because a woman doesn't let herself be pushed around a lot anymore. But of course obviously there will always be exceptions, right? But yes, it has changed a little and at the very least that is good because like I tell you that way in a certain sense that the man is a little bit more than a woman to a certain sense but the woman is also a worthy person, is also a person who also has needs, she needs to have respect and so that woman has a high self-esteem, do you understand me—all those things at work, that she needs to be treated the same/parallel to a man in a sense that, 'Ah you for being a woman!' No! Because women have always been labeled as the weaker sex…But how do I tell you this is, this (machismo) is starting to change a little but sometimes it is the woman who doesn't allow it to change, do you understand me? Because she is accustomed to this type of life style, she is used to doing this, doing that and to be treated in this manner. [Tsk] She says, 'No but he is like this, he's like this,' she is accustomed to this so it's like it doesn't affect her anymore. It has occurred to her so many times that it no longer affects her.*"
>
> **Cecilia** — "*Well, I don't believe that they have changed…they have been maintained because a tree that has grown crooked, never has straight branches…In my opinion I see everything the same, or perhaps worst…since I have come to this country nothing has change everything is still the same (the way in which women are treated when compared to men)…We should all be*

> *equals…the man for just being a man shouldn't have more priority. For me we are all the same…because in the same sense that the man can take all that (money and food) back to the house, we (women) can provided all of that without having a man in the house, many times we (women) are sometimes more than a man, you know why? Because we (women) can do many things at the same time, while they (men) can only do one."*

(**Similarly Julia also mentioned many occasions where a woman is a single parent and has to be the head of the family in order to see her children succeed.**)

> **Mayra** — "*It has improved (become weaker), it has improved, or it is there suppressed, but it's still there. Same as—it runs hand in hand with racial discrimination towards the blacks, which one knows that it has always existed, that it hasn't disappeared because there are many who are intimate with such things, but it has lessened (Machismo), it has lessened but not been eliminated. That (machismo) will always be there.*"

> **Magnolia** — "*No it has changed…because look, are you talking about society or in the home? In reality you mean in general…for example over here (USA) there are men, I'm talking about men, Honduran men. Honduran men supposedly say, 'Ah! No! That isn't my work! That is the work of a woman. Here they have to do for both (parents), go to laundry, take the kids to school, what else? Go shopping, cook, in which over there in Honduras there are places that are so isolated that they (men) don't do such things because people say, 'Oh look that one has become effeminate or that one is bossed around by his wife'. On the contrary, over here yes, over here the man changes, for the better.*"

Despite geographical differences, these women have an intimate knowledge of and experience with the term *macho* and machismo culture and ideologies. The same key themes shared among the women are that machismo, like many aspects of culture, is learned throughout the generations via transmission from father to son. Those male children are privileged and favored within Latino families, while the daughters are considered less important. The other key theme that machismo is associated with is the domination of women within the household. Even within the US, such ideologies are present within Latino communities but also within US culture itself, manifesting in such disparities as higher wages for men in many jobs—this demonstrating that the social fact

of patriarchical culture is resistant and maintained within Latino communities in the US. Yet, change is inevitable according to Julia and Mayra, who say that despite the minimal changes, the treatment of women in the US improves compared to their home countries. However, the issues of machismo are deeper than that, according to DeSouza:

> Many writers on Latin American gender roles speak of traditionally accepted gender archetypes, such as machismo (an exaggerated masculinity for men) and *marianismo* (a passive, nurturing role for women). Each of these constructs includes an array of meanings and behavioral characteristics. However, we also note that these constructs are problematic in some regards, since women or men may possess only some of the traits assigned to the archetype, and because power and sexual identities are more complex in Latin America than these roles often describe. Certainly, one of the difficulties of defining gender roles is that Latin American countries underwent rapid changes in gender roles during the latter part of the twentieth century. (Praeger 58)

DeSouza is stating that despite the great influence that *machismo* and *marianismo* have on Latino gender roles of men and women, they do not accurate reflect the complex reality of the many variables and factors present among individual nations, regions and people. Thus, even though many of the views of Mayra align with her Catholic faith and role of Mary as defined by *marianismo*, her multifaceted background does not place her under that label. The same goes for Julia, whose husband cooks for her when she is too tired from work; for Cecilia, who is a resolute single parent and has taken the role of both

mother and father for her children; and for Magnolia, who did not experience direct machismo growing up yet could feel its indirect influences in her life. In agreement with DeSouza, though machismo, along with *marianismo*, may be a very specific labels, obviously most Latinos are too complex and unique to fit into its definition completely. However, it is still a social fact from which the basis for their identities is reflected and those labels greatly impact the lives of Latino men and women to this day.

b. The Perspective of Male Latino Students about Machismo

The perspective of the Latino students who attend Drew University, opens my research to the views on machismo of other Latino cultures that are out of my reach. However, these students have a unique perspective with various other factors that will influence their views on this supposed "traditional ideology" that is called machismo: first, the fact that they were raised in the broader US culture that has its own history and cultural factors that influenced their perspectives on male and female gender roles today; and second, a generation gap between what influenced the lives of the Latino Drew students in contrast to what influenced the lives of the Commons employees in their countries of origins.

I interviewed six Drew students, four males and two females, all older than 18 years but younger than 25 years. The perspective of the male students that I interviewed was of particular interest and in a sense an urgent matter, not only for my research but also for my own personal interest. I wondered if other male Latino immigrants of my generation and similar background also felt the same pressures and stresses that macho

ideologies imposed upon me and my personal identity. I had an internal feeling of disappointment in myself for being unable to completely perform these preconceived male gender roles of normative masculinity within my culture. I had a *contradictory consciousness* of which I was not aware of. Yet, I always felt it was my fault for not being brave, strong, or adventurous enough to be a "true" Mexican man. It took many years to realize how these social facts of machismo had created social restraints that coerced and manipulated my behavior and psychology until I matured and accepted that I was a complete "man" without being a "macho." I now define my identity as being the opposite of the stereotypical Mexican macho.

The male students came from various Latino cultural backgrounds: Max Roe II (Colombian), Clark Kent (Ecuadorian), Fandango Bonito (Brazilian) and Elvis Crespo (Cuban), giving an even wider range and more variables of the multiple influences and factors that might impact macho ideologies within the US. With the exception of Elvis, who was born here, all my male student informants migrated to the US in or after 1996.

To begin, the definition of the term macho or machista had a similar general meaning among the young male students as it did among the Commons employees. Max Roe said that he had heard of the term before, relating it mainly to Mexican culture and Mexican communities within the US, saying it is an ideology that is linked to the expression of hyper-masculinity. Clark had heard of the term before as well, saying it was this stereotype or image that makes many Latino males feel a sense of superiority or a kind of "Alpha mentality" that they always have to "walk with" (display) in a sense.

Fandango also agreed that he is very familiar with the term, calling it an "ideology" for a lack of a better word. He stated that not just men, but women as well, give more "power" to men in so many ways and in many social interactions that are expressed at work, schools, etc. Men become the "protagonists" or key figures in society while women are put to the side and assumed to be less relevant than men. Fandango explained to me how he grew up in a very balanced household: his mother has been working since she was eighteen and has grown to be a very independent woman. As for his father, Fandango describes him as not being a true "macho" or a "machista" when Fandango compared his situation to those of other families he knows. However, he explains how his mother does have a belief in predetermined gender roles; that she has to be "feminine" and his father has to be "masculine". Fandango also shared with me the fact that now and then his father's machismo is deliberately expressed but in very subtle ways. Elvis was familiar with the term; being an openly gay male and having grown up in the US, his life gave me a unique perspective on what machismo is within the Latino communities in the US.

> **Elvis** — "*To me, machismo is the role males 'have' to play within the context of their family and the context of their societal roles. And what I mean by that is like—like growing up and being the eldest out of two younger siblings, like I knew that when I get older I had to like take care of my family and like take care of financial obligations. And I did do that 'cause I started working when I was like fifteen and I was already contributing to my household. And so there is a twofold aspect to machismo. One of them is understanding that you have to give support to your family as being a male but there also is a dark side to it. Especially growing up in an abusive household, seeing how my father when he exerted his like masculinity and dominance within that household, especially with the things that were too feminine around him and the things that he would say to me growing about what he thought what a man was and I knew that it was really poisonous what he was trying to make me into.*"

Similar to the Commons employees, despite their huge geographic diversity, all four male students have heard of the term *machismo* or have experienced the macho ideology at varying degrees. The male students all see machismo not as a necessary attribute of manhood but more as a firmly imposed characteristic/performance that Latino men are coerced to adapt in order to be considered true men within their society.

Having only visited Colombia once since he arrived to the US, Max Roe said that he believed the men in Colombia to identify themselves as *macho;* however, he added that he felt that the women in Colombia had more say in daily life. Max Roe also told me that there is a large Puerto Rican and Dominican, not Colombian, population within his home city of Philadelphia. He explained how the macho ideologies or hyper-masculine mentalities have been maintained within these communities within the city, but further elaborated on how all minorities or subgroups in every facet of society tend to have these ideas, as he put it, "*Of being more manly than the man next to you*". Max continued, telling me how attending a Liberal Arts college, not watching too much television, and being a Theatre major in a way protect him from actually experiencing macho culture and being directly influenced by it firsthand. However, Max Roe does explain that he is aware that it exists within American society and that it is very obvious around his male peers.

Clark, on the other hand, said that whenever he visits Ecuador, for the most part expressions of machismo tend to be deliberately performed, especially from his father's side of the family with their expressions of prestige and wealth, which he described as a very uninviting atmosphere. Clark told me that same macho/hyper masculine culture was

maintained in his hometown of Union City, having a large Latino population. He specifically mentioned events of him growing up that occurred in playgrounds with male children trying to dominate each another physically. Clark explained how this type of behavior among the children in his community would be present regardless of the Latino population present within Union City. He also agreed that, to some extent, macho culture or male oriented culture is present within the US as well, with the stereotype of man as the provider still existing today. However, he thinks US culture is now shifting from such ideologies into a more gender-equal social model. However, similar to what Max Roe said, Clark further elaborated that this male culture or stereotype of "the male provider" and "center of authority" is still present in most previous generations (our fathers and their fathers who lived most of their lives under the yoke of machismo as he tells me) and their influence is still present in most, if not all, cultures of the world today.

Elvis, in support, told me that due to the large Cuban and Puerto Rican populations in Union City, New Jersey, where he was born, that he never truly felt like he was well integrated into US culture; especially with all the cultural activities and outreach programs held in his school in order to maintain Cuban culture in Union City. Elvis stated that there are many similarities between American and Latino cultures with regard to a characteristic male bias, with more empowerment of males in positions of influence, specifically in the workplace. Edgar Colon states: "Historically, the Latino community has been resistant to 'melting' into the American melting pot. Recently arrived Latinos have been intent on maintaining their language, cultural values and other group specific characteristics" (79). Macho culture is one of those very resistant characteristics.

Fandango on the matter added that it is difficult to label his hometown Porto Alegre in Brazil as “macho” since his hometown is not as bad when one compares his town to other places within the nation, which are still even more macho. However, he does say that, ironically, in Porto Alegre, women do not play soccer despite Brazil having a huge soccer oriented culture. Since Fandango moved here recently in 2014 and has lived on the Drew Campus since then, I asked if he considered our campus male oriented or “macho.” Fandango said that he did not think so and elaborated on how it is a very progressive campus, and specified that since he has arrived he has not experienced nor observed any kind of sexism, but that he thinks it probably does occur. Macho ideologies and culture have been maintained in large Latino communities through the US at different levels, either dominating, being maintained, compromising, blending or disappearing into the US ideologies of masculinity. Yet, machismo is still the basis from which these young Latinos set their own notions of masculinity and what it means to be a man in their lives, since their only expression of male masculinity that they learn are those affirmations of gender roles they receive from their parents, specifically their fathers and the performance required to fulfill those roles .

As for the origins of machismo Max Roe said that they can be linked to the idea of being better than someone else, “superiority”, the general dominance of women, the prestige of obtaining multiple women and the maintenance of male superiority within any general society or culture. Clark stated that these macho ideologies have been embedded into human culture since the origins of humanity, elaborating that men are not genetically different from women with the exception of more testosterone hormones, which made

men more aggressive and prone to hunting and doing more physically demanding tasks of providing food for their families—and these basic divisions of labor developed over the centuries across human cultures throughout the world, developing into what can be thought of as this worldwide culture of machismo, hyper-masculinity and male dominance over women. "*The strongest [male] provided the most*", as Clark summarized for me. Elvis replied that it is a very difficult and broad question to answer and said that he did not really know where or when machismo originated. Fandango, on the contrary, said that it may be linked to religion, specifically stating the proof of women being worshipped as goddesses earlier in human history (the Venus figurine from Çatalhöyük), however it may be that the rise of Christianity and other monotheistic religions shifted human culture from more feminine-oriented forms of worship to more male-oriented ones, but he is not sure when the shift actually occurred, but thinks that shift may be the source of *macho* culture. This is similar to what Mayra said about the origins of machismo being linked to the biblical origins of Eve being created from Adam's rib, with female and male gender roles being determined from that single symbolic point of origin for most Western-influenced cultures. There seems to be this common theme among my subjects that either machismo has always existed in human nature and history, or that it can be linked to the patriarchic notions of power established by monotheistic religions like Christianity.

When I asked about the roles of men and women within the family and within larger society, Max Roe answered that in the family the man has to be the breadwinner, moral leader, and main enforcer of the rules of the household (central authority), teach

the kids to ride a bike, shoot a football, throw a basketball (American sports). These are movie-like paradigms of what a man must do within the family. However, in reality, Max Roe clarified that a man should be modest, humble, and respectful, acknowledging the world around him, taking note and making sure to lessen the suffering of others and better himself at the same time. Max Roe said that, for him, his mother was like his father, not a typical mother even in the Hispanic sense. "*A cross-dressing street performer, who rode motorcycles and roped around with a gang for a couple of years*" is how he described her to me. From her, Max Roe said that he got his sense of self respect and philosophy of "*not giving a fuck and doing what he wants,*" while from his father he got his ideas of making peace and not war, getting along with everyone. Max Roe achieved a perfect balance of his life philosophies in the long run. Thus, his mother was more of a counterbalance to his father, achieving equilibrium in the process.

Clark's perspective on the roles of men in society was linked to the philosophy with which he was raised: "*You have to leave the world better than the way you came into it.*" Thus, Clark explains how a man's role both in society and at home is to help his family, help his neighbor, put others first, and not be selfish. Similarly, Clark said that a woman's role at home and in society is a responsibility that is equal to the man's: to provide for the family and provide for society, cultivate good ideas, and help everyone progress.

Elvis said that he has observed a man's role in Latino culture to be the financial and authoritative support of the female relatives of the family, since they are considered

"weaker" and in need of a man for protection and sustenance, mentioning how his mother and grandmother frequently ask Elvis for his opinion about major financial decisions despite his lack of experience on economic matters. However, in his own opinion, Elvis said that a man's role in Latino culture is more about producing progeny, "*making a kid*," as he summarized. He elaborated on how in Union City, a daycare system was specifically created to care for the growing number of children of Latino teenagers within the community. Elvis described the male teenage fathers as genuinely happy to be having children so young, fulfilling these traditional male gender roles as "*the producer of the family lineage*." For a female, Elvis said that, unfortunately, in Latino culture and the culture that was practiced in his home, a woman's role is only to cook, take care of the house, and care for the children; and he has tried earnestly to protect his younger sister from such conservative female gender roles. Elvis supported his sister in her desire to join the wrestling team, arguing with his mother and grandmother for a whole year in order to convince them to let her do it, which they were still quite upset about afterwards. He shared with me how his mother and grandmother always criticized his younger sister for being a little overweight, even though it was caused by a thyroid problem. He explains how they frequently would tell her that she needed to be "skinnier" and "thinner" so that she would be ready to get a man. Elvis continued on how the day his little sister got her first period; her mother and grandmother made a big deal about it and began giving her advice about womanhood, marriage, and how she was "ready" to have children—conversations that Elvis now believes were completely biased and were giving his sister the wrong notions and definitions of what womanhood really is.

Fandango stated that a man's role in family and in society is equal to that of women: helping around the house, working, and taking care of the kids. However, Fandango elaborated on how he never ever truly considered the duties of men and women within the household as separate, but thought both were equally responsible. At least that is how he was raised: his mother did as much work as his father. His mother never cooked because she was not good at it, his father always cooked because he cooked really well, not because his family encouraged him to switch traditional gender roles. All four students subconsciously define their ideal male and female gender roles as the opposite of the traditional gender roles of machismo and marianismo, without knowing directly that machismo is the "other" identity from which the students define their gender roles as anti-macho, anti-marianismo.

When I asked if macho ideologies have changed recently Max Roe said that "no" and "yes". Max Roe said that the stereotypical role of men is as the main provider of the family ("*Bringing the bacon!*" as he stated) and within the context of the work place, hyper-masculinity is still present, and he believes it will continue for the next century or so. Max Roe does agree that such conservative mentalities have changed due to liberal, feminist philosophies, and that the voices of third parties and minorities are finally being heard, thus causing change; but very conservative individuals hinder the progress of more progressive changes to masculine and feminine gender norms. Max Roe further explained how he believed the rights and status of women have improved—that even though they are not in the same positions as men, they are making noticeable strides in society that cannot be ignored.

Clark stated that from generation to generation macho ideologies are changing and that this is causing conflict within families that have very conservative fathers and grandfathers who clash with the mentalities of the newer generations being influenced by more progressive ideologies, mostly delivered by open-minded social media within these migrant communities in the US and around the world. This in turn, challenges the many traditional family values and norms of masculinity with which previous generations of Latino men were raised. He agrees that female rights and status in society have improved recently but the definition of what feminism really represents needs to be clarified more in order to make more concrete strides in society.

Fandango tells me that macho ideologies have changed and have been changing over the last century with the first waves of feminism compared to ten thousand years of human history. Drew University is a good example: fifty years ago it would have been predominantly attended by men or only by men, but we do not see that anymore. However, Fandango clarified that despite these changes, machismo is still an issue that we have to discuss. Fandango added that the rights of women in America have constitutionally changed; however, culturally, they effectively have not changed. For example, he elaborates on the issue of rape culture and the double standard that is held between men and women in that context is still very complicated to discuss and confront.

Elvis stated that “yes” and “no”, macho ideologies have changed; he says that they have changed because women are more integrated into the work force, specifically mentioning that the number of women has increased in the field of biological research

and science. However, Elvis elaborates that he believes many of those female scientists are not in many positions of "power" or "influence" to make important decisions within the field. Elvis stated that those positions of power and influence are still predominantly held by men, which is something that still has not changed much about his perspective. He said real change will have arrived when the head of Apple is a woman.

The theme of "*Man the Provider*" arose in this group of informants as one of the key characteristics of the treatment of women today, which can be linked to the same view point of the Commons ladies and the majority of my informants in Salvador who say that this typical binary of male and female male gender roles is just as old as human history. In addition, similar to the responses of the Drew Commons employees, these young Latino men also see that there is change within macho ideologies and the treatment of women; however, both groups of informants agree that the change is so minimal that it is not very effective in achieving actual gender equality. Macho culture in the US is still maintaining its coercive influence on the behavior of Latinos. This is quite similar to what the situation in Salvador: that change in the treatment of women and macho culture within the city is too slow to be noticed, though it is happening.

The most important question personally for me to ask these four male students was whether any of them ever felt pressured to fulfill or meet any of these predetermined notions of macho masculinity. Max Roe told me that he never felt pressured to meet these preconceived male gender roles established by the broad context of machismo, but he felt more like he automatically just fell into those roles. His father was very liberal for a

Republican, as he tells me. His father told Max Roe to be himself; he never pressured him to be macho, but told him that it is okay for men to cry and be "you" no matter what and be seen as a man no matter what he does.

Clark did call his father a *machista*, stating that his brothers and him tried to counter their father's macho ideology/culture growing up. Clark elaborated on how he saw these "macho ideologies" as more of a fault than anything else. His brothers and him tried being more open minded in their lives than their father.

Fandango told me that he did sometimes feel pressured to fulfill such male gender roles, especially in Brazilian culture where boys were expected to play soccer (which he has a stigma against until today). Fandango tells me that he did not play soccer until he was nine, but that for his grandfather soccer was a huge part of his life; his grandfather was a soccer announcer/commentator in both politics and sports media in the past, thus his grandfather wanted Fandango to play or watch soccer, but Fandango never truly liked the sport. He elaborates on how he has learned to like soccer but not love it. Fandango states how he feels that his father would like to have a son who enjoys soccer but Fandango says that he cannot be that. Fandango says that he can sit, watch soccer, and comment on a goal but he cannot enjoy or love the sport, that watching soccer is something that he "has" to enjoy in order to please his father.

I agree with Fandango in this matter, everyone expected me in Mexico or in the US to play soccer because I was a boy or Mexican or both, to the point that I did not dislike the sport but always tried to avoid it. In addition, after our interview, Clark told

me that he did enjoy soccer as a kid but the constant pressures of his father pushing him to be more aggressive and in a sense “macho” in the sport drove him to dislike the sport to some degree (Clark still plays now and then, on his own terms though].

Elvis’s answer was similar, that for sure he always did feel the pressure to meet these macho gender roles that his father was imposing upon him until he came out of the closet when he was fourteen years old. He elaborated on how everyone in his family was okay with his sexuality except his father. However before that moment when he came out of the closet, whenever his parents deliberately had conversations with Elvis about the meanings of being a man whether it was a emotional healthy discussion for him or not. Elvis did feel a lot of pressure to fulfill those male genders roles, for example he would play masculine sports or think about how he needed to speak more “manly.” However, after his mother divorced his father, she began to notice that there was no gender binary and that Elvis was moving away from the traditional male gender norms: he joined theatre and played tennis. Elvis elaborated on how one key aspect that always came up among his mother and grandmother, who have always supported him since he came out as homosexual, was that Elvis had to have children who were biologically from him in order to continue the bloodline of the family, making conversations about adoption and inheritance a little awkward.

Not surprisingly, all of the male Latino Drew students, with the exception of Max Roe, did feel some degree of pressure to fulfill and express these normative notions of masculinity, based on macho culture, at some point in their lives; yet like myself, they

also felt a strong resistance or contradictory consciousness with this male normative to the point that if they did accept and meet those gender roles they felt they were not expressing their true selves. However, if they did not meet those gender norms they would not be fully accepted within their communities or gain the approval and acceptance of their fathers. In support, the findings of Dr. Alexander Lu and Dr. Y Joel Wang about "Performing Toughness," wherein the researchers tested and studied the amounts of stress linked with external cultural pressures through *Minority Masculinity Stress Theory*, state:

> Most participants in the sample explained that others expected them to demonstrate masculinity by performing toughness. Meeting expectations meant restricting emotions and embodying characteristics associated with toughness (e.g. resilience). They cited restricting emotions as masculine but experienced stress when they conformed to these expectations. This included doing so at home, work, and school. (117)

The findings of Doctors Lu and Wang on the stressful experiences and tolls of masculinity on young Latino males further proves that aspect of machismo as a *social fact* that continues to affect the definitions of masculinity among the majority of my young Latino male informants despite their act of emigrating into the US. Yet, even though macho culture is not directly influencing the students with their masculine identities, it is indirectly manipulating their behavior: first they are familiar with their

own cultural definition of the label of machismo and the students by constructing their own masculine identities as the opposite of being macho, are still being influenced by it.

c. The Perspectives of Female Latina Students about Machismo

The two female students that I interviewed were both born in the US but from different Latino cultural backgrounds: Isabella (Mexican and Dominican) and Gertrudis (Paraguayan). Isabella and Gertrudis both had similar opinions regarding the term of machismo. Isabella clarifies how she sees the term through a misogynistic perspective; through her own experience Isabella only sees it as an arrogant and negative ideology that only oppresses and hurts women so that men with low self esteem can in this way achieve a sense of self-confidence. She told me that her father was very lenient and self-confident, that he never had to impose that side of him with her and her mother—as a matter of fact, if anyone was the "*macho*" in her family, Isabella said, it was her mother. Gertrudis said machismo is a very male favored (privileged) atmosphere and culture. Gertrudis told me how, despite not having brothers, she witnessed how her father's interactions with her male cousins were very different than how he interacted with her and her sister. She continues by telling me how her mother grew up with seven brothers and her mother was one of four daughters; her mother's family was very male oriented, thus Gertrudis experienced machismo in a very indirect way. Gertrudis tells me that she did feel like she was supposed to meet these predetermined female gender roles from her father since he would not allow her and her sister to do certain things. However, due to her mother's background and upbringing, her mother wanted to raise her daughters differently from

those traditional Paraguayan gender norms. The coercive influences of machismo still affect Isabella and Gertrudis despite the fact that neither are male; yet, there roles as women are mirrored by the roles of males within their families.

Isabella told me that she was born in Manhattan, New York, but around the age of four she moved to Patterson, New York. In Manhattan Isabella lived in a predominantly Dominican population, which she says maintained its macho culture and ideologies within the US to a certain extent. Isabella elaborates on how the majority of Dominican men in the neighborhood were friends with her father, basically "…*the whole block knew us*…" and the Dominican men were a bit over protective and took care of Isabella and her mother as they did their errands in the neighborhood. In a sense, the friendship and respect of Isabella's father from his peers extended to her and her mother, as if they were symbolically adopted by the men in the community. Isabella never felt oppressed or dominated by these men, but she did notice the macho culture that was expressed and practiced by these Dominican men amongst themselves. Isabella tells me that despite all this, she was very exposed to her mother's Mexican culture since she would travel to Mexico every summer for most of her youth.

Gertrudis said that she lived in the US until she was only one-year-old before her family decided to move back to Paraguay. She said that she does identify as a Latina but she tells me that she is well integrated into US culture. Gertrudis told me that she moved around a lot growing up, thus it is not quite accurate for her to describe anyone of her

multiple homes as machista or macho, however she believes that in both Paraguayan and US culture males are very privileged.

As for the possible origins, Isabella said that specifically for our (me included) Mexican culture, she does not know where this machismo originated. However, she elaborates on how if anyone applies the concept of "gender" anywhere, the males tend to dominate; overall societies tend to be very patriarchal, and so it does not matter what country you go to, as it is a very widespread phenomenon. Gertrudis tells me that the origins of machismo have to do mainly with culture; how human societies maintain and keep a family together is generally linked to having to maintain and keep certain "gender roles" together as well. Their responses return to the theme of there not being any specific or concrete origin for machismo and patriarchy, but rather the notion that the symbolic constructions of gender and the divisions that evolve from it can be the possible origin of machismo. In support, Ortner states:

> Ultimately, it must be stressed again that the whole scheme [the human universal of woman's inferiority to men] is a construct of culture rather than a fact of nature. Woman is not "in reality" any closer to (or further from) nature than man—both have consciousness, both are mortal. But there are certainly reasons why she appears that way, which is what I have tried to show in this paper. The result is a (sadly) efficient feedback system: various aspects of woman's situation (physical, social, psychological) contribute to her being seen as closer to nature, while the

> view of her as closer to nature is in turn embodied in institutional forms that reproduce her situation. (42)

Thus the illusion of woman's inferiority is not specific to the Latino cultural diaspora—it is instead a human universal that constantly regulates and maintains itself throughout human history. This reinforcement, in turn, makes it seem that this is simply human nature, as a result not giving any actual concrete source for male patriarchy, only the illusions of it; thus the traditional binary of gender norms and divisions in sex are based mainly on perception.

On the topic of the roles of a man and woman, Isabella tells me that she has to bring her religious beliefs into her answer: how growing up her father figure was not present since he was always working or busy with other matters, thus she was not directly exposed to that type of male figure within her family. But through the perspective of other relatives, her mother's later relationships, her own relationships, and her experiences in church, Isabella has developed a whole other perspective on men. For her a man is someone who can provide, but she elaborates that both men and women can fulfill that role in the family and in society. Isabella states that both genders can benefit society in their own ways and that there should not be an oppressive dominance of one gender over the other. Isabella clarifies how that is one of the negatives about establishing restrictive normative gender identities, gender performances and sexual orientation within any culture; she states that one automatically is looking which is the strongest and which is the weakest of all these variants; men and women both cannot

exist without the other. Isabella tells me that even if a male individual's sexual orientation is homosexual, that individual still has certain influences in his gender performance and identity (with normative feminine attributes) from the opposite sex in their daily life. Isabella summarizes that a man can provide and be strong but a woman is perfectly able to be those categories as well, they are both equally able in every sense. Gertrudis disagrees with the societal gender roles of man as the provider and woman as solely the maternal figure, but she believes that both men and women have an equal role and equal abilities in the family and within society. Gertrudis elaborates how families are more contemporary nowadays, thus they are not bound to the traditional nuclear family model. Her mother divorced early in Gertrudis's childhood; thus her mother took on many of the roles of her father within the family as a single mother, showing how both sexes are capable of being the providers within the family, quite similar to what Cecilia, one of the Drew Commons employees I interviewed, commented on early that a woman does not need a man since she is more than capable of doing both roles within the household. This again accords with what DeSouza explained about the gendered labels of machismo and *marianismo* not being actual definitions of masculinity and femininity, that the multifaceted characteristics, histories, and variables within the lives of Latino women and men prevent them from being defined as either a perfect model of Mary or purely macho, establish the fact that the fluidity of gender expression plays a significant role in Latino gender identities and gender performances. Thus the concepts of male and female gender roles and spaces within Latino families are social constructs that both sexes can perform in reality but not socially.

When I asked if machismo has changed recently, Gertrudis stated that she does not think that machismo/male oriented ideologies have changed, but that only the face of machismo has and that it still is quite prevalent within society. Gertrudis believes that such gender equality has not been reached at this point in history and that there is still much work to do in that matter. Isabella stated that she honestly does not really know if macho ideologies and male oriented culture is changing nowadays; she thinks that our generation is pushing on being a less macho/male oriented culture and trying to become one that is more prone to using respect but elaborates that she does not feel confident in her answer because of her experiences and her lack of direct contact with machismo; as a result her answer may not acknowledge the reality of machismo within the US. Though Isabella did agree that the treatment of women and women's rights are progressing, very slowly but progressing nonetheless, which is good news for women. However, Isabella does explain that she sees remnants of the conservative male culture still prevalent in the present. Isabella tells me that most places she goes to, she presents herself with confidence and tends to get respect for how she presents herself, not because of her physical feminine appeal. In addition she stated that she does not like the traditional female space of the kitchen, that her place within society is not limited to this conservative social confinement.

Similarly to what most of the other Drew informants and most informants from Salvador shared with me, macho ideologies are changing into more egalitarian, gender neutral ideologies, yet as Gertrudis properly worded, "…*only the face of machismo is changing*," the progress is too slow to see any immediate change, such as the lack of

women in positions of power or the lesser pay of women in the workplace for women in the US. It seems that the small changes that have occurred in recent history towards the treatment of women in the US compared to the countries of origin within Latin America are quite drastic for the older generations of women, the Drew Commons ladies, except for Cecilia who believes she does not see any difference in the treatment of women here in the US and the Dominican Republic, they do believe that genuine change is occurring within the US at least. However, as Julia stated, machismo and patriarchy are present within the US and all the Drew Latino students are aware of the dynamics of power and which sex controls that power within the society; thus if more than the "face" of machismo is to change, the power within Latino society has to be equally shared and administered between both sexes.

d. Machismo around Drew

All in all, the term *macho* or *machismo* is well known among my informants within Drew University despite generational, biological, and geographic variables and factors. For all my informants, key attributes for the term macho were the dominance over women, gender inequality within the workplace, men as prime holders of authority and power within the family and society, and for machismo as a manipulative ideology/mask that Latino Men of all ages "*have*" to display in order to be accepted within the culture. These attributes are quite similar to the ones that my informants in Salvador associated with the term as well, especially the concept of dominance over women, gender inequality in wages, and the authority that men hold within the context of

the family and beyond. Both locations share quite similar attributes for the term despite the cultural and geographical variables: Salvador is in South America, where they speak Portuguese, and Drew University is in North America, with various Latino migrants who come from mostly Spanish speaking countries yet whose definitions of machismo are quite similar. Most of my informants from Drew University agree that macho culture and ideologies have been maintained within the US by the Latino migrant communities within North Jersey and also due to the lack of recognition of male patriarchy and gender inequality within the US itself. As Julia claimed, machismo does exist within US, yet it is not acknowledged that it does. This is most likely a result of both the self-reinforcing mechanisms of machismo and the negative stigma of backwardness associated with the term towards Latin America, specifically Mexico; which may explain why it is not directly recognized or acknowledged within the US. I cannot be sure if a unique form of machismo has developed on its own within the US, but all the variations of machismo as a label and as an ideology have significantly been maintained within the country by the Latino communities from all over the diaspora due to the fact that the US is a patriarchal nation as well. As in Salvador, or all of Brazil for that matter, changes in gender equality and the rights of women have slowly changed the surface of machismo within the US as well, but not enough to change its conservative power dynamics.

Furthermore, the perspectives of the Drew students is more tolerant and accepting of third gender identities, but not too significantly different than the tolerance of the Commons ladies. What is the cause of more tolerant and open-minding consciousness amongst Latino youth? It seems that despite the maintenance of hyper-masculine

ideologies from Latin America and the coercive influence of this social fact (machismo) of Latino culture, there appears to be an opening of consciousness to alternative gender identities and gender performances that go beyond the traditional gender binary among younger Latino generations when they are separated from their country of origin. Within the US their original culture is not learned or maintained as strongly as it would be if they had stayed in their country of origin. Either way, many of the students, Max Roe, Clark, Gertrudis and Fandango, all agree that such macho attributes (aggressiveness, dominance, and imposing of authority) and similar attributes related with the term are becoming less necessary for males to define themselves as a "man". Young Latino males are no longer depending on the label of machismo to identify their masculine identities within their communities in the US, but are redefining their identities within the context of both cultures as opposite as that of machismo. As a result, I assert that among the older Latino generations and my younger generation of Latinos the definitions of masculinity and femininity are being redefined—just like in Salvador, masculine identities are in a slow stage of transition. However, Isabella's response about not giving concrete labels to people was enlightening since she believes identity and the act of identifying oneself belongs solely to the individual and to their abilities and personal attributes, not to society's definitions of ourselves. So it seems that the social fact of established gender categories is determining factor of machismo. Similar to DeSouza, even though these younger generations of Latino male students have redefined or are redefining their masculine identities, and though they may share similar attributes, this new label of "anti-

macho" gender identity will be too specific to completely define any individual Latino cultural group, let alone the whole cultural diaspora as a whole.

Chapter 3: Machismo en La Cañada de Caracheo, Gto, México:

My final field-site was a nostalgic experience for me, since I have not been to my hometown of La Cañada de Caracheo since the winter of 2011. *La Cañada* for short is your typical Mexican small town in the municipality of Cortazar, in the state of Guanajuato, Mexico. The town has a small population of about 3,500, everyone tends to know each other, and everyone greets each other with a good morning, good afternoon or goodnight even if they are strangers. Founded in 1612, La Cañada lies between los cerros (hills) de La Gavia to the front and el cerro de Culiacán to the back. The "Cerro de Culiacán" is the iconic image of the town which can be seen even from the city of Celaya, which is about 30 km away to the north. The word *Cañada* refers to the Spanish word for land between two elevated bodies of earth (ravine); *Caracheo* comes from the Purépecha (Tarasco) word *carachi,* which means dried water, in short it means "The ravine of dried water" (Cañada).

I arrived in La Cañada on Dec. 20, 2015, and came back to the US on Jan. 10th 2016. My trip lasted about three weeks and it was fairly easy for me to conduct my research and gather my data, despite the festivities that were going on throughout this celebratory period (Las Posadas, Christmas, New Years, and Día de Reyes). Thanks to my mother's rapport in town and her knowledge about almost every inhabitant, she became my key informant, and obtaining additional informants to interview was not difficult once I revealed my relationship to my mother. I interviewed four individuals while in La Cañada, two gentlemen older than forty years, Don Roberto (73 years) and

Don José Rojas (63 years). I interviewed an older woman, Doña María (78 years) and a young lady of 22 years, Sofía, to see their perspectives on how the term machismo and the social facts of patriarchal culture and gender stratification ideologies have changed in La Cañada in recent years, and how the definition of the term compares with that of Salvador and Drew University.

a. Meanings of Machismo in La Cañada

To begin I asked what the term machista or macho meant to my informants. Don Roberto was born in the state of Guanajuato in 1942, and he told me that he was familiar with the term machista, that to him it basically means that he controls his home, plain and simple. He also told me that Mexico is a macho/machista nation in some parts but that in other parts it is not, so it was half and half. However, he later tells me that almost 100% of La Cañada is machista and maybe 10% or so is not. To my surprise, Don Roberto told me that he knew my older brothers and that he used to work where I did, in Sheppard Farms in Cedarville, New Jersey. When I asked him if he believed that macho culture was present in Mexican communities in the US or if it was present in the US culture itself, he said that it was not maintained by these communities, nor was it present within their culture. Don Robert told me how throughout his own experience in the US he has seen various situations where women have almost 100% full control and authority over their husbands, which he rarely sees here in La Cañada, where either a man is the head of the household or they are both heads of the household, but rarely is a woman the head of the household (whether that also counts divorced women who have to take these

responsibilities without choice is another question). The response is similar to what Mayra said about US culture being more evolved than Colombian culture, but that the *fear* of getting arrested by police is all that prevents Colombian men from controlling and beating their wives. In contrast Don Roberto genuinely believes US culture is almost completely matriarchal.

Don José was born in La Cañada in 1952, but he once traveled to the US with a visa for a month to visit his daughter. Don José clarifies that he did not witness much machismo culture there for his short stay, nor did he witness it within the household of his daughter or their town. He told me that the term machista or macho has been used frequently in the past but that it is becoming less used nowadays. Don José told me that machismo means that he, as a man, has full control and authority of his household, but that he at least believes himself not to be a macho. In support Salgado de Snyder and Padilla state, "Generally, the attribute most Latinos choose to describe their ethnicity is 'to maintain control and authority over their wives,' while Latinas express submission, such as showing 'public affection and respect towards their husbands'" (360). In both cases both men agreed that machismo is an unspoken understanding among Mexican men in La Cañada, that a man is the central authority of the home yet how this contributes to the treatment of women, specifically their wives, depends on the husband and family. Similar to what DeSouza stated, this authority at home and dominance over their wives is only one attribute that does not fit all Mexican men, let alone all the individuals within La Cañada; yet, the basis for all this gender stratification in this context is the label for

hyper-masculinity, which is machismo. Different variations of male patriarchy at various degrees exist within La Cañada but are all labeled and identified as *machismo*.

Doña María was born in La Cañada in 1937, was a former elementary school teacher, and now owns a small male/female underwear garments store. She has visited the US on multiple occasions as a tourist since 1973. Doña María also added that she never actually experienced any form of discrimination while in the US. She said that she never really saw any actual cultural differences between Mexico and the US but she did see social ones. She said that she did see that women were allowed to work in an actual job in the US while in Mexico that was not allowed; like in Salvador with equal wages for women and the comments of the Drew Commons employees about pay in the US, again the independence of a woman is linked to her abilities to obtain her own income, which ends her economic dependence on the normative of a male provider. Doña Maria also said that she did not see much domestic abuse being expressed amongst Latino/Mexican families in the US as compared to families in Mexico; this is again similar to the myth that US culture is more progressive and "evolved" than Mexican or Latino cultures with regard to the treatment of women. Doña María said that she knows of Mexican families in which, even though both husband and wife have gone to the US and both work, a man will take his wife's check away from her. She elaborates on how even though some women, old and retired, get their pensions from the Mexican government, their husbands would take their pension away from them; that is yet another form of machismo. Doña María rhetorically asked me whose fault that is—she says that it is women's own fault because they allow this to happen to them instead of fighting back

and stating that ‘that money’ belongs to them; Doña María asserted that she does not like that kind of life for a woman where her hard earned money is taken from her by her husband. There are more women in La Cañada now, she tells me, who do not allow this to happen to them anymore. In support, Gutmann explains:

> Recent changes in gender identities among men may indeed often be traced to the conscious or unconscious initiative of women and to the tensions that at first affect women more than men in the *colonia* [the district of Santo Domingo in Mexico City where he conducted his research]. That is, in these particular historical circumstances, and intentionally or not, women have often played the role of catalysts for change among the population more broadly, and not just with regard to gender inequality. (92-93)

Thus we see that women have been raised in this patriarchal atmosphere and environment, and that they have become accustomed to its norms, to the point that men can control their place and work in society. Being brought up in such context blinds women of their agency and freedom of choice to make their own decisions, yet we see that nowadays women are becoming more and more frustrated with the status quo and are more vocal in expressing their dissatisfactions with current divisions of labor and sexism in La Cañada.

When I asked Doña María what the terms macho or machismo meant to her, or if she had heard the terms before, she gave me a long story of the history of machismo and how it just does not appear on its own; it is learned throughout generations through the male and female relatives who have accepted it as the normative.

> **Me** — "*What is machismo or macho mean to you?*
>
> **Doña María** — "*Machismo is that men here in México, supposedly we have that (machismo), that they say it [Mexico] is machista and they [men] really are. Because they want to be the only ones ordering the family around, orienting them to be a patriarchal family, from ordering the son or daughter, later on ordering the grandson—everyone around; having a different form of educating then than they do now. Because before one was just educated by…by 'golpes' [physical strikes], because this is how one was educated back then and it gave them results because their children turned out fine and later and my children turned out find as well but they weren't educated the way I was educated. And I think my grandchildren don't have that machismo anymore…all forms of living are different that change with the generations. For example in the time when I was young, if I had become pregnant, forget about it, it would have been such a scandal I think I would have been killed! But now that has changed, it's good to see a young lady pregnant, as long as she doesn't abort the child since she already made the mistake of getting with someone so she doesn't kill the child and becomes a murderer. But machismo here in Mexico is still happening."*

Similar to previous definitions of machismo in Brazil and the US, Doña Maria views machismo as the ideology of Mexican men within La Cañada who believe they are the unquestioned authority of the household and family, often established and reaffirming their authority through violent discipline. Yet, she is aware of the changes that have occurred throughout her life in the context of child rearing (the change in disciplining children without beating them) and the sexual freedom of women (a young girl is not scorned as much as before in La Cañada for getting pregnant without getting married first), however despite these changes in Mexican culture she asserts that the macho ideology still manipulates male and female behavior in La Cañada.

Sofía, born in 1993, stated that for her, machismo is related to the male sex which is defined in terms of men having "*power*" in the sense of having women tied to or controlled by certain laws or principles. In all honestly, Mexican society is very machista, she tells me. She continues by elaborating on how typically a Mexican man is specifically

characterized as being machista; since time immemorial the term *machista* has existed and it has been passed down for generations amongst families; however now in our current times machismo is not as present. She elaborated on how in the past, when a man married a woman, the man had a mentality that the woman belonged to him and was his 'property' in a sense, thus in Mexican terms and culture this meant that this woman belonged to the man and no one else. Again we see that women are aware that such macho mentalities and ideologies automatically bestow "power/authority" to men not only in the household but in society as a whole. A "power" that is inherited and passed down through the male line of the family for generations, it seems the goal is to never allow women to obtain such consciousness and authority at any time. This makes women blind to their agency and power to disrupt machismo and redefine gender norms within Mexico.

As for the supposed origins of Mexican machismo, A. Mirandé has three possible theories, yet the *Hijos de la Chingada* (Sons of the great whore) theory correlates more with the historical context of the Mexican nation. He states:

> [The] cult of machismo developed as Mexican men found themselves unable to protect their women from the Conquest's ensuing plunder, pillage, and rape. Native men developed an overly masculine and aggressive response in order to compensate for deeply felt feelings of powerlessness and weakness. Machismo, then is nothing more than a futile attempt to mask a profound sense of impotence,

> powerlessness, and ineptitude, an expression of weakness and a sense of inferiority. (36)

Mirandé establishes the social fact of machismo as a masculine social trauma of the overbearing "power" of the Spanish Conquistadors during the Conquest, is the basis for Mexican men's expressions of hyper-masculinity to compensate for such emotions of impotence and vulnerability. However, Don Roberto says the origins of machismo come from the parents; it is an entity that is taught to the younger generations from the older ones, thus passing on the historical trauma to the next generations. Don José on the other hand suggested a more theoretical response: he believes that back in the remote past people were less educated and ignorant and decided to start living from these basic ideologies, "*de lo bruto*" [the most basic concepts] as he said, and that is how machismo might have originated. Doña María gave me a very elaborate answer stating that *machismo* must have originated during prehistoric times, during the time of caves, when a man would drag a woman by the hair and take her to a cave, "…that was the kind of the love that they had back then" she emphasizes. Doña María tells me that *machismo* is something primitive and ancient in human nature. Sofía told me that it was good to ask about the origins of machismo, as if she was wondering that herself; she told me that the origin of machismo might be jealousy and insecurities within men, which aligns with Mirandé's theory of the trauma of the Conquest as the source. Sofía's response is similar to what William (Salvador) and Isabella (Drew) both told me when I asked them this question. Thus, it seems that men are as much manipulated and coerced by macho ideologies as women, but even worse, they are either not aware of this form of

manipulation imposed upon them or they choose to ignore and deny it. Yet, the majority of my informants point to an ancient origin of machismo/patriarchy that cannot be concretely identified, but whose legacy is more strongly expressed within Mexican culture in La Cañada.

As for the gender roles of a man and woman within society, these vary in La Cañada as well. Don Roberto said that a man has to be a hard worker, provide for and feed his family, and get along with all his family members. As for a woman, Don Roberto made it quite clear that, "*Only a woman can tell you what her own role in society is*". I clarified that this was only his own perspective on the matter, but he told me that he does not get involved with the affairs of women, that a man has his duties and a woman has hers. The common theme of the divisions of tasks and responsibilities based on gender between men and women arises here in La Cañada as well, just like the fisherman in Salvador: there are men's tasks and there are women's tasks. Don José said that the role of a man in society and at home is to get along well with both the family and society; he elaborated on what would theoretically happen if a man is always against his family or society, a man has to get along with everyone and take things calmly in life if he is able. As for a woman, Don José stated that when a woman gets married she has to meet her obligations as a wife and did not give further details of what these obligations are, or if being a wife is the only role left for a woman in a society like La Cañada. Both men tend to limit the social roles of women within La Cañada: Don Roberto does not associate himself with the roles of women in general since that is not related to his roles as a man within the context of his home; his role is to administer and manage his home and family,

not care for the details of the roles of his wife and family. On the other hand, Don José only seems to consider women's roles to be noteworthy if they are married, since in that sense they contribute directly to the family and society.

Doña María stated that the familial role of a man is to be responsible for and to be a pillar for the family, to be the support and aid in order to form a united family; the way families are now is different, she clarifies, that unlike before a man/husband does not hit his children or prevent them from going to school in order to make them work in the fields; before even the grandfather wanted to dominate everyone in the household and maintain the family patriarchy through the generations. As for a woman, Doña María states that her role is very important in the family, since the children are dependent on her for their care and education, because a school gives you culture but not education: a child is to be educated at home, not in an institution, and the mother has to be attentive and conscious of all her children, feeding them well because a hungry child will not learn anything. But she clarifies the roles of men and women are not equal because there are widows and divorced women who break their bodies and soul in order to see their children succeed, but a man cannot do that or is unable to do that; a man is always looking for a more beautiful, younger woman to sleep with, not caring how many children he abandons (this is very similar to what Cecilia said about men being incapable of fulfilling the duties of both parents even if they wanted to). Sofía states that within a contemporary family and society a man is not just the parent who brings the income into the household, but he also has responsibilities such as cleaning the house, caring for the children, understanding his wife, not just providing for the home but the whole package

of taking care of the family and children as well. As for a woman, Sofía said similarly that a woman's role is to care for the home, care for the children, feed the husband, but nowadays she has to work as well and provide her portion of income, because of economic pressure, not changes in gender equality. She elaborates that the roles of a woman and a man are not permanent—they can be interchangeable and not depend on biological sex.

With the question of whether machismo or macho ideologies have changed recently, Don Roberto said that macho ideologies have not changed and that they have been maintained, but he also believes that the rights of women and the treatment of women have been the same and that he has not seen much or any change thus far. I also asked if he believes women to be equals to men in Mexican society, to which he said that when a husband gets along with his wife in marriage, then she should be considered equal to a man at home, that's all one's wife is to him—a partner in marriage, but he did not elaborate any further. Don José tells me that La Cañada used to be a macho town, that there still are many older men who still hold on to these ideologies, but that it is changing now. Especially in the younger generations, machismo is not as present as much, because young women rarely get married anymore and there is no commitment amongst young couples, who constantly date and change partners, which was unheard of in the past. Machismo has to do with a married couple in which the man has complete dominance over his wife, but he gets along with her. Don José explained how he was a little disappointed in how the rights of women have changed, since he believes that they were better off before; that things were much simpler, with commitment in a relationship

between a man and a woman, which has completely changed amongst the young men who constantly change female partners. I asked if he believed women to be equal to men in society and if this is linked to the changes in dating culture amongst the youth. He told me that in La Cañada very few women can be seen as the equals of men, but it all depends on how their parents educated them, but in "el cerro" (the backcountry) that such change is not present because of how their parents were educated. This is a similar myth that arises in Mexican culture and it also arises in Gutmann's *Meanings of Macho,* where many Mexicans living in the suburbs of Mexico City believed that the country/rural areas of Mexico are the last beacons of machismo, the rural areas where lack of education and conservative ideas tends to be the norm (60). Andy, the manager of the small gym in Cachoeira, said the same thing, saying the machismo is only seen in the rural areas nowadays. This conscious assertion that *machismo* is linked with traditional conservative mentalities rises up, and thus it is safe to assume that these older generations of men and women are aware of the negative and violent aspects of macho culture, since they always link their ideologies to the less educated and "backward/rural" areas and peoples. Yet, they still maintain these ideologies through their expressions of daily rituals and interactions with society. For example, Don Roberto, who can get along with his wife but still has control over her, and Don José, who feels a woman was better off when she married early in her life and had a committed husband, despite this limiting her roles as an individual.

Doña María tells me that La Cañada is machista, that it is quite full of machos who discriminate against men of the third sex (homosexuals), and that these men do not

hit women as much as they used to because women have become smarter and do not allow this to happen anymore. Doña María also states that she does not allow machos around her because she has no need for them in her life. She elaborates that thanks to women becoming tougher and not letting themselves get hit anymore, machismo is not the norm, as it used to be, but if these women allowed themselves to get hit it is their fault. She clarifies that machismo still exists in La Cañada, that there are still a few "macho families". She tells me how the rights of women have changed significantly in recent years, saying that even though in her hometown women are not equals to men in marriage, there are marriages where compassion exists, where a man does not hit his wife as much as was once sanctioned by society—that *machismo* has changed, though not by much, and it is still maintained within the older generations of men in La Cañada. Doña María tells me:"*Well for the women who like to get hit let them get hit, as for me I am not letting anyone hit me. As for me I don't see my female neighbors get hit or anything, but when I was a little girl I saw it all the time, the husband would hit his wife as if she was an animal but now it doesn't happen as much.*" Sofía, in support, said that to some extent machismo culture has changed but it has not completely been eliminated, that men continue to have this mentality that they must carry the "power"; however, in other parts it has changed, for example, today a woman in La Cañada can go to work and a man stays at home. Sofía states that the rights of women have improved, stating how nowadays a woman can go to work, has more time to interact with society, and is not the typical housewife anymore; she tells me that a woman in Mexican society is in effect the equal to a man, or should be, but that nowadays in society a woman is still far away from

achieving this status in reality. Matthew Gutmman continues to elaborate this issue further:

> With regard to the issue of women's equality, in Santo Domingo active male participation parenting does not necessarily mean that the situation of women is better (or worse) there then elsewhere in the world. We should revise our beliefs that all men in México today and historically have little to do with children. Instead, more active and less active parenting by men seems to correspond more to other factors such as class, historical period, region, and generation. For numerous though not all, men and women in Colonia Santo Domingo, Mexico City in the 1990s, active, consistent and long-term parenting is a central ingredient in what it means to be a man, and in what men do. (88)

Despite the surface changes in macho culture within La Cañada, similar to Salvador and Drew University, no real effective change can occur in order to achieve actual gender equality until the dynamics of power achieve balance among the sexes. Sofía elaborates how in much of the history of women on the global stage, women have been kept at home by their families and society without voice or agency to decide what to do with their lives. She links this social control through history as a key factor for why women have been treated as second class citizens for so long. Thus, we can see how these four individuals are aware of the changes that are occurring with the social fact of machismo that dominates much of Mexican culture in La Cañada; yet, as described in situations of the other locations, Salvador, Brazil, and Drew University, US, the progress is quite slow to

have any immediate impact in the way women are conscious about their equality within their societies. Yet, the label of machismo is inaccurate to define masculine gender roles in La Cañada, as in any other location in Mexico. In support Gutmann claims, "Mexican machos are not dead anymore than are their North American or Russian counterparts, but claims about a uniform character of Mexican masculinity, a ubiquitous *macho mexicano*, should be put to rest" (263).

A *macho* within La Cañada de Caracheo is the label, with a neutral connotation, given to any man who expresses hyper-masculinity without any specific degree of qualifications to the actual definition of the term. *Macho* is simply the symbolic identity given to patriarchal expressions within the city. Similarly to definition of a *macho* within Salvador or the definitions of my Latino informants within Drew University from their various geographic backgrounds, the attributes associated with the term in La Cañada are male dominance over women, usually aggressive/violent control within the context of marriage and family, the control of power by men within Mexican society, a cultural norm that is learned and maintained throughout the generations but that is only now slowly beginning to change. Machismo here in la Cañada is similar to machismo in Salvador, Brazil, and to what Mirandé stated before, in that it represents the symbolic attempts of Mexican men, specifically mestizo men, to invert and challenge the strength and power of the Spanish Conquistadors. Even though indigenous peoples actively resisted and reluctantly adapted Spanish and Christian imposition into their culture, present day Mexican men in La Cañada are still attempting to compensate for the subconscious weakness associated with being "indigenous" and "conquered", being

manipulated by machismo into a false sense of power and control. Yet the negative associations with machismo continue to arise out of any discussion of it; thus, for instance, Don José linked machismo to only being associated with the country-side. The actual expressions of machismo and male patriarchy have become less expressive, though they have not been fully eliminated in La Cañada.

b. Meanings of Machismo to Me

One key moment of extreme self-reflection I encountered in México was when I visited the town of Salvatierra, to the south of the La Cañada, to do some shopping at *el tiangís* (local market) on Tuesday Dec. 22nd. As I was walking along the street market, I stopped and noticed a man carrying his baby child while his wife walked ahead of him. At first it did not affect me; to me it was normal Mexican behavior, and what I consider normal human behavior. I have carried my nephews and nieces on multiples occasions and I have seen my brothers and brother-in-law do the same. Then I suddenly realized that according to Gutmann's *Meanings of Macho*, most anthropologists, and the outside world as well, believe that I as a Mexican have to see that behavior as strange and anti-macho. I told myself that it is 'supposed' to be strange for a man to carry his baby child, that it is supposed to be strange for me to see that but it was not. Since going to Salvatierra, I have seen four men carry their children. I discussed this occurrence with my mother, about how this is supposed to be strange behavior for Mexican men. She tells me that at least they do it now; that before, they would not do it at all. Nowadays women do not allow themselves to be pushed around by men anymore or as much, she tells me. In a

sense, it is quite possible that the behavior that Gutmann observed in the neighborhood of Santo Domingo in Mexico City in the 1990s of Mexican men caring babies may have spread to the surrounding areas gradually with the passage of time, but there is no evidence of such influences. It can be linked to other factors like geographic region or social class as well. In the end, as a Mexican man, that kind of behavior never seemed strange to me, but constantly I am reminded by academics and other outside resources that that behavior is "supposed" to be strange for me. *Machismo,* as a social fact, during this moment of self-reflection manipulated me to react the way that I did because my masculine identity does not correlate with that of a typical Mexican macho, but is rather an opposing reflection of machismo. I might carry my nephew and nieces, because subconsciously that is what a true *macho* would not do or because I like to carry my energetic nephew and nieces; either way, machismo is still influencing my behavior consciously or unconsciously to this day.

Conclusions:

In conclusion, the results of my data suggest that despite the presence of major geographic and generational variables, all my informants within all three locations (Salvador, Drew University and La Cañada de Caracheo) knew about machismo with varying degrees of intimacy. With all these variables present, all my informants had prior or intimate knowledge, as well as some degree of experience with the masculine expression and label of "machismo," suggesting that the gender category has a historical presence that is shared by all three of my locations that is a key factor in the influences of this specific variant of masculine gender performance and patriarchic expression among my informants.

Furthermore, according to my data I assert that *machismo* as an influential label qualifies as a *social fact* as defined by Durkheim, as it both influences the gender identities and the gender performance of the majority of my informants (specifically my male informants); even as the opposite category from which to reflect their own gender identity. It is the basis of their definitions of gender at varying degrees. In addition, Gutmann's interpretation of *contradictory consciousness* is present within the majority of my informants, specifically my male informants and myself, in all three locations. Among the Drew students machismo was more of a conservative expression of masculinity that they did not identify themselves with. Among my older male informants, who did not identify themselves as *machos*, quickly distanced and disassociated themselves with the gender category, proving the decline of *machismo* as a normative

label into a more negative/conservative behavioral quality and identity. As a result, my data demonstrates the slow transitional redefinitions of gender identities within my three field-sites; gender identity and gender performance are presently being culturally recreated, be it slowly and not quite drastically but such changes as the female President Rousseff and the rights of women to vote are superficial and minute leaps towards a more gender equal normative.

Also had this thesis only interviewed men it would have been a whole different project. As Prof. Dawson and his colleague Prof. Nubia told me, *machismo* has as much to do with masculinity as it has to do with femininity, they cannot be separated. The perspectives of my female informants proved that machismo has much to do with power dynamics and control of the domestic space with marriage and economic income. As well as the difference between actual effective change in the treatment and status of women than just superficial institutional changes in society that does not actually contribute to actual gender equality. Many of my older male informants and a few women made clear distinctions between *machismo* in the US and *machismo* within Mexico and Brazil, stating that the US was either completely matriarchic and gender progressive when compared to their own countries of origin, which is further from the truth. Yet it gives us the cultural context and realities of the power dynamics between men and women within La Cañada and Salvador when compare to the Latino Communities in North Jersey.

I speculate that *machismo* as a cultural label shared and a ubiquitously identified term, both directly and indirectly influences and manipulates the behavior of my

informants: for the men machismo can be a category they define themselves with, have prior knowledge of, share a few characteristics with, or oppose to their own character—specifically, machismo is figured as anti-feminine. For women, machismo is a category that they will never fit into, since the basis of machismo is the opposite of what it supposedly means to be a woman—submissiveness and obedience. Even if women are associated with *marianismo,* to be pure and virtuous like the Virgin Mary, DeSouza states:

> "Defining machismo and marianismo creates twin difficulties. First, since machismo refers to traits associated with "manhood," especially as defined in Latin America, and marianismo, to traits associated with womanhood, both terms entail a wide array of beliefs and behaviors…Second, while certain behaviors are associated with machismo and marianismo, none in and of itself defines manhood or womanhood. Thus, a man can be verbally nonexpressive or drink heavily and still not be seen as macho. A woman might be passive but not self-denying (indeed, in most cultures, there are different ideological archetypes of womanhood, including the contrasting images of saint and seductress)," (Praeger 43).

The labels, machismo and marianismo, are not accurate representations of what manhood and womanhood are within these three locations as regards to definitions of Latino gender roles and gender stratification. However, I suggest that machismo and marianismo are both independent of this reality of complex gender definitions as social facts, their influences and manipulation on behavior serves as the basis for the gender binary

identification of both what it means to be a man and what it means to be a women; the behavior traits, gender identities, gender performances/expressions that originate and develop from that basic binary are present within Latin America.

Finally as I mentioned before, despite the fact that all the various background variables are present among my informants, all of them had some knowledge of machismo which points to a key moment in history that unites the development of *machismo* in all three locations. Machismo is the label given to the hyper-masculine expressions of patriarchy within the pan-Latino diaspora. This is not different within the three locations that I have studied; despite the claim of slow progressive change and treatment of women within the societies of my three locations, domestic violence is present within all three of the nations where I did my fieldwork. The feminist movement did not occur until the fifties in the United States, and only recently have women begun to have any real voice within La Cañada de Caracheo in Mexico. It seems that the only positive change, in my opinion, that has occurred within all three locations is that the prestige and honor associated with machismo as a positive model/label of masculinity is beginning to fade out. Machismo itself is not a unique identity; it is simply a label given to a group of various associated masculine identities and definitions that share key attributes of the already establish dominant expressions of patriarchy within the recent history of Latin America. Yet, where and when in the context of Latin America is the most plausible source, influence, factor or origin of this form of patriarchy, that we called machismo? Machismo is an expression of masculinity, with variants developed and influencing different regions of Latin America; thus, all these variant categories of

machismo have to have a common factor that may reveal the introduction, spread, and adaptation of such gender norms within Latino America. In my perspective, the only key historical event that links all three of my field-sites and is also shared within the historical record by all of the Latin American diaspora is the Evangelization of the region and the spread of Christianity during the Conquest of the Americas and the subsequent cultural, political and religious changes that resulted from the colonization by European nations in the year 1492.

There were countless civilizations and peoples who inhabited the Americas before 1492, each with their own histories, cultures, and languages as diverse and complex as those of Europe, Africa, or Asia. They possessed their own unique forms and expressions of gender roles for both men and women, as well as for people who would fit into third gender categories such as the *Bardache* (Whitehead). In support, Karen Powers coins the term "Gender Parallelism." Powers states that pre-established institutions in both the religious and political spheres of gender-parallel organization had existed already among the peoples of the Americas before the Spanish Conquest. In such cultural divisions of a gender-parallel society, both the women and the men functioned and operated within their own separate but equal spheres of influence and administration, where each gender within their own sphere enjoyed their own independent degrees of autonomy: "For example, in both Aztec and Inca societies, women had their own religious and own political organizations with their own female hierarchies of priestesses and officials, as did men in their sphere" (15-17). Thus the drastic change that completely overturned the traditional gender parallel structure has to be linked to the shock and historical transitions

that followed the Conquest. These changes can be linked, again, to the dynamics and expressions of 'power' within these indigenous cultures at the moment of such a historical shift. It can be claimed that during the Conquest this power was hyper-expressed through the actions of the new European conquistadors and the symbolic significance of their Christian God; the Spanish patriarchal interpretations of the bible, and their more advanced technology, gave them an atmosphere of invincibility. This vastly changed the lives of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, but more specifically the women of the Americas. According to the work of Mirandé (1997), there are three possible principle theories for the origins of machismo within Mexico, which can be applied as a model for Latin America as a whole. The first theory called *Hijos de la Chingada* (Sons of the great whore) states that due to the mass social trauma that occurred because of the Conquest, indigenous men felt feeble, as they could not defend their wives from rape and pillaging, thus adapting a more aggressive, hyper-masculine and dominating gender performance that became machismo in order mask their own shame and feeling of impotence (36). The *Caballeros con Huevos de Oro* theory details that the Spanish conquistadors brought the cult of machismo to the Americas themselves, impressing the indigenous peoples with their feats of strength, invulnerability, and power (45). Finally, *The Pre-Colombian Prospective* theory suggests that the cult of machismo and hyper masculine expression was already present before the Conquest ever occurred, specifically in the warrior culture and patriarchy that were present in the Aztec Empire but that were amplified after the Conquest (50). Though the theories of Mirandé explain the possible origins of the concept of machismo, it cannot be ignored that all three share

one common factor: the impact of European hyper-masculine culture as the plausible catalysts of the gender construction of machismo in the Americas. According to the article *Overcoming "Man Pride :" Redefining Masculinity with Mexican American Men on Federal Probation*:

> The view that modern conceptions of masculinity pre-dated the Conquest also has significant limitations. Evidence strongly suggests that while Aztec culture was patriarchic, men were socialized to be humble and contrite rather than dominating and vain. There is also evidence that suggest that women played prominent roles in all aspects of Aztec culture…Establishing the historical roots of machismo provides the valuable insight when examining the concept of the present. Instead of pathological versions of masculinity merely being viewed as residing within men, a historical perspective highlights that the pathology was probably imported from Europe at the time of the conquest in a way that infected indigenous social and cultural constructs. Presently, the term machismo elicits a range of reactions, which are reflected in both the positive and negative interpretations of the word. (Bitar 29-30)

As a result, even though this is all speculative, it cannot be denied that the European Conquest is an important factor in the historical influence and the introduction of hyper-masculine patriarchy that would later spread and develop into variants of this gender role across the present Latino diaspora; as well as a collective term identified and labeled as *machismo*. In the present, associations and reactions to the term are beginning to become

more negative and it is perceived as a backwards expression and representation of masculinity.

To elaborate further, if European, specifically Spanish, masculine gender roles a significantly influential factor in the development of machismo within Latin America, what is the cause of the basic structure of gender roles of the Conquests that impacts those gender roles today? Much of Europe was under the yoke of Catholicism during the time of the Conquest, and the Castilian crown saw the Americas as both a source of resource extraction and evangelization of souls. In support Louis Rivera asserts:

> It was impossible for the Castilian state to conceive of the conquest and colonization of the Americas in terms other than missionary evangelization. It could not articulate the legitimacy of the imperial empire from an exclusively political and economic perspective. The logic itself of the Spanish state carries inevitably the confusion between conquest and Christianization. (54)

Thus, as Rivera stated, the Conquest of the Americas had as much to do with the expansion of Spanish territory and political influence as with the spreading of the Roman Catholic religion and the cultural structures that it imposed among the peoples of 16th Europe. Machismo can be linked to the Catholic gender binary of the biblical origins of Adam and Eve in Genesis; many of my informants (Mayra, Andy and Fandango) quickly associated machismo with religious origins. Specifically the interpretation of Adam as an owner of Eve instead of her equal and protector arises as divine proof that man must have dominance over women. Eve's commission of the original sin and the subsequent

banishing of all humanity for her actions are often erroneously interpreted as justification for dominant and often violent control of women. In support, Carlos Ess states:

> Perhaps the single most important source in Western tradition for the image of Eve as (sexual) temptress and cause of sin is Augustine, the fourth century theologian whose work powerfully shapes and defines Christian belief in both Roman Catholic and Protestant traditions. Augustine both develops the interpretation of the woman in Genesis 2-3 as the primary source of sin, and makes this interpretation a foundational element of what becomes the orthodox doctrine of Original Sin. In this way, Augustine embeds in Christian orthodoxy an image of the primordial woman which serves as a myth justifying the subordination of the female—especially as the female functions as a chaos agent who threatens male hierarchies. (100)

Thus, the shock of colonialism and the vast cultural shift that arrived with the Spanish Conquest was just as effective in transforming the already established and ancient gender stratification system that existed within the Americas. During the 14th and 15th centuries, Western Civilization, not just Spain, was dominated by the cult of Catholicism. The religion had great power and influence over all aspects of daily life for Europeans, not just gender identity and gender roles within the society. These influences and cultural beliefs were introduced and imposed upon the indigenous peoples of the Americas, especially on the organization of the roles of women within the social strata, specifically the views of Eve as the sole representative of all women on earth—thus the interpretative

perspective of Eve as an agent of chaos and destroyer of male hierarchical order was strongly imposed amongst the indigenous peoples of the Americas. Women were beginning to lose their high status and gender equality as they were beginning to be more dominated and controlled and were encouraged to take on more submissive and docile roles modeled after the Virgin Mary. As DeSouza explains further:

> María—the Virgin Mary—may be the one of the most influential persons in Latin American culture. Her influence comes indirectly, through the role of the Catholic Church, but also from the social construction of Mary herself. Regarding the church, Chaney (1979) argues that the 'the principal influence forming the image of women may have been the reactionary Roman Catholic Christianity found in Latin American countries that baptized and confirmed [early] Greek ideas of male supremacy' (p. 40). Regarding Mary, the person, women became, like Mary of Nazareth, the worker in the home, the self-sacrificing woman, the balance of motherhood and purity. Mary's centrality to Brazilian culture can be seen from festivals and processionals to exclamations (*Ai, María!*), from the names of women…Many argue that *Marianismo*, or, as it is frequently called in Brazil, *modelo de María* (model of Mary) and its counterpart, *machismo*, pose a major influence in the construction of gender identity in Brazil. (Modelo 10)

Even though DeSouza is speaking about Brazil, this model can be applied to other cultures within the Latin American diaspora. The origins of the gender classifications of machismo and marianismo are linked to the Catholic gender structures introduced into

the gender and kinship systems of the indigenous peoples of Mesoamerica and the Andes via the European colonizers during and after the conquest of the Americas. For example the syncretized symbol of the Virgin of Guadalupe, also called Tonantzin, in Mexico, which combines both aspects of the old Pre-Colombian past (Aztec) and the new mestizo Colonial future (Mexican). Eric Wolf states how in Mexico the Virgin of Guadalupe has different meanings among different family types, specifically the Indian family and the Mexican family: the Indian family's divisions of labor are shared equally between the parents, exploitation of one sex over the other is not typical and the physical punishment and control of children is rare, however in the Mexican family the father is the unquestioned authority of the household, double sex standards are apparent, male sexual performance is excessive and children are frequently physically disciplined (36). With such differences in kinship roles between both kinds of families, the image of Guadalupe can have different symbolic representations for each within Mexico, Eric Wolf states:

> There [Indian Family], the Virgin is addressed in passionate terms as a source of warmth and love, and the *pulque* or century plant beer drunk on ceremonial occasions is identified with her milk…As such, Guadalupe embodies a longing to return to the pristine state in which hunger and unsatisfactory social relations are minimized. The second family [Mexican family] pattern is also consistent with a symbolic identification of Virgin and mother, yet this time within a context adult male dominance and sexual assertion, discharged against submissive females and children. In this second context, the Guadalupe symbol is charged with the energy

> of rebellion against the father. Her image is the embodiment of hope in a victorious outcome of the struggle between generations. (36)

Thus, the cultural influences between the old (Indigenous) and the new (mestizo) are apparent in the symbolism of the Virgin with families in Mexico. The indigenous identifies her as Tonantzin, the earth goddess of life and renewal, while the Mexican heavily influence by the trauma of the Conquest and the power of the Christian God symbolically identifies the Virgin through a *macho* lens as a representation of rebellion against the ancient culture that was defeated and as a symbol of the new "mestizo power" to incorporate European Christianity but in their own terms.

However, despite the strong influences of Euporean Christianity in Latin American gender identities, such as *machismo* and *marianismo*, there is a current phase of gender redefinition occurring. In the past fifty years feminist movements have been on the rise throughout Latin America, but these movements often clash with the traditional establishment of the Catholic Church.

> Still today, in many popular women's organizations linked to the progressive Catholic Church or the secular Left, women are continually admonished against adopting 'bad' feminists beliefs, such as abortion rights, and the right to sexual self-determination, as these are seen as intrinsically bourgeois and likely to 'divide' the united struggle of the working class. It is significant, then, that many grassroots women's groups are sponsored or controlled by the Church or the Left as, together with the mainstream media, male religious and secular activists have

> tergiversated and misrepresented the meaning and character of feminism, often deliberately blocking the development of a critical gender consciousness among the participants of the *movimientos de mujeres*. This, in many cases, explains the reticence of women in 'popular' organizations to embrace the feminist label even when they espouse feminist beliefs. That is, this reluctance is not a 'natural' outcome of their class position. (Sternbach 402-403)

Thus, marianismo, as much as machismo, continues to coerce and manipulate the lives of both women and men of Latin America. It hinders any immediate progress towards a more gender-equal culture, or gender parallel culture for that matter, within these three field locations in Latin America. Yet, machismo is a unique expression of hyper-masculinity introduced through colonialism and independently developed into a unique expression within each of the three locations with similar attributes.

I assert that in all three locations machismo not as a term, but as the individual variant of European patriarchy, can be interpreted as an attempt of the minority or defeated groups within the historical context of these three locations to mimic or challenge the power and hyper-masculinity of the Conquistadors. Within Salvador, Brazil, machismo is a representation of Africanity; within La Cañada machismo is a representation of the Aztec or indigenous; and from within the various countries of origins of my Drew informants it is indigenous and African, which can all be a symbol/expressions of "Latinidad" attempting to have the same power and status as the Conquerors. Yet, in the present day the surface of machismo and the reactions in

association with the term are becoming more and more negative, since it has a close association with the subordination and violence against women. Most of my informants throughout all three locations commented that much of machismo is beginning to change, but very slowly, which is not a surprise since its source, the Roman Catholic religion imposed by the Conquistadors into the Americas, has been the key influence on the political, historical, and gender structure of Latin America for the past 500 years. Machismo is another legacy of the Conquest whose presence we can still feel to this day, though we are not always able to visually identify it.

Though it is quite speculative, establishing and considering the historical context and impact of the Evangelization and Conquest as key factors that influenced origins of machismo, masculine and feminine gender roles, and patriarchy within these three locations, can further enlighten the research of any anthropologist who seeks to do field work within or near these locations, as well as in other locations across Latin American.

Some important factors and data worthy of further research are highlighted in this project: such as the process of formulating social programs to benefit communities within these three locations, considering the historical and gender contexts discussed in this paper can aid in implementing proper policies and programs that can have a beneficial impact in the lives of these people. I also encourage more thorough, long term investigation and analysis into the etymology of the term *macho* and *machismo* with intensive linguistic and historical research, which has the potential to further enrich this area of study. In addition, considering the impact and factors that the Protestant

Reformation may have had in the development of gender roles (kinship and divisions of labor) within Catholicism in Europe and in Latin America during the Colonial period can benefit the topic of masculine identities in Latin America. Due to the time constraints and limits of an Undergraduate Thesis process, the data that I have gathered can be further improved with more concrete ethnographic data research, as well as with an extensive and prolonged fieldwork process to obtain more fruitful and beneficial knowledge for the public. All in all, this is a personal interpretation of my data gathered, any and all errors found in this work are mine and mine alone.

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