

**Literature Review
for the Symposium on
Male Participation in Sexual
and Reproductive Health:
New Paradigms**

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INTRODUCTION

AVSC International and the International Planned Parenthood Federation/Western Hemisphere Region were the co-sponsors of the Symposium on Male Participation in Sexual and Reproductive Health: New Paradigms. Both organizations agreed that it would be useful for participants to have a summary of studies and published research about gender equity and male participation in sexual and reproductive health in Latin America, with an annotated bibliography, as a preparatory document for the symposium. This study reflects the co-sponsors' commitment to compiling and sharing current knowledge about men and their participation in the relatively new and constantly expanding field of sexual and reproductive health.

Men's reproductive responsibilities received global attention at the International Conference on Population and Development (Cairo 1994) and at the Fourth World Conference on Women (Beijing 1995). It was during these two meetings that men and women throughout the world agreed to work to achieve the objective of sustainable development. They reaffirmed the connection between population and development and the understanding that gender equality, together with men's participation in reproduction and paternity, are essential components for sustainable development:

Special efforts should be made to emphasize men's shared responsibility and promote their active involvement in responsible parenthood, sexual and reproductive behavior, including family planning; prenatal, maternal and child health; prevention of sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV; prevention of unwanted and high-risk pregnancies. (ICPD 4.27)

The objective of the Beijing Women's Conference was to accelerate the advancement of women. To achieve this, delegates recognized that "the principle of shared power and responsibility between men and women in the home must be established..." (FWCF 1).

In these conferences the international community fully acknowledged the link between gender equality and the fact that men share reproductive responsibilities.

Changes in both men's and women's knowledge, attitudes and behavior are necessary conditions for achieving the harmonious partnership of men and women. Men play a key role in bringing about gender equality since, in most societies, men exercise preponderant power in nearly every sphere of life, ranging from personal decisions regarding the size of families to the policy and program decisions taken at all levels of Government. It is essential to improve communication between men and women on issues of sexuality and reproductive health, and the understanding of their joint responsibilities, so that men and women are equal partners in public and private life. (ICPD 4.24)

However, four years after the conference in Cairo and three years after the one in Beijing, there is little evidence that Latin American governments plan to put into practice the contractual commitments made at these meetings. Progress has been made in specific areas

of research and service provision, and in a few countries people are beginning to debate male participation in reproductive health, fatherhood and violence. The intent of this review is to share information on these subjects that is available in the Americas. The books, articles and documents included in this report reflect the advances that have been made in this region, and indicate the enormous challenges that must still be confronted.

Not only do the articles included reflect the complexity of the issue and the difficulty of changing deeply held social attitudes, but they also confirm the human drive to meet new challenges and an optimism about finding workable solutions.

The literature includes theoretical findings and results of research carried out by talented, inquisitive and creative men and women of the Americas. Although research has included works compiled in all the Americas, this review emphasizes studies and programs done in Latin America. It bears witness to men's voices of all ages, of different socioeconomic origins, and of the many distinct countries of the region, including Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Costa Rica, Chile, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Jamaica, Panama, Puerto Rico, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru. The findings of these studies reveal a growing concern about the negative consequences—both for women and men—of a traditional and pervasive paradigm of masculinity and its sociocultural mandates, while presenting the emergence of alternative models of masculinity.

The main themes of this review are gender and masculinity; masculinity/ies, male sexuality; adolescent sexuality; men's knowledge and attitudes and how these influence sexual and reproductive health, including STDs, HIV, and AIDS; violence; and fatherhood.

Although this review is thematically extensive, it does not include all the existing materials. It includes information gleaned from books, articles, essays, theoretical works, research findings, programmatic strategies, and summaries of existing programs. We are aware of other studies in progress that touch on the above-cited topics, but their circulation is still very restricted or they are in the publication process. Because there is not a strong network for sharing information among Latin American countries, it is difficult for researchers and service providers to keep up to date about the new perspectives and programs that are continually being developed. This is particularly true in the field of sexual and reproductive health.

Indeed, research on men, their sexual and reproductive behavior, and its impact on women is growing rapidly. This research is influenced by the demands of women and some men, by the limitations of responsible fatherhood and birth control programs, by large numbers of elective abortions, and by medical and technical advances. In this last category, treatment of infertility, impotence, and other sexual health concerns are examples of recent interventions that are not included in this review but that nonetheless affect the sexual and reproductive health of men and women.

This review presents new concepts, ideas and perspectives used by researchers and professionals that would be relevant and useful for policymakers and sexual and reproductive health providers in Latin American countries who are developing programs that

involve men in this area. Only those materials that are most readily available are included; exclusion of other works is not a comment on their value.

This review is formatted to be a reference tool for reproductive health care and family planning practitioners, activists, and policymakers. Thus the emphasis is on the annotated bibliography of original material prefaced by brief summaries of the most prevalent, salient, and relevant points in the literature. The document is broken down into themes covered at the symposium: gender and masculinity; masculinity/ies; sexuality; male attitudes, knowledge, and influence on sexual and reproductive health; STDs, HIV, and AIDS; violence; and fatherhood.¹

Gender and Masculinity

Gender is an integral component of cultural and social relations. Some characteristics and dynamics of all human phenomena can be understood through sexual differences and the social and cultural constructs that create them (Lamas 1996; Scott 1996; Ortner and Whitehead 1996). These constructs shape what has been called a system of sex/gender, which is a set of practices, symbols, representations, norms, and social values that societies create on the basis of anatomical and physical sexual differences, and which give meaning to the satisfaction of sexual impulses, to the reproduction of the human species, and in general, to the relationships that people establish amongst themselves. They constitute the framework of social relations that determine relationships between human beings as sexed persons (Rubin 1996; De Barbieri 1992). The sex/gender system defines attributes, ways of relating, specialization, normativity, values, hierarchies, privileges, sanctions, and spaces in which individuals are organized according to their gender (Lagarde 1992).

According to authors who have studied this field, the sex/gender system that exists in the Americas is characterized by male domination of women and is facilitated by many different mechanisms (Lamas 1995; De Barbieri 1992; Fuller 1997). This system is structured as a particular, hegemonic, gender-based organization. It is a patriarchic power system, a way of domination whose paradigm is the male, and is based on the supremacy of the masculine over women and anything feminine, which are considered inferior. This structure is defined—a priori—by dominant/submissive relationships between genders, which implies the existence of different opportunities for men and women when they choose to behave a certain way, and in the experience of relationships, which are defined in great measure by the exercise of powers.

In this system, which is backed by extensive historical developments, relationships between men and women are unequally constructed; social power is differentially distributed between them and segmented according to different environments (public/masculine and private/feminine). Similarly, it defines differentiated roles for men and women based on hierarchical values and sets the boundaries for the construction of gender identities. This system of gender identities is replicated in the family, which propagates hegemonic models of masculinity (León 1995).

¹ Please note that, while several of the materials referenced in the text fit more than one thematic area, each material is only listed under a single theme in the annotated bibliography.

Masculinity/ies

Existing publications study masculinity from different perspectives, theoretical positions, and methodological approaches, most of which have their origin in such social sciences as anthropology, sociology, psychology, history, and economics (Kimmel 1992; Clatterbaugh 1997; Gomáriz 1997; Valdés and Olavarría 1997). According to some researchers, current studies of masculinity are moving from an ethnographic perspective to a more global perspective, which helps define related policies (Connell 1995).

In the last 10 years, there has been considerable study and research about masculinity conducted by specialists from other regions who have significantly influenced Latin American and Caribbean researchers (Kaufman, Gilmore, Seidler, Badinter, Connell, Kimmel, Marqués). They have worked in the tradition of feminist gender studies and have encouraged the development of the study of masculinity, which has recently begun in the region. Studies of masculine identity have been and are being done in several countries, and results and publications are already beginning to circulate.

Researchers agree that masculinity is a cultural construct that reproduces itself socially, and it cannot be defined outside the socioeconomic, cultural and historical context within which men find themselves (Kaufman 1987; Gilmore 1994; Seidler 1994; Badinter 1993; Connell 1995; Gutmann 1996; Kimmel 1992; Fuller 1997; Viveros 1998; Valdés and Olavarría 1998). There is a consensus that a patriarchal, “hegemonic” model of masculinity exists, one that is incorporated into the subjectivity of males and that in some way constitutes their masculine identity. This model imposes mandates that influence both men and women’s expectations of men, thus becoming the reference to which men compare themselves and are compared. The model can also become a source of tension and conflict when men want to differentiate themselves from it.

The dominant model of masculinity characterizes men as important people; as providers; as active, autonomous, strong, powerful, rational, emotionally controlled, heterosexual beings. This is seen in opposition to women, who are considered to be the unimportant segment of society. Males are the bearers of power, driven to search for power and to exercise it over women and over those men whom they can dominate. The hegemonic model leads men to establish relationships of subordination, not only with women but also with other men (Kaufman and Pineda 1991; Ramírez 1993; Stern 1995; Ragúz 1995; Connell 1997; Cazés, no date; Kimmel 1997, 1998; Seidler 1994; Marqués 1997; Fuller 1997; Viveros 1998; Valdés and Olavarría 1998).

Becoming a man is a process that the male is subjected to from infancy. Being a man is something to be achieved, to conquer, to deserve. This process is difficult and sometimes painful. According to the hegemonic model of masculinity, one fully becomes a man, finally, when one is responsible, hardworking, streetwise, rational, heterosexually active (the penetrator), a provider, head of the household, and a father (Badinter 1993; Marqués 1997; Barker and Lowenstein 1997; Valdés and Olavarría 1998).

To become men, males must know effort, frustration, and pain, and they must be accepted both by males who are already “men” and by women. Other males qualify and judge the man’s masculinity; women are their opposite and men are expected not to be like women, who are seen as emotional, home-centered, passive, sexually penetrated, and

maternal. Women and femininity represent the limit or border of masculinity. He who crosses the border, who transgresses, is vulnerable to being qualified unmanly or “faggot” (Kimmel 1997; Kaufman 1997; Fuller 1997; Viveros 1998; Badinter 1993; Gilmore 1994; Lagarde 1992).

Because this way of being a man has come to be regarded as the “natural order” (“men are just like that”), the power of men over women, or of males in hegemonic situations (whites with economic power, among others) over those who are subordinated, has become invisible (Kimmel 1998). A model of the male body that is part of the hegemonic model of masculinity has come to be seen as “natural.” But the body is open to change and is constantly affected by social power; thus, the transformation of masculinities is necessarily accompanied by a change in masculine corporality (Connell 1998).

Men who belong to socially subordinate groups, including lower-class laborers, those who belong to the “informal” economic sector, ethnic groups, racial minorities, and sexual minorities, develop masculine identities that are conditioned and affected by their social and economic status (Guzmán and Portocarrero 1992; Goldenberg 1994; Gutmann 1996; Olavarría, Benavente, and Mellado 1998; Hernández 1998; Kimmel 1994; Jiménez 1998).

Masculinity acquires various meanings for males in the different stages of their lives. Sexuality, work, and the couple relationship change depending on whether the person is an adolescent, a young adult, or an older adult (Fuller 1997; Viveros 1998).

Some studies critically analyze the concept of “machismo” (understood as the stereotypical version of masculinity of Latin American males, which is manifested in violent domination over women, multiple lovers and sexual relationships, offspring with numerous women, limitless consumption of alcohol, and reckless attitudes) and its validity for understanding masculinity and male practices in the region (Ramírez 1993; Gutmann 1996; Mirandé 1997; Fuller 1998).

A central characteristic of hegemonic masculinity is heterosexuality. The belief is that men’s bodies are made to penetrate; as a result, this idea has come to be regarded as a natural fact (Lamas 1995; Lagarde 1992; Kaufman 1995; Rubin 1987; Kimmel 1997; Connell 1995; Fuller 1997; Ramírez 1993; Gilmore 1994; Badinter 1993; Valdés and Olavarría 1998; Olavarría, Benavente, and Mellado 1998).

Hegemonic masculinity, which is associated with sexuality—specifically, heterosexuality—and under the control of men, renounces the feminine. It validates homosociality, peer relationships as the truly important, and persistent scrutiny by other males. It approves of homophobia and supports sexism and heterosexism (Marqués 1992; Kimmel 1997; Kaufman 1987).

Men pay a high price for trying to live according to this model, which represses their feelings and generates uncertainty, frustration, and health problems (Nolasco 1993; Badinter 1993; De Keijzer 1997). According to some authors, the power associated with the dominant model of masculinity can be a source of great suffering and pain, since its

symbols constitute illusions that are impossible to achieve. No man is capable of living up to such ideals and symbols (Marqués 1992; Kaufman 1995; Kimmel 1997).

For example, honor, suicide, and masculinity appear strongly connected in a study about *gauchos*, in which suicide is a legitimate alternative for maintaining personal identity in males when it is no longer possible to fulfill the requirements of honorable masculinity (Fachel Leal 1997).

Violence and physical and mental effects are also associated with the mandates of hegemonic masculinity. Those who have studied the subject believe that violence, just like various other pathologies (especially addictions to alcohol and drugs and mental health problems), not only represents health problems, but also reflects the degree of pain and tension that the traditional masculine model imposes on men (De Keijzer 1997; Rodríguez 1997).

Some studies have focused on new forms of masculinity that are beginning to arise as a response to the hegemonic model. New paradigms of being a man incorporate the expression of affection and emotionality in males, the importance of leisure, and participation in activities traditionally considered to be feminine, including reproductive and household responsibilities (Nolasco 1993; Kreimer 1991; Ramírez 1993; Clatterbaugh 1997).

But researchers on masculine identity and male sexuality are convinced that men will not change their conduct if this new knowledge is not fully incorporated into strategies of sexual and reproductive health programs (Shepard 1996).

Fortunately, in recent years, groups that assist and support men have been formed in many countries in the region, like CISTAC in Bolivia; The Men's Collective for Equal Relations (CORIAC) in Mexico; Masculinity House (CAMHA) in the Dominican Republic; and Meeting Points, Men's Group Against Violence (Puntos de Encuentro) in Nicaragua. These groups work on making males conscious of the consequences of forms and mandates of dominant masculinity, and in this way they seek to modify violent and destructive behavior associated with traditional ideas of masculinity. These groups' objective is to stimulate new attitudes in men that might permit them to express their feelings, to establish affectionate, respectful relationships with their wives and children, and to take part in work that is productive, as well as reproductive. They have paid special attention to fatherhood.

Sexuality

Understanding male sexuality within the framework of the hegemonic model of masculinity can provide additional insight to professionals who work in population, economic development, and health. Providers of family planning, reproductive health and STD/HIV prevention services must understand male sexuality to be able to design effective programs that not only attract men, but also convince them to lead healthy sexual and reproductive lives.

Sexual experience is the result of a complex set of social, cultural, and historical processes that explain sexuality's construction and its diverse manifestations (Parker 1991, 1996).

A recurring theme in literature on sexuality is that men associate high levels of sexual activity with masculinity, a value supported by the hegemonic model of masculinity. Studies indicate that men, regardless of their socioeconomic position, believe that sexual desire is a biologically determined instinct. Men often feel they cannot control sexual desire, and this belief may lead them to conquer, possess, and penetrate numerous women even when they have a partner whom they live with (Kimmel 1997; Kaufman 1997; Szasz 1997; Valdés and Olavarría 1998; Viveros 1998). Since they attribute their sexuality to a natural instinct—a purely physical phenomenon—they do not believe they can rationally control their bodies and desires, and thus do not feel they are responsible for their sexual conduct (Giffin in Barker 1996; Szasz 1997; Olavarría, Benavente, and Mellado 1998).

Men interpret women's bodies using the image they have of their own body and desires as a point of reference. The man is supposed to be active, take initiative, penetrate; the woman is seen as passive, allowing herself to be conquered, possessed, and penetrated. The man can, if necessary, exert power over a woman to penetrate her and satisfy his desires.

Research on masculine sexuality and masculinity points out that males distinguish between sex and love. They associate sex with the possibility of satisfying instinctive desire with a woman. Men see sex as a way to reaffirm their masculinity both to themselves and to other men. This is especially true in the first sexual relationship, which for males is like an initiation, a rite of passage that when completed bestows acceptance by other adult men on the male (Sharim et al. 1996; Ramírez 1997; Szasz 1997; Valdés and Olavarría 1998; Olavarría, Benavente, and Mellado 1998).

The love relationship strongly affects the exercise of male sexuality: one “makes love” with the loved woman and “has sex” with the others (Viveros 1998; Valdés and Olavarría 1998; Cáceres 1998). This situation leads to what some researchers call men's fragmentation, since they have sexual relations without feelings of tenderness or love for their partner, only to satisfy and prove their virility (Giffin 1997; Barker and Loewenstein 1995). Some publications point out the so-called “genitalization” of masculine sexuality, in which men concentrate totally on the penis and separate themselves from the rest of their bodies (Barker 1996; Giffin 1997; Rodríguez 1997).

Men's fragmentation must be due to the complex relationship between their sexuality and repressed passivity. Men consider women to be reproductive persons and sex objects, creating a tension between the mother and prostitute figures. The fascination males have with pornography suggests that they use it as another way of confirming their masculinity. Pornography alleviates their repression because it lets them be passive. When men look at pornography, they see objects of desire and receive pleasure without having to do anything. Authors suggest that *Penthouse* resembles a gynecology textbook, “In what other situation can the majority of men and young men look at a vulva?” (Horowitz and Kaufman 1989).

Using accounts from interviewees, different authors have studied young men's sexual practices, their attitudes toward reproduction, and the influence of family and peers on these matters. They have also noted the possible changes that might be observed, in private life, in roles traditionally assigned to men and in the coexistence of traditional and modern elements of sexuality. Results show that family and peer groups influence sexual behavior in males. Studies show that young men experience little tension or conflict as a result of the demands of their partner or as a result of a search for new forms of sexuality with their partner (Giffin 1997; Ponce and La Rosa 1995; Sharim et al. 1996; Gysling and Benavente 1996; Gysling, Benavente, and Olavarría 1997).

The knowledge and practices that men and women exhibit towards their own bodies have also been studied, as well as how these influence behavior in terms of reproduction and contraception (Fachel Leal 1998).

Different studies verify that some men consider themselves heterosexual and use homosexual practices to reaffirm their heterosexuality. This occurs especially when the individual is the "penetrator" and not the "penetrated" (Izazole et al. 1991; González and Liguori 1992; Jiménez 1996; Fuller 1997; Cáceres 1996; Quintana and Vásquez 1997; Giffin 1997).

Some studies examine homosexuality and bisexuality in Latin America from diverse perspectives. Studies on sexual practices examine the active/passive (penetrator/penetrated) roles in homosexual relationships and masculine identities. Some articles point out the complexity of bisexuality and the conflicts (for homosexual men) of acknowledging their homosexuality versus keeping it hidden (Murray 1995; Hernández 1996; Pareja and Hasbún 1992; Ramírez 1993; Izazola 1994; Lizárraga, no date). Some studies focus on homophobia, the repudiation of male homosexuality. These describe divergent opinions among heterosexual men (Caro and Guajardo 1997).

Adolescent Sexuality

In studying adolescence/youth, it is necessary to distinguish between demographic age and young men's life-cycle stage. Some believe this is especially valid for "inner city" sector youth and for the poorest populations of the respective countries, since they become adolescents and adults at younger ages. A 17-year-old father living with his partner and working to support a family is a young man, but not an adolescent.

Some studies consider youths from 12 to 19 years of age to be adolescents, although this criterion differs from others that consider adolescence to begin at 10 years of age and to end with young adulthood at age 21. Some training programs distinguish between young adolescents (10 to 13 years old), middle adolescents (14 to 16 years old), and older adolescents (17 to 19 years old) (CEMOPLAF 1995-97).

Adolescence is a developmental stage in which males are seeking and solidifying their masculine identity (Marqués 1997). Establishing identity is a very important process for adolescents, and part of this means accepting their sexuality (Brito 1996). During this process young men are audacious and take many risks.

In many countries of the region, research was done on adolescents, adolescent males, and young men. Many of these studies are aimed at poor-sector youths, especially in cities. These include studies done in Argentina (Kornblit and Méndez 1994), Brazil (Simonetti et al. 1996; Paiva 1996; Barker and Loewenstein 1997), Colombia (Profamilia/Colombia 1995), Chile (Millán et al. 1995; Palma and Quilodrán 1997; Rossetti 1997; Gysling et al. 1997; Murray et al. 1998), Ecuador (Tenorio 1995), Mexico (Liendro 1995; Brito 1996), Peru (Jiménez 1996; Cáceres 1998; Yon 1997; Quintana and Vásquez 1997) and Nicaragua (Abaúnza, Solórzano, and Fernández 1995).

The information gathered tells of the connection between identity and gender relations and of the intergenerational roles attributed to men and women. These studies reaffirm patterns of male domination; however, the roles attributed to women and wives have evolved, as have the roles of fathers. Young men are more willing than old men to accept mothers and wives as providers and to expect that fathers be understanding, affectionate, and involved in their children's lives (Yon 1997; Profamilia/Colombia 1995; Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Abaúnza et al. 1995; Liendro 1995; Castellero 1992).

Some studies are dedicated to exploring violence, alcoholism, and the inability to express emotions (Barker and Loewenstein 1997). For example, one study notes the power some gangs have in preserving the hegemonic model of masculinity and violently rejecting any moderation. This is especially valid in gangs that traffic in narcotics, which depend on violence to maintain power. Other studies have focused on sexual violence, principally sexual harassment (Yon 1997). Adolescent males have frequently been victims of childhood violence because their parents used violence as an instrument of discipline. Among young people, domestic violence is considered a common occurrence and is accepted as something that men cannot control (Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Puntos de Encuentro 1995).

Some researchers tried to understand the sexual culture of young adolescents and to analyze how young men construct their sexuality and sexual models (Kornblit and Méndez 1994; Tenorio 1995; Simonetti et al. 1996; Paiva 1996; Jiménez 1996; Rossetti 1997; Quintana and Vásquez 1997; Murray et al. 1998; Cáceres 1998). Results indicate that young people's changes in sexuality have been more rapid than changes observed in other behavior and attitudes (Kornblit and Méndez 1994). Other studies examine adolescent pregnancy and the effect of young men's discourse on marriage, union, abortion, adoption, or evasion (Palma and Quilodrán 1997). Sexual practices and behaviors, condom use and STDs, the condom and its image among young males, and family planning have also been studied (Millán et al. 1995; Profamilia/Colombia 1995; Paiva 1996; Brito 1996; Aguilar and Botello 1997; Villa 1997; Yon et al. 1998; Cáceres 1998).

Some studies emphasize young people's socialization process. In general, the absence of a father in the socialization of children and adolescents is common, either because the father is passive with regard to their children's sexuality, or because there is no male to occupy the father's place. When fathers try to approach their sons to talk about sexuality, they have difficulties. Unfortunately, most adults and young men have little information about sexuality and reproduction. This is where peer and street groups play a very important role in the construction of identity of adolescents and youth, as well as in their so-

cialization and sexual initiation (Liendro 1995; Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Marqués 1997; Szasz 1997; Villa 1997; Yon 1997; Fuller 1997; Montoya 1998; Olavarria et al. 1998). “*Albures*” (dares) in Mexico and “rhymed insults” in Brazil are male rituals that prove sexual knowledge of adolescents and men (Szasz 1997). These are ways in which men feel comfortable talking about sex, and they should be explored as possible frameworks for education in sexual and reproductive health.

Studies have been done on the initiation of sexual relations among adolescents, the age they consider most appropriate for initiating them, and the value of virginity and its variations among different age groups (Millán et al. 1995; Profamilia/Colombia 1995; Yon 1997; Murray et al. 1998). The research consistently points out that men do not use condoms because they believe it affects pleasure and their ability to maintain an erection. This is particularly common among adolescents who are establishing their sexual identity (Brito 1996).

Given that adolescents are sexually active, the area of STDs and HIV education needs special attention. The majority of young people know how to protect themselves against HIV, but are ignorant about other STDs and the risk they run of being infected with HIV, especially when they are involved in casual sexual relations. Many believe that sexual relations with someone they know, who is neither homosexual nor a drug user, are safe, even when they do not know the sexual history of their partner (González and Luguori 1992; Millán et al. 1995; Profamilia/Colombia 1995; Yon 1997).

With respect to adolescent pregnancy, studies focus primarily on adolescent mothers. The phenomenon in the region shows that while fertility is decreasing in the Americas, adolescent pregnancy is on the rise (Castillero 1992; Corona 1995).

The enthusiasm youths show when discussing sexual themes with adults is noticeable in studies of adolescents and programs for adolescents that address sexuality. When there are facilitators who are receptive and not authoritarian, adolescents perceive that adults value their opinions. In this sense, adult attitudes towards adolescents are as important as the messages they communicate (JOCCAS; Barker and Loewenstein 1997). The opposite occurs when health service providers have a negative image of youth, because they project stereotypes of gender relations that differ from what studies on youth reveal (Yon, Jiménez, and Valverde 1998). Thus, the challenge is to find health professionals who can work effectively with adolescents by being open and receptive to their particular concerns and needs.

STDS, HIV, and AIDS

Some studies have been published that relate masculinity to STDs, HIV, and AIDS in diverse countries of the region. They come from Argentina (Kornblit et al. 1997; Gogna and Ramos 1996; Pantelides and Ramos 1996), Brazil (Berquó and Rovey de Souza 1991; Villela 1997; Terto 1996), Chile (EDUK 1996), Mexico (Gonzalez and Liguori 1992), Nicaragua (Aráuz et al. 1997), and Peru (Cáceres 1998).

Some of these studies analyze the cultural, social and psychological dimensions of STDs, HIV, and AIDS, and observe how gender roles influence their prevention and transmis-

sion. Studies conducted on the general population analyze existing discourses and sexual conduct as well as social representations, risk perception, knowledge, preventive behavior, and attitudes toward people with AIDS (EDUK 1996; Gogna and Ramos 1996; Pantelides and Ramos 1996; Kornblit et al. 1997; Aráuz et al. 1997).

Others have focused on counselors' and seropositive patients' perceptions of education and counseling about HIV and AIDS. Gender differences in this area are starting to receive special attention, given that the HIV and AIDS epidemic is on the rise in the heterosexual population worldwide. There is a need to understand the sexual behavior of women and men in order to define different preventive approaches (García et al. 1994; Aráuz et al. 1997).

Analyses of sexual practices in some studies reveal that bisexuality is a more predominant phenomenon than previously assumed, primarily because many of the men who have had homosexual relations do not perceive them as such if they were the penetrators (González and Liguori 1992; Izazola 1994; Fuller 1997; Ramírez 1993). This notion puts them in a risky situation for contracting AIDS since they see this disease as a homosexual illness, and not being homosexual, they consider themselves removed from the risk of infection (Izazola 1991).

It is essential to consider the above-cited studies about sexual behavior of heterosexual males who practice but deny bisexuality, especially in HIV prevention programs (Izazole et al. 1991; González and Liguori 1992; Jiménez 1996; Fuller 1997; Cáceres 1996; Quintana and Vásquez 1997; Giffin 1998).

Condom use has been studied as a preventive method among males, addressing their knowledge, use and reasons for use, differentiated rates of use, and worries presented in particular groups with respect to sexual conduct, in view of the growing presence of HIV and AIDS (Berquó and Rover de Souza 1991).

Unfortunately, studies that deal with HIV, AIDS, and STDs in the Americas are scarce. Published research and available studies about contagious diseases have already been cited, and in them there is almost no mention of STDs. When mentioned, it is usually to point out the population's ignorance. In fact, most people identify only HIV as an STD.

Generally one speaks of HIV and AIDS vis à vis four topics: (1) individuals, mostly men and adolescents, exposed to the virus through risk behavior; (2) individuals, mostly women, exposed due to risk behavior of their partners; (3) studies of the predominance of HIV and AIDS; (4) programmatic strategies for HIV and AIDS prevention. The last were prepared in the United States by sociologists and U.S. programmers. They are included in this summary as useful instruments for health care organizations that wish to know about new approaches.

Other authors suspect that HIV prevention programs are failing because they are dedicated to information delivery and diffusion, rather than working to change masculine behavior—an essential requirement for controlling the spread of HIV. Authors point out the need to work out new theories and analytical practices in order to provide incentive for change among men and women.

Masculinity and Sexual and Reproductive Health

Information about men in fertility surveys is a very recent phenomenon and is not universal. Between 1986 and 1995, only 26 of the 74 Demographic and Health Surveys included data from surveyed males (Hulton and Falkingham 1996). Nevertheless, the most important works in recent years consider the role men play and their influence on women's reproductive decisions, their attitudes about sexual and reproductive health, and their knowledge of their own and their partner's reproductive systems. Undoubtedly, this line of work was driven by the research commitments made at the International Conference on Population and Development:

Research on sexuality and gender roles and relationships in different cultural settings is urgently needed, with emphasis on such areas as abuse, discrimination and violence against women; genital mutilation, where practised; sexual behaviour and mores; male attitudes towards sexuality and procreation, fertility, family and gender roles; risk-taking behaviour regarding sexually transmitted diseases and unplanned pregnancies; women's and men's perceived needs, for methods for regulation of fertility and sexual health services; and reasons for non-use or ineffective use of existing services and technologies. (ICPD 12.13)

Some studies analyze men's participation and responsibility in reproductive health, including family planning and sexual health (Mundigo 1995; Helzner 1996; Hulton and Falkingham 1996). Others present an update on men's involvement in reproductive health (UNFPA 1995; Shepard 1996) or summarize aspects of reproductive behavior in Latin America and the Caribbean and make recommendations (The Alan Guttmacher Institute, no date).

Different studies have been conducted in recent years about men's sexual and reproductive health in different countries of the region. One of them includes several countries (Cuca et al., no date), others focus on one particular country and use this as a springboard for more general reflections about sexuality and male reproductive health. Accessible studies and research included in this review are projects completed in Argentina (Villa 1996; Meglioli 1998), Bolivia (Population Council 1994; Aliaga and Machicao 1995; Buchanan 1997; Zambrana, Bailey, and McCarraher, no date), Brazil (Fachel Leal 1995; Giffin 1997; Arilha 1988; Kalckmann 1988), Colombia (Salcedo 1994; Tolbert, Morris, and Romero 1996; Viveros and Gómez 1998), Chile (Olavarría et al. 1998), Mexico (Shedlin and Hollerback 1981; Leñero 1994; Figueroa Perea 1994, 1997; Brito 1996; Population Council, in press), Peru (Maynard-Tucker, 1989; Foreit et al. 1992; Yon 1996; Population Council, in press), and the Dominican Republic (Friedman, Medina, and Tatis 1975).

One of the themes that appears consistently in publications is the difficulty men have in speaking with other people about feelings and intimate experiences associated with sexuality, except when they talk about their conquests or fantasies of domination over women or other men (Meglioli 1998; Olavarría et al. 1988). Similarly, communication between partners is scarce in many cases, especially when it pertains to having children and other

reproductive health issues (Zambrana, Bailey, and McCarraher, no date; Population Council/Bolivia 1994).

In spite of these difficulties, men are willing to speak about sexuality and reproduction with researchers (Cuca et al., no date). Males who participate in discussion groups, group interviews and in-depth interviews offer information that allows researchers to evaluate the significance, feelings, and attitudes of these men's sexual and reproductive lives. Such research also enables men to verbalize their practices by providing information on different aspects of sexual and reproductive health, like contraception, condom use, and abortion.

It has been noted that many men have erroneous information about sexual and reproductive health because their sources are generally their peers, males as uninformed as they are, who share erroneous information and practices (Barker and Loewenstein 1997; Population Council/Bolivia 1994). Some studies learned that men fully trust the advice of doctors in obtaining information about family planning (Friedman et al. 1975).

Men's attitudes and practices about reproductive health and their decisions and responsibilities concerning conception, contraception, and contraceptive method use have been analyzed in different studies (Figueroa 1994, 1997; Mundigo 1995; Shepard 1996; Yon 1996; Arilha 1998; Olavarría et al. 1998).

Some studies analyze the negotiation that occurs between partners and the power and influence males exert on decision-making about reproduction and contraception. Some consider the stage of men's life cycles, economic situation, type of relationship, contraceptive use, and method chosen. Results show that men use violence to exert power over women when negotiating about sex, whether because of women's unwillingness to have sexual relations or because of the type of sexual practices performed. This includes preventing contraceptive use or obliging the woman to remove the contraceptive or to interrupt its use (Shedlin and Hollerback 1981; Liendro 1994; Figueroa 1994; Fachel Leal 1995; Meglioli 1998; Gysling and Benavente 1996; Olavarría et al. 1998).

Men's attitudes about contraceptive use constitute one of the most documented topics. Many previously mentioned studies about sexuality and reproductive health explored the meaning and use/non-use of condoms by men (Brito 1996; Buchanan 1997; Cuca et al., no date; Fachel Leal 1995; Zambarana et al., no date; Villa 1996). It was observed that, although men are acquainted with contraceptive methods (principally the condom and the pill), there is still a gap between knowledge of these methods and their correct use among those who use them (Buchanan 1997).

Studies consistently show that condom use is rejected as much by men as by women and that the majority of men refuse to use them for various reasons including fear of losing an erection, impeding direct contact with the woman, diminishing pleasure, and limiting the masculinity of the male (Brito 1996; Simonetti et al. 1996; Villa 1996). Condoms are used more commonly as prophylactics, not as contraceptives (Meglioli 1998; Fachel Leal 1995). Research results show that male contraceptive methods (vasectomy, condoms, withdrawal, and abstinence) are less commonly used in the Americas than in Asia and Africa (Barker 1996).

Several studies have analyzed vasectomy and male sterilization, as well as the views, conjugal dynamics, and power relationships in couples (Population Council/Bolivia 1994; Friedman, Medina, and Tatis 1995; Viveros and Gómez 1998).

Other studies have noted male participation in the decision to end an undesired pregnancy, as well as knowledge, attitudes and practices concerning abortion and its relationship to masculine identity (Salcedo 1994; Aliaga and Machicao 1995; Tolbert, Morris, and Romero 1996; Barker 1996).

With regard to family planning and responsible fatherhood, some studies investigate beliefs, meanings, perceptions, attitudes, and verbalized practices and the effects they have on the definition of family size, desired and planned children, and contraceptive use (Maynard-Tucker 1989; Foreit et al. 1992; Population Council/Bolivia 1994; Leñero 1994; UNFPA 1995; Yon 1996; Buchanan 1997).

Current knowledge can, to a limited extent, offer information to sexual and reproductive health service providers. The challenge is to use these data to design programs that effectively reach men and that are accessible to them (The Alan Guttmacher Institute, no date; Cuca et al., no date).

Several researchers recommend that sexual and reproductive health organizations respect the couple's decision-making process on issues that relate to their sexual and reproductive health. There is also general agreement that providers must offer programs for men (Maynard-Tucker 1989; Foreit et al. 1992; Buchanan 1997; Kalckmann 1998; Zambrana et al., no date; Cuca et al., no date; Alan Guttmacher Institute, no date).

Violence

In the past decade, international forums have increasingly focused on the problem of violence against women and children. In the International Conference on Population and Development it was agreed that

Countries should take full measures to eliminate all forms of exploitation, abuse, harassment and violence against women, adolescents and children. (ICPD 4.9)

In the Fourth World Conference on Women, delegates agreed on specific strategies aimed at "taking integrated measures to prevent and eliminate violence against women" and to "study causes and consequences of violence against women and effectiveness of preventive measures" (FWCW 124–130).

The General Assembly of the Organization of American States in Belén do Pará, Brazil (June 1994) adopted by acclamation the Inter-American Convention to Prevent, Sanction and Eradicate Violence against Women. It was ratified by almost all the countries of the region, which undoubtedly represents an expression of political will on the part of governments. At the same time, there have been significant legislative advances in numerous countries that sanction and codify domestic and sexual violence as crimes. Programs that assist victimized women, shelters, and centers for these cases of violence have also

grown in number. Even so, domestic and sexual violence—rooted in the hegemonic model of gender relations—continue and will continue to be a serious problem.

Some studies about violence in males highlight the existing relationship between gender and violence and how the patriarchal, hegemonic model of masculinity enables and justifies the violence of men. The urge to dominate other men and women, competitiveness among men, the power they exert over women, and the repression of emotionality and empathy are factors that are present in men's violence (Kaufman 1989; Goldner et al. 1990; Miedzian 1995; UNESCO 1997; Connell 1995).

There are few studies about male violence in the region and they generally highlight domestic and juvenile violence. Among the former, those most accessible and noteworthy include studies done in Argentina (Corsi, Dohmen, and Sotes 1995), Brazil (Barker and Loewenstein 1997), Mexico (De Keijzer 1997), Nicaragua (Puntos de Encuentro 1995; Centro de Comunicación y Educación Popular 1996; Montoya 1998), and Peru (León and Stahr 1995).

Puntos de Encuentro (Meeting Points) and Hombres contra la Violencia (Men against Violence) have found that men who tend to be violent believe that violence, like sexuality, is a biological and uncontrollable “instinct,” an integral element of masculinity. These men use physical and emotional violence to discipline their children and to control their wives. They are raised in a violent atmosphere and they replicate violence from father to son. In some cases, gangs or groups of friends reaffirm the lessons of the home and also incite men to become violent (Montoya 1998; Barker and Loewenstein 1997). These approaches include physical, psychological, sexual, domestic, and institutional violence.

Studies of domestic violence indicate that it is associated with alcohol consumption by males; that is, there is a strong relationship between violence and alcohol (De Keijzer 1997). In fact, some efforts with men of poor sectors grew out of the results obtained from workshops on women's mental health, where counselors realized that many of the problems discussed among women were provoked by their male partners. The predominant themes were alcoholism and domestic violence (De Keijzer 1997). Studies have been done with men who are beaters (Corsi et al. 1995; Leon and Stahr 1995). Some studies conclude, however, that men who beat women and children are found in all social sectors and that they may or may not drink alcohol. Their psychopathologic diagnoses did not show a higher percentage of pathology compared to the general population (Corsi et al. 1995).

Research results indicate that in many cases, men had been victims of violence since childhood; and interviewees remember mainly that their fathers, but also their mothers when the father was absent, used psychological and physical violence to discipline them. Results also confirm that, as adults, men are rarely victims of physical violence and do not recognize that they victimize their wives. There is a gap between men's attitudes and what they relate about their behavior. Men rarely recognize that they beat their wives, and when they do, they say it is because they have been provoked by their wives. In some cases males admitted that they had to exert power over women through violent means and that “women like to be beaten” (Puntos de Encuentro 1995).

When adolescent men were studied, they admitted that the most common type of violence they had experienced was humiliation combined with pressure to be sexually active. But at the same time they denied being violent with women (Puntos de Encuentro 1995).

Studies on nonviolent men found that these men behave differently. They tend to be less attracted to conflict and to have different values. For them, a harmonious and healthy family life is a priority, although they are pressured by their peers to be tougher with their wives. They tend not to express their ideas when they are alone with a male friend (Montoya 1998).

To overcome violence, it is necessary to act on its different components: violence against women, violence against men, and violence against oneself (Kaufman 1989).

To achieve a culture of peace it is necessary to transform the violence men exhibit in domestic life. However, in a world where the risk of unemployment, marginality, and exclusion affect a man's sense of identity in his positions of power and his decision-making in the public and private spheres, it is difficult to transform a culture of violence into one of peace that fosters the emergence of more egalitarian and fraternal forms of masculinity (UNESCO 1997).

Although there are some publications about masculinity and violence, there are few programs that work with men to prevent violence or that train health care providers to recognize the symptoms of men's violence and to assist victims. There is a need not only to identify violent men, but also to detect cases of women and children who suffer physical abuse. This, in addition to being a necessity, is also a vehicle for attracting violent men to existing, though limited, programs and counseling services. Nevertheless, there are institutions dedicated to this concept. The work of these organizations provides examples of programs that raise men's consciousness about the problem of violence and help break its vicious cycle.

Fatherhood

The literature on this topic is meager. Few research studies have been conducted in this field and several of the texts presented are magazine articles. This is a field that requires more research (Engle and Alatorre 1994).

Several of the works focus on describing the different characteristics and types of fatherhood, and the roles that fathers perform in the life of children and family (Engle and Breaux 1994).

Some studies have been done in the region, in Brazil (Cardoso 1998; Medrado 1998; Unbenhaum 1998), Chile (Almeras 1997), Jamaica (Chevannes 1992), and Mexico (Gutmann 1995; Nava 1995; Figueroa 1996; De Keijzer 1993).

As with masculinity, in the field of fatherhood there is a diversity of experiences, that is, "fatherhoods," which encompass the different forms and attributes of different fathers. According to some studies, fatherhood is strongly associated with gender identity; as

a result, males often manifest the characteristics of the dominant model of masculinity in their relationships with the mother of their children and with their children. The ways in which a man exercises fatherhood usually change as the man moves through his life cycle. For example, the behavior of a 20-year-old male with a child that is a few months old is different from that of a 50-year-old man with children who are working or finishing their studies. Fatherhood, then, is associated with different factors, such as the stage of life of the father, the historical and cultural context, and the social group to which he belongs (Gutmann 1995; De Keijzer 1993; Cardoso 1998).

Fatherhood has also been studied with respect to the presence/absence of the father. Some studies show that, while some fathers are physically absent in the development of the child because these men abandoned the home or died, the absence of the father does not mean that the father figure is not present in the children's lives. On the contrary, children with absent fathers are just as intensely aware of a father figure as are those who have lived with their father. Some fathers are temporarily absent, as in the case of those who emigrate or who work far from home and thus must be absent for prolonged periods. Other fathers, although they may be present, are passive parents who do not directly stimulate their children and do not participate in home activities. There are also active fathers who establish a collaborative relationship and stimulus within the family (De Keijzer 1993; Gutmann 1995).

Other studies have concentrated on paternal roles, their historical changes, and the traditional role of the father and how it relates to the hegemonic model of masculinity. They examine the pressure that men experience to modify behavior in order to act the part of the patriarchal figure of the father and fulfill the demands of his partners and children. They also consider new ways men can relate to their partners and children. Others search for an affectionately expressive father who participates in the activities of child-rearing and childcare, and who does not use violence or exert power over members of the family (De Keijzer 1993; Engle and Breaux 1994; Almeras 1997; Unbehaum 1998; Medrado 1998).

Though some researchers are focusing on different aspects of fatherhood, fatherhood also appears as a sub-theme in studies with other objectives. One example is studies of the role of the provider and its meaning. These studies suggest that poverty affects fatherhood since men who cannot support their children will, in some cases, leave their homes because they do not feel capable of maintaining them (Almeras 1997; Olavarria et al. 1998). Another area of study is adolescent fatherhood, in which the father tends to be overshadowed by attention paid to the mother, making it difficult for the male to consider himself, prepare for, or assume his role as father (Cardoso 1998).

Men who tend to be involved in their children's lives are less likely to exhibit domestic violence. Men who care for their children and spouses develop better self-images and are less violent with members of their family.

One cannot speak of fatherhood without mentioning motherhood. For fathers to change their behavior, mothers must also change. Many studies indicate that fathers can raise children as capably as women but mothers must support the involvement of these men in

their children's lives. In this sense, women must modify their behavior and ideas about motherhood and fatherhood (Engle and Beaux 1994; De Keijzer 1993).

The literature suggests that society must also support men's initiatives to assume responsibilities associated with the new paradigms of fatherhood. Health care systems should provide "family health" instead of maternal-child health. Companies should be encouraged to support paternity programs for their employees, to sponsor special events for fathers and their families, and to give leave to fathers as well as to mothers so they can care for their children. Economic and social policies should be examined and reformed to encourage responsible fatherhood (Engle and Breaux 1994).

Some articles point out that the public health field has not incorporated current gender identities and relations in its policies and does not understand the changes in men's identity and their responsibilities as fathers. For example, almost no Latin American health service providers recognize the importance of the father's presence during childbirth, and most exclude fathers from the labor room. However, in some countries there are encouraging experiences, including those of hospital-based programs like Amigos de la Madre (Chile) and Maternidade Leila Diniz (Brazil).

In short, studies confirm that there are many different kinds of fatherhood, and that some men are changing their ideas and practices with respect to it. They point out that these changes are possible as a result of modifications in socioeconomic and family structures, the demands of the women's movement, the search for relationships with greater emotional intimacy, and participation, by some fathers, in child raising and child care. Publications also indicate that if women want to share responsibilities with fathers, they will have to adopt new paradigms of motherhood. There is evidence that men and their children have benefited from having fathers who are physically and emotionally present. But the hegemonic and patriarchal model of masculinity is still strongly rooted in institutions like health care organizations, the private sector, and the mass media, entities that in general have not adapted their perceptions or actions to the necessities of today's families.

ABSTRACTS²

GENDER AND MASCULINITY

De Barbieri, T. 1992. Sobre la categoría de género: Una introducción teórico-methodológica (About gender analysis: A theoretical methodological introduction). *Revista Interamericana de Sociología* VI (2):147–178.

This paper is an analysis of sex-gender systems both as a larger object of study to explain feminine subordination and masculine domination and as a way of understanding systems of social action in relation to sexuality and reproduction. The study distinguishes three theoretical orientations or perspectives that focus on: (a) social gender relations; (b) gender as a hierarchical system of status or social prestige; and (c) gender systems as spheres of power articulated in different areas and forms. In conclusion, the article assesses the difficulty still present today in understanding and explaining the structure and dynamics of gender systems, since this structure is and will be an ongoing process of reconciling theory with data collection.

De Barbieri, T. 1995. Certezas y malos entendidos sobre la categoría de género (Certainties and misunderstandings about gender analysis). *Estudios Básicos sobre Derechos Humanos IV*. San José: Instituto Interamericano de Derechos Humanos, Serie Estudios de Derechos Humanos, pp. 47–84.

This article systematizes some “of the unclear points and areas of confusion that gender analysis is generating.” Due to their greater dissemination in recent years, concepts about gender analysis are “freer and less rigorous” and have come to be identified with “the feminine, women, feminist and women’s movements.” This confusion has made it difficult to “document men as social beings, the interactions among themselves and the male perspective of man-woman relationships.” The author asserts that it is not known “if men’s life cycles are similar or different from those of women, or how different male sectors construct fatherhood, home rule, domestic responsibilities, male friendships, their loyalties and conflicts.” She concludes by emphasizing the need for “research that recognizes the form in which men, as such, construct their ideas of reproduction, sexuality and work capacity in private, domestic and public environments.”

Fuller, N. 1997. Pensamiento feminista y los estudios sobre la identidad de género (Feminist thought and studies on gender identity). In *Anuario de Hojas Warmi no. 8*. Barcelona: Universidad de Barcelona, Centro Interdisciplinar Mujeres y Sociedad, pp. 13–23.

² Please note that, while several of the materials referenced in the text fit more than one thematic area, each material is only listed under a single theme in the annotated bibliography.

The article presents a balanced viewpoint of the advantages of using a gender perspective to analyze masculine identity. The author also submits a proposal based on the concepts of performance, abjection, and simulacrum in order to explain how gender definitions mold human subjectivity and constitute the actors' subjectivity. Fuller explores Lacanian theoretical approaches, which showed the inter-determination of personal identity and the nonexistence of the feminine within a "phallocratic" order. The author analyzes the approaches of philosopher Lucy Irigaray, whose principal contribution is in the deconstruction of binary oppositions on which the subject is constructed, and her denunciation of the phallocentrism that is implicit in Western theories about human beings. In addition, the author examines the approaches of several post-structuralists, Foucault, Derrida, and Lyotard, and the approach of Joan Scott and De Lauretis, who, from a feminist perspective, use the post-structuralists' perspectives to develop a theory of gender systems.

Lagarde, M. 1992. *Identidad de géneros (Gender identity)*. Serie Cuadernos de Trabajo, ed. CENZONTLE, Managua.

The author discusses feminist theories of gender, the construction of each gender based on the socialization of women and men in determined stereotypes, and the relationship between power and gender. In the symbolic distribution of space, genders theoretically occupy differentiated spaces and societies have imposed a structure on the world that separates the public from the private through the economic division of reproduction and production. The author suggests that a gender-based democracy might be a way to construct a political will that would, in turn, structure new ways of being men and women and contribute to the building of non-oppressive relationships. This implies transforming the sexual division of labor and the gender-based division of the world.

Lamas, M. 1996. *Antropología feminista y la categoría de género* (Feminist anthropology and gender analysis). In *Género: La construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*, ed. by M. Lamas. México D.F.:Universidad Autónoma de México, Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, pp. 97–126.

This study shows how the use of gender analysis has substantially modified anthropologic research and reflection. The author reviews this transition in studies and the comparison between the feminine and the masculine in given cultures to suggest that the feminine and the masculine are symbolic. In the search for the origins of gender analysis, the author analyzes the works of Money and Stoller, which began the dismantling of biological thought with respect to sexual identity. The study concludes with a summary of Ortner and Whitehead's work, which delves into a broad spectrum of sexual practices and beliefs.

Lamas, M. 1995. *Cuerpo e identidad* (Body and identity). In *Género e identidad. Ensayos sobre lo femenino y lo masculino*, ed. by Arango, León, and Viveros. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores/Ediciones UNIANDES, pp. 61–68.

The author seeks to explain how cultural processes are developed through which people become men and women within a framework that assumes the complementary nature of the sexes and the normativity of heterosexuality. She analyzes the link between body and identity, pointing out that treating people based on their sex denies the subject the most basic identifying processes. Thus, this approach ignores how gender identity is culturally established and how sexual identity is psychically structured.

León, M. 1995. The nuclear family: Origin of hegemonic masculine and feminine identities. In *Género e identidad: Ensayos sobre lo femenino y lo masculino*, ed. by Arango, León, and Viveros. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editores/Ediciones UNIANDES, pp. 169–191.

This article examines how, “beginning with the conceptualization of gender, new questions and worries have been formulated in family analysis and social identity of genders.” The author states that “attention to the nuclear family as the ideal type represents an ‘optimistic’ family model, which works under the supposition that a universal set of necessities exists that are or should be achieved by the family.” By contrasting this view with one which permits a gender focus, one can understand the family as a space in which multiple power relationships intersect. At the same time, this family model validates certain characteristics of what is called masculine and feminine “hegemonic identities”: being a provider and an authority and being a mother and a wife, respectively. A gender focus makes it possible to deconstruct these identities. The article outlines the theory of the nuclear family as the ideal type, the theory of sexual roles according to functionalism, and the critical approach that gender focus makes to these theories. The author also examines the consequences that this focus has on understanding the family.

Ortner, S., and Whitehead, H. 1996. Indagaciones acerca de los significados sexuales (Explorations of sexual meanings). In *Género: La construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*, ed. by M. Lamas. México D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, pp. 127–180.

This essay focuses on conceptualizing gender, sexuality and reproduction as “symbols” to which a determined society assigns certain meanings that require analysis and symbolic interpretation. According to the authors, this view would permit “bringing to light the diversity of meanings attributed to the sexes and sexuality in different cultures, as well as intercultural similarities with regard to these meanings.” It would also bring attention to social and cultural factors that exist in a more immediate way in gender culture. The article examines pertinent methodologies for this focus and the types of intercultural differences and similarities in ideas about gender. Finally, the essay examines the social and cultural dimensions that “seem to exert a major influence on the configuration of cultural ideas about gender and sexuality.”

Rubin, G. 1996. El tráfico de mujeres. Notas sobre la “economía política” del sexo (Trafficking women: Notes on the “political economy” of sex). In *Género: La construc-*

ción cultural de la diferencia sexual, ed. by M. Lamas. México D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, pp. 35–96.

This essay suggests the existence of a sex-gender system that corresponds to a “set of dispositions by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed human necessities are satisfied.” This system is the part of social life that includes the oppression of women, sexual minorities, and some aspects of individuals’ human personality. To describe and define this system, the author uses “conceptual instruments” from the thought of Marx, Freud, and Levi-Strauss.

Scott, J. 1996. El género: Una categoría útil para el análisis histórico (Gender: A useful category for historical analysis). In *Género: la construcción cultural de la diferencia sexual*, ed. by M. Lamas. México D.F.: Universidad Autónoma de México, Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género, pp. 165–302.

This essay examines different uses of the concept of gender and the analytical derivations that result from different focuses in use. The author defines gender as “a constitutive element of social relations based on the differences which determine the sexes” and as “a primary form of significant power relationships.” She delineates four principal elements of gender (1) culturally available symbols and myths; (2) normative concepts shown by interpretation of the meanings of symbols, expressed in religious, educational, scientific, legal, and political doctrines; (3) institutions and social organizations of gender relations: the systems of relationships, family, sexually segregated labor market, educational institutions, and politics; and (4) identity.

MASCULINITY/IES

Badinter, E. 1993. *XY, la identidad masculina* (XY: Masculine identity). Bogotá: Editorial Norma.

This book explores the changes that have occurred in masculine identity throughout the modern era in the West, and examines different explanatory approaches offered to make them understandable. The author questions statutes of masculine identity and the avatars that a man must experience in order to be able to sustain such an identity. The author draws a parallel between subjective processes, basically gathered from literature, and sociocultural processes that agree with and mold masculine identity. She suggests that, given the changes that women have experienced and the gradual mutation of their place in culture and society, men confront an ever more uncertain and subjective identity; as they are “forced to say goodbye to the patriarch, they must invent...a new virility.”

Cazés, D. La dimensión social del género: posibilidades de vida para mujeres y hombres en el patriarcado (The social dimension of gender: Possible life styles for men and women under patriarchy). CONAPO México.

This paper reexamines gendered social organization based on sexuality and the historical, sociocultural processes that construct men and women in different ways. At the root of this organization is sexuality, which dictates different obligations, prohibitions, responsibilities, hierarchies, and privileges for men and women. The study reviews the implications of patriarchy for each gender. Traditional masculinity is viewed as a risk factor for men’s lives, given that the demands placed on them to perform this role subject them to greater risks in the workplace, violence from other men, emotional restraint, and substance abuse.

Clatterbaugh, K. 1997. *Contemporary perspectives on masculinity*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press.

What is social reality for men in modern society? What maintains or explains this social reality? What conditions might we imagine that would be better for men? How might we achieve these better conditions? These are questions the author brings to seven different visions of men in modern society considered in this book. He surveys not just conservative, liberal, and radical views of masculinity, but also the alternatives offered by the men’s rights movement, spiritual growth advocates, and black and gay rights activists. Each of these is explored both as a theoretical perspective and as a social movement, and each offers distinctive responses to the questions posed. [Extracted from editors’ notes]

Connell, R. 1995. *Masculinities: Knowledge, power and social change*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

In the last five years masculinity has become a popular topic across the advanced capitalist world, especially in the United States. This book on masculinities is struc-

tured in three parts. The first examines ways of understanding masculinity and sets out a brief systematic framework for the analysis of masculinities in history. The second part is based on life-history interviews with four groups of men who in very different circumstances have grappled with changes in gender relations. The third part examines the global history of masculinity in recent centuries and the specific forms of masculinity politics in the contemporary Western world.

Connell, R. 1997. La organización social de la masculinidad (Social organization of masculinity). In *Masculinidades. Poder y crisis*, ed. by Valdés and Olavarria. Ediciones de las Mujeres, no. 24, ISIS Internacional, FLACSO-Chile, pp. 31–47.

This work establishes a basic framework for contemporary analyses of gender relations, seeking a way to distinguish between types of masculinity and an understanding of the dynamics of change. The author presents a model of the structure of gender to be used in analyzing masculinities; it consists of three dimensions: power, production, and cathexis (emotional link). This structure of gender sets up a series of relationships between different masculinities that the author arranges on the hegemonic/subordination axis. Along this line, the author suggests the existence of “a hegemonic masculinity that occupies a hegemonic position in the given model of gender relations, implying subordination of other masculinities.”

Connell, R. “Imperialism and Men’s Bodies.” Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las Identidades Masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

Conservative and essentialist ideologies see male corporality (embodiment) within political limits: masculinity, being “natural,” cannot be transformed. This article shows how the opposite is true: corporality is a political area, open to change and constantly affected by social power. Understanding this is necessary in order to conceive a democratic policy of masculine corporality, a policy leaning toward social justice and peace. The author asserts that, given the importance of corporal-reflexive practices in gender construction, the transformation of masculinities necessarily results in a change in masculine corporality. Changes in masculinity require the invention and circulation of different body practices. Democratic change requires more egalitarian interactions between bodies and the exploration of greater diversity of corporal pleasures.

De Keijzer, B. 1997. La masculinidad como factor de riesgo (Masculinity as a risk factor). In *Género y salud en el sureste de México*, coord. by E. Tuñón. México: ECOSUR, Universidad Juárez Autónoma de Tabasco.

This article summarizes findings, discussions and work experiences on the subject of masculinity and how these relate to developing different relations beginning with male training in awareness and sensitivity. The study hypothesizes that there is a link between male socialization and a series of health problems, inferring that the consequences and price of male socialization predispose Mexican men to certain types of causes of death. Men constitute a risk factor for women, children, and other men.

What stands out is the almost total absence of measures that favor men's health, measures that would address male difficulties that might lead to denial of disease, the impossibility of asking for help, and the lack of both medical and lifestyle self-care. The article concludes that in order to advance toward greater gender equality and fulfillment in relationships, it is necessary to address the phenomena of gender equality—its causes and consequences—for both genders.

Fachel Leal, O. 1997. *Suicidio y honor en la cultura gaucha* (Suicide and honor in gaucho culture). In *Masculinidades: Poder y crisis*, ed. by Valdés and Olavarría. Ediciones de las Mueres, no. 24, ISIS Internacional, FLACSO-Chile, 1997, pp. 113–124.

This article presents results of an ethnographic study carried out among *gaucho* men in southern Brazil. Specifically, it addresses the meanings of death and suicide in the construction of masculine identity among these men. The objective is to discover how the values of masculinity, honor, and liberty are connected to the idea and practice of death. The author researches how, in a “masculine culture” that presents a series of identity related dichotomies (male/female, savage/tame, country/city, strength/weakness), men's suicide is a legitimate way to maintain personal identity. It is acceptable when a man is confronted with certain biographical circumstances, like illness and aging, that prevent a *gaucho* from fulfilling the image that he has of himself: proud, arrogant, imposing, aggressive.

Fuller, N. 1997. *Identidades masculinas: Varones de clase media en el Perú* (Masculine identities: Middle-class men from Peru). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

This work analyzes the discourses and views of masculinity in middle-class Peruvian culture. In the author's words, the article “seeks to understand how two generations of men, who live in Lima, configure their gender identity according to their life cycles, the social spaces where they interact and the interpersonal relationships in which they are expected to act like males.” Discourses formed by mass media about masculinity are also considered. The author explores possible answers to a central question: “How do middle-class Peruvian men redefine, reaffirm or reproduce their masculine identity” in a context of women's changing status and with “the emergence of new discourses about masculinity and gender relations”? Material serving as the foundation of the analysis comes from qualitative research using in-depth interviews that was carried out with 40 middle-class men in Lima.

Fuller, N. “Reflexiones sobre el machismo en el Peru” (Reflections on machismo in Peru). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las Identidades Masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

This essay examines certain characteristics of Latin American machismo and looks at “the validity of this concept in understanding dominant representations of masculinity in urban Peru.” Mediterranean gender systems are used as comparative referents,

given their similarities to the Latin American situation: a double sexual morality and the importance of control over feminine sexuality, virginity, and maternity, “in contrast to the emphasis on virility, force and disinterest in domestic matters that characterize men.” The author asserts that machismo corresponds to “a particular form of organizing gender relations in societies where marked ethnic and racial differences exist,” not to an irrational and arbitrary form of masculine imposition. The author also examines academic discourse on the subject, specifying whether a particular version corresponds to commonly held views or forms part of the discourse that produces and questions the gender system in Latin America.

Gilmore, D. 1994. *Hacerse hombre: Concepciones culturales de la masculinidad* (Becoming a man: Cultural concepts of masculinity). Barcelona: Editorial Paidós.

This intercultural study on masculinity describes and analyzes “how people of different cultures conceive and experience masculinity, defined as the accepted form of being an adult man in a concrete society.” The notions of masculinity in Western and non-Western cultures and traditions are presented in response to the following questions: “Why do people in many places consider the state of a ‘real man’ or ‘authentic man’ as incorrect and precarious, a prize that one must win or conquer with force?” and “Why do so many societies present an elusive, exclusive image of masculinity using cultural approval, rites or proof of ability and resistance?” The author asserts that ideas and ambitions about masculinity, as the achievement of a special condition, “are found in all societies of the world, express themselves in various degrees, but don’t seem to be absolutely universal; there are exceptions.”

Goldenberg, O., and Acuña, V.H. 1994. *Género en la informalidad. Historias laborales centroamericanas* (Gender in the informal sector: Central American labor stories). Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO-Costa Rica.

This book introduces the complex question of what it means to be a man or woman in the informal economic sector in Central America. To this end, it deals with texts that show how gender relations and identities conform. Considerations of informality as context are outlined. Certain textual manifestations of the informal economy are examined, which register significant, specific nuclei of the masculine and the feminine in stories of male and female workers. Elements of situational and home relationship analysis are proposed, beginning with the recognition of the productive role that women perform in the informal economy. Male testimonies have been gathered from men in Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Costa Rica, and Panama.

Gomáriz, E. 1997. *Introducción a los estudios sobre masculinidad* (Introduction to studies of masculinity). San Jose: Centro Nacional para el Desarrollo de la Mujer y la Familia.

This book has two purposes: to update studies on masculinity and to serve as an introduction to this material. The author considers the work relevant because it is contextualized with respect to the crisis accompanying the turn of the century, the general panorama of gender studies, and its Latin American perspective. The book examines

the principal directions of studies on masculinity. The author presents the most relevant themes in this field of research, as well as consensus and dissent among authors, specifically in the areas of masculine identity, its weakening, and the exertion of masculinity in the family. The debate over changes in masculinity is quickly examined and the author presents a bibliographic, worldwide panorama of the subject.

Gutmann, M. 1996. *The meanings of macho: Being a man in Mexico City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

This book examines what being a man means to both women and men living in Santo Domingo, a working class district in Mexico City. The study uses an ethnographic approach to understanding gender identity in relation to cultural beliefs and practices found in the Mexican capital, exploring how cultural differences and similarities are constructed by different figures in society who both restrict and expand the meaning of gender identity. Gutmann attempts to deconstruct the singular, macho-centered notion of Mexican manhood into a multiplicity of masculinities by suggesting that the body and sexuality require an analysis of social and cultural factors, not simply biological ones. He seeks to dismantle stereotypes of Mexican maleness by examining beliefs, meanings, expectations, judgments and specific acts. The book proposes that the stereotype of the “macho Mexican” is currently inappropriate and deceiving in that it hinders an accurate understanding of masculinity in Mexico.

Guzmán, V., and Portocarrero, P. 1992. *Construyendo diferencias* (Constructing differences). Lima: Editorial Flora Tristán.

This book summarizes research on and analysis of workers’ lives. The authors study social practices of women laborers and the link between their family and work lives. The study forced the researchers to examine their conceptual tools to better understand these social processes. They became aware of the theoretical areas affected and the instruments used. They analyze the influence of socialization and the trajectories of social actors interviewed before their immersion in the work force. The book includes different answers from both women and men about the process of constructing an identity as a laborer. The second part of the book includes various interviews that illustrate the construction of identity as a worker and trade union networks for men and women.

Hernández, I. “Identidades étnicas subordinadas e identidades masculinas hegemónicas” (Subordinated ethnic identities and hegemonic masculine identities). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las identidades masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

In a global scenario that emphasizes existing links between demographic issues and social, economic, and cultural development, the author reflects on relationships between ethnic identities and gender. Discrimination that is experienced as a product of belonging to a certain ethnicity is reconfigured within gender relations, so that “a complex game of intra-ethnic and inter-gender friction is produced, which hurts indigenous and African-American women.” The author asserts that the counterparts of subordinated ethnic identities are hegemonic masculine identities in the daily experiences of the subjects – men and women – who are discriminated against for ethnic

reasons. One arrives at the conclusion that awareness of the interrelationship among sociocultural, ethnic, and gender factors “is called upon to provoke favorable changes in interethnic relations, through daily behaviors of greater tolerance and pluralism.” Such an exercise also generates changes in those who are responsible for the implementation of public policy, social assistance strategies, and social reform movements.

Jiménez, R. “Ser hombre homosexual en Chile” (Being a homosexual man in Chile). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las identidades masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

“What is homosexual masculinity? How is it manifested? Has it been easy for homosexuals to generate their own structures and relationships, which allow for the harmonious development of their masculinity? Is homosexual masculinity different from heterosexual masculinity?” These are some of the questions the author develops in reflecting on the avatars a person experiences in order to maintain homosexual identity. Masculine homosexual identity is often constructed within a sociocultural context that is defined by a heterosexual hegemonic model of masculinity. In this model each individual must establish a relationship between his gender identity and his sexual identity, which corresponds with what is expected in a hegemonic way. This relationship must be, for example, effeminate, degenerate, and abnormal. New constructs of relationships and identity that are subjective but not subordinate can be developed through a process of personal and political reflection. This process, according to the author, makes the emergence of new forms of plural, non-hegemonic masculinity possible.

Kaufman, M. (ed.) 1987. *Beyond patriarchy: Essays by men on pleasure, power, and change*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Men’s domination and women’s oppression is based within—and perpetuated by—a broad range of social structures, from the most intimate of sexual relations to the organization of economic and political life. *Beyond Patriarchy* addresses these relations of power at both levels; it explores the links between the individual man and the social structures of male domination, between the past and the present. The title does not suggest that any of the authors thinks he has transcended sexism and the society in which he lives. Rather, it suggests the need to develop both the understanding and the personal and social activities that will enable men to make a strong contribution to the struggle against patriarchy in its myriad of forms. [Extract from the back cover of the book]

Kaufman, M., and Pineda, M. 1991. *Paradojas del poder* (Paradoxes of power). Santo Domingo: Serie Papeles para el Debate, CIPAF.

This document contains two articles about the construction of gender in a patriarchal society. Kaufman relates his personal search and the theorizing process with respect to masculine identity. The conflicts that the insatiable power search brings with it submit men to violence against themselves, other men, and women. Kaufman highlights feminist approaches to social change and proposes building a new alliance between men and women. Piñeda considers that the proposal made by men themselves

to try to deconstruct, from within their personal and political practice, the patriarchal armor that converts them into oppressors opens the possibility of advancing the construction of a freer society.

Kaufman, M. 1997. Las experiencias contradictorias del poder entre los hombres (Contradictory experiences of power among men). In *Masculinidades. Poder y crisis*, ed. by Valdés and Olavarría. Ediciones de las Mujeres, no. 24, ISIS Internacional, FLACSO-Chile, pp. 63–81.

This work develops the concept of the contradictory experiences of power among men from a gender perspective, the psychosocial process of gender development, and the relationship of power, alienation and oppression. The author suggests that “in a world dominated by men, their world is, by definition, a world of power. . . . Individually, much of what we associate with masculinity revolves around men’s capacity to exert power and control. However, men’s lives speak to a different reality. Although they have power and reap the privileges our sex bestows, this power is corrupt.” The author also asserts that this power implies contradictory experiences for men, “a strange combination of power and privilege, pain and lack of power.”

Kimmel, M. 1992. La producción teórica sobre masculinidad: Nuevos aportes (Theoretical production on masculinity: New approaches). In *Fin de siglo, género y cambio civilizatorio*, ed. by R. Rodríguez. Ediciones de las Mujeres, no. 17, ISIS Internacional, pp. 129–138.

The author analyzes the different theoretical positions on masculinity, reviewing consensual ideas of British and Australian thinkers: masculinity does not come with the species’ genetic code, nor does it float on the current of a collective unconscious, waiting to be actualized by one particular man, or by all simultaneously. Masculinity is socially constructed, changing from one culture to another, within one culture over time, during the course of any individual man’s life, and among different groups of men according to class, race, ethnic group, and sexual preference. The author asserts that in the “mythopoetic” current of authors led by Robert Bly with his book *Iron John* and others, men feel powerless and demand more masculine power in the world, revealing antifeminist positions.

Kimmel, M. 1997. Homofobia, temor, vergüenza, y silencio en la identidad masculina (Homophobia, fear, shame, and silence in masculine identity). In *Masculinidades. Poder y crisis*, ed. by Valdés and Olavarría. Ediciones de las Mujeres, no. 24, ISIS Internacional, FLACSO-Chile, 49–61.

The author suggests that he “considers masculinity to be a set of ever-changing meanings that we construct through our relationships with ourselves, with others and with our world. Virility is neither static nor temporal, it is historical. It is not the manifestation of an interior essence, it is socially constructed. It does not rise to consciousness from our biological components, it is created within cultures. Virility means different things to different people at different times. We have come to know what it means to be a man in our culture by lining up our definitions in opposition to a set of others—racial minorities, sexual minorities and above all, women.” Given this definition, the

author refers to certain characteristics—including masculinity as power relationships, escape from the feminine, homosocial validation, and homophobia—that he discussed during a presentation at the regional conference “Gender Equity in Latin America and the Caribbean: Challenges of Masculine Identities” in Santiago de Chile on June 8–10, 1998.

Kimmel, M. “The (Gender) Development of (Gender) Underdevelopment: The Simultaneous Production of Hegemonic and Subaltern Masculinities in Europe and the United States.” Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Genero en America Latina y el Caribe: Desafios desde las Identidades Masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

The author asserts that, just as developed countries need an underdeveloped counterpart, hegemonic masculinity requires “other” problematic and devalued masculinities. Both experience mutual but unequal interaction in a gendered social and economic order. Kimmel adopts a set of theoretical suppositions: masculinities are socially constructed, varying from culture to culture, in time, in interaction with other variables like race, class and in individual men’s lives; masculinities are constructed in two interrelated areas of power relationships, with women and with other men, which give rise to sexism and homophobia; and although masculinity is a construction built into power relationships it is, generally, invisible to men, being more visible to those men who fall outside its privileges.

Kreimer, J. C. 1991. *El varón sagrado: El surgimiento de una nueva masculinidad* (Sacred man: Emergence of a new masculinity). Buenos Aires: Editorial Planeta.

This text contains the author’s ideas about a new masculinity. He questions the socially constructed stereotype of the male and re-emphasizes the discomfort and suffering that this model generates, given men’s reality and necessities. Through using group consciousness-raising work and combining body techniques and exercises, the author develops a process of internal reconciliation with the wounded inner child and the father, searching for acceptance of the feminine side of male identity that is castrated and nullified in the socialization process. This new masculine identity proposes an approach to women on egalitarian levels.

Márques, J.-V. 1997. *Varón y patriarcado* (Man and patriarchy). In *Masculinidades. Poder y crisis*, ed. by Valdés and Olavarría. Ediciones de las Mujeres, no. 24, ISIS Internacional, FLACSO-Chile, pp. 17–30.

The author expresses theoretical notions of the social construction of masculinity in a patriarchal society. He suggests that one is not born male, but instead becomes male after a socialization process that molds the male child into the masculinity that his culture and society prescribe. He affirms at the same time that the process of males’ social construction is a two-sided operation. On one hand, potential personal differences among male individuals are reduced, making them uniform on the basis of a masculine subject model. On the other, differences with respect to women are increased. He adds that the basic slogan of this social construction is the importance of being male: “To be male in a patriarchal society is to be important. . . . To be male is

to be important because women are not important; in another sense, to be a man is to be important because men communicate with that which is important, since all that is important is defined as masculine.”

Mirandé, A. 1997. *Hombres y machos* (Men and machos). Boulder: Westview Press.

Although patriarchy, machismo, and excessive masculine displays are assumed to be prevalent among Latinos in general and among Mexicans in particular, little is known about Latino men or macho masculinity. This book fills a void by providing an integrated view of Latino men, masculinity, and fatherhood—and in the process it refutes many common myths and misconceptions. Examining how Latino men view themselves, the author argues that prevailing conceptions of men, masculinity, and gender are inadequate because they are based not on universal norms but on limited and culturally specific concepts. Findings are presented from in-depth personal interviews with Latino men (specifically, fathers with at least one child between the ages of four and eighteen living at home) from four geographical regions and from a broad cross-section of the Latino population: working and middle class, foreign-born and native-born. Topics range from views on machos and machismo to beliefs regarding masculinity and fatherhood. [Extract from the editors’ summary]

Nolasco, S. 1993. *O mito da masculinidade* (The myth of masculinity). Rio de Janeiro: Editora Rocco.

This book is a product of the author’s psychological experience with men’s groups, specifically from a study of how they saw themselves and what they considered to be the social expectations required of and imposed on them. He discusses aspects of men’s lives that they left unmentioned and analyzes why traces of sensitivity were eliminated “in the behavior model desired for men,” and what this “elimination conveys for them and for the reproduction of the capitalist system.” The book discusses “the oppressive way in which men are socialized.” It examines social parameters that propose to define what a man *is* “based on the unhappiness lived by interviewees faced with the social roles defined for them.”

Ragúz, M. 1995. *Construcciones sociales y psicológicas de mujer, hombre, feminidad, masculinidad y genero en diversos grupos poblacionales* (Social and psychological constructs of woman, man, femininity, masculinity and gender in different population groups). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

This book presents a study done in Peru with the objective of exploring the social and psychological construction of gender identity in diverse groups of the Peruvian population within different age levels, types and levels of education, socioeconomic status, and work status. Results of more than 600 open interviews were processed according to the different variables under consideration. The analysis contrasts different levels of development of gender consciousness in these groups, and determines how concepts of Woman, Man, Masculinity and Femininity are operationalized, considering their similarities and differences according to the described variables. Systematizing qualitative material and statistical analysis facilitated the study of how different groups of people conceptualize gender, relationships and other factors that, according

to the author, “lead to conclusions that question psychological gender theory and the findings of other studies and which raise a series of questions for research, regarding replication, validation and substantiation.”

Ramírez, R. 1993. *Dime capitán: Reflexiones sobre la masculinidad* (Tell me, Captain: Reflections on masculinity). Río Piedras: Ediciones Huracán

This book explores the construction of masculinity in Puerto Rico and is based on the author’s reflections arising from observations, experiences, and subjective introspection. “It is an interpretation in search of the meanings of masculinity, framed by the foci of interpretative anthropology and anthropology as cultural criticism.” The book is organized in five chapters, each one an essay, which are intertwined with the concepts of power and gender. Power is understood as “an integral part of all our relationships, considering men as participants in cycles of authority and rebellion,” and gender is seen as a social construct. The author critiques the use of the term “machismo” and its uncritical replication, then analyzes masculinity as a social construct and presents an interpretation of what it means to be a Puerto Rican man, underlining its central elements, power, competition, and sexuality in its link to power and pleasure. The book deals with erotic relationships between men and how the homosexual environment replicates dominant masculine ideology. Lastly, the author suggests the possibility of constructing a new masculinity “liberated from the power games that characterize it.”

Rodríguez, M. E. Masculinidad y sexualidad (Masculinity and sexuality). In *Seminario-taller “Identidad masculina, sexualidad y salud reproductiva.”* Ciudad de México, May 1997.

This study presents an analysis of information collected in the life stories of 12 male subjects, ranging in age from 29 to 61, who were low-income field workers from the northern area of Costa Rica and were married, with children, in immediate or extended nuclear families. Through these stories, the study attempts to identify the privileges and hardships of being male and to discover the meaning of women, femininity, men, and masculinity for these men. It also explores the importance of the mother and father figures and their effects on the construction of the subjects’ own subjectivity. In addition, it analyzes some of the environments that have helped to mold this subjectivity, like work, jail, and the bar, and how these areas are related to violence, money, women, and motherhood. Special emphasis is placed on the body as representative of the male stereotype, a body used and controlled, but also disregarded, since men’s only possible relation with it is one of self-destruction and denial. The study concludes that men, in their daily struggle to maintain their threatened masculinity, tend to ignore or not to know the limits of their own bodies and make demands on and repeatedly deny them and, therefore, themselves.

Seidler, V. 1994. *Unreasonable men: Masculinity and social theory*. London: Routledge.

Seidler argues that the identification of masculinity with reason has played a central role in Western concepts of modernity and in the forms of social theory and philosophy that have emerged. Reason is defined in opposition to emotions, while the mind

is set against the body and culture set against nature, as men have learned to take their reason for granted. This produces an “unreasonable” form of reason that men learn to use to legislate for others, before learning to speak more personally for themselves. This is part of the power that men can assume in relation to women, which is embodied in dominant forms of social theory. Emotions and feelings are discounted as forms of knowledge, for they are deemed to be “personal” and “subjective” when contrasted with the “objectivity” and “impartiality” of reason. The dominant forms of social theory have worked with a universal and impersonal conception of reason which, forming our visions of language, morality, and politics, has often discounted experience, treating it as an effect of discourses alone. [Extract from the editors’ notes]

Stern, S. 1995. *The secret history of gender: Women, men, and power in late colonial Mexico*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

This book is a historical study of the relationships between gender and power in Mexican popular culture of the late colonial period (1760–1821). Through descriptions of daily life, including the routine of conflicts and violence that result from cultural disputes about the rights of gender, the author challenges suppositions about gender relations and political culture in a patriarchal society. He also considers continuity and changes from the studied period to the present, developing a paradigm for understanding a society in a similar period. The author presents three principal arguments: first, he argues that women and subaltern men developed competing models of legitimate gender authority and that these differences unleashed bitter struggles about the rights and obligations of gender; second, he shows connections, through language and social dynamics, between disputes about legitimate authority in domestic and family matters and those that occur in the arenas of politics and government power; third, he examines regional and ethnic variations.

Valdés, T., and Olavarría, J. 1997. Introducción (Introduction). In *Masculinidades: Poder y crisis*, ed. by T.Valdés and J. Olavarría. Ediciones de las Mujeres, no. 24, ISIS Internacional, FLACSO-Chile, pp. 9–15.

This book presents current studies on masculinity in Latin America and the context in which they are situated and are beginning to emerge from a theoretical and empirical point of view. The authors examine a series of theoretical positions concerning certain topics in the field of masculinity, and they differentiate interior currents or views, including sociological, anthropological, psychological, circulation, and mythopoetic perspectives. This allows for the conceptualization of the series of articles compiled in the book.

Valdés, T., and Olavarría, J. “Ser hombre en Santiago: A pesar de todo, un mismo modelo” (Being a man in Santiago: Despite everything, it’s the same model). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las Identidades Masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

This work presents research results from the study “Social Construction of Masculinity in Chile: Crisis of the Traditional Model” using a qualitative methodology. It is

based on real life stories and focuses on two areas: the construction of masculine identities and power relationships among couples, especially concerning sexuality and reproduction. The social construct of “being a man” is presented “in its stereotypical, hegemonic version, and how interviewees identify and differentiate themselves with respect to it.” The authors also consider interviewees’ perceptions concerning sexuality and its importance in the construction of masculine identity. They analyze the problems of work and how they relate to the image of being a dignified man. Finally, the lecture examines how being the provider is a burden for men that is imposed by the hegemonic model. The authors conclude that despite some questioning about the “hegemonic model,” there is no integral criticism nor are there alternative proposals for living masculinity.

Viveros, M. “Quebradores y cumplidores: Biografías diversas de la masculinidad” (Promise keepers and promise breakers: Different biographies of masculinity). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Genero en America Latina y el Caribe: Desafios desde las Identidades Masculinas,*” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

This lecture presents the partial results of a study conducted in two Colombian cities, Armenia and Quibdo. The author begins with the notion that masculinity is not an “innate or essential attribute” but rather “a relational category which describes a historical process as much collective as individual, and which relies on a malleable and changing meaning.” The study used a qualitative methodology and was based on 44 real life stories of middle-class men of two age groups (ages 20–35 and 45–60). Among other conclusions, the author asserts that masculinity is defined in different forms according to life-cycle stages and the different environments in which men live. Also, the author states that the most common representations of masculinity are “those related to sexual ability, physical force, solidity of character and independence as viewed by others; and responsibility, in both domestic and social environments.”

SEXUALITY

Caro, I., and Guajardo, G. 1997. *Homofobia cultural en Santiago de Chile: Un estudio cualitativo* (Cultural homophobia in Santiago, Chile: A qualitative study). Santiago: Nueva Serie FLACSO, FLACSO-Chile.

This study examines cultural homophobia toward homosexual men, describing opinion trends of males with heterosexual identities in Santiago. The methodology consisted of four discussion groups and 12 individual interviews, in which age and socioeconomic group were the principal variables. This study shows that expressions of cultural homophobia exist in both public conversation and private discourse. However, male discourse toward homosexuality does not exhibit a homogeneous form. A monolithic male ideal or vision does not exist; rather one notes fissures and divergences, which is one of the historical conditions for changes in gender relations and its tolerance or hostility toward homosexuality. Thus, zones of consensus and dissent among men are examined, in their role as fathers, in their view of homosexuals, and, in particular, in their actualization of hostility, aggression, or violence against homosexuals.

Fachel Leal, O. “Hombres y mujeres: Cultura reproductiva y sexualidad en el sur de Brasil” (Men and women: A culture of reproduction and sexuality in southern Brazil). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las Identidades Masculinas,*” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

This research study is about knowledge and practices that a given population has about their own bodies, their social representation of sexuality, reproductive functions, and their current practices with respect to reproduction and contraception. Sexual behavior was conceived as a result of a sociocultural context that comprises specific values of gender identity and particular patterns of familial organization. The objective of the research is to identify the different factors, motivations, and social situations which lead a person from the slums of Porto Alegre, Brazil, to choose a particular contraceptive method, and to make the decision whether and when to have children. It also examines when and why he/she adopts what has been called “risk behavior” with respect to STDs, principally HIV.

Giffin, K. *Homens, heterossexualidade e reproducao no Brasil* (Men, heterosexuality, and reproduction in Brazil). Document presented to the MacArthur Foundation, October 1997.

This work is an update on research about men and/or masculinity in Brazil. Its objective is to synthesize knowledge about the reality of Brazilian men in terms of their relationship with sexuality and human reproduction, in an attempt to identify input for future research and social interventions. The gender focus was a guide in the search for materials in the social and human sciences. This meant not only considering men’s relationships with women, their children, and other men, but also taking into account their relationships between public and private, social and individual, past and present, ideal and material, and biological and social, among others. The study exam-

ines sexuality, contraception, abortion, sexual violence, STDs and AIDS, reproductive health, man/woman relationships, fatherhood, and masculine identity.

Gysling, J., Benavente, C., and Olavarría, J. *Sexualidad en jóvenes universitarios* (Sexuality in university youths). Santiago: Nueva Serie FLACSO, FLACSO-Chile.

The purpose of this research was to describe and analyze representations and the experience of sexuality among middle-class, urban, university youth and to compare their views and experiences according to gender. The basic question of the study is how the intimate life of Chilean youths has been transformed within the framework of an unfinished process of modernization that presents many tensions and contradictions, especially in this area. This question is posed in response to a possible change in how gender identities are defined that would transform the role that has historically corresponded to women in society and, consequently, change the male role. According to the findings of this study, the sex life of middle-class university youths still has many difficulties. Both men and women present a contradictory discourse concerning sexuality in which modern and traditional elements coexist. The feuding viewpoints are not between men and women, but rather in the representations that each person has of sexuality.

Gysling, J., and Benavente, C. 1996. *Trabajo, sexualidad y poder: Mujeres de Santiago* (Work, sexuality and power: Women in Santiago). Santiago: Nueva Serie FLACSO, FLACSO-Chile.

The objective of the research presented in this text is to identify, describe, and analyze gender relations with respect to sexuality and reproduction and to compare the views of women from different fields of work on these subjects. The underlying questions are in what way and how work influences the ways in which women approach a greater autonomy in their couple relationship. The initial hypothesis was that subordination, although common in all women, is not identical in either form or extension, and that this heterogeneity is linked—among other things—to the woman’s work. The study concludes that women’s autonomy is a complex construct. Their biography, current life conditions, and personal projects and the characteristics of their partner intervene in their autonomy. Thus, remunerated labor does not appear to be a directly determinant factor of women’s autonomy.

Hernández, J. C. “Bisexuality in Veracruz State: The Case of Tecolutla.” Lecture presented at the conference “Reconceiving Sexuality: International Perspectives on Gender, Sexuality and Sexual Health,” Rio de Janeiro, Apr. 14–17, 1996.

Tecolutla is a small fishing town in the north of Veracruz State in Mexico. It is known for the bisexuality of its male population; to be a *mayate* (bisexual) in Tecolutla seems to have a different gender identity meaning than in urban societies. There, people talk about bisexuality in a good-humored way. It seems that being a *mayate* is a way to become a man. It could be a way of constructing masculinity, because it is openly accepted by the culture for teenagers 13 or 14 years old; they abandon this practice “naturally” when they are around 19 or 20. In Tecolutla, having sex with

other men doesn't mean being homosexual, especially if one practices penetration. To be a homosexual (*choto*) is to be a travesty, weak and effeminate. To have sex with them or with other men doesn't affect a man's male identity; on the contrary, it is a way to affirm it. Gay identity doesn't exist in this place. [Extracted from abstracts prepared for the conference.]

Horowitz, G, and Kaufman, M. 1989. *Sexualidad masculina: Hacia una teoria de liberacion* (Male sexuality: Toward a theory of liberation). In *Hombres: Placer, poder y cambio*. Santo Domingo: CIPAF, pp. 65–99.

The book examines theories on patriarchal models of male sexuality that the authors argue are rooted in pleasure and power. The authors assert that male sexuality is socially constructed and is therefore influenced by culture and customs. In male-dominated societies where homosexuality is repressed, boys are socialized to be dominant and to renounce their passivity, which is associated with homosexuality and femininity. Boys in this society are taught that manhood is equivalent to being active. The authors introduce the notion of polysexuality, an inherent ability to become sexually aroused and ease/discharge sexual excitement through various parts of the body, including the brain with its ability to fantasize, and through feel, taste, sound, sight, and smell. Men's (and women's) emphasis on genital pleasure is biologically related to reproduction of the species. Elements of progressive human sexuality should contribute to liberating male sexuality.

Izazola, J. 1994. *El erotismo. La bisexualidad* (Eroticism and bisexuality). Consejo Nacional de Población, México. [Unpublished version]

This article attempts to define bisexuality by clearly separating it from homosexuality and heterosexuality, sexual orientations with which it shares both common threads and differences. In an attempt to define bisexuality more adequately and to propose a classification of male bisexuality, the author revisits several models that try to explain its patterns but discovers that specific cultural environments that influence the myriad ways of conceptualizing and practicing sexuality interfere with a coherent explanation. The study concludes that sexual orientation does not follow a pattern of normality as opposed to abnormality, nor can it continue to be viewed in dichotomous terms. Bisexuality is not an undefined process, nor is it a form of practicing homosexuality, nor does it imply a handicap. It is simply the expression of a type of human sexual orientation.

Kornblit, A. L., and Méndez, A. M. 1994. *Modelos sexuales en jóvenes y adultos* (Sexual models of youth and adults). *Acta Psiquiátrica y Psicológica de América Latina* 40(3):236–242.

This article presents the results of research carried out in Buenos Aires on the sexual standards of two groups: 365 male and female youths from middle-and lower-middle-class backgrounds, between 13 and 19 years of age, and their parents. The authors conclude that liberal attitudes are related more to aspects of sexual behavior than to prevailing norms of gender stereotypes. Contrary to what was expected, at least half

the population maintains traditional gender stereotypes. Marked differences exist regarding guidelines for sexual behavior tolerated by parents and adolescents. Nevertheless, an analysis of stereotypes of sexual values and standards for gender erases these differences, since both groups give responses categorized as traditional. This indicates that changes in sexuality, currently occurring very rapidly, are more behavioral than attitudinal, especially among men, who are more reluctant to modify their traditional stereotypes of gender.

Lizárraga, X. *Notas para la construcción de las semánticas homosexuales* (Notes for constructing homosexual semantics). [Unpublished manuscript, undated]

This article analyzes homosexual experience, identifying it as a social, affective and cultural phenomenon that, in being defined according to heterosexual parameters, becomes distorted. The article demonstrates how heterocentrism permeates definitions of homosexual and homosexuality by classifying heterosexuality as the norm and homosexuality as an inclination, the product of a choice. Through reproductive sexual politics and fundamentalist morals, heterosexuality is imposed as the parameter for exercising sexuality, contradicted by homosexuality as an expression against nature and an antisocial disorder. The paper argues that homosexuality is denied as a sexual or erotic possibility because it assaults the heterocentrist conception of society, the order from which male and female roles are claimed to be derived. It emphasizes the diversity that exists within the boundaries of homosexuality, distinguishing between homosexual (the individual assumed to be part of a silent minority, self-recognized as a social rarity whether harassed or tolerated) and gay (who, knowing him- or herself to be a minority, constructs communities and generates his or her own dynamics, which seek to turn intolerance into an incentive for action). Homophobia is derived from the idea that heterosexuality is natural, and like misogyny, owes its existence to the power practices orchestrated by the heterosexual macho.

Murray, S. (ed.) 1995. *Latin American homosexualities*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press.

This volume of anthropological studies examines, from theoretical, literary, ethnographic, ethnohistorical, and lexicological perspectives, male homosexuality in Latin American Spanish-speaking countries, Brazil, and aboriginal societies. Focusing on such themes as family, society, culture, politics, economy, and ethnicity, the authors explore homosexual practices in pre-Columbian indigenous societies and in colonial and modern Latin America. Topics examined include homosexual categorization, machismo and homosexuality, the active-passive dichotomy, and the gay human rights movement, among others. The compiled articles show the complexity and diversity of homosexuality in Latin America through history, nationalities, and ethnic groups.

Pareja, R.; Hasbún, J. *Perfiles de actividad sexual en la comunidad gay de la República Dominicana y su nivel de riesgo frente al SIDA* (Profiles of sexual activity in the gay community in the Dominican Republic and the level of risk for AIDS). In *A Portfolio of AIDS/STD Behavioral Interventions and Research*, Edited by Lidia Bond, Pan American Health Organization, Washington D.C., 1992, pp. 143-151.

Concerned about AIDS in male homosexuals, investigators in the Dominican Republic interviewed gay men in an attempt to categorize them. While acknowledging that innumerable variations exist in homosexual conduct, the investigators worked out the following broad categories: (1) “visible women” who play the part of women in sexual and other relations with other men; (2) “average” gays, who can switch easily between active and passive roles in sexual relations with other men; (3) bisexuales, who are usually married or engaged and may have children; (4) “sanky-pankys,” or bisexual commercial sex workers or gigolos who make their living from tourists visiting the Dominican Republic, and (5) *bugarrones*, or heterosexuals who at times have sexual relations with other men. (Editors’ summary)

Parker, R. 1991. *Bodies, pleasures and passions: Sexual culture in contemporary Brazil*. Boston: Beacon Press.

This book investigates what the author calls “Brazilian sexual culture,” focusing on its impact on the historical and social construction of sexual diversity in Brazilian culture. The study is part of the emerging field of research on the pressures of sexual life, which asserts that sexual experience is a result of a complex set of social, cultural, and historical processes, and not of immutable human nature. It lies within the tradition of social and cultural anthropology, concentrated in the symbolic dimension of the human experience, and places special importance on intersubjective, cultural forms which configure and structure the subjective experience of sexuality in different social contexts. The sexual experience described in Brazil, as in other complex societies, is plural and makes it difficult to talk about a unique and unifying system of sexual meanings in the contemporary culture of this country. Rather, one must speak of multiple conflicting and contradictory subsystems.

Parker, R. 1996. Estado de la investigación en sexualidad: Avances y desafíos (The state of sexuality research: Advances and challenges). In *Primer seminario-taller sudamericano investigación socio-cultural en sexualidad: Prioridades y desafíos*, coord. by Shepard, Valdes, and Hernandez. Santiago: Serie Seminarios y Talleres, no.1, Equipo de Apoyo Técnico de UNFPA, pp. 13–27.

This article serves as an introduction to the seminar-workshop and presents current trends in research about sexuality and the emergence, in recent decades, of a new paradigm in the social sciences for understanding and studying sexuality. This paradigm implies that sexuality and sexual activity are socially constituted or constructed; they are specific products of our social relations. The implications of this understanding are examined “for analysis of the social and cultural contexts in which sexual, cultural, community and sexual identity meanings are constructed, which in turn model and structure sexual experience in different situations.” Parker examines the ways this conceptual framework has influenced the development of research methodologies, as well as the relationship of research to politics and activism, to construct the bases of a “sexual citizenship.”

Ponce, A., and La Rosa, L. 1995. *Nuestra sexualidad: Mis abuelos, mis padres y yo. Construcciones sociales de la sexualidad en tres grupos generacionales* (Our sexuality: My grandparents, my parents, and me). Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú.

This book presents the results of research carried out in Lima among university youths from 16 to 22 years of age, their parents, and their grandparents. Its objective is to understand the changes and continuities with respect to the construction of sexuality over the course of three generations. To this end, the study focuses on an analysis of the family as the nucleus of socialization, in terms of the construction of sexual identities. The structure of norms, values, and behavior in relation to sex and the social construction of sexual risks in the selected sample are also explored. Qualitative and quantitative methodologies were used so that the approaches might complement each other.

Sharim, D., et al. 1996. *Los discursos contradictorios de la sexualidad* (The contradictory discourses of sexuality). Santiago: Ediciones SUR, Colección Estudios Sociales.

This study familiarizes the reader with the cultural construction of sexuality, analyzing how this occurs in sexual behavior and in negotiations between men and women of different socioeconomic contexts and age groups. The authors analyze the complexity of factors that influence practices and experiences of sexual partners in these times of rapid cultural transformation in Chile. These cultural transformations do not imply a change in the roles that have historically been attributed to men and women; rather, in each man and woman, old and new roles coexist. Current patterns of sexuality are seen as a broadening of the traditional model. While they neither substitute nor invalidate the traditional model, the patterns reflect a change in progress.

Szasz, I. “*Los hombres y la sexualidad: Aportes de la perspectiva feminista y primeros acercamientos a su estudio en México*” (Men and sexuality: Contributions from the feminist perspective and initial approaches to its study in Mexico). Lecture presented at the Seminario-taller “*Identidad masculina, sexualidad y salud reproductiva,*” Mexico City, May 1997.

Szasz reviews some of the research on male sexuality in Mexico and synthesizes some of the feminist and gender approaches on men's roles in sexuality and reproduction by reexamining the work of such authors as Gomátriz, de Barbieri, Lamas, and Scott. In agreement with the studies reviewed, the paper finds that sexual habits and customs of several groups of subjects are founded in myths and fears and are characterized by relations of power and inequality, clearly placing health and reproduction at risk. The repressed and abusive character of sexuality in marriage and the conscious denial of extramarital eroticism, together with the importance that erection and penetration have in affirming male identity, pose serious challenges to the possibility of male participation in reproduction and in preventive health care.

ADOLESCENT SEXUALITY

Abaunza, H., Solarzano, I., and Fernández, R. 1995. *Una causa para rebeldes. Identidad y condición juvenil en Nicaragua* (A cause for rebels: Identity and the state of youth in Nicaragua). Managua: Editorial Puntos de Encuentro.

This study reports on qualitative research with adolescents of both sexes. The work asserts that this is not just another androcentric research text about youth, but rather a collection of voices that communicates “their existence as it relates to dimensions of gender, family, and national historical memory.” The study was conducted between 1992 and 1995 with 295 urban and rural youths from different economic and educational levels. It touches on identities, interpersonal and generational relationships, values and aspirations, and what youths really experience.

Cáceres, C. “Jóvenes varones en Lima: Dilemas y estrategias en salud sexual” (Young men in Lima: Dilemmas and strategies in sexual health). Lecture presented at the regional conference “*La Equidad de Género en América Latina y el Caribe: Desafíos desde las Identidades Masculinas*,” Santiago de Chile, June 8–10, 1998.

This lecture presents some of the findings on sexual and reproductive health views and experiences among young adult and adolescent males in Lima. Two research studies were carried out by the author: one about juvenile sexual cultures, the other emphasizing aspects of knowledge, needs, and use of reproductive health services. Cáceres concludes that these results indicate that current identity models encourage youth to question and confront traditional machismo and gender inequality. Discussion among males about interactions with women is converted into a fundamental space for legitimizing identities, stratifying prestige levels among these men, and permitting “apprenticeship” for the less experienced.

Castillero, V. 1992. *La adolescente embarazada: Actitud y conducta de adolescente y del progenitor ante su rol de padre y cómo son percibidos por sus familias* (The pregnant adolescent: Attitudes and conduct of the young mother and father faced with their role as parents and how they are perceived by their families). Santiago: CELADE.

Based on a sample of 500 single adolescent women with children between 2 and 5 years old, the study describes and analyzes the attitudes and behavior of adolescent parents with respect to their role as parents, how they perceive themselves, and how they are perceived by their families. Results emphasize the dimensions that the explanatory independent variables of the parent role take on: attitudes of social actors involved in maternity/paternity, child raising and childcare, mistreatment and punishment, family support, and the socio-demographic traits of the progenitors.

Corona, E. 1995. *Sexualidad adolescente: Nuevos paradigmas de desarrollo* (Adolescent sexuality: New paradigms of development). *Revista de la Red de Salud*, no. 1, ISIS Internacional.

This short article points out that teenage pregnancy has increased while overall fertility has declined in Latin America. Corona argues that teenage pregnancy can only be addressed from a gender perspective by encouraging teenage girls to stay in school and by finding jobs for young men and women.

De Schutter, M. "A Gender Perspective on the Sexual and Reproductive Health of Children, Adolescents and Youth." Paper submitted to the "6th Millennium Conference: Children and Youth Promoting Healthy Futures," Washington, DC, Sept. 10–23, 1995.

This paper from the Pan-American Health Organization (PAHO) focuses on adolescent reproductive health, providing statistics on the consequences of adolescent sexuality. Adolescent mothers in Latin America and the Caribbean are responsible for 2 million births. At least one-quarter of sexually active adolescents in Latin America use no contraceptive method; two-thirds of users use a selected method inconsistently. In Colombia, 44.5% of pregnant adolescents under 19 who were interviewed had already had an abortion before their current pregnancy. Gonorrhea is the most commonly reported sexually transmitted disease among adolescents. Adolescents in Honduras represent about 8% of all persons with AIDS. WHO estimates that half of all HIV infections have been in persons between 15 and 24 years old. A study conducted in a maternity hospital in Lima, Peru, showed that 90% of young mothers ages 12–16 had been raped, the majority by their fathers, stepfathers, or other close relatives. De Schutter believes the exclusive focus on women curtails men's initiative to seek information about and to become involved in responsible and satisfying parenting and sexual behavior. In her opinion, the health system, at a local level, is an important entry point for strengthening communication and negotiation skills between young women and men, leading to a more balanced relationship and sexual and reproductive health for both.

Jiménez Ugarteche, O. 1996. *Entre patas y paltas: Parejas sexuales, riesgos sexuales y redes personales entre jóvenes varones de Barrios Altos* (Between *friends* and *lovers*: Sexual partners, sexual risk and personal networks among young men of Barrios Altos). In *Más allá de la intimidad. Cinco estudios en sexualidad, salud sexual y reproductiva*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, pp. 15–52.

The author points out that when he started the research that supports this article, he was under the impression that little was known about the sexuality of youths in poor neighborhoods; he thought it was an insufficiently explored and little understood field. With that in mind, the purpose of this research was to understand how the sexual interaction of a group of *patas* (friends) with their partners is defined and how the perception of sexual risk, which assumes a sexual interaction with each sexual partner, is constructed. The article focuses on three types of relationships with sexual partners: (a) falling in love, (b) hesitant, and (c) with a "homosexual." Research findings suggest that "the characteristics of sexual interaction, what occurs and what doesn't occur, are constructed on the basis of what type of relationship is established with the sexual partner, that is, in agreement with how strong the link is with the partner and the meaning the partner acquires." Thus, the study concludes that in relation-

ships involving meaningful affection, one finds practices that carry higher risks of STDs and HIV exposure and undesired pregnancy. Conversely, in less meaningful relationships the risk is minor.

Liendro, E. “Construcción de identidades de género en un barrio popular de la Ciudad de México” (Construction of gender identities in a low-income neighborhood in Mexico City). Presentation at the “*V Coloquio Anual de Estudios de Género*,” Mexico City, Oct. 1995.

The article presents a portion of research on an ethnographic study carried out in Mexico City. It explores the lives of young men in the process of constructing their gender identities. By studying peer groups as the area of socialization, and the neighborhood as the daily meeting place, the study examines processes of learning and re-affirmation of what it means culturally to be a man. The following hypotheses serve as starting points: the ways of experiencing sexuality, putting oneself in one’s work, and relating to one another in terms of power constitute the main axes through which masculinity is configured; male youths from working-class sectors currently face greater difficulties than did previous generations in fulfilling the roles of provider and owner, culturally assigned roles of masculinity; and youths currently demonstrate new ways of practicing their manhood due to women’s greater societal and economic participation. In-depth interviews with the youths yielded information that served in the analysis of group identity and male learning, sexuality, sexual activity, homoeroticism, homophobia, body awareness, substance usage (alcohol and drugs), violence, and religious conviction. These data showed that socialization of youths is attained in an important way in peer groups, through ideas, rituals, and practices that are shared and performed regularly in the group. As a place of support and reference to the collective identification of what is culturally valued in men, pacts of solidarity and belonging to a group constitute a way to resist and to face social and economic adversity.

Millan, T., Valenzuela, S., and Vargas, A. 1995. Reproductive health in adolescent students: Knowledge, attitudes, and behavior in both sexes in a Santiago, Chile community. *Revista Medica de Chile* 123(3):368–375.

This article reports on a survey of 948 teenagers—600 females and 348 males—from a public school in a low-income community of Santiago, who were asked about their knowledge and practices concerning sexuality and reproductive health. Twenty-four percent of females and 40% of males did not talk at home about their problems; instead they spoke with their friends. Half of them attributed risk of pregnancy to the first sexual intercourse, 67% did not know the infertile phase of the menstrual cycle, 20% did not identify two STDs, 60% of the males and half of the females considered masturbation to be risky. Fifty-seven percent of the males and 49% of the females believed condoms could be reused.

Murray, N., et al. 1998. Diferencias de género en factores que influyen en el inicio de relaciones sexuales en adolescentes escolares urbanos en Chile (Gender differences in

factors that influence initiation of sexual relations in urban adolescent school children in Chile). *Perspectivas Internacionales en Planificación Familiar* [special edition]:4–10.

Using logistical regression techniques with data from a sample of 4,248 Chilean school children between the ages of 11 and 19, this study analyzes factors associated with sexual initiation at an early age among adolescents. These factors include: family structure, parents' educational level, academic performance, peer influences, use of drugs and alcohol, and their attitudes toward sexuality and precocious paternity or maternity. In a bivariate analysis, the absence of the father in the home was a factor significantly associated with early sexual initiation of females, but the same did not occur with males. However, for males and females, those who were more prone to have had sexual relations were those who had a more liberal attitude about sex, believed that most of their peers had sexual experiences, rarely attended religious services, had consumed alcohol, tobacco, or marijuana, and had low grades in school. In the final reduced model, researchers found few differences between genders with regard to the attitudes, behavior, and social relationships that would significantly relate to initiation of sexual relations, even though the father's presence in the home and academic success continued to be significant in the final model among females, but not among males. [Taken from editors' abstract.]

Paiva, V. 1996. Sexualidades adolescentes: Escolaridade, gênero e o sujeito sexual (Adolescent sexualities: Scholarship, gender and the sexual subject). In *Sexualidades Brasileiras*, org. by Parker and Barbosa. Rio de Janeiro: Associação Brasileira Interdisciplinar de AIDS, Instituto de Medicina Social/Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, pp. 213–234.

This study begins with the idea that adolescence and sexuality, more than universal and transcultural phenomena, are phenomena modeled by economic and political influences that cannot be evaluated. It presents a cultural analysis of a series of numerical data resulting from research with night school students in São Paulo and students of São Paulo University that was carried out between 1991 and 1994. Analysis focuses on the difficulties encountered by people in protecting themselves from HIV and in using condoms, despite their being well informed. Paiva asserts that it is necessary to start answering a fundamental question: How do people become sexual subjects and regulatory agents of their own sexuality and not objects of sexual desires and mandates of others, whether it be as an object of another gender as prescribed by sexual and gender culture, or as an object of the sexual partner? The sexual subject can be characterized as an individual capable of being the regulatory agent of his or her sexual life, which would imply:

- (a) establishing a negotiated relationship with the norms of culture, family, and peer group;
- (b) exploring his or her sexuality independent of the partner's initiative;
- (c) being able to say *no* and having this right be respected;
- (d) negotiating consensual and pleasurable practices with the partner;
- (e) being able to negotiate safer sex; and
- (f) having access to material means and services in order to make reproductive, contraceptive, and safer sex choices.

Considering these elements, Paiva asserts that change in risk behavior, in this case of adolescents and youths, is not something that can be sustained on an individual plane at a cognitive level. It is necessary to affirm the subject's self-image, as an agent of action, a subject who struggles with respect to the other person, but not necessarily in order to exert power over this other person.

Palma, I. and Quilodrán, C. 1997. Opções masculinas: Jovens diante da gravidez (Masculine options: Youths facing pregnancy). In *Direitos Tardios. Saúde, sexualidade e reprodução na América Latina*, org. by Albertina de Oliveira Costa. São Paulo: Programa de Treinamento em Pesquisa sobre Direitos Reprodutivos na América Latina, PRODIR II/Fundacao Carlos Chagas.

This study analyzes the discourse of young men from poor urban strata who are involved in adolescent pregnancy and the effects and consequences for those who adopt or participate in marriage, union, abortion, adoption, or evasion. The research is qualitative, relying on group discussion and in-depth interviews. The sample consists of young fathers between 15 and 24 years of age from the metropolitan region of Santiago de Chile.

Quintana, A., and Vásquez, E. 1997. Construcción social de la sexualidad adolescente. Género y salud sexual (Social construction of adolescent sexuality: Gender and sexual health). Lima: Instituto de Educación y Salud.

This study was performed with 15 -to 19-year-old adolescent residents of a poor area of Lima. It examines the forms in which male and female adolescents construct their sexuality in a sociocultural setting that is marked by the coexistence of contradictory discourses, asymmetries and relative gender equity, patterns of macho patriarchal behavior, and democratic openness. The study takes note of the way in which these youths resymbolize social discourse and its representations, making them their own and confronting them with a daily reality in which different manifestations of sexuality are specified. The study also analyzes how different cultural prescriptions and prohibitions for each gender determine asymmetrical relationships with different knowledge, experiences, and meanings.

Rossetti, J. 1997. Sexualidad adolescente: Un desafío para la sociedad chilena (Adolescent sexuality: A challenge for Chilean society). Santiago: Dirección de Bibliotecas, Archivos y Museos.

This book presents findings of two research projects on adolescent sexuality carried out in Chile. The first is a survey that focuses on gender difference in sexual behavior among adolescents 15 to 19 years old. It also studies their values, beliefs, and opinions on sexuality and their interest in using reproductive and sexual health services designed especially for them. The second is a survey that explores the opinions and values of decision-makers in the public health sector and education system with regard to adolescent sexuality.

Simonetti, C., et al. 1996. Listening to boys: A talk with ECOS staff. In *Learning About Sexuality*, ed. by Zeidenstein and Moore. New York: The Population Council, pp. 324–332.

The authors describe their experience working with adolescents on behalf of a Brazilian NGO with the objective of understanding adolescent sexual culture as a form of cooperating with the satisfactory and respectful development of sexual life. They describe a series of group conversations on the topic of sexuality in which the dynamics of confidentiality permit adolescents to reveal the confusion and conflicts they experience between the desire to be themselves and the feeling that they have to respond to strong pressure from peers, parents, and adult males in the family to prove their heterosexuality by having sex at an early age.

Tenorio, R., Jarrin, M. S., and Bonilla, P. 1995. *La cultura sexual de los adolescentes* (The sexual culture of adolescents). Quito: Ediciones Abya-Yala/UNFPA.

This book discusses the sexual reality of adolescent males and females, seeking to identify their views of sexuality and taking into account economic, social, and ethnic factors. It attempts to answer different questions: With what subjective and trans-subjective models do adolescents construct their sexuality? What are the mental and affective positions they face? What does sexuality imply for their personal life and their peer relations? How do they live it? How do they express themselves in subjective intimacy? How do the practices, rites, fears, fantasies, myths, ghosts, and conflicts that are inseparable from their constitution and execution function (homosexuality, impotence, frigidity, premature ejaculation, infertility)? The work also tries to locate, analyze, and characterize the principal cultural forms of sexuality and their effects, such as undesired pregnancy, premature motherhood, abortion, STDs, and juvenile prostitution. This publication reflects research findings from urban preadolescents and adolescents of both sexes who acted as qualified informants and from adults in focus groups in six Ecuadorian cities. [Abstracted from “*Boletín de la red*,” no. 2, May 1996, CENEP]

Yon Leau, C. 1995. *Representaciones de género, sexualidad, salud sexual y reproductiva de jóvenes varones y mujeres* (Views on gender, sexuality, sexual and reproductive health of young men and women). Lima: Movimiento Manuela Ramos.

Yon provides a comprehensive picture of adolescents from five poor and working-class neighborhoods in Lima. The report includes young men’s and women’s definition of femininity and masculinity, the roles and social interactions they perceive as appropriate for each gender, and how these play out in the following aspects of sexuality: interest in sex, initiation of sexual activities, teen pregnancy, contraception, STDs, AIDS, and gender violence. Responses varied notably between single-sex groups and mixed groups. Yon believes both sets of responses are useful for structuring programs that are attractive to men. Such programs must incorporate male perspectives and take into consideration the set of logical steps and strategies men rely on when they interact with women. Other relevant findings for health care workers and sexual and reproductive health organizations are changes in attitudes about women’s sexuality, young men’s sense of responsibility if a pregnancy occurs in a

stable relationship, and the roles attributed to mothers and fathers. A disturbing finding is adolescents' ignorance about STDs and AIDS. They know very little about protecting themselves, and confuse contraceptives such as injectibles and IUDs with methods that prevent AIDS.

STDs, HIV, and AIDS

Aráuz, R., et al. 1997. *Sexo inseguro: Investigación cualitativa sobre comportamiento sexual de alto riesgo respecto al SIDA en Nicaragua* (Unsafe sex: Qualitative research on high-risk behavior for AIDS in Nicaragua). Managua: Fundación Nimehuatzin.

This article summarizes research carried out in four Nicaraguan cities on high-risk behavior for AIDS transmission. Its main objective is to obtain input for the development and implementation of communication strategies aimed at changing high-risk behavior. To these ends certain populations were selected: female sex workers and their clients, men who identify themselves as homosexuals, and men who have sex with men but consider themselves heterosexuals. Qualitative research techniques were applied, examining topics such as sex between men and women and between men, established negotiations in this context, homophobia, knowledge of HIV and AIDS and prevention strategies, sexual practices and their diffusion according to the subjects' sexual orientation, and others.

Berquó, E., and Roverly de Souza, M. *Conhecimento e uso do condom: Anticoncepção e prevenção de doenças sexualmente transmissíveis* (Knowledge and use of condoms: Contraception and prevention of STDs). Núcleo de Estudos de População, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, Texto no. 20, Dec. 1991.

Until recently, information on the incidence of condom use considered it only as a contraceptive method and came mostly out of research on fertility with married women of reproductive age. Excluding unmarried women, not considering men, and thinking of condoms as only a contraceptive method are methodological weaknesses that explain the reduced rate of condom use in our environment. In an effort to overcome these limitations, a study was done on knowledge, use, and reasons for condom use in the male world. Researchers initially studied three specific segments of society: university men, bankers, and laborers between the ages of 18 and 30. In this way, it was possible to estimate differentiated rates of condom use and to examine the concerns presented in the groups studied in terms of their sexual behavior and faced with the growing presence of HIV and AIDS.

Cáceres, C. 1996. *Sexualidad y SIDA* (Sexuality and AIDS). In *Primer seminario-taller sudamericano investigación socio-cultural en sexualidad: Prioridades y desafíos*, coord. by Shepard, Valdés, and Hernández. Santiago: Serie Seminarios y Talleres no.1, Equipo de Apoyo Técnico de UNFPA, pp. 28–34.

The author asserts that Latin America is going through an important time for research on the sociocultural perspective of sexuality and on a multitude of themes related to reproductive health, including STDs and AIDS. This implies “a challenge to produce sociocultural knowledge with standards of theoretical and methodological rigor that might be considered in other regions of the world. It also presents the challenge to maximize impact on public policy.” In the article, the following topics related to AIDS research are examined: sexual identity, sexual practices, sexual cultures, and impact of interventions. Methodologically, the study proposes adopting a research paradigm that integrates qualitative and quantitative analysis. Finally, the study con-

cludes that sociocultural research on sexuality is not politically neutral, rather it is necessary to “take on the challenge of its political positioning.”

EDUK.1996. *ETS–SIDA: Discursos y conductas sexuales de las chilenas y los chilenos* (STDs–AIDS: Discourses and Sexual Behaviors of Male and Female Chileans). Santiago: EDUK.

This book presents research findings that combine quantitative and qualitative methodologies, obtained from men and women between the ages of 15 and 40 from four Chilean regions. The objective was to broaden understanding of the different facilitating or inhibiting elements of risk perception concerning STDs, HIV, and AIDS and prevention behavior, so as to elaborate structures for their prevention. Collected materials alternate between probability surveys and semi-structured interviews. They examine different areas of behavior and perception concerning stated sexual behavior, knowledge and beliefs about STDs, HIV, and AIDS, sources of information and risk perception of STDs, HIV, and AIDS.

García, R., et al. 1994. Counsellors’ and HIV-positive patients’ perceptions of gender differences in HIV/AIDS education and counselling. In *Gender, health and sustainable development: A Latin American perspective*, ed. by Wijeyaratne, Hatcher, Kitts, and Arsenault. Ottawa: IDRC.

This study performed a qualitative exploration of counselors’ and seropositive patients’ perceptions about gender differences in education and counseling on HIV and AIDS. Gender differences in this area are beginning to receive special attention since the HIV and AIDS epidemic is spreading to the heterosexual population worldwide. As a result of this progression, a large number of women and children are being infected every day. There is a need to understand how women’s sexual behavior differs from men’s, and how these differences make different preventive approaches necessary. In this study, gender differences were perceived in a number of areas, including perceived threat of HIV and AIDS, reactions to campaigns, value of preventive action, meaning of condom use, need to focus preventive messages, and influences of counselors’ gender, among others.

Gogna, M., and Ramos, S. “Gender Stereotypes and Power Relations: Unacknowledged Risks for STDs.” Presentation at the conference “Reconceiving Sexuality: International Perspectives on Gender, Sexuality and Sexual Health,” Río de Janeiro, Apr. 14–17, 1996.

This paper deals with the cultural and psychological dimensions of STDs. It illustrates how lay beliefs regarding this kind of illness are strongly influenced by deeply rooted ideas and norms regarding sexual matters and gender relations. Based on results from a qualitative study of low-income populations in Buenos Aires, the paper describes and analyzes the key role played by “gender” (norms, identities, relations, stereotypes) in people’s ability to consider themselves at risk for contracting an STD, to identify symptoms, and to seek treatment and/or follow medical advice regarding these illnesses. Local cultural norms regarding sexuality and gender are also used to

identify cues for health education and for the promotion of cultural change that might enable healthy behavior. (Extracted from abstracts created for the conference)

González, M. A., and Liguori, A. L. 1992. El SIDA en los estratos socioeconómicos de México (AIDS in the socioeconomic strata in Mexico). In *Perspectivas en Salud Pública*, Mexico.

Researchers undertook this study to further understand the influences behind risky sexual behavior among poor Mexicans. The first part of their study traces how AIDS evolved from a disease that originally attacked upper-class Mexicans to one that is increasingly threatening the poorest Mexicans. The second part of the study reports on the sexual culture and practices of construction workers and confirms the prevalence of homosexual encounters. An important part of the study is that these men do not perceive themselves as homosexual and therefore do not sense that they may be engaging in risky sexual activity. They see AIDS as a homosexual disease, not one they have to worry about.

Kornblit, A. L., et al. 1997. Y el SIDA está entre nosotros...Un estudio sobre actitudes, creencias y conductas de grupos golpeados por la enfermedad (And AIDS is among us...A study of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors in groups hit by the disease). Buenos Aires: Ediciones Corregidor.

This book presents the results of social research on AIDS, carried out in Argentina, that discusses the variables revealed in the bibliography as meaningful in terms of the disease: social representations, risk perception, information level, preventive behavior, and attitudes towards people with AIDS. The study was performed in six sub-groups: youths, women, male homosexuals, intravenous drug users, sex workers, carriers of HIV, and relatives of people with AIDS. These population groups were included because it was thought that they were the hardest hit by the disease, in different ways. Responses given by members of each group are compared with data found in the general population, and in some cases with group data, in order to profile their characteristics.

Pantelides, E., Ramos, S., and Gogna, M. 1996. Factores culturales y psicosociales en la prevención y el tratamiento de enfermedades de transmisión sexual (Cultural and psychosocial factors in the prevention and treatment of STDs). In *Primer seminario-taller sudamericano investigación socio-cultural en sexualidad: Prioridades y desafíos*, coord. by Shepard, Valdés, and Hernández. Santiago: Serie Seminarios y Talleres no.1, Equipo de Apoyo Técnico de UNFPA, pp. 82–84.

This article presents research carried out by the authors aimed at “identifying and analyzing how cultural and psychosocial factors related to health-illness, sexuality and gender relations prompt men and women to adopt preventive behavior and/or treatment of STDs.” Their objectives were to explore a set of difficulties in STD prevention: unequal gender relations, cultural barriers to introducing a certain rationality in sexuality, and the blaming of women for STD transmission, a moral duplicity which affects the ability to adopt preventive behavior. The study is qualitative and its

target population is low-income men and women between the ages of 25 and 35. Research techniques included focus groups, semi-structured interviews and key informants.

Terto, V. 1996. Homossexuais soropositivos e soropositivos homossexuais: Questões da homossexualidade masculina em tempos de AIDS (Seropositive homosexuals and homosexual seropositives: Issues of male homosexuality in the age of AIDS). In *Sexualidades Brasileiras*, org. by Parker and Barbosa. Rio de Janeiro: Associação Brasileira Interdisciplinar de AIDS, Instituto de Medicina Social/Universidade do Estado do Rio de Janeiro, pp. 90–104.

The author asserts that, using constructionist theories on sexuality, it is possible to understand the constitution of homosexual identity in the era of AIDS. The emergence of *seropositivity* as a condition superimposed on homosexual identity is examined. The article discusses existing links between homosexuality and *seropositivity* and their implications for political participation concerning these subjects in Brazil in recent years. Terto offers an analysis of facts, documents, epidemiological data, and real-life stories. He asserts that the AIDS epidemic has influenced homosexual lifestyles and desires in the same way that homosexuals have influenced the social response to and representations of the epidemic. Mobilization around AIDS has been an important aspect in the construction of a gay community in Brazil. However, *seropositivity*, its urgent necessities, and intrinsic changes implicate a controversial point for political participation concerning AIDS and homosexuality and for construction of homosexual identities.

Villela, W. 1997. Homens que fazem sexo com mulheres. Previnindo a transmissão sexual do HIV: Proposta e pistas para o trabalho (Men who have sex with women. Preventing sexual transmission of HIV: Proposal and clues for work). São Paulo: Núcleo de Estudos e Prevenção da AIDS (NEPAIDS).

Although it is well known that HIV transmission occurs predominantly through unprotected sexual relations, there is an absence of initiatives directed at HIV and AIDS prevention among heterosexual men. This absence is determined by the following epidemiological, strategic and cultural factors: (a) the number of AIDS cases noted among heterosexual non-drug using men is less than in other groups; (b) the idea that AIDS is more widespread among certain population groups has directed prevention efforts without consideration of the dynamic of sexual expression itself; and (c) men are not traditionally the object of initiatives linked to prevention in issues regarding sex, nor known for reflecting on how they express their sexuality. Meanwhile, safer sex practices are as necessary for heterosexual men as they are for any other population group. Thus, it is important to plan strategies to facilitate prevention in the male population. (Summary from editors' extract; original in Portuguese)

MASCULINITY AND SEXUAL AND REPRODUCTIVE HEALTH

Aliaga, S., and Machicao, X. 1995. *El aborto: No sólo una cuestión de mujeres* (Abortion: Not just a women's issue). La Paz: Centro de Información y Desarrollo de la Mujer (CIDEM).

The authors relate the experiences of men and women in a society where abortion is practiced. The demands and expectations resulting from an immediate set of sociocultural and economic circumstances determine how women and men deal with an undesired pregnancy, why they decide to abort, and how this affects their lives. An appendix presents computerized results of surveys and in-depth interviews conducted with university men and women. The study tries to show knowledge, attitudes, and practices concerning abortion among the men and women who have experienced it. Given that induced abortion is a product of undesired pregnancy, it is possible to prevent it through sex education and fertility regulation services that are integrally linked to counseling and information services.

Arilha, M. 1998. **Homens: Entre a “zoeira” e a “responsabilidade”** (Men: Between confusion and responsibility). In *Homens e masculinidades. Outras palavras*, org. by Arilha, Unbehau, and Medrado. São Paulo: Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidade e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), pp. 51–78.

The objective of this work is to identify, from a constructivist perspective, repertoires in adult men that are associated with the field of reproduction and that influence the construction of masculinities. It uses a qualitative methodology of focus groups of heterosexual men between 20 and 44 years of age from upper-middle- and lower-middle-class sectors. Arilha asserts that including men in sexual and reproductive health should not be done only as a support for women's well-being. She also warns against using a discourse that says men do not adequately fulfill their roles because this would not permit approaching men and women with the goal of restructuring mentalities. Men need to be recognized as actors in the field of sexuality and reproduction, subjects with rights and concrete necessities.

Barker, G. “The Misunderstood Gender: Male Involvement in the Family and in Reproductive and Sexual Health in Latin America and the Caribbean.” Paper presented for the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation Population Program, 1996.

This paper parallels this literature review but in much more detail. It includes the socioeconomic context and changing societal realities impacting men, and then looks at the general social construction of masculinity, male involvement in family planning and reproductive health, fatherhood, and child-rearing. Region-wide and country-specific surveys and statistics enrich the documentation.

Brito, A. “Identidad masculina y el uso del condón” (Masculine identity and condom use). Letra S, Mexico, Nov. 1996.

This newspaper has various articles on adolescents developing a sexual identity and their attitudes toward condoms: (1) a survey by CONASIDA (Consejo Nacional para la Prevención y Control del SIDA) shows that 30% of sexually active men in the Mexico City between the ages of 15 and 60 said they had difficulties using a condom; (2) excerpts of a study by José Aguilar Gil and Luis Botello Lonngi, *La Imagen Masculina del Condón: Una Perspectiva de los Varones Jóvenes*, relay the results of a survey on condom use among students. Findings suggest that adolescents are looking for their identity. They need to prove themselves, take risks, feel. This is where beliefs and myths associated with masculinity obstruct understanding and acceptance of messages about prevention. Some adolescents believe that condoms interfere with the sexual act, or worse, work against their sexual fulfillment by challenging the firmness of their erection. They discard the condom before ever using it. They refuse to use a condom when their partners request it, because they believe a man should control sexual relationships and relations with his partners. Some young men believe condoms can be used to reflect their masculinity. Aguilar and Botello suggest developing campaigns aimed at young men who associate condoms with virility and manhood along with new paradigms of masculinity; and promoting condom use during masturbation, to internalize the values of self-preservation and perfect men’s use of the condom.

Buchanan, A. 1997. “Men’s knowledge, attitudes, involvement and practice with family planning: A qualitative study in El Alto, Bolivia.” FHI.

The study looks at men’s attitudes, knowledge, and behavior and how these influence their partners’ use of family planning. As in other studies cited, there is a meaningful discrepancy between men’s knowledge of family planning methods and men’s use of contraceptives. Recommendations presented in this study are: (1) recognize and address the gap between contraceptive knowledge and actual use; (2) dispel myths that exist regarding modern method use; (3) address improved partner communication and joint decision-making in attaining family planning goals; (4) train reproductive health providers to assist couples with the initiation of joint discussion and decision-making; and (5) pursue research regarding men’s knowledge, attitudes, and involvement in family planning in Bolivia.

Cuca, Y., Echeverría, S., Monroy, A., and Helzner, J. “Men in Latin America: How They View Family Planning, Sexual Health and Reproductive Health.” Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the American Public Health Association, 1997. Indianapolis, IN.

This is a report of a three-country qualitative study on men’s views about family planning and sexual and reproductive health, in which themes such as men’s understanding of these terms, their knowledge and use of contraceptives, whether and how they talk about these issues, and their inclusion in service delivery are explored. The study proposes that family planning associations broaden their image as centers for men, adapt services to serve men more appropriately, distribute more information

about services offered, carry out pilot tests changing clinics to “centers,” and include similar questions in national-level surveys. Recommendations for sexual and reproductive health organizations working with men are to be aware that men are willing to discuss these issues, to make it easy for men to receive services, to target promotional activities toward men, to work with couples to foster communication, to work with young adults, and to encourage condom use among both men and women.

Figuroa Perea, J. G., and Liendro, E. 1994. “Algunos apuntes sobre la presencia del varón en la toma de decisiones reproductivas” (Some notes on the presence of men in reproductive decision-making). In *Seminario de masculinidad*, University Gender Studies Program. Mexico City: UNAM.

This article analyzes the indirect presence of men in reproductive decision-making, an area considered to be exclusive to women. The article reexamines the proposal presented in the Poll on Determiners of Contraceptive Practice in Mexico (EDEPAM) and the stages of reproductive decision-making derived from that poll, together with the Poll on Behavior, Attitudes and Contraceptive Practices of the Working-class Male Population in the Mexico City Metropolitan Area (ENCAPO). The authors observe that both polls contain proposals are too highly structured in unilateral relationships to show underlying multicultural influences in the population’s reproductive process. The paper presents a different analytical outline as part of a larger project carried out by proposing a conceptual framework that explicitly incorporates man-woman relationships as well as male participation in and perception of the reproductive process. The core idea of this proposal is to articulate men’s reproductive behavior within gender organization, gender roles, and sexuality.

Figuroa Perea, J. G. 1997. “Algunos elementos para interpretar la presencia de los varones en los procesos de salud reproductiva” (Some elements to interpret the presence of men in reproductive health processes). Paper in *Seminario-taller “Identidad Masculina, Sexualidad y Salud Reproductiva”* of the University Gender Studies Program, UNAM/Reproductive Health and Society Program, COLMEX, Mexico City.

This paper attempts to identify several analytical approaches to integrating men into reproductive health processes by looking at them as individuals who face their own set of reproductive behavioral and systematic risks. Within a reproductive framework, the paper seeks to identify the implications, negative and favorable, of men’s presence and absence on women and children. The article examines the social and potentially conflictive character of sexual reproduction by reconsidering reproduction as a process involving relationships rather than isolated events that are separate for men and women. The study proposes rethinking sexuality, reproduction, and health in terms of interaction, with the ultimate goal of constructing clearer reference points for the male population.

Foreit, J., et al. 1992. A comparison of the performance of male and female CBD distributors in Peru. *Studies in Family Planning* 1(23):58–62.

This report presents the results of an operations research project to increase male involvement in family planning in Peru. Two community-based distribution (CBD)

programs, Profamilia of Lima and CEPROF of Trujillo, recruited male contraceptive distributors and compared their performance to that of female distributors recruited at the same time. Both programs found it harder to recruit men than women as distributors. Program supervisors, who were women, were less comfortable with men than with other women, even though there were no differences in distributor compliance with program norms. Male distributors were more likely to serve male clients and to sell male-dependant methods (condoms), while female distributors were likely to serve female clients and to sell female-dependant methods (pills). Men sold as many or more total couple-years of protection than did women, and they recruited as many or more new acceptors. Gender was found to exert an impact on method mix independent of other distributor characteristics, such as age, education, marital status, and number of children. The study suggests that family planning programs can influence method mix and client characteristics by recruiting men as CBD distributors.

Friedman, H., Medina, A., and Tatis, E. 1975. *Attitudes of a sample of male heads of household in the Central, Oriental, Sur and Cibao Regions, Dominican Republic.* Pan American Health Organization.

A research study to assess the extent of respondents' machismo, family planning, sexual experience, communication, and other reproductive health issues. Of the men who replied, 70% said neither they nor their mate had ever used any method of contraception. Very few Dominican heads of household practice fertility limitation, whether contraception or abortion. Male sterilization as a method of family planning was met with zero receptivity. Resistance to vasectomy was very strong even among the sample of men whose families were complete. There is a widespread reliance on physicians for family planning information.

Helzner, J. F. 1996. *Involucrar a los hombres en la planificación familiar* (Involving men in family planning). *Reproductive Health Matters* 7 (May):146–154.

The idea of increasing men's participation in family planning has received periodic attention during the last twenty years, but a generally accepted understanding has not been arrived at of what it means to involve men. This work examines the implications of gender in male involvement for personnel and decision-makers in service delivery programs, and the gender dynamic that surrounds contraceptive use, particularly those methods that depend on men. Helzner discusses the importance of taking gender roles of both men and women into account, instead of focusing the situation on women (or men) only, with a view toward increasing equality between men and women. Finally, this paper warns against the ways that "involving the male sex" can result in men usurping what was previously considered women's territory, and thus worsening current male domination.

Hulton, L., and Falkingham, J. 1996. *Conocimiento y prácticas contraceptivas masculinas: ¿Qué saben ellos?* (Male contraceptive knowledge and practices: What do men know?) *Reproductive Health Matters* 7 (May):90–100.

The post-Cairo period has seen a dramatic increase in interest in men, but awareness of male knowledge, practices, and attitudes related to contraception is still lacking.

This article examines current knowledge about male behavior and broadens it by using data from demographic and male health surveys. The findings cast doubt on the conventional affirmation that males have little contraceptive knowledge.

Kalckmann, S. 1998. Incursões ao desconhecido: Percepções de homens sobre saúde reprodutiva e sexual (Incursions into the unknown: Men's perceptions of reproductive and sexual health). In *Homens e masculinidades. Outras palavras*, org. by Arilha, Unbehaum, and Medrado. São Paulo: Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidade e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), pp. 79–99.

The author states that her intention is to seek elements and alternatives that might serve to improve health service delivery to women and men. Different studies on contraception show that, although men have historically been excluded from this field, they intervene in a decisive way, many times determining the form in which women manage their reproductive health. This article presents a set of materials collected from several of the author's studies with men. She points out the coexistence of traditional and modern models concerning roles and values of heterosexual men, as well as the ambivalent attitude about condom use, of partial acceptance and rejection. This leads to the conclusion that changes in this area will occur not through timely interventions, but rather as a product of the continuous implementation of activities that offer discussion and that facilitate a process of (re)construction of values and behavior.

Leñero, L. 1994. Los varones ante la planificación familiar (Men and family planning). In *Maternidad sin riegos en México*, ed. by Elu and Langer. México, D.F: Instituto Mexicano de Estudios Sociales, pp.141–151.

Despite the obvious fact that men are a necessary subject in reproduction, as well as a factor in women and children's health, it has not been easy to recognize that reproductive issues are as much male as they are female. It is necessary to undo the notion that public duty is strictly masculine and private life belongs in the feminine sphere in order to uncover not only the feminine perspective subsumed in the masculine, but also the male viewpoint exercised on the horizon of private and family life. The exploratory study on which this presentation is based seeks to bring together knowledge of men's lives and perspectives on the family environment and family planning.

Maynard-Tucker, G. 1989. Knowledge of reproductive physiology and modern contraceptives in rural Peru. *Studies in Family Planning* 20(4):215–224.

This report is based on fieldwork conducted in a Peruvian community in 1986, which integrated Quechua-speaking Indians' knowledge of the female reproductive organs, perceptions of the way contraceptives work in the body, folk beliefs about contraception and menstruation, and opinions about modern contraceptives. The findings reveal that the men have a more accurate knowledge of the female reproductive organs than the women do. However, the women are more knowledgeable about the action of modern contraceptives in the body. Most respondents perceived modern contraceptive methods as the best methods available, but the majority reported using the calendar rhythm method. This preference for rhythm is based on its economic advantage and

on its adaptability to folk beliefs about physiology. The men's dominant role in reproductive behavior is related to cultural norms that emphasize traditional gender roles and that prohibit communication about sexual matters between men and women. Educational material, based on the respondents' knowledge of reproduction and taking into account their beliefs, might help to decrease the fear of contraceptive side effects and increase understanding of the function of contraceptives.

Meglioli, A. 1998. Hacia una sexualidad responsable: Actitudes masculinas sobre salud sexual y reproductiva en La Matanza, provincia de Buenos Aires (Responsible sexuality: Male attitudes about sexual and reproductive health in La Matanza, Buenos Aires). [Mimeograph] Banco Mundial, Robert S. McNamara Fellowship Program.

This is a comprehensive qualitative study on men's attitudes and knowledge about sexual and reproductive health. Data were collected by interviewing several men and running two focus groups with men in the lowest economic strata in the province of La Matanza, Buenos Aires. The study concludes that men are uncomfortable talking about sexual and reproductive health issues. Communication within couples does not occur, because both men and women are embarrassed about sex. Since there is no sex education in schools and parents do not discuss the topic with their children, men learn about sex in the street from their friends, with whom they are most comfortable talking about this subject. The men in this study know about a few contraceptive methods, primarily the condom and the pill, but they do not know how to properly use these and other contraceptives, such as injectables. Furthermore, even when their knowledge is correct they do not use contraceptives on a regular basis. One of the clearest findings is that men are most likely to use condoms as a prophylactic rather than as a contraceptive. Younger men see themselves as sharing this responsibility, use various methods of contraceptives, and are more flexible about who initiates sexual relations. Male power in decision-making regarding frequency of sexual relations and choice and use of contraceptive methods is clearly present, especially among the older men participating in the study.

Mundigo, A. "Papeis masculinos, saúde reproductiva e sexualidade" (Male roles, reproductive and sexual health). Paper presented at "*Conferencia Internacional sobre Proliferação*," São Paulo, July 31, 1995.

This document presents an exploratory discussion on men's participation in reproductive health, stimulating a debate that might open future study topics and policies to be adopted. Mundigo asserts that increasing male responsibility in sexual behavior and practices is the key to improving reproductive health and halting the rise of STDs and AIDS. This is seen in a context in which women are more affected by risks associated with reproduction and sexuality, although men are also responsible for them. Mundigo examines the changes that have occurred in male roles in recent years and their repercussions in sexuality and reproductive health. The work also points out the challenges that these processes signify for gender equality.

Olavarría, J., Mellado, P., and Benavente, C. 1998. *Masculinidades populares* (Popular masculinities). Santiago: Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO-Chile.

“Popular Masculinities” is an exploratory investigation that attempts to explain how young, heterosexual men from poor urban sectors who are fathers of at least one child and experienced in conjugal life construct their models of male identity. Using a qualitative methodology of in-depth interviews, the study explores interviewees’ personal stories as well as the feelings and meanings they construct on a subjective level about being men in different areas of their life: sexuality and reproductive health, couple relationships, work and providing, domestic arrangements, friendship, and emotions. The authors conclude that these men’s gender identities are formed with reference to a hegemonic masculinity model, which prescribes heterosexuality, exclusivity in providing for the home, and noninvolvement in domestic work and in their partners’ reproductive health. Their identities are also influenced by their subjective experience of being a man which highlights being *important* and being the one with authority and control in the different areas of life. The authors assert that this model does not present cracks, nor are significant changes detected in its constitution. It reproduces itself via the socialization of new generations of men.

Population Council/Bolivia. 1994. *Male barriers to family planning: Myth or reality*. The Population Council.

A study to elicit gender-based similarities and differences of knowledge and acceptance of family planning. Result show that 85% of the men knew at least one method of contraception, but men were less aware than the women of the full range of available contraceptive options. Men obtained the bulk of their information from other male friends or colleagues. Communication between partners was weak on topics related to reproductive health, with only 33% of couples saying they had discussed matters relative to reproductive health. The general pattern consisted of men believing they were using the rhythm method when their female partner actually was using an IUD, was taking the pill, or had been sterilized. Men have a powerful influence on their partner’s decision to have or not to have an abortion. Little sex education takes place in the home.

Population Council/Guatemala

The Population Council is creating a program through which local nongovernmental organizations can incorporate reproductive health services. It is also conducting a study entitled, “Men’s Attitudes toward Reproductive Health.”

Population Council/Mexico

The Population Council is following up on a DHS survey that found that rural women, men and adolescents were not adequately being reached by the National Planning Program on reproductive health. The study is expected to be available in October 1998.

Population Council/Peru

The Population Council is conducting focus groups and in-depth interviews with men in three cities to learn about their concerns. The report is expected to be ready in September 1998.

Rogow, D. 1991. Man/hombre/homme: Respuestas a las necesidades de la salud reproductiva masculina en América Latina (Man/hombre/homme: Responses to male sexual and reproductive health needs in Latin America). *Quality/Calidad/Quality Vol. 2*. New York: Population Council.

Focuses on male reproductive health as a frequently ill-defined area on which there is little information. Male reproductive health programs should recognize men's rights to control their bodies and to remain free from infection, and should therefore emphasize cooperation between men and women in sexuality, contraception, and avoidance of disease transmission. This shared responsibility should result in an increase in male contraception use, provide greater communication in the couple about their reproductive health and fertility, and thus include men in family planning and child care. The article presents two programs attempting to deal with this area: PRO-PATER (Promotion of Responsible Fatherhood) in Brazil, and the men's clinic Profamilia in Colombia. Both programs have had to struggle with complex issues related to providing medical care as well as to program maintenance. Their experiences suggest that although men's reproductive health needs can be different from those articulated by women, men are interested and ready to use services that are accessible and of high quality.

Salcedo Figaldo, H. 1994. Imaginarios, representaciones e identidades masculinas sobre el aborto inducido (Myths, representations and masculine identities with regard to induced abortion). In *Representaciones sociales y movimientos sociales*. Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia, pp. 156–166.

The study is a qualitative exploration of terminating an unwanted pregnancy. It studies the social construction of the feminine and the masculine, employing gender to defeminize the analysis and to consider the cultural relations and social processes in the formation of identities. Given that the decision to induce abortion and the fact itself create a crisis for the notion of procreational capacity, induced abortion is an appropriate event for analyzing "natural" identity. Methodologically, the study tries to connect gender identity with masculine representations through myths.

Shedlin, M., and Hollerback, P. 1981. Modern and traditional fertility regulation in Mexican community: The process of decision-making. *Studies in Family Planning* 12(6/7):278–296.

The study uses a fertility decision-making model to study fertility regulation in a rural Mexican community. The results indicate that men make the decisions and women are powerless. Several levels of decisions are made regarding fertility. Knowledge,

customs, and social norms as well as situational factors can influence these. Women lack knowledge about their bodies, cervix, fallopian tubes and ovaries.

Shephard, B. 1996. Masculinity and the male role in sexual health. *Planned Parenthood Challenges* 2:11–14.

The author asserts that the International Conference on Population and Development in Cairo established a democratic and humanist framework for sexual and reproductive health programs worldwide. “In agreement with the definition of the Cairo Program of Action, sexual and reproductive health is a much broader concept than the mere absence of illness, it is a state of ‘mental, physical and social well-being.’” The author notes that the Program of Action includes a section dedicated to men “that has focused the attention of governments and international agencies on the need to promote the participation and responsibility of men (in sexual and reproductive health), in order to reach the goal of gender equality.” In this way, the author indicates that reproductive health programs currently implemented “need to expand themselves to include men as partners in order to effectively manage the bipolar gender system which feeds the problems they are trying to resolve.” As a contribution to the “incipient efforts to ‘involve’ men,” the article analyzes those aspects of the Program of Action that are related to men and “suggests how reflections on masculinity that were developed by women’s and gay movements, gender programs, as well as more recent social research in Latin America, could help reach the goals proposed in Cairo.”

The Alan Guttmacher Institute. *Women, families and the future.*

This fact sheet summarizes a number of aspects of reproductive behavior in Latin America and the Caribbean. The recommendations that pertain to men include the need for: greater male involvement in contraceptive decision-making and use; access to a broader range of general reproductive health services; stronger support in schools and in the mass media for family planning information and education; policy initiatives and education and training programs for young people that stress the importance of postponing childbearing until after adolescence. The recommendation that pertains to gender is to increase public-policy emphasis on improvements in the overall status of women.

Tolbert, K., Morris, K., and Romero, M. 1996. *Los hombres y la decision respecto al aborto: Hacia una teoria entre las relaciones de genero y el aborto* (Men and the abortion decision: A theory connecting gender relations and abortion). Bogotá: Universidad Externado de Colombia.

This study presents data, mainly from Latin America, on the decision to have an abortion from the point of view of power relationships in couples. Published data suggest that this factor can be very important in women’s decision processes. A model is presented which tries to explain general trends in the results of an unwanted pregnancy, emphasizing the change from male domination to female control in reproductive health decisions of the couple, as societies change from traditional to “modern” attitudes and behavior. The author discusses cultural and political phenomena that can

introduce contradictions in society and hold it in a transition phase concerning fertility and regulation. The author suggests ways to study the decision to have an abortion, including measuring male and female contributions to the process. The work briefly examines the importance of measuring men and women's attitudes concerning the decision to abort, with the intent of offering contextual data for the study of partner influence.

UNFPA. 1995. Male involvement in reproductive health, including family planning and sexual health. *Technical Report*, No. 28.

This report gives an overview of the programmatic issues pertaining to men's involvement in reproductive and sexual health. In addition to defining the terminology, the document sets out program goals and planning strategies, summarizes lessons learned from existing services extended to men, and recommends information, education and communication approaches. Case studies are highlighted, providing examples of strategies and programs in different countries.

Villa, M. Subjetividad y salud reproductiva: Un estudio sobre las perspectivas de los hombres de poblaciones urbanas de extrema pobreza (Subjectivity and reproductive health: A study of perspectives of men from extremely poor urban populations). Final research report, Programa de Trenamiento em Pesquisa sobre Direitos Reprodutivos na América Latina, PRODIR II/Fundação Carlos Chagas, São Paulo, Jan. 1996.

This study, done in Buenos Aires with poor, urban men, explores the meanings they attribute to reproduction in the constitution and organization of family, as well as their knowledge related to biological reproduction and fertility regulation mechanisms. The perspective adopted considers men as social actors in the domestic environment; in this context, the authors seek to highlight the imaginary social meanings that involve a relationship between the masculine condition and reproductive behavior. Qualitative methodology is used, studying a limited number of cases in depth. Twenty-five men between the ages of 17 and 45, married or living in stable union, most with children, were selected. Research techniques included open and structured interviews and group discussion.

Viveros, M., and Gómez, F. 1998. La elección de la esterilización masculina. Alianzas, arbitrajes y desencuentros conyugales (Choice of male sterilization: Alliances, arbitrage and conjugal "mishaps"). In *Mujeres, hombres y cambio social. Cinco estudios de casos*. Bogotá: Centro de Estudios Sociales, Facultad de Ciencias Humanas, Universidad Nacional de Colombia, pp. 85–132.

The article presents a reflection on male sterilization as a decision made in a social context that defines and limits men and women's contraceptive options, models of masculinity and femininity, the meaning of paternity and maternity, and the relationship between sexuality and desire. The decision about male sterilization is not understood as a result but rather as an interactive process. Thus, the study underlines the dynamic nature of this decision, which is constructed in time, through interaction with significant others (partner, peer group, health service providers), and in the different

areas in which the subject's and partner's lives develop. The study also addresses a decision negotiated and molded within the conjugal space and in which internal and external factors intervene. The study also analyzes the participation of different social factors in the decision-making process, the motivations which lead a man and a partner to choose vasectomy, and the conjugal dynamic in which the process of this reproductive decision is registered. [Extract from authors' introduction]

Yon Leau, C. 1996. Placer, riesgo y poder: Corresponsabilidad y negociación de hombres y mujeres respecto al uso de métodos anticonceptivos (Pleasure, risk and power: Co-responsibility and negotiation of men and women in contraceptive method use). In *Más allá de la intimidad. Cinco estudios en sexualidad, salud sexual y reproductiva*. Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, pp. 53–88.

This article summarizes part of the results of research low and middle-income contraceptive users, exploring the diversity of behavior and perceptions of men and women concerning prevention of unwanted pregnancy. The study emphasizes how responsibilities are shared and the power relationships between men and women that affect decision-making, and how conflicts about contraceptive method use are resolved. The study is based on the assumption that the possibility of regulating reproductive capacity, the choice and effective use of a method, and the use of a family planning service are all aspects around which men and women assign themselves and assume responsibilities, express power relationships in decision-making, and question their partner's desires and viewpoints. [Summary from author's presentation]

Zambrana, E., Bailey, P., and McCarraher, D. Bolivia: Impact of men's knowledge, attitudes and behavior regarding fertility regulation on women's lives. The Women's Studies Project, Family Health International, undated.

This team of researchers studied Bolivian men's attitudes, knowledge and behavior and how these affect their partners' use of family planning. The study divides their study group into three socioeconomic groups: low, high and middle. It concludes that participants in the middle socioeconomic group were at the greatest risk of becoming pregnant. They did not use contraceptives because they did not know where to obtain them. Many effective contraceptive methods are not widely known or used in Bolivia. Given that the rhythm method accounts for 25% of all contraceptive use, both men and women need to be educated about male and female fertility. Couples do not communicate often or effectively about their desires for children. There is confusion among family planning users and potential users about actual contraceptive side effects and myths about various methods. The mass media are an important source of information for men, although less so for women. Increased efforts need to be made by public sector providers to make the community aware of local reproductive health programs.

VIOLENCE

Barker, G., and Loewenstein, I. 1997. Where the boys are: Attitudes related to masculinity, fatherhood, and violence toward women among low-income adolescent and young adult males in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. *Youth & Society* 29(2):166–196.

Qualitative research with 127 low-income young men and women (ages 14 to 30) in Rio de Janeiro found rigid gender roles with males displaying widespread *machista* values. Males viewed violence toward women as acceptable in many circumstances, with more widespread violence against women reported among youth who live in *favelas*—low-income, marginal areas of the city. Nonetheless, the research identified a small but important minority of progressive males who questioned traditional *machista* attitudes. In focus group discussions, more progressive males who were frequently criticized by men with *machista* values were more likely to have had meaningful relationships with a role model who promoted nontraditional gender roles. The research highlights important ways of working with adolescent males to encourage more flexible gender roles. [Summary written by the editors]

Centro de Comunicación y Educación Popular. “Hombre, Violencia y Crisis Social” and “Género, Poder y Violencia” (“Men, violence and social crisis” and “Gender, power and violence”). Summaries of two workshops, Managua, 1995–1996.

Two publications that describe workshops on “Men, Violence and Social Crisis” and “Gender, Power and Violence” held in Managua in 1995 and 1996. The approach in these workshops is to identify all aspects of violence in daily life and trace its infiltration into men’s lives from childhood through adolescence. Developmental rituals are analyzed, as is the relationship between the construction of masculinity and violence. Participants leave with a commitment to act as agents of change by sharing the lessons they learned with colleagues and friends and by reforming their own behavior. The workshop includes a presentation of a study on domestic violence. Out of the 488 women between the ages of 15 and 49 who participated in the study, 52% were victims of violence. Forty-eight percent said they were abused at night, 49% said it happened on weekends, and 97% of the abuse takes place in the home, almost always in the bedroom. Fifty-three percent of the women said their husbands were drunk when the abuse occurred, 49% blamed the abuse on alcohol, and 47% attributed it to jealousy. Among these respondents, 43% of the husbands forbid their wives to work, and 53% forbid them to visit friends. Eighty percent of the women never seek help after being abused. Thirty percent said they don’t receive help when they go to the health center, 17% are embarrassed to seek help, and 40% stay in these violent relationships, which can be long-term. The longest relationship in this survey was 22 years. Interestingly, 40% of the abused women said they would have liked to receive psychological counseling.

Corsi, J., Dohmen, M., and Sotes, M. A. 1995. *Violencia masculina en la pareja: Una aproximación al diagnóstico y a los modelos de intervención* (Male violence in couples: An approach to diagnosis and models of intervention). Buenos Aires: Paidós.

This book presents a series of articles on the accumulated experience of recent years concerning work with violent men. It is built on studies of the male condition and theoretical and practical works in the field of domestic violence. The themes explored include masculine identity, the psychosocial profile of wife-beaters, models of intervention, specificity of group work with violent men, the identification of “micro-machismos” in daily life, and a conceptual discussion for understanding the relationship between masculinity and violence. This is a new field, although there is already an important accumulation of knowledge and interventions with female victims of violence. When men were studied, “many myths fell”: they weren’t just “poor, drunk and sick;” rather, they could be found in any social sector. Some were drinkers and some not, and their psychopathologic diagnoses did not reveal a percentage of pathology higher than in the general population.

Goldner, V., et al. 1990. Love and violence: Gender paradoxes in volatile attachments. *Family Process* 29(4): 343–364.

This article presents a multidimensional theoretical model for the understanding of relationships in which men are violent toward women. It argues that abusive relationships exemplify, in extremis, the stereotypical gender arrangements that structure intimacy between men and women generally. Moreover, it proposes that paradoxical gender injunctions create insoluble relationship dilemmas that can explode in violence. A multifaceted approach to treatment, which incorporates feminist and systemic ideas and techniques, is described. [Extracted from the editors’ abstract.]

Kaufman, M. 1989. Construcción de la masculinidad y la triada de la violencia (Construction of masculinity and the triad of violence). In *Hombres, placer, poder y cambio*. Santo Domingo: CIPAF, pp. 19–64.

In general, violence and male domination are generated in patriarchal structures of authority; on an individual level, they are internalized as a set of relationships based on gender. This is expressed through sexuality (which is socially and individually constructed) and through attachment to paternal figures. Masculinity is an ideological concept, having a codified conduct and containing feelings of attraction and doubts that men externalize in the form of aggression. Men fear weakness, and women are used as an opportunity to interact with someone weak and to exert power over them. The author suggests that overcoming this domination must be based on analyzing the three components (triad) of male violence: violence against women, violence against men, and violence against the self. Understanding this focus will support socioeconomic and psychosexual change and the development of personal security and emotivity of men as part of overcoming patriarchal and class-based society.

Leon, R., and Stahr, M. 1995. Yo actuaba como varón solamente. Entrevistas a procesados por el delito de violación (I was only acting like a man: Interviews with men arrested for rape). Lima: Estudio para la Defensa de los Derechos de la Mujer (DEMUS).

The study offers an approach to a little-known concept of rape: the point of view of men who have presumably committed this crime. Masculine subjectivity is explored

as a way to reach a more complete and integral knowledge of this complex problem. The book consists of two parts: the first offers a set of interviews conducted with prisoners accused of committing sexual aggression, along with the impressions that these interviews made on the interviewer. The second part contains an article in which the interviewer gives an account of the context in which the conversations developed, a psychoanalytic commentary on the testimony, an interdisciplinary workshop conducted to debate the material, and a note on certain clues and findings of the research. (Book jacket extract)

Miedzian, M. 1995. Chicos son, Hombres serán. ¿Cómo romper los lazos entre masculinidad y violencia? (They are boys, they will be men: How to break the ties between masculinity and violence?) *Cuadernos Inacabados*, no. 17, horas y HORAS, Madrid.

This book analyzes the causes of violent male behavior and criticizes the masculine aggressor stereotype that is the norm in Western society. The author suggests that many of the values of the male mystique, like hardness, insistence on domination, repression of empathy and extreme competitiveness, play an important role in criminal and domestic violence and influence the thought and political decisions of leaders. The author proposes a change in the formal education and socialization of boys, promoting participation in upbringing in order to have an impact on the responsibilities and development of a new masculinity. Examples are given of experiences in U.S. schools where this kind of counseling program has been implemented with good results. The author analyzes risk factors that accompany violent behavior: mass media, war, xenophobia, music, films, sports, and toys.

Montoya, O. Nadando contra la Corriente: Buscando pistas para prevenir la violencia masculina en las relaciones de pareja. (Swimming against the current: Seeking ways to prevent male violence in couple relationships). Puntos de Encuentro, Managua, 1998.

This book offers an innovative approach to studying violence in a Latin American country. Researchers look at behaviors and demeanors of “non-violent” men. This book summarizes the characteristics of the “non-violent” men, and strategies they use to avoid violence during conjugal conflicts. It also reports on the tactics these men use to handle the pressures from their peers, to be macho—that is more assertive (emotionally abusive or physically aggressive)—with their wives. The book ends with recommendations for further analysis of the differences between violent and non-violent men while suggesting that the terminology used by men requires further study. For instance, when talking about the “family,” “tranquility” and “respect,” do violent and non-violent men interpret the words in the same way?

Muszkat, M E. 1998. Violencia de género e paternidade (Gender violence and fatherhood). In *Homens e masculinidades. Outras palavras*, org. by Arilha, Unbehau, and Medrado. São Paulo: Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidade e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), pp. 215–234.

The article is the result of qualitative research with more than 2,000 families served by Pro-Mulher, Família e Cidadania for alleged domestic violence during the period 1995 to 1997. Its objective is to show the need for greater knowledge about how violent men behave when faced with problems related to reproductive health and fatherhood. The study concludes that men who use violence against women as a form of conflict resolution are seeking not just a reaffirmation of their virility, but also the recovery of their self-esteem and control over the relationship. The search for control on one hand and avoidance of intimacy on the other are typical traits of violent men. Men who see their control threatened, in reality or fantasy, can unleash high-magnitude episodes of violence. In this context, getting a woman pregnant can represent more a form of control than pleasure. Procreation thus fulfills a role of virility affirmation, so that wife and child are at the service of his masculinity. [Extract from article, original in Portuguese]

Puntos de Encuentro. *Violencia: Llamemos las cosas por su nombre* (Violence: Let's call it by name). Managua, Nov. 1995.

This is a massive and detailed qualitative study on cultural and psychosocial factors that promote or inhibit domestic violence. The study investigates, through focus groups, how 142 men, women and adolescents have experienced physical, emotional, sexual, and economic violence and whether they have engaged in such violence, and summarizes their attitudes toward violence. The findings are grouped by gender with a section on adolescents. This review considers the responses of 44 men and 48 adolescents—22 young men and 26 young women. Most of the men and adolescents experienced physical violence. None of the men were victims of sexual violence, but both young men and women were. Men tended to blame economic violence on an unjust economic system, while adolescents faulted their parents for taking away income they earned or not being adequate providers. Most men believed they had been victims of emotional violence as children. (Emotional violence includes father's scorn, parents fighting, abandonment by either parent and pressure not to cry.) Most identified the father as the aggressor and were saddened, resentful or humiliated by this experience. Humiliation and limited mobility (for young girls) were relayed as the types of emotional violence adolescents face. All the men admitted to using physical violence against their children, believing they deserved it. They rationalize physical punishment as natural, and use it to establish respect for their authority, to reaffirm their masculinity, and as a way to preserve the status quo. Although most men forced their wives to have sex, had extramarital affairs, and did not use condoms, they all denied using sexual violence, justifying their behavior as stemming from "uncontrollable sexual urges." They did not consider their infidelities to be an act of violence, but consider them to be a male privilege.

UNESCO. "Male Roles and Masculinities in the Perspective of a Culture of Peace." [Report] Expert Group Meeting, Oslo, Sept. 24–28, 1997.

In a world in rapid transformation, characterized by a high risk of unemployment, marginalization, and exclusion, the linking of male identity primarily to positions of power and decision-making in public and private life seems to create frustration and

severe problems that counteract and put at risk transformation from a culture of violence to a culture of peace. Drawing on existing literature and theoretical knowledge in the relevant academic disciplines and interdisciplinary fields, the meetings, which brought together peace and gender researchers and activists with experience of anti-violence work among men, examined gender-related factors that hinder or sustain movement toward a culture of peace. It further explored the development to new, more egalitarian and partnership-oriented types of masculinity as opposed to traditional and stereotyped expectations of masculinity that might lead to undue acceptance of the use of authority, dominance, control, force, aggression, and violence. The meeting further addressed the harmful consequences of rigid and stereotyped definitions of masculinity and femininity, roles of dominance and submission, the consequences of raising boy children to be tough and dominating, and the social, cultural, and economic conditions producing violence among men. [Extract from the presentation of the text]

FATHERHOOD

Almerás, D. “Compartir responsabilidades familiares: Una tarea para el desarrollo” (Sharing family responsibilities: A task for development). Paper presented at the “*Séptima Conferencia Regional sobre la Integración de la Mujer en el Desarrollo Económico y Social de América Latina y el Caribe*,” Santiago, Nov. 19–21, 1997, CEPAL.

This study explores the resistance encountered in the private sector to adapting to the division of roles socially assigned by gender, seen as a function of the changes that women’s working and participating in politics has generated in family life. The study seeks a better understanding of attitudinal change among men and women faced with family responsibilities, understood as domestic chores and the care and socialization of children. The work’s initial hypothesis suggests that for a new division of these responsibilities, one would have to change male conceptions of their role in family organization and the importance that women attribute to their development of their own life project. Research was qualitative, using in-depth interviews as data a collection technique. A theoretical framework is presented to help readers understand the results; the paper also includes a set of ideal types in which the results were organized, including gender identity and the division of domestic chores.

Chevannes, B. 1992. “Father incorporated”: Helping men become better fathers. In *A portfolio of AIDS/STD behavioral interventions and research*, ed. by L. Bond. Washington, DC: Pan American Health Organization, pp. 113–116.

Recently, a study in Jamaica considered the role that men play in family-related matters, due to the resistance that most women show toward family planning, implicating their husbands as the reason they do not use contraceptives; the increase in the feminist activist movement; and the AIDS epidemic. These facts have made it imperative that efforts be made to change behavior characteristics of women and, particularly, of men. In a workshop for parents between 25 and 35 years of age, participants affirmed that men were being stereotyped, not only as absent fathers, but also as damaging to their children. As a result of these findings, the group stayed together. Gradually it grew to include 100 fathers, who receive training as fathers, human enrichment, information on sexuality, and education for budget management and other economic matters. [Extract from editors’ summary original in Spanish]

Cardoso, J. L. 1998. Paternidade adolescente: Da investigação à intervenção (Adolescent fatherhood: From research to intervention). In *Homens e masculinidades. Outras palavras*, org. by Arilha, Unbehaum, and Medrado. São Paulo: Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidad e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), pp. 185–214.

This article summarizes the experience of a project on adolescent fatherhood that began as research and later evolved into intervention. The author states that as his work advanced he found himself behind a “wall of silence,” separated from institutions and people involved in the subject, as well as from bibliography and research done in Brazil. The strategies that might allow access to adolescent fathers suggest that even when an adolescent tries to assume an active role as the father of his child, social institutions seem to deny him this or to impede this assumption. The author maintains

that this silence implies a perverse relationship between society and the adolescent. Upon socially nullifying adolescent fatherhood, one ends up legitimizing paternal absence and thus making it difficult for the adolescent to consider, prevent, or assume his condition as real or virtual father. The study concludes that the act of conceiving and raising children constitutes an experience culturally attributed to women, only discretely including the father. This is derived from two factors: (1) the child is perceived in Brazilian society as “the mother’s”; and (2) adolescents are recognized mainly as children.

De Keijzer, B. *Paternidad y transición de género* (Fatherhood and gender transition). [Mimeograph] Mexico City, 1993.

The author defines various different kinds of fatherhood, suggesting that paternal behavior has changed throughout history and that it is culturally biased or defined. The author acknowledges that gender relations and family structures have been affected by modifications in socioeconomic and political systems. He gives as an example the fact that the 1990 census shows that only 51% of households rely on a single provider. He also refers to Luis Leñero’s “neomachismo” to describe the more typical, current-day Mexican father who, as a consequence of the women’s movement, has had to change when establishing relationships with women who are separated, earn an income, and participate in social organizations.

Engle, P., and Breaux, C. 1994. *Is there a father instinct?: Fathers’ responsibility for children*. Washington, DC: International Center for Research on Women.

This report has four parts. The first describes types of roles that fathers play in the lives of their children, giving examples of fatherhood and outlining universal variations and characteristics of the paternal role. The following section presents some of the research concerning the effects of fatherhood on children. The third addresses critical questions: Why are some fathers more responsible than others are? What theories exist to explain the differences in models of fatherhood, and which have been more persuasive? Finally, some of the programs designed to improve or help men in the development of new paternal roles are discussed.

Engle, P., and Alatorre, J. “*Taller de Paternidad Responsable*” (Workshop on responsible fatherhood). Population Council/UNAM, Mexico City, May 1994.

This report summarizes a meeting to promote exchange among researchers, practitioners, and policy makers, to examine what is known about the role of fathers, to evaluate how fathers have been involved or not in community programs, and to define research needed for action programs and policy. Qualitative and quantitative research on fatherhood is lacking, and the social construction of masculinity in Latin America may inhibit involved and nurturing fathering. Suggested research topics include: the inclusion/exclusion of fathers in social programs, aspects of the early socialization of boys that lead to their becoming good fathers, and the effects of increasing awareness of stereotypical roles on child care, among others. Participants also encouraged: (1) working with fathers on masculinity and sexuality; (2) examining and assuring fa-

ther's inclusion in health, education and social welfare systems; (3) persuading business to support fathering in employee programs, having special events that bring fathers and families together and supporting child care leave for fathers as well as for mothers; (4) reforming legal and political systems; (5) evaluating and reducing gender stereotypes in mass media and communication systems; and (6) working with women to improve their ability to share child-rearing with fathers.

Figuroa Perea, J. G. "Algunas propuestas para la construcción de nuevas paternidades" (Some proposals for the construction of new models of fatherhood). Paper prepared after participation in the forum "Toward a New Paternity," organized by Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género y la Red de Salud de las Mujeres and in the roundtable "How to exercise my paternity?", organized by Instituto Nacional de Salud Mental, Mexico City, June 1996.

Fatherhood is understood as "the set of possible relationships that could be present between progenitor and his sons and daughters." It is not reduced to a purely biological dimension; rather it includes symbolic and adoptive progenitors. The author asserts that fatherhood is a process that is initiated with the creation of a situation for generating pregnancy. This happens in a context of demographic transition, economic crisis, and cultural change that makes it more and more difficult to exercise paternity according to the traditional model without the existence of social and labor support that allows an alternative fulfillment. So, to speak of *new paternity* supposes making the limited nature of traditional models explicit and participating in the reconstruction of new relationship models. The author asserts that a concrete proposal "is to enjoy fatherhood without affecting motherhood, without affecting sons' and daughters' development, without becoming mutually violent persons and through complementing and complimenting each other in the interaction that is defined by these links of relationship."

Gutmann, M. "Fabled fathers and motherless machos: Paternity and class in contemporary Mexico City." Presented in the panel "Constructions of Masculinity in Latin America," Latin American Studies Association Congress, Washington, DC, Sept. 28–30, 1995.

This article tries to show what myths can reveal and hide with regard to the meanings attributed to fatherhood and fathers' practices in Mexico City. The author asserts that there is no pattern of masculinity that men can compare themselves to or be compared to by others. The diversity of paternal practices in Mexico is a central fact of the ambiguous character that masculinity holds in this country. Gutmann suggests that an ethno-historical approach is necessary to understanding this diversity, which brings up differences of class, culture, region, and generation. In this context, the author criticizes views of masculinity and fatherhood that simplify them, reducing them to a stereotype of irresponsibility and violence. On the contrary, says Gutmann, research he completed in a low-income neighborhood of the capital indicates that to be a responsible and committed father is a central trait of being a man, including sexual potency. He also asserts that the research shows that ideas and activities concerning paternity are elaborated with relation to class formation.

Medrado, B. 1998. Homens na arena do cuidado infantil: Imagens veiculadas pela mídia (Men in the area of infant care: Images driven by the mass media). In *Homens e masculinidades: Outras palavras*, org. by Arilha, Unbehaum, and Medrado. São Paulo: Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidade e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), pp. 145–162.

This article's objective is to identify and analyze linguistic repertoires on masculinity in the area of infant care. The focus is on men, as collateral characters in family relations and in gender conflicts, and the field of discussion is infant care, culturally defined as feminine. Argumentative images and text transmitted by the mass media, particularly television advertising, are the tools of this study. Medrado concludes that these images are constructed according to a hegemonic model of masculinity, which emphasizes men's heterosexuality and promotes a traditional division of gender roles in the daily family plan: the man as the provider, protector, and instrumental leader of the family, and the woman as the housewife, dependent, affectionate, and expressive leader of the family. At the same time, the article considers ruptures and dissent with respect to this model, presented in an indirect and allusive way in commercials, via humor, for example.

Unbehaum, S. 1998. A desigualdade de gênero nas relações parentais: O exemplo da custódia dos filhos (Gender inequality in parental relations: The example of child custody). In *Homens e masculinidades: Outras palavras*, org. by Arilha, Unbehaum, and Medrado. São Paulo: Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidade e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), pp. 163–184.

This article proposes to reflect on the place that parents are starting to occupy in the family group, more specifically, in the cosmopolitan middle-class family. Two axes of thought express the argument: (1) socially constructed gender distinctions define specific attributes for men and women with respect to care of young children; (2) the normative of family law, in the particular case of child custody, is an example of inequality in gender relations. The objective is to stimulate debate on the importance of male participation in child-rearing, not only as a right that can be claimed by men in court, but also as a propitious channel for establishing more equal relationships, beginning with the division of family responsibilities. The author concludes that family responsibility for childcare is incorporated as a feminine attribute, but that changes have also been produced in the social structure that orders family and parental relationships. Tensions between women's aspirations for their own life project and male requirements for greater participation in child-rearing are detected.

PROGRAMS

Programs on Masculinity/ies

Colectivo de Hombres por Relaciones Igualitarias, CORIAC, Mexico.

Established in 1993 as a collective for professionals to reflect on and discuss men and masculinities, CORIAC has since evolved into an organization that provides programs for men in crisis whose partners are threatening to leave, are facing legal problems or are in therapy. Before entering the group, participants undergo assessment interviews. If accepted, they attend a 16-week training session that deals with the construction of masculinities, violence, and, more recently, fatherhood. A second course is offered to those interested in working on negotiation skills, communication, listening, and compromise. In this course, men talk about sexuality issues, including infidelity, sex and desire, domestic work and fatherhood. In the last two years, CORIAC has taken on some fatherhood initiatives, including *Feria de Paternidad*, a celebration of fatherhood.

Centro de Investigación Social, Tecnología Apropiada y Capacitación, CISTAC, Bolivia

CISTAC started an initiative on male sexuality in 1995. It first did a study on male identity, collecting information through workshops, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with 100 university students. Then it produced a radio program on gender identity, male sexuality and family planning. CISTAC recently began to conduct workshops for men aged 15–21. These are held in clubs, youth groups and schools and are intended to help young men understand that they can choose to be responsible fathers.

Programa Universitario de Estudios de Género at the Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, PUEG/UNAM, Mexico.

For the past 12 years, PUEG has designed and provided gender enrichment activities that include coordination and construction of gender research studies and various educational programs and projects. Javier Alatorre coordinates a masculinity seminar that prepares 11 participants to design and construct research around topics of masculinity. Gloria Careaga coordinates another research seminar with 14 participants in gender and reproductive health.

Programs on Sexuality

Asociación Mexicana de Salud Sexual (AMSS), Mexico.

AMSS has designed and implemented various professional workshops and trainings on sexuality. Participants have included therapists, schoolteachers, social workers, and medical personnel. Education strategies include a gender perspective, where stereotypes, emotions, communications, and relationships are discussed.

Centro de Educação Sexual (CEDUS), Brazil.

Established in 1993, CEDUS's mission is: to promote sex education to youth-serving professionals, educators and the general public; to carry out relevant research related to sexuality education; to serve as a clearinghouse for information on sexuality; to train individuals in how to work in sexuality education; to promote the dissemination of sex education in the media; and to develop educational materials in the area of sexuality education.

Centro de Investigación Social, Tecnología Apropriada y Capacitación (CISTAC), Bolivia.

CISTAC began an initiative on male sexuality in 1995. The organization first conducted a study on male identity, collecting information through workshops, focus group discussions and in-depth interviews with 100 university students. It then produced a radio program on gender identity, male sexuality and family planning. CISTAC has begun to conduct workshops for men aged 15–21. The 15-hour workshops are held in clubs, youth groups and schools and are intended to help young men understand that they can choose to be responsible fathers.

Estudos e Comunicação em Sexualidade e Reprodução Humana (ECOS), Brazil.

Established in 1989 in São Paulo, Brazil, ECOS's mission is to promote and transform values related to sexuality, health, and reproductive rights and to do so in ways that help overcome discrimination based on gender, age, class, and race. ECOS produces print and video materials, conducts research, seminars, and training workshops, and provides technical assistance.

Federación Mexicana de Educación Sexual y Sexología (FEMESS), Mexico.

A coalition of 48 organizations working around sexual health issues. FEMESS is involved with advocacy work to bring sexual health issues to the media's attention. FEMESS and AMSS work closely in designing and implementing training programs.

Sistema Nacional de Promoción y Capacitación en Salud Sexual (SISSEX).

Established in 1995, SISSEX's mission is to use a gender perspective to improve the impact of community organizations' sexual health promotion and HIV, STD, and AIDS prevention efforts. SISSEX has conducted several training sessions with a comprehensive approach to sexuality.

Programs on Adolescent Sexuality

Centro de Orientación para Adolescentes (CORA), Mexico.

CORA runs a comprehensive youth center, which provides sex education, family planning, and other health and education activities. CORA has founded eight young men's clubs in Mexico City to bring young men together for group discussions. In addition to information about human reproduction and contraception, staff emphasize values clarification, goal-setting, and self-esteem.

Diseño, Implementación y Evaluación del Modelo Educativo: autocuidado de la fertilidad y sexualidad para adolescentes medios (CEMOFPLAF, DES/MEC, ISR/UG), Ecuador, 1995–1997.

This program taught adolescents between the ages of 14 and 16 about fertility and sexuality. The goal was to increase their knowledge about physiology, anatomy, how to increase their self-esteem, their ability to observe themselves, genital hygiene, STDs, HIV, AIDS, and contraceptive methods.

Foundation for Studies and Research on Women, Argentina.

This organization sponsors workshops on sexuality for working-class Argentine boys and girls 11–22 years old in schools, clubs, institutions for minors, health facilities, and community centers. Workshops are complemented by additional workshops for parents, teachers, and other adults. At the end of a workshop, young people produce songs, posters, drawings, and poems that reflect the educational content and are displayed in their communities. The use of a gender-sensitive male coordinator has increased the participation of adolescent males and provided them with a role model. Participants better accept gender-related issues when introduced by peer educators rather than by adults. It was found that adolescents in rural areas are more sexually active than their urban counterparts.

Jornadas Comunitarias de Conversación sobre Afectividad y Sexualidad (JOCCAS), Chile.

JOCCAS is an educational-communications model that responds to the need to open up spaces for dialogue and conversation among youths and adults in the community. Its purpose is to mobilize the entire community in order to improve health services, deliver information, produce communication on the theme of affectivity and sexuality and create support networks to benefit male and female adolescents and their families. It is implemented as a massive three-day event, during which participants have the opportunity to experience a process focused on learning. It consists of three sessions of 90 minutes each on problematization, information, and discernment and reflection for the purpose of action.

STD, HIV, and AIDS Services

Asociación Pro-Bienestar de la Familia (APROFAM), Guatemala.

APROFAM opened a separate STD treatment clinic in 1991. Staff in the family planning and STD clinics received different training and the clinics offer separate services. Family planning clients who indicate they are concerned about having an STD or HIV, or who show signs of an STD are referred to the STD clinic for diagnosis and treatment. Family planning staff hand out STD pamphlets because they are working at maximum capacity and do not have the time to devote to personal education.

COIN Avancemos Project, Dominican Republic.

Reaches male clients of commercial sex workers through bimonthly workshops and follow-up visits with bar and brothel owners and theater skits for male clients.

CONASIDA, Mexico.

A division of the Mexican government's Ministry of Health provides a variety of AIDS-related services including research, awareness campaigns, and education. The media campaign about condom use received lukewarm reviews from adolescents, because they felt the campaigns did not talk openly enough. CONASIDA is working amidst strong opposition both from PROVIDA, Mexico's anti-choice organization, and from the church. Cardinal Rivera has asked CONASIDA to write a warning on condoms that say they "do harm" to the user.

Profamilia, Colombia.

Assessed whether AIDS education, including more attention to condom distribution, would hinder the primary work of the agency's family planning program, and whether a mass-media campaign about AIDS prevention would have a negative impact on the public's perception of condoms and of Profamilia in general. After adding AIDS-prevention lectures and radio message campaign, and increasing condom distribution to its community-based projects, surveys indicated Profamilia met an important need without hurting its primary mission of family planning.

Sociedade Civil de Bem-estar Familiar do Brasil (BEMFAM), Brazil.

It is training its entire staff, including drivers, in general STD/AIDS information, with in-depth training planned for 140 staff members who have contact with clients. The training includes: comfort with sexual language; clarification of values; sexual development; defining sexual and reproductive health; exploring clients' sexual life and risk perception; gender, power, and sexual relations; safe sex; family planning from a sexual perspective; and STDs.

Reproductive Health Programs for Men

Asociación Pro-Bienestar de la Familia (APROFAM), Guatemala.

Founded in 1964, its mission is to offer and promote family planning, offering services such as counseling on family planning and use of contraceptives, sale of contraceptives, IUD insertion, Papanicolaou smears and pregnancy tests, sterilization for men and women, and sperm analysis for vasectomy clients.

Centro de Investigación sobre Fertilidad y Esterilidad (CIFE), Mexico.

This organization offers worksite talks and brochures to publicize vasectomy services offered by a private physician.

Clínica PROFAM para el Hombre/Social Marketing Project, Mexico.

PROFAM undertook an 18-month study to test the effectiveness of a social marketing strategy using billboards to promote services in the community; to test the effectiveness of the press to promote services exclusively for males; to assess the effectiveness of a male promoter to promote vasectomy in the workplace; and to carry out an analysis of the psychological and social characteristics of the men requesting services at the clinic. Approximately 886 men contacted the clinic; 46% were interested in vasectomy; 19% actually received a vasectomy. Sixty-six percent learned about services through billboards, 18% through newspapers. The workplace promotion failed to generate a significant demand for services. Promotional costs were high: \$41/contact for billboards.

Instituto Mexicano de Seguro Social (IMSS), Reproductive Health Division, Mexico.

IMSS has been providing male reproductive services since 1983. Vasectomy centers associated with obstetric centers have been particularly successful in improving access to men. The Community Health Division is responsible for STD campaigns. Condoms are not included in family planning documentation. Hormonal methods, the IUD, and surgical contraception are the only methods included in contraceptive use reporting. Condoms are seen only as protection against STDs and are not formally promoted as contraception. Men's involvement in family planning seems limited to vasectomy. IMSS forbids men from attending births, but allows them to attend counseling sessions and group workshops on prenatal care.

Mexfam, Partner Promoter Program, Mexico.

The partner promoter program started in 1995, and is currently running in four states. Couples, working as reproductive and sexual health promoters, give five talks separately to men and women in their community and end their presentations by joining the males and females for discussion. Puppets and storytelling poster cards are some

of the tools used in these presentations. They help participants feel at ease and are an appealing part of the program.

Mexfam, Center for Health Care Services for Men, Mexico.

Established in 1987, this program provides information, counseling on sexual and reproductive health, general health care, and other services. It serves men in factories, police departments, the armed services, and Alcoholics Anonymous.

Profamilia, Colombia.

Profamilia pioneered the first vasectomy program in Latin America in 1970. More recently it conducted an operations research study to determine which characteristics of the male clinic model are essential to attracting male clients. Results show that the clinics with male-only sessions performed a higher monthly average of vasectomies than traditional female-oriented clinics. Experimental clinics performed twice as many vasectomies per month as control clinics. Clients of male-context clinics were not more satisfied with services or with vasectomy as a method, compared with clients of the female-context or control clinics. Employees of the male-context clinic did not rate vasectomy as a more important method, compared with other clinic employees. The male clinics have completely distinct sets of areas to receive men and women separately. They have specialized personnel and offer male-oriented services: vasectomies, STD treatment, general medical services, urology services, and minor out-patient surgery. The program is 74% self-sufficient. The Couple-Years Protection (CYP) is U.S. \$1.40. Other lessons learned from the program are: counseling is needed to identify men's needs, staff must address men's complex needs, separate services are useful but not essential to reach men, couples must be involved in counseling, outreach activities and media promotion increase male participation, strong leadership within an organization is needed to initiate men's services, clinic spaces must promote a positive image about men's services, staff must explore what a gender perspective means in relation to reproductive health services, lessons an organization learns from working with men can be applied to women's services, and international exchanges help organizations improve their services.

Promoção da Paternidade Responsável (PROPATER), Brazil.

Founded in 1980, PROPATER inaugurated a male-oriented health and sexuality clinic in São Paulo in 1981, and opened a second one, aimed at lower socioeconomic groups, in 1998. The activities offered include: visits to factories to speak to workers and distribute written non-technical articles about vasectomy in factory newsletters; a 10-week advertising campaign in weekly and monthly television and magazines for men; and special mailings to doctors, social workers and other professionals. As a result of these activities 40 million people were reached through the initial 3-minute television broadcast and attendance doubled in the month following the broadcast. After the 10-week print promotion, the mean number of clients increased by 60%. The number of vasectomies performed per day increased 54%. The promotion cost per CYP is \$9.30. The promotional cost of \$93 per additional client is about the same as the cost of the vasectomy itself.

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